

FLASHBACK: FIFTY YEARS OF DONOR AID TO AFRICAN AGRICULTURE**

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ABBREVIATIONS

CAS	Country Assistance Strategy
CBD	Community Based Development
CDD	Community Driven Development
CGIAR	Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research
DAC	Development Assistance Committee (OECD)
ECA	Economic Commission for Africa
EHIPC	Enhanced Heavily Indebted Poor Country (debt initiative)
EU	European Union
FFS	Farmer Field School (Extension Model)
GDP	Gross domestic product
HIPC	Heavily Indebted Poor Country (debt initiative)
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ICT	Information, Communication and Technology
MCA	Millennium Challenge Account
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NGO	Non-governmental organization
OAU	Organization of African Unity
ODA	Official development assistance
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
PPAR	Project Performance Assessment Report
PRSC	Poverty Reduction Support Credit
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAP	Structural adjustment programme
SPFS	Special Program of Food Security
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WTO	World Trade Organization

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

A recent conference on aid harmonization revealed that there are around 63,000 development projects in developing countries and that the typical developing country is assisted by 30 aid agencies. Currently, the consulting business that has sprung up around aid delivery in Africa totals about US \$4 billion per year.

This paper provides a long-term perspective on donor aid and African agricultural development. The starting point is 50 years ago in 1953 when a World Bank mission helped Nigeria lay the groundwork for its independence. But after fifty years of experience, most donors remain confused about how to package, coordinate and deliver aid to accelerate agricultural and rural development in Africa. The puzzles surrounding aid to agriculture in Africa are part of the broader debate on why global aid to agriculture in developing countries declined in the mid eighties followed by a further decline of aid to agriculture in Africa in the nineties. But generating additional donor funding is not enough. Some major aid reforms are needed starting with the basic question: Why have new aid modalities and multi-sectoral lending programs marginalized agriculture on a continent where 2/3 of the people depend on agriculture for their livelihoods?

Development thinking in the North and in newly independent countries in Africa in the 1950s and early 1960s did not view agriculture as an important contributor to economic growth. Instead development was equated with structural transformation of the economy, that is, with the decline of agriculture's relative share of the national product and the labor force. The prevailing belief on the eve of independence was that state-led industrialization could transform agrarian-dominated societies into modern industrial nations in one generation – i.e. by year 2000. The swarm of foreign economic advisors that descended on Africa in the 1960s was excessively preoccupied with a Marshall Plan menu for Africa: capital and technology transfers leavened with a generous supply of extension advisors. But this menu was out of phase given Africa's early stage of human capital and institutional development, subsequent political dissonance and the use of state power to tax smallholders with little political weight. Instead of pursuing a strategy to maintain its competitive position in world trade, most countries nationalized private plantations and regional research centers and invested in an array of "poisoned gifts" such as Israeli Moshav farm settlements in Nigeria, Soviet style state farms in Mozambique and Ethiopia, and Ujamaa villages in Tanzania, an offshoot of the Chinese commune system.

Several important lessons flow from 50 years of donor experience in assisting African agriculture:

1. GETTING AGRICULTURE BACK ON THE AGENDA.

Today, agriculture has been dethroned from the agenda of many donors not because of any conscious decision of donors but as a result of effective NGO pressure to broaden the aid agenda to a point where "it is fashionable to say that aid is people-centered, instead of sector or activity-centered. Who is going to make the case to get agriculture back on the agenda? Who is going to help African nations develop agricultural strategies that are visible, relevant and productive in an era of SIPs, PRSPs, CDDs, CBDs, HIPCs and EHIPCs? The World Bank is the logical organization to provide leadership on these issues just as it did in the sixties and seventies. For example, World Bank lending for agriculture grew from around 6 percent of total Bank lending through the early 1960s to over 30 percent of a much larger total by the mid-70s. Indeed, agricultural commitments between 1974 and 1984 totaled more than \$30 billion – by far the largest single component in the Bank's portfolio.

Will the World Bank, the EU, bilateral donors and Foundations rise to the challenge and both reform aid and increase aid to African agriculture over the coming 20 to 25 years?

2. RETURN TO REGIONALISM

Despite its well to known shortcomings, colonialism generated some important and often overlooked institutional innovations in organizing rural space and dealing with the immensity of Africa, especially when one realizes that sub-Saharan Africa is seven times larger than India. To their credit, colonial planners pursued regionalism as the organizational model for agricultural research to meet the needs of the large number of small colonies.

However, soon after independence, virtually all colonial regional research and training institutions were nationalized. But after decades of experience, it is clear that the collective effort of all donors will be unable to build strong national research and extension services and faculties of agriculture in each of the 48 counties in Africa. The return to regionalism is an important development. Donors today can point to many successful regional programs. The regional spraying programs to control river blindness and the cassava mealy bug represent some of the unsung regional success stories of donor aid over the past 30 years. The return to regional programs faces up to the reality that sub-Saharan Africa is seven times larger than India and that regional programs are an effective way to assist small counties through technology spill ins, specialized human capital training centers and the promotion of intra-regional and international trade. For example, today 25 percent of the 600 students at the Faculty of Agriculture, University of Mali at Katibougou are from neighboring francophone countries. How can Mali find a donor to allocate one million dollars a year over the next 20 years to help this national institution strengthen its scientific and human capital infrastructure to enable it to train an increasing number of students from francophone West Africa?

3. INSTITUTION BUILDING REQUIRES A MULTI-GENERATIONAL TIME SPAN

Sub-Saharan Africa has 700 million people, 1000 different ethnic groups and a diversified land base. Nevertheless, many experts overlook Africa's diversity and complexity. Instead, they uncritically recommend the adoption of the Asian Green Revolution model for Africa and imported institutional models from other continents. However, fifty years of donor experience in Africa has shown that successful institution building is an accretionary and almost invisible process that requires a multi-generational time span and learning from experience. The challenge is to turn inward and craft multiple institutional models that take into consideration historical path dependency and different traditions. The present donor approach to strengthening agricultural research and extension while ignoring investments in African faculties and Universities of Agriculture is a conceptually flawed capacity building model. Without question African universities will have to increasingly bear the brunt of training and replenishing the human capital in the public and private sectors and in research and extension institutions. There is an urgent need for donors to pool their resources and make strategic investments in agricultural higher education in five to ten countries in Africa.

4. RETHINKING BOTTOM UP DEVELOPMENT.

The community development (CD) programs of the fifties, were followed by rural development projects in the seventies and then by sustainable livelihood, Community Driven Development (CDD) and Community Based Development (CBD) projects of today. The relabeling of projects to spur bottom up development in rural areas can be described as an exercise in putting "old wine in new bottles". Community – driven development (CDD) is now an established corporate priority of the World Bank and it represents about 45 percent of lending managed by the Bank's rural sectoral board. What is the track record of these bottom-up projects?

The CDD, CBD and poverty alleviation design teams should look into the future with an eye on the past because many of the contemporary models of bottom-up development projects are close to the failed CD models of the 1950s, and while egalitarian in theory, many are thin in substance. Unless design teams study the global experience of bottom-up rural projects in historical perspective, they may unwittingly repeat some of the same mistakes that were made during the community development era of the 1950s.

5. AID MODALITY OVERLOAD.

In recent years, the pendulum of professional opinion about aid effectiveness and modalities has swung away from an original concentration on project-based assistance to new programmatic forms, most notably budget support and associated modalities of debt relief. The aid modality “overload” is making it difficult for African policy makers and donors to develop a national agricultural strategy because of NGO pressure to increase spending on rural social services and because agriculture virtually “disappears” during the transition from project to sectoral and multi-sectoral programs and the addition of new modalities such as PRSPs, HIPC and EHIPC. It is clear that donor expenditure on rural social services is increasing in many countries while public expenditure on agriculture is decreasing. Donors should examine the impact of the new aid modalities on lending for agriculture. They should also study whether there is a need to return to “old fashioned” long term agricultural projects for the core investments in the “prime movers” of agricultural development – research, extension and agricultural higher education.

To summarize, it is encouraging that many donors are now reordering their priorities and coming around to the conclusion that rural social services, food aid and post conflict aid may keep people alive but they do not increase crop yields and earnings capacity – the keys to mass poverty alleviation. There is also growing recognition that “food aid subscriptions” can become a way of life. For example, the one million tons of U.S. food aid to Ethiopia in 2003 is valued at US\$ 475 million, a sum larger than the \$354 million of total U.S. aid to agricultural development in all developing countries in 2001. Africa is now facing the same type of long term food deficit problem that India faced in the early 1960s. Without question donor should increase their investments in the prime movers (human capital, technology and institutional innovations) to increase farm production and accelerate agricultural growth. NEPAD should focus on mobilizing African and donor investment in genetic and agronomic research on Africa’s eight major food staples because reducing food prices is the most promising avenues for reducing mass poverty in Africa. Looking ahead, it is clear that the transformation of African agriculture will have to be public-sector led. Donor assistance can play a constructive role in supporting the transformation over the coming 20 to 30 years. There are no shortcuts.

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NEPAD views agriculture as the key sector for achieving economic advancement and poverty alleviation in Africa because agriculture provides 60 percent of all employment and it constitutes the backbone of most African economies...

- Professor Wiseman Nkulu, 2003

The withdrawal of US cotton subsidies... will generate a gain of more than \$55 million per year, a sum which is higher than the total value of the United States' assistance to my country.

- Amadou Toure, President of Mali, 2003

Neither governments nor donors have formulated a post-market liberalization policy and investment response; rather there is a policy vacuum that is leading to virtual neglect of the agricultural sector.

- John Lynam, 2003

I. INTRODUCTION

These quotations illustrate the differing perspectives on the impact of donor aid and agricultural policies of the North on farmers in Sub-Saharan Africa. Each perspective is important. Each will be addressed in the analysis that follows. It is common knowledge that after fifty years of experience, most donors remain confused about how to package, coordinate and deliver aid to accelerate agricultural and rural development in Africa. But the puzzles surrounding aid to agriculture in Africa are part of the broader debate on why global aid to agriculture in developing countries started to decline in the mid eighties (Fig 1) followed by a decline in Africa in the nineties (Fig.2). The cutback in ODA (official development assistance) to agriculture in developing countries in the eighties was accompanied by a reduction in the number of agricultural specialists in USAID, the Rockefeller Foundation, and other donor agencies and foundations.¹ The cut in ODA for agriculture and the dismantling of donor expertise in agriculture in the 1980s occurred at the same time that Africa's became trapped in a long term structural food deficit position (FAO 1978, USDA 1981, Eicher 1982).

The sharp decline in donor aid to agriculture in developing countries in the 1980s is spelled out in an influential IFPRI report *Aid to Agriculture: Reversing The Decline* (von Braun et al.1993). Today global ODA is stagnant at around US\$50 billion per year and World Bank lending for agriculture has declined from 31 percent in 1979/81 to about 10 percent of total bank lending in fiscal years 2000 and 2001 (Cleaver 2003). Numerous meetings have been held to figure out what can be done to increase donor support (von Braun 2003).² But,

¹ The number of agriculturalists in USAID declined from 250 in 1985 to 45 in 2003 (Table 1). Ten of the 45 are in Africa where USAID has 23 missions and three regional offices.

² Canada, Belgium; the EU and the US have all announced plans to increase their aid.

donor aid can only provide a fraction of the resources needed to get African agriculture moving. The political leadership and the bulk of the needed funding will have to come from within Africa³, including capital formation by farmers themselves. This proposition is central to achieving the goals of the *New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD)* that was set up in 2001 (NEPAD 2001).⁴ NEPAD has generated considerable attention in Africa and among the donor community because it has claimed ownership of the aid agenda and it has pledged to improve governance and mobilize increased support for agriculture from African governments and donors (Owusu 2003). Several months ago, the Assembly of Heads of State and Government resolved to initiate an African-conceived, led and owned process to:

- ❖ Implement NEPAD's Africa Agriculture Development Program (CAADP) at the national, regional and continental levels,
- ❖ Ensure that each African nation will allocate at least 10 percent of its national budgetary resources to agriculture and rural development within five years,⁵
- ❖ Prepare "bankable projects" for agriculture which would be followed by the preparation of feasibility studies and the generation of financial support from African nations and the international community and
- ❖ Increase agricultural productivity and attain an average annual agricultural growth rate of 6 percent by year 2015 (NEPAD 2003).

However, despite promises of increased aid from the North and NEPAD's commitment to agriculture, the recent collapse of the Cancun trade meetings displays a glaring lack of policy coherence between donor aid and agricultural subsidy policies in OECD countries. Without question, the subsidy issue will be heavily contested during the balance of this decade.

The purpose of this paper is to provide a long-term perspective on donor aid and African agricultural development.⁶ The starting point is 50 years ago in 1953 when a World Bank mission helped Nigeria lay the groundwork for its independence (World Bank 1955).⁷ Part II summarizes the colonial legacy and development thinking in the 1950s and questions that economists were asking about foreign aid at that time. Part III discusses the pursuit of economic growth in Africa in the 1960s and the shift in development thinking to Basic Needs and smallholder agriculture and rural development in the 1970s. Part IV discusses the shift in development thinking in the 1980s to macro economic reforms and then in the 1990s to poverty alleviation, decentralization, empowerment, and privatization of public services, value-added agricultural exports, and agricultural subsidies. Part V discusses aid reform. Part VI discusses lessons of experience and Part VII summarizes the paper.

³ The ECA's 2003 economic report is a valuable document that reflects the revitalization of the ECA.

⁴ The African Union (AU) replaced the OAU in July 2002.

⁵ The present level is around 5 percent per annum in Africa and 14 percent in Asia.

⁶ See Staatz and Eicher (1998), Delgado (1998) Carruthers and Kijdd (1997) and Ellis and Biggs (2001) for a discussion of agricultural and rural development ideas in historical perspective. For studies of the history of foreign aid see Tendler 1975, Fruhling 1986; Lele 1991; Ruttan 1996; Lancaster 1999; Hjertholm and White 2000 and Tarp 2000. An analysis of food aid is beyond the scope of this paper. For a study of food aid see Shaw 2001 and Clay 2001.

⁷ Nigeria and 15 other African nations reclaimed their independence in 1960.

II. THE 1950s: PREPARING FOR INDEPENDENCE

Fifty years ago, Sub-Saharan Africa was composed of two independent nations (Ethiopia and Liberia) and 46 colonies. At independence starting in the Sudan (1956), Ghana (1957) and 16 other countries in 1960s, the population growth rate was low (1.5 percent), Africa was a modest net exporter of food (mainly palm oil and groundnuts) and it was a land surplus continent subject to periodic drought (McKelvey 1965). During the 1950s, four critical issues about Africa's economic future were debated by economists: future rate of growth of population, a feasible target rate of economic growth for new nations, the role of agriculture and industry in development and the type of agricultural strategy to pursue - capitalist or socialist.

THE COLONIAL LEGACY

In the 1950s, three grand models were on display for Africa's new nations: the colonial extraction model, the state-led industrialization and state farm model and agrarian capitalism based on small-scale farms and plantations. Most African political leaders rejected the colonial model because of their conviction that it pumped the economic surplus out of Africa through the production of minerals and agricultural exports for European markets. The sentiment toward the colonial agricultural model is illustrated by Walter Rodney's observation that "Africans entered the colonial period with a hoe on their shoulder and ended it with a hoe on their shoulder" (Rodney 1974). Likewise, "Cotton is the Mother of Poverty" was a shorthand way of describing how Portuguese agribusiness companies divided Mozambique into geographical zones and systematically exploited smallholders (Isaacman 1996). The burden of colonialism is also captured in the vast human capital potential that was insidiously suppressed under colonialism and apartheid.⁸ A comparison between Africa and India also illustrates the differences in university development. The University of Bombay produced its first Ph.D. in economics in the 1930s whereas the British set up the first university in Nigeria in 1948 (University of Ibadan). At India's independence in 1947, an Indian scientist filled virtually every BSc level post in agricultural research. By contrast, 10 percent of the agricultural researchers in Africa were African in 1960 and 90 percent expatriates (Beintema et al. 1998).⁹

Nevertheless, despite these serious shortcomings, colonialism generated some important and often overlooked institutional innovations in organizing rural space and dealing with the immensity of Africa, especially when one realizes that sub-Saharan Africa is seven times larger than India. To their credit, colonial planners wisely bet on regionalism as the organizational model for agricultural research to meet the needs of the large number of small colonies. The French set up regional research stations in Senegal and Cote d'Ivoire to generate new technology and transfer it to satellite colonies where small teams of researchers adapted it to local conditions. The French addressed the perennial problem of poor connectivity between research and extension by developing a cotton research and extension model that trained cotton extension agents (rather than general purpose agents) to assist smallholders growing cotton. Next the French and British set up global commodity networks to encourage research spillovers and spillins. The IRCT/CFDT cotton research network in francophone West Africa is an example of such a regional network linked to a regional commodity research center (McKelvey 1965). To summarize, these institutional innovations along regional lines contributed to the development of a number of "mini-green revolutions" which are captured in the pioneering study by de Wilde (1967).

⁸ In South Africa European farmers were assisted by marketing boards and credit subsidies. In 1967, the amount spent on subsidizing about 100,000 white farms was almost double the public funds spent on education for 10 million Africans (Wilson 1971).

⁹ By 1990 the ratio was reversed with 90 percent African and 10 percent expatriate researchers.

Likewise schools of agriculture were set up along regional lines. The School of Agriculture at Katibougou in Mali was set up over 100 years ago to serve as the primary agricultural extension training institution for francophone West Africa. Today 25 percent of the 600 students at the Faculty of Agriculture, University of Mali at Katibougou are from neighboring francophone countries. Likewise, the regional veterinary school for Francophone Africa was located in Dakar. But soon after independence in the early 1960s, new nations nationalized most of the regional research and training institutions (Eicher 1989).

The colonial history illustrates the long period of time that it takes to develop new technology. It took 28 years of research (1932 to 1960) to produce the SR-52 hybrid maize in Zimbabwe, which increased farm yields by 46 percent without fertilizer (Eicher 1995, Smale and Jayne 2003). In the 1930s, Belgium had several hundred scientists working at the INEAC research station in Zaire (Belgian Congo). A small INEAC research team unlocked the genetics of oil palm research in 1939 and developed a hybrid that doubled the yield of wild oil palms (Shapiro and Tollens 1992).¹⁰

DEVELOPMENT THINKING IN THE 1950s

Population growth was not assumed to be an important problem in the 1950s. In fact, when the World Bank team arrived in Nigeria in 1953, several Nigerians encouraged the team to develop an investment program to achieve a target increase of total production of 10 percent per year. However, the Bank team adopted a three percent target, which was assumed to be double population growth of 1.5 percent per annum (World Bank, 1955). Nobel Laureate W. Arthur Lewis reports that “The biggest mistake development economists were making in the 1950s was to underestimate the likely growth of population. We expected it to average 1.5 percent” (1989).¹¹

In the 1950s, the role of industry and agriculture in development and the type of agrarian structure were two hotly debated issues. Ghana’s experience sheds light on the debate. In the early 1950s, Kwame Nkrumah invited a young economist from the Caribbean – W.A. Lewis - to Ghana to prepare a report on how to help Ghana achieve rapid industrialization when it became independent. But when Lewis completed his *Report on Industrialization in The Gold Coast*¹² in 1953, he surprised Nkrumah by reporting that food production should be given priority because the main obstacle to industrialization was likely to be stagnant food and agricultural production.¹³ Nevertheless soon after Ghana became independent in 1957, Nkrumah rejected Lewis’s advice and abolished the national agricultural extension service that was serving smallholders and established Soviet-style state farms and state control over marketing and pursued industrialization. But Ghana was unable to assemble the technical and managerial skills and the incentive structure to operate its vast system of state farms, parastatals and trading corporations. The failure of agrarian socialism and industrialization contributed to the economic crisis that led to Nkrumah’s overthrow in 1966.

¹⁰ Both the Nigerian and Malaysian governments acquired the new hybrid palms from INEAC and used them as the foundation of their oil palm breeding programs. Malaysia quickly set up an Oil Palm Research Station with 100 scientists and used the INEAC genetic pool to develop hybrids for local agroecologies. Within a decade Malaysia overtook Nigeria as the world’s leading oil palm exporter.

¹¹ However, Africa’s annual population growth was double (3.0 percent) food production growth (1.5 percent) from 1970 to 1985 and it reached 4.0 percent in a few countries in the 1970s.

¹² The Gold Coast was renamed Ghana at Independence in 1957.

¹³ History has shown that no modern industrial nation coexists with a backward agriculture (Timmer, 1998). Agriculture and industry have a symbiotic relationship because the success of industrialization depends on a prosperous agriculture.

To summarize, development thinking in the North and in newly independent countries in Africa in the 1950s and early 1960s did not view agriculture as an important contributor to economic growth. Instead “development was equated with structural transformation of the economy, that is, with the decline of agriculture’s relative share of the national product and the labor force” (Staatz and Eicher, 1998). The prevailing belief on the eve of independence was to nationalize the colonial regional research stations and training institutions and prepare state-led industrialization plans to transform agrarian-dominated societies¹⁴ into modern industrial nations in one generation – i.e. by year 2000.

THREE BIG QUESTIONS ABOUT FOREIGN AID IN THE 1950s

In the 1950s, economists were asking three big questions about foreign aid:

1. Why did developing countries need foreign aid when the then developed countries had not needed it? This question is alive today. The late Peter Bauer (1991), Easterly (2001) and others have argued that the engine for development is not donor aid but political leadership, favorable macro economic environment, economic incentives, and private donations and private capital (Adelman 2003).
2. Who should get foreign aid? W. Arthur Lewis (1984) argued that this question was not relevant for bilateral aid because that was distributed along political lines but it was relevant to the newly established multilateral agencies such as the World Bank.¹⁵ Some economists emphasized absorptive capacity as the criterion for receiving aid, while others emphasized good performance in terms of social and economic policies and balance of payment needs. But at the end of the day, the prize went to poverty, giving proportionally more to the poor countries. The UN then made a list of the twenty-five least-developed countries and requested aid agencies to give priority to these twenty-five. (Lewis, 1984). But the poverty issue was swept aside at Africa’s independence as most new nations focused on economic growth rather than alleviating poverty. The poverty debate surfaced two decades later in the early seventies and then again in the nineties. Today, the debate over how to rank countries to receive aid from the Millennium Challenge Account covers the same ground that the UN addressed some 50 years ago (Radelet 2003)
3. The third big question about foreign aid in the 1950s was how to prove to rich countries that they would benefit from giving to the poor? DFID (1997, 2002) and some other donors argue that foreign aid can achieve both goals and that higher incomes in poor countries can be translated into expanded trade opportunities for the North.¹⁶ But it has been difficult to determine whether foreign aid can boost growth and alleviate poverty (Easterly 2003).

To summarize, the big questions about aid in the 1950s are some of the same questions that are being debated today. The balance of this paper reveals how development rhetoric has changed - decade after decade -in attempts to answer these same basic questions. The community development (CD) programs of the fifties, for example, were followed by rural development projects in the seventies and then by sustainable livelihoods, Community Driven Development (CDD) and Community Based Development (CBD) projects of today.

¹⁴ In the 1960s many new nations had 80 to 90 percent of their population in agriculture.

¹⁵ For a discussion of the politics of bilateral aid see Shaw and Heard (1979), Ruttan (1996), Lancaster (1999) Hopkins 2000 and Martens et al. 2002).

¹⁶ Birdsall and Clemens (2003) argue that the challenge is one of showing “how rich countries can help poor counties help themselves.” See Helleiner 1994 for a discussion of northern responsibilities.

The relabeling of projects to spur bottom up development in rural areas can be described as an exercise in putting “old wine in new bottles”.

III. FROM ECONOMIC GROWTH AND AGRICULTURE IN THE 1960s TO BASIC NEEDS AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE 1970s

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE 1960s

At independence, the absence of a food crisis and a fervent belief in industrialization as the engine of development help explain why many of Africa's new leaders shunned agriculture and announced bold plans to industrialize and catch up with industrial nations by the year 2000. Many economists shared this optimism.

- ❖ In 1967, the World Bank's chief economist identified seven African countries with “the potential to reach or surpass” a 7% annual economic growth rate (Kamarck 1967). But reality intervened and every one of the seven countries registered negative per capita growth rates over the 1970-1988 period.

- ❖ Robert Gardiner of Ghana captured the catch-up mood of many African leaders during the 1960s when he noted that: “Given the variety of raw materials and their quality and the potential resources of energy and power with which the continent is endowed, there is no reason why the present level of development in Western Europe should not be attained by Africa by the beginning of the next century” (Gardiner 1968).

- ❖ In 1969, President Leopold Senghor of Senegal articulated a “vision of a modern and prosperous Senegal in the year 2000, a Senegal that by then would have tripled its per capita income and entered the ranks of the world's industrialized nations” (Gellar 1982).

In the 1960s, a World Bank Vice President: made the orthodox case for giving priority to economic growth (rather than poverty alleviation) as follows “Given the policy instruments and administrative capacity of the less-developed countries, I would judge that the employment increases generated by high growth are the most reliable means of maximizing the welfare of the lower-income groups” (Chenery, 1971, p. 37).

Development thinking and practice converged during the sixties and seventies and most African planners and their foreign advisors focused on capital accumulation, state-led industrialization and a heavy reliance on foreign aid to achieve high rates of economic growth (Eicher and Witt 1964). And to justify foreign assistance, each African government typically prepared a five- or six-year national development plan, including a collection of projects to achieve a target rate of economic growth.¹⁷ In Mali, for example, foreign advisors used a target growth rate of 11 percent as the centerpiece of the first development plan. But most foreign advisors had little experience in the countries concerned and most national development plans were lacking in real content, political support or potential for implementation (Helleiner 1972). One thing was clear, private international capital was limited and it was hesitant to invest in Africa. As a result public international capital was sought, preferably foreign aid on highly concessional terms. However, most donors required feasibility studies, bankable projects and National Development Plans to be in place before aid commitments were made.

¹⁷ See Stolper's *Planning Without Facts* (1969) for a discussion of the meager information available to planners during the preparation of Nigeria's 1962-68 Development Plan.

On a personal note, I recall the optimism in the air when I was working at the University of Nigeria from 1963 to 1966. In fact, I was so deeply involved in research and capacity building that I overlooked the political tension that was building up throughout the country. I was stunned by the two coup d' etats in 1966, the military take over and the Civil War that claimed the lives of a million people from 1967 to 1970. Nigeria has never recovered from the cumulative effects of the civil war, the booming oil economy of the 1970s, the destruction of Nigeria's agricultural export base and state-led grandiose food production projects.

Africa started independence as agricultural trade dependent and it became aid dependent in the 1970s. Two basic decisions – setting up marketing boards to tax farmers and nationalizing regional research institutes-helped undermine Africa's' historical comparative advantage in agricultural exports and speed the transition from trade to aid dependence. The decision to nationalize regional research stations and impose harsh taxes on agricultural exports was extremely debilitating to smallholders producing export crops. In Nigeria, the government undermined the adoption of the new high yielding oil palm varieties in the 1960s by giving government marketing boards (palm produce marketing board) the monopoly power to levy a tax of around 40 percent on oil palm purchased from smallholders (Johnson 1968). Many African governments turned inward and nationalized regional commodity research institutes such as the West African Institute for Oil Palm Research (WAIFOR) based in Nigeria,¹⁸ the West African Cocoa Research Institute based in Ghana, the East African Agriculture and Forestry Research Organization located outside Nairobi and the University of East Africa. It has taken several decades of independence to realize that regional research institutions and regional networks are a cost effective and efficient way to assist small countries through technology spillins.¹⁹ ASARECA is currently sponsoring several dozen regional research networks covering Eastern and Central Africa. Regionalism is now in full bloom in Africa.

In retrospect, the swarm of foreign economic advisors that descended on Africa in the 1960s was excessively preoccupied with a Marshall Plan menu for Africa: capital and technology transfers leavened with a generous supply of extension agents. But this menu was out of phase given Africa's early stage of human capital and institutional development as well as the subsequent political disasters and the use of state power to tax smallholders with little political weight. Instead of pursuing a strategy to maintain the competitive position of smallholders in world trade, most countries nationalized private plantations and regional research centers and invested in an array of "poisoned gifts" such as Israeli Moshav farm settlements in Nigeria, Soviet style state farms in Mozambique and Ethiopia, and Ujamaa villages in Tanzania, an offshoot of the Chinese commune system.

THE 1970s: THE GOLDEN AGE OF DONOR AID

The early 1970s was a turbulent period in the world economy because of the quadrupling of oil prices and the spike in world grain prices during the world food crisis of 1972-74. However, donors responded by increasing global aid to agriculture, adding new CGIAR international agricultural research centers and financing a large increase in the number of students studying agriculture in overseas universities.

¹⁸ For example, WAIFOR employed 10 senior researchers when it was converted to the Nigerian Institute for Oil Palm Research (NIFOR) in 1964. The number of staff was dramatically increased to 283 in 1985 and NIFOR lost its scientific productivity and became just another rank and file parastatal (Eicher 1989).

¹⁹ Maredia and Byerlee (2000) studied the global movement of wheat germplasm and found that many developing countries with a small area of wheat under cultivation should de-emphasize wheat breeding and concentrate on importing wheat varieties from CIMMYT (spillins) and testing these in local circumstances.

The 1970s turned out to be a Golden Age of donor aid to agriculture because of the roaring success of the Green Revolution in Asia, optimism about bringing the Asian Green Revolution model to Africa and a textbook case of donor cooperation in addressing the 1968-74 drought in the Sahelian region of West Africa. In the early seventies many development economists came to the conclusion that the Five-Year Plans and economic growth-centered development programs were not producing results that trickled down to the rural poor. As a result, many donors shifted priorities in the 1970s and provided direct assistance to the rural poor through Basic Needs²⁰, integrated rural development projects and aid to smallholder agriculture (Lele, 1979).

Integrated Rural Development

The World Bank stepped forward in the early seventies and threw its clout and financial resources behind direct assistance to smallholder agriculture and rural development projects to help the rural poor in Africa (Yudeleman 1987). In a major address in Nairobi in 1973, Robert McNamara, then President of the World Bank, urged African leaders to lead an assault on rural poverty by improving smallholder agriculture. Since McNamara's appeal coincided with US and UK initiatives to help the rural poor, donors poured billions of dollars into integrated rural development (IRD) and Agricultural Development Projects (ADPs). However, since most IDR projects in Africa incorporated some CD (Community Development) components, it is important to recall Asia's dismal experience with community development.²¹

The Bank committed US\$19 billion to IRD projects worldwide from 1973 to 1988 (World Bank 1988). But after the dust had settled, the dreams of Robert McNamara were overtaken by reality. The easy task was to spend donor money. The difficult task was helping uplift the rural poor. The World Bank conducted a comprehensive global assessment of rural development projects covering the 1965-86 periods and concluded, "Although lending targets were met, half of the audited rural development projects in Africa failed over the 1965-86 period (World Bank 1988)." Malawi's experience is instructive on this point. The National Rural Development Program (NRDP) was launched in Malawi in the 1970s as a long-term (18-year) initiative to increase smallholder production. But after a decade, the program assisted only 30 percent of the smallholders—farmers with "above average land holdings who have gained access to credit, purchased input supplies, received extension advice and sold surplus produce." The World -Bank assisted IRD project had little to offer to the 70 percent of the resource poor farmers in Malawi.

Lele (1979) and Binswanger, (1998) report that the IRD model failed to live up to its promise in Africa for the following reasons:

²⁰ Basic needs were defined as family food security, basic health and education, and sanitation.

²¹ Building on the self-help ideas of Mahatma Ghandi of India dating back to the 1930s, the Ford Foundation played a leading role in financing village-level pilot community development (CD) programs in India in the early fifties (Holdcroft 1984). Community development activities were customarily initiated by sending a civil servant known as a "multi-purpose village-level worker" into a village. Based on the success of pilot projects, the United States and the United Nations stepped in and provided funds for developing national CD programs. By 1960, the United Nations estimated that over 60 countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America had community development programs in operation. After a decade of prominence, the CD (Community Development) movement faltered in the late fifties in Asia, primarily because most village programs did not have a profitable core economic activity as their centerpiece. The most universal criticism of CD programs was that they failed to achieve economic goals, including an increase in food production, especially in Asia in the 1950s and early 1960s.

- ❖ Harsh macro-economic policies were a cancer on the best-designed IRD projects. Many IRD projects did not include a profitable core economic activity to finance social and agricultural services after donor aid was phased out.
- ❖ Coordination was a major stumbling block because most IRD projects required inputs from numerous central ministries (agriculture, health and education), which often did not delegate implementation authority to local ministry representatives. Although it is easy to suggest that decentralization of authority would have helped solve the coordination problem, in practice there was strong and silent African opposition to decentralization, especially in one party states.
- ❖ Although some rural development projects were successful, they were often too skill-intensive to be replicated on a regional or national scale. To ensure success some donors poured millions of dollars into a particular rural development project in order to turn it into a “successful project.” However, many of these “successful” projects were so loaded with vehicles and experts that they could not be replicated on a regional or national basis without a continuous infusion of foreign aid. Cohen (1987) reports that Swedish aid pumped US \$ 41 million into the CADU rural development project in the Arsi province of Ethiopia over a 26-year period (1967 to 1993). (Holtsberg 1986) reports that the project was too expensive to be replicated.

Agrarian Capitalism and Agrarian Socialism

During the seventies, agrarian capitalism in the Cote d'Ivoire was considered to be a roaring success and Tanzania appeared to be on the threshold of proving that its socialist model of farming was profitable and equitable. President Houphet - Boigny of the Cote d'Ivoire, the son of a cocoa farmer, gave priority to agriculture for three decades. Cocoa and coffee production boomed in the sixties and during the seventies, and the performance of agrarian capitalism in the Cote d'Ivoire was lionized as the agricultural success story of Africa because

Agriculture was made a priority activity, peasants received substantial shares of world prices, and the public investment financed by agricultural revenues created the basic physical and human capital necessary to support productive activities. These policies were implemented for a sufficiently long period with a strong political will and commitment that gave them credibility (Deverajan et al. 2001).

The death of President Houphet –Boigny in 1993 and the civil strife of the past two years have crippled the Ivorian economy and political uncertainty weighs heavily on the regional economy and the one million migrants who are working in the country. To be sure, the Cote d'Ivoire remains highly competitive in cocoa production because of favorable ecological conditions and cheap migrant labor from Mali and Burkina Faso, but it is no longer considered a success story in Africa.

In 1967 the government of Tanzania held a major conference at Arusha and issued the Arusha Declaration with a goal of achieving broad-based rural development by promoting communal farming and arresting the growth of rural capitalism. Tanzania introduced Ujamaa (communal) farming in the late sixties and seventies at a time when academics and politicians in the North and the South were lionizing communal farming in China. The experiment was the creation of President Julius Nyerere, the philosopher, and politician known as Mwalimu (the teacher) who led the nation to independence in 1963 and served as President for 23 years. An articulate spokesman for the 'poorest of the poor' and a critic of apartheid, Nyerere was Africa's most commanding political figure in the 1970s. But after 15 years of experimentation the government was unable to develop a package of incentives to motivate people to live in communal villages and farm communal plots of land “for the good

of all". Communal farms never accounted for more than one percent of total cultivated land. The failure of the Ujamaa model does not diminish Tanzania's impressive gains in literacy, and health care, and its record in fostering a strong sense of national identity. Nyerere is admired for his honesty and because he stepped down as President in 1985 and moved back to his village and became a maize farmer.

But on a positive note, if one views development as a learning process, the failure of communal farming, government livestock schemes, state farms, settlement schemes, and government tractor hire schemes in the 1960s and 1970s was partially a function of the inexperience and incompetence of political leaders, donor experts and their foreign advisors (Eicher and Baker 1982). President Nyerere summed up his experience by saying "there are certain things I would not do if I were to start again. One of them is the abolition of local government and the other is the disbanding of cooperatives. We were impatient and ignorant" (Nyerere, 1984, p. 828).

To summarize, the first two decades of Africa's independence – the 1960s and 1970s - were propelled by a dream of catching up with industrial countries by the year 2000. To achieve this dream, African governments pursued state - led industrialization and, economic growth in the sixties. But the failure of economic growth to trickle down to the masses led to a shift in development practice in the seventies to Basic Needs programs²² and integrated rural development. But the 1967-70 Nigerian Civil War, the Coup d' Etat in Ethiopia in 1974, the 1968-74 drought in the Sahel, the failure of the state-led industrialization and rapid population growth all contributed to Africa's "invisible food crisis" that was building up in the seventies (Eicher 1982).

IV. SHIFTS IN DEVELOPMENT THINKING AND PRACTICE IN THE 1980s AND THE 1990s

THE 1980s: ECONOMIC LIBERALIZATION AND AFRO-PESSIMISM

Economic stagnation blanketed Africa in the early 1980s and the optimism of the first two decades of independence was overtaken by a wave of Afro-pessimism. An ECA long-term perspective study concluded that "if present economic trends continue the picture that emerges for Africa in the year 2000 is almost a nightmare" (ECA 1983). The poor performance of state led parastatals and thousands of poorly performing IRD, livestock and agricultural credit projects and the growing food crisis all contributed to a shift in donor aid back to economic growth and market liberalization. In short, the state was seen as an obstacle to growth (Lancaster 1999). But the Cold War also left a legacy of ineffective aid and distorted aid priorities.

The Big Debate: Lagos Plan of Action and the Berg Report²³

In 1980 the African Heads of State, under the aegis of the OAU, examined Africa's economic crisis and prepared a long-term development strategy which formed the centerpiece of The Lagos Plan of Action covering the 1980-2000 period (OAU, 1981). The Lagos Plan cited external forces – the world economic recession, unfavorable commodity prices and declining terms of trade – as the major causes of Africa's stagnation. The OAU recommended an inward-looking strategy to promote regional and sub-regional economic cooperation as a major instrument for restructuring African economies and for the economic integration of the continent. The OAU's report was timely, provocative and forward-looking and, it served as a rallying force for African politicians and policy makers in the early 1980s. But the emphasis on the long run has its drawbacks. In a piercing observation, Reginald

²² Basic needs include food security, health, education, food security

²³ See Owusu (2003) for an excellent critique of the Lagos Plan of Action, the Berg Report and NEPAD. For a skeptical view on what NEPAD is likely to accomplish see North-South Institute (2003).

Green noted that “The ‘Lagos Plan’ presents a consistent, arguably correct set of goals for 2000 but gives no clue how to survive in 1985” (1983, p. 202).

The World Bank appointed Elliot Berg as leader of a study team to assess Africa’s economic crisis and prepare an “agenda for action”. The findings of the study team were published in *Accelerated Development in Sub-Saharan Africa: An Agenda for Action* (World Bank 1981) (commonly called the Berg Report). The Berg report asserted that the causes of Africa’s economic crisis were mainly internal to African states: poor economic management, bloated and inefficient parastatals, neglect of agriculture, repressive pricing policies, and the failure to exploit Africa’s comparative advantage-export agriculture. The Berg report also recommended a doubling of aid to Africa in real terms by 1990 but it glossed over the widespread failure of project aid that had doubled in real terms over the 1975-81 period.²⁴

The Berg report came under heavy attack from the African Development Bank (ADB), the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) and the OAU. The African Ministers of Economic Development and Planning countered that the promotion of export agriculture and greater reliance on market forces “have hitherto not helped and cannot be expected to help our countries in the restructuring of their economies” (ECA, 1982). The Lagos Plan and the Berg Report are landmark reports on African development. But after a few years of debate, the OAU/ECA and the World Bank agreed that both internal and external factors were responsible for Africa’s economic crisis. Nevertheless, the reports were not intended to provide guidance on how to step up food production and accelerate agricultural growth in Africa, much less in specific countries. To quote the Executive Secretary of the ECA: “The Lagos Plan of Action is an indicative plan which will have no operational meaning until it is interpreted by individual governments ...” (Adedeji, 1982).

The Growing Food Deficit

In 1978 the FAO released a prescient report of Africa’s impending food crisis followed by a USDA study that “Sub Saharan Africa was the only continent where per capita food production has fallen over the past two decades” (1981). Later, IFPRI reported that population (3.0 percent) was growing at double the rate of food production (1.5 percent) over the 1970 –85 period. The net result of these studies was the realization that drought could no longer be blamed as the main reason why food imports were increasing.²⁵ It became clear that Africa was in danger of repeating India’s food crisis of the 1960s (Mellor, Delgado and Blackie 1987, and Blackie 1990). World attention became focused Africa’s long-term food crisis during Ethiopia’s 1985 famine that killed a million people.

Agricultural Policy Reforms

The Berg Report made the case to liberalize trade, adjust foreign exchange rates, reduce the role of the state in direct agricultural production, marketing and grain storage, and reduce the level of taxation on agricultural exports. Pursuant to the release of the Berg Report, the World Bank led the charge to tackle these reforms through a series of short term structural adjustment and balance of payment loans and a wave of promising agricultural projects, including an expansion of farming systems research (FSR) in Eastern and Southern Africa (Collinson 2000),²⁶ replication of the T&V (Training and Visit) extension

²⁴ Over the ten-year period, 1973 to 1982, Tanzania received approximately \$2.7 billion of ODA even though it had limited capacity to absorb this level of mostly project aid and its agricultural strategy was bankrupt (World Bank, 1983)

²⁵ Africa’s food grain imports (commercial and food aid) increased from 1.9 million tons in 1961-63 to 9.2 million in 1981.

²⁶ See Norman 2003 for a global perspective on the contribution of FSR to designing participatory and sustainable livelihood research.

model across Africa (except in francophone countries), and strengthening agricultural research and extension.²⁷ The World Bank, made its first loan for to strengthen agricultural research institutions in Africa in 1978 to the Sudan followed by similar loans to Senegal, Ethiopia and many other countries. ISNAR (International Service for Agricultural Research) was set up in 1979 to strengthen national research systems in developing countries followed by SPAAR (Special Program for Agricultural Research in Africa) in 1985 (Mrema 1997).

Zimbabwe: Agricultural Success Story of The 1980s

Zimbabwe's smallholder maize revolution of the early eighties was a public sector-led success story *par excellence*.

- ❖ The public sector – not Oxfam - developed an impressive all-weather road network.
- ❖ Public sector researchers carried out research for 28 years (1932-1960) that led to the development of hybrid maize varieties.
- ❖ A farmer cooperative – not a private seed company – distributed the new maize seed.
- ❖ The state was the organizer and risk-taker in developing Zimbabwe's impressive research system, all-weather road network, and its extension service.

Zimbabwe's experience highlights the strategic importance of an active government role in the early stage of development because it is unlikely that private traders will deliver research, extension and credit services to smallholders, especially to those in remote areas. To be sure, the private sector slowly took on a greater role in maize breeding and seed distribution and marketing (Rusike & Eicher 1997). The critical issue is to avoid dogmatism on what should be done by the state or the private sector and instead examine the sequencing and changing roles of the public and private sectors over time. But Zimbabwe's experience reveals that success and sustainability are not foreordained. Political forces intervened and cut short this promising success story of a public sector-led mini green revolution by smallholders (Rukuni & Eicher forthcoming).

An Assessment of Two decades of Aid to Agriculture

In the late 1980s, Uma Lele carried out a pioneering assessment of two decades of aid to agriculture in three countries in East Africa and three in West Africa. The study covered the mid sixties to mid eighties. Seven participating donors (USAID, UKODA, SIDA, DANIDA, the EC, France and Germany) funded evaluations of their own aid programs. The findings of the study were published in *Aid to African Agriculture* (World Bank 1991). The highlights of the study were as follows:

- ❖ In general, the Bank's project portfolio performed poorly, and much of its sectoral analysis did not identify a consistent, agriculture-led strategy for long-term growth.
- ❖ The Bank has not had a long-term strategy for broadly based growth nor has it fully appreciated the need for the balanced accumulation of human, institutional, and technological capacity, and thus for an appropriate sequencing and phasing of investments.
- ❖ The Bank has had limited success in convincing countries to undertake changes that they have strongly opposed – Kenya, for example, has been reluctant to liberalize grain trade, Tanzania, to adjust the exchange rate, Malawi, to limit the

²⁷ See Byerlee and Eicher 1997, Byerlee and Echeverria 2002, Beye 2002, CIRAD 2001, Gaillard and Busch 1991.

licensing of land for estates, and Senegal and Nigeria, to remove their fertilizer subsidies (Lele 1991).

The former Chief Economic Advisor to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Denmark recently reflected on the effectiveness of project aid to Africa in the 1970s and early 1980s, and concluded that much of the aid had “gone down the drain” and that recipients together with donor governments and international aid agencies shared responsibility for this to have happened (Andersen 2000, p. 179).

AID IN THE 1990S: DOING MORE AND GIVING LESS

The 1990s can be described as a decade of “letting a thousand flowers bloom” as donors added new activities while cutting aid to implement them. John Mellor recently commented on broadening the this development agenda and why it is difficult to get donors to focus on agricultural growth in Africa:

Foreign aid is now captive to a myriad of special groups. Today they include child survival, vitamin A, microcredit, poverty, microenterprise (excluding agriculture), empowerment of women, environment, wildlife preservation, and on and on.

Extrapolation of the history of special interests in foreign aid suggests that tomorrow the list will be different and longer. Priorities and strategy cannot coexist with such an panoply of special interests, each with its own objectives (Mellor 1998).

Carruthers and Kydd (1997) contend that because of the relative influence of some humanitarian pressure groups, “some official aid agencies have become more like NGOs, an outcome with positive attributes (commitment to the work and to the poor) but carrying the danger of superficial thinking in relation to the strategic economic issues” (1977).²⁸

Agricultural Policy Reform

Bates (1981), Jayne and Jones (1997), Mosley (2002, 2002a) and others have documented how some governments destroyed cooperatives and imposed extortion levels of taxes on agricultural exports by paying farmers a fraction of the export price in order to build up a “slush fund” to build government hotels, new airports and other symbols of a modern nation. These harsh taxes encouraged illegal cross-border trade and dampened the spread of new technology. Tanzania abolished cooperatives because they were considered a threat to the ruling party and taxed smallholder coffee farmers by paying them only 23 percent of the export price of coffee in the mid eighties (Tweeten 1989). Kenya provides an illustration of the use of state power to manipulate donors: “during a 15 year period, Kenya sold the same agricultural reform to the World Bank four times, each time reversing it after the receipt of aid”(Collier 1997).

Malawi provides a more recent example of the power of the state to squeeze farmers. Before Malawi won its independence from the British in 1964, smallholders exported their own coffee through village level co-operatives and a regional cooperative union. But the new government abolished the co-operative union and set up a government corporation – a Smallholder Coffee Authority – that assumed direct control of coffee processing at 27 village pulper sites. In August 1994, the Coffee Authority paid farmers US \$0.43 per kilo of green coffee or 10 percent of the then New York spot price of US \$4.24 per kilo. In 1996, under donor pressure, the government made a decision to close the Authority at a time when it had 657 employees on its payroll to process and market the 225 tons of national coffee

²⁸ (Tollens 2003) reports that NGOs have played an important role in influencing the priorities of Belgian aid. To their credit, the work of the NGOs has helped increase Belgian ODA by 39 percent from 1999 to 2003 and total aid to NGOs has tripled over the past decade.

production worth about US \$330,000 per year. The Malawian case illustrates the use of state power to destroy village cooperatives and economic incentives for farmers while providing government employment to 657 workers to process 225 tons of coffee in 1996 (Buccola & McCandlish 1999).

Food Production Models

There are currently two high profile food production/food security initiatives underway in Africa: The Sasakawa - Global 2000 Food Production, and FAO's SPFS (Special Program for Food Security). A year after the horrendous 1985 famine in Ethiopia, the Sasakawa - Global 2000 program was launched to help African governments increase food production by mobilizing the financial backing of Mr. Sasakawa of Japan, the technical knowledge of Nobel Laureate Norman Borlaug and the political skills of former President Jimmy Carter. The program managers assumed that technology was on the shelf and that farmers could substantially increase crop yields if they had access to extension guidance, fertilizer and improved varieties. The program was initially launched in Ghana, Zambia and the Sudan in 1986 and then slowly expanded to more than a dozen countries. After 17 years of hard work, the SG 2000 project is still struggling to develop a model that is profitable to farmers and one that donors can scale up to achieve an African-wide impact. To its credit, the SG 2000 project has helped African political leaders gain a better understanding of the political leadership, resources and time required to transform traditional agriculture.

In 1996, the FAO mounted a Special Program for Food Security (SPFS) that is now in operation in 62 countries. The goal of the global program was to focus on the need to increase smallholder production as the foundation stone for increasing both household and national food security. The program was implemented in high potential areas with the aid of the Farmer Field School extension model. In 2002, a team of external consultants evaluated the performance of the FAO program by visiting 12 countries, six of which were in Africa.²⁹ The team usually spent one week in each country by groups, which normally consisted of four consultants. The findings are:

1. The micro oriented production focus was insufficient to solve the food security problem. 'Meso' and macro' type issues were also found to be of critical importance.
2. The time initially planned for the pilot phase (two or three years) was too short and the selected sites too small.
3. The evaluations team was somewhat surprised to find that technical guidelines were not more frequently used in the field.
4. The SPFS made extensive use of subsidies to encourage technology adoption.
5. "In general, to date, the impact of SPFS on national policies relating to food security and on the donor community in terms of strategies for enhancing food security in low income food deficit counties and resource mobilization for SPFS follow-up, has been limited" (FAO, 2002).

Rural Development and Poverty Alleviation

Poverty alleviation returned to the aid agenda in the 1990s like a bolt of lightning and it appeared as the main theme of the World Bank's *World Development Report in 1990* and again in *World Development Report 2000*. Development thinking in the 1990s focused on poverty alleviation, policy reform, decentralization, sustainable livelihoods, value-added exports, and trade. A review of the published and unpublished studies on rural poverty

²⁹ Eritrea, Mauritania, Niger, Senegal, Tanzania and Zambia.

alleviation reveals a large gap between academics and donors on poverty alleviation strategies.³⁰

Many donor-financed projects to alleviate poverty have been designed without a three to five year pilot phase. Some projects are being implemented under broad titles such as the Village Community Support Program in the Republic of Guinea (World Bank, 1999). The project utilizes a twelve-year time frame (three four year phases) under the Bank's Adaptable Program Lending (APL) instrument. The project appraisal states that the Village Communities Support Program (VCSP) seeks to strengthen local governance in rural Guinea and promote social and economic empowerment of the rural population, including women, youth and other marginalized groups. The long-term vision of the program is that, upon completion of the final phase (in year 12), it is planned that local communities and their representative local governments will have developed:

- ❖ the capability to identify, prioritize, plan and manage their own infrastructure and service needs;
- ❖ the capacity to mobilize the resources necessary to finance the establishment, rehabilitation, and maintenance of basic community infrastructure;
- ❖ the ability to oversee the implementation, operation and continued maintenance of community infrastructure either by contracting private firms or through the support of decentralized government services; and,
- ❖ the capacity to sustain the development efforts and to enhance good governance practices. (World Bank, 1999, p.2).

It seem fair to pose two questions: Can this village support project in Guinea deliver these results in 12 years? What is the source of income to sustain development efforts in the future?

One of the biggest mysteries about poverty alleviation in donor and foundations circles is the following: How do external agencies – NGOs, foundations, and donors - mobilize political support and resources for the poor (Lipton 1977). After all poverty is all about politics, power and access to knowledge, resources and markets. Decentralization is a case in point. In 1967, Arthur Lewis offered the following sage advice about politics and decentralization:

- ❖ Farmers dislike paying taxes. The remedy for this is decentralization of services to local authorities. Decentralization thus raises taxable capacity.
- ❖ Decentralization of services both limits demands to what farmers are willing to pay and increase their willingness to pay. The thesis popularized by western sociologists and political scientists that economic development requires highly centralized government is a dangerous myth.
- ❖ The chief obstacle to further decentralization is political.
- ❖ The real obstacle, to repeat, is not administration but political (Lewis, 1967).

³⁰ See Besley et al 2003, DANIDA 1994, Belshaw 2002, Maxwell 2003, deJanvry and Sadoulet 2001, Tollens 2002, IFAD, 2001, African Development Bank 2000, CIDA 2003, DFID 1997, 2002, European Commission 2002, World Bank 2002, 2003 Mikos 2001, Mkandawire and Matlosa 1993, Rauch et al 2001.

Institution Building: Research, Extension and Agricultural Higher Education

In the 1990s, development economics recognized the critical role of institutions in development (North 1990). This discovery was reinforced by Uma Lele's study of *Aid to African Agriculture* that concluded that "institutional and technological problems remain by far the greatest impediment to agricultural growth in Africa" (1991). In the 1990s, many donors increased their support for agriculture research and extension while they reduced support for agricultural higher education and postgraduate training programs. Turning to research, the leadership of the CGIAR (Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research) took the wrong turn in the road in the early nineties, when it increased the number of international agricultural research centers from 13 to 18 at the same time that donors were quietly cutting their aid to the CGIAR system (Eicher 1994). Over the past decade, the CGIAR has allocated about 45 percent of its budget to Africa. A recent meta review of the CGIAR concluded that the payoff to investment in genetic research has been high but it argued that CGIAR's research on natural resources was too far downstream and it was of questionable payoff (Lele 2003). Meanwhile, the CGIAR has reduced the number of centers from 18 to 15 and ISNAR has recently been downgraded and reorganized as a Division within IFPRI.³¹

The introduction of Sub-Regional Organizations (SROs) for agricultural research such as SACCAR, ASARECA and CORAF in the 1980s and 1990s represents a return to regionalism as an efficient way to organize research and develop research networks in a sub-continent seven times the size of India (Mrema 1997). The jury is still out on the long term sustainability of SROs. Presently ASARECA is in the limelight because it enjoys good management and the EU has provided a grant of 29 million Euros to support its activities for the 2001-2006 period. The dilemma facing the SROs is how will they be financed after donor aid is phased out?

Turning to agricultural extension, Africa has been on the receiving end of a large number of different extension models (Gemo, Eicher and Tecler 2003). The most controversial is the T&V (Training and Visit) model that was aimed at improving the management of national public extension systems. The T&V model was promoted globally by the World Bank from 1975 – 1995 and at its peak the system was in place in 22 African countries. The T&V model placed heavy reliance on working with a few contact farmers within an identifiable farming group but the cost of this model turned out to be 25 to 40 percent higher than the public extension system that it replaced (Anderson & Feder 2003).³² The higher costs piled up and the model was declared financially unsustainable in the mid nineties. When the Bank stopped supporting the model, many countries found themselves with a smaller extension budget, a large staff and limited funds to purchase petrol.³³

Shortly after the World Bank withdrew its support for T&V extension in Africa, the FAO introduced the Farmer Field School (FFS) extension model in Kenya in 1996. The FFS model uses a participatory and interactive learning approach that was developed in the Philippines and Indonesia in 1989 with FAO assistance. The goal was to help Asian farmers develop the skills to introduce integrated pest management (IPM) practices on their monocropped rice fields. In Kenya there are now 1000 active FFS groups involving 30,000

³¹ See Eicher and Rukuni (2003) for a meta review of the CGIAR in Africa.

³² French research and extension managers have long challenged the T&V model. The French have promoted joint research and extension work on a commodity basis such as cotton.

³³ Gautam (1999) evaluated the T&V extension system in Kenya and concluded that it has been "ineffective, inefficient and unsustainable." Kenya, currently has around 12, 000 extension agents as a result of the merger of extension workers in livestock with those in the Ministry of Agriculture.

farmers (Sones et al. 2003). A typical FFS group consists of 20 –30 farmers. The FFS model is now being introduced in Mozambique with the assistance of Italian bi-lateral aid. The FFS model has come under attack by economists who found in field surveys in Indonesia that the knowledge of pest management concepts has not been defused from field school graduates to other farmers (Feder et al 2003). Likewise in Africa the model is being questioned because the cost of the FFS approach is higher than in Asia partially because the cropping systems in Africa are more complex than rice production system in Asia. Private extension is the latest extension model being promoted in Africa. The World Bank has helped finance this model in Uganda and on a limited scale in Mozambique. But it is unclear whether private extension will be effective and financially sustainable.³⁴ The World Bank points out that in many cases extension can be delivered by NGOs, universities and consulting firms but it admits that “extension services will have to be publicly financed in the poorest countries” (2003, p. 47).

Agricultural Higher Education

Universities flourished in Africa in the sixties and seventies and they turned out thousands of graduates to replace colonial civil servants, researchers and teachers. However, they fell in disfavor in the eighties and donor funding dried up. Donors raised questions in the 1980s about agricultural universities and faculties of agriculture because of the declining quality of the university experience and the loss of senior academic staff to NGOs, the private sector and universities in southern Africa and overseas. Also, the U.S. Land Grant University model with its triple mandate-teaching research and extension – turned out to be ineffective in Africa.³⁵ As a result of these problems, most donors reduced their support to African Universities and Faculties of Agriculture in the 1980s and 1990s. For example, agricultural higher education garnered only two percent of the World Bank’s US \$ 4.8 billion of global expenditure on agricultural research, extension and agricultural higher education over the 1987-97 period (Willett 1998). The World Bank financed only three agricultural education projects in Africa from 1987 to 1997.

Starting in the mid nineties, several universities (Dar es Salaam, Makerere) initiated sweeping reforms, including the introduction of school fees, night school, and the use of ICT in university administration and in the classroom (Mooock 1998, Court 1999). But these reforms did not take place in a vacuum; they were facilitated by political reforms such as those in Kenya and Uganda, which allowed more space for innovation, including the establishment of private universities such as Africa University in Zimbabwe (Maumbe 2003). Four US foundations responded to these self-initiated reforms and recently made a ten year commitment of \$100 million to support the renewal phase of higher education in selected universities in Uganda, Tanzania, Mozambique, South Africa, Ghana, and Nigeria.

USAID has traditionally been a leader among donors in supporting long term training in food and agriculture and in helping upgrade agricultural schools and faculties of agriculture. But over the past decade, USAID has virtually withdrawn its support for long term graduate training in the United States. For example, consider the following:

- ❖ In 1990 USAID funded a total of 9128 students from developing countries in all disciplines; by year 2000 the number in U.S. universities had dropped to 1,212.

³⁴ Chile’s experimentation with private extension from 1978 – 2000 reveals that it has been easy to develop an array of private extension providers but public resources still finance 85 – 90 percent of the total cost of Chile’s national extension program (Berdegue & Marchant 2002).

³⁵ See Johnson and Okigbo (1989) for a discussion of attempts to incorporate some of the components of the Land Grant model into the development of the University of Nigeria.

- ❖ In agriculture and rural development the decline was also dramatic – from 310 students in 1990 to 82 students in 2000 (BIFAD 2003).

To reverse these trends, USAID recently launched a global initiative to increase the number of scholarships for postgraduate study in agriculture in the United States and to offer capacity - building grants to help strengthen universities and faculties of agriculture in developing countries. This new initiative was launched in mid 2003 by preparing feasibility studies in Mozambique, Mali, and Eastern Africa. The goal is to increase the number of USAID scholarships for long-term training in the U.S. and capacity building grants to improve the quality of agricultural training in schools and faculties of agriculture in Africa (BIFAD 2003).

To summarize, the first generation of post-independence African scientists and teachers has by and large retired (Odhiambo 1967). Who will finance and train the second generation? Clearly donor support is needed for African universities and faculties of agriculture to prepare future scientists, teachers and policy analysts with a broad array of skills to deal with such topics as food security, rural poverty, rural non farm economy, supermarkets, trade, and agricultural subsidies.³⁶ How can financial support be increased to train the second-generation? We have already noted the \$100 million commitment of U.S. foundations, and the new USAID initiative. However, African leadership is critical in initiating reforms, and mobilizing political support. In the final analysis the responsibility for building capacity in higher education science and technology lies firmly at the door of African governments (Eicher 2003). It is encouraging to note that increased attention is being given to science and technology in Kenya, Tanzania, Senegal, Uganda and South Africa. In response to a recent report *Strengthening Science Capacity in Tanzania* (Gaillard et al. 2002) the government of Tanzania increased its annual budget for science and technology by more than five fold – i.e. from US \$16 million to US\$86 million.

V. AID REFORM ISSUES

1. AID AND POLICY REFORM.

After 50 years of donor experience, the bottom line is whether aid has bought economic growth? Has it alleviated poverty? Does conditionally buy policy reform? A major World Bank study *Aid and Reform in Africa: Ten Case Studies* (Devarajan et al. 2001) found that

- ❖ “Conditionality as an instrument to promote policy reform has been a failure”.
- ❖ Policy reforms are generated largely by causes not directly related to aid such as crises, political leadership, committed local technocrats, country role models and consensus among social groups.
- ❖ There does not seem to be a systematic relationship between the volume of aid and the extent to which African countries reformed their economic policies.
- ❖ Aid played a significant and positive role in the two sustained reformers (Ghana and Uganda).
- ❖ The best way to ensure that aid has a positive effect on policy is to allocate aid to how poor countries are and the observed quality of their policies.

2. AID MODALITY OVERLOAD.

In recent years, the pendulum of professional opinion about aid effectiveness and modalities has swung away from an original concentration on project-based assistance to programmatic forms, most notably budget support and associated modalities of debt relief (Killick 2003). A recent British policy statement points out that ...”there needs to be a real

³⁶ See the following research reports: rural non farm economy, Haggblade et al. (2002), supermarkets, Weatherspoon and Reardon (2003), and biotechnology, Byerlee and Fischer (2001).

improvement in the way that assistance is delivered. That means reducing support for stand-alone projects and increasing support for sector-wide reforms” (DFID 2000:93). In 1993, the World Bank introduced a SIP (sector investment program) which was defined as a long-term national program for one sector (Okidegbe and Binswanger (1999). Engel (1999) reports that by 1999, twenty-two African countries had embarked on SIPs.

Figure 3 illustrates the transition from donor support through projects towards program support in Guinea. Guinea’s Country Assistance Strategy (CAS) illustrates how difficult it is to develop an “old-fashioned” agricultural development strategy amid the panoply of aid modalities such as the PRSP, HIPC and EHIPC initiatives and NGO pressure to invest in rural social services.³⁷ How does one carve out space for an agricultural development strategy in Guinea’s Country Assistance Strategy (CAS)? Consider the following:

The current CAS period will be one of transition, during which the Bank will gradually move towards more programmatic support, and will assist Guinea to reform its institutional, and policy framework, build its capacity for service delivery, and improve the management of public finances. Continued support will be provided through selected economic and sector work, a structural operation, and continuing phases of on-going adaptable program loans, supportive of the PRSP objective, in preparation to Guinea’s Poverty Reduction Support Credit operations, designed to ensure sector reforms, consistent with cross-sectoral reforms in public finance, management, human resources management, and local administration (World Bank 2003a)

To summarize, the aid modality “overload” is making it difficult for Africans policy makers and donors to develop a national agricultural strategy because agriculture virtually “disappears” during the transition from project to sectoral and multi-sectoral programs and the addition of new modalities such as PRSPs, HIPCs and EHIPCs.

3. UNDESIRABLE POLICY BIASES?

Killick (2003) has raised some important questions about whether new aid delivery instruments such as the Enhanced Heavily Indebted Poor Country (EHIPC) debt initiative are unintentionally increasing the share of donor aid to social services and reducing the share for productive services that are so critical to farmers. A recent World Bank study of 13 heavily indebted poor countries found that there was a close association between the expansion of spending on social services and an almost corresponding decline in the share of aid for production services in countries participating in EHIPC schemes (Gautam 2003). Moreover, HIPC (heavily indebted poor country) progress reports note that over half of government revenues will be earmarked for social spending in the coming years. As a result, the HIPC progress reports for African countries should be updated with a detailed analysis of how public agricultural services and rural infrastructure investments have fared in countries where HIPC and EHIPC (Enhanced Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Debt Initiative) schemes are in operation. One of the undesirable policy biases of the new aid modalities such as HIPCs and EHIPCs appears to be that public agriculture investments are being reduced even though they are the key to increasing smallholder incomes and transforming traditional agriculture. The empirical evidence is clear: rural social services cannot transform African agriculture.

³⁷ Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) debt initiative was agreed by governments around the world in 1996 and “enhanced” in 1999. Its original objects was to reduce, within a reasonable period of time, the external debt burden of qualifying countries to a “sustainable level”.

4. FROM TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE TO PARTNERSHIPS.

Long term technical assistance mushroomed in the sixties and seventies and reached a boiling point in the eighties when it was estimated that 80,000 to 100,000 technical assistance personnel were in Africa at annual cost of several billion dollars a year. However, African opposition to long term assistance mounted because of the realization that unless technical assistance is coupled with the development of local training and research institutions,

“a succession of expatriates learn more and more about developmental decision making while the Africans below them in the hierarchy become progressively more alienated and discontented. The experience and collective ‘memory’ which is accumulated during the process of development is thus appropriated by foreigners who subsequently leave the country, carrying these invaluable assets with them” (Helleiner, 1979).

Berg (1993) reviewed technical assistance programs in Africa and pointed out the useful stopgap nature of such assistance but he recommended measures to reduce the number of technical advisors and increase their effectiveness.³⁸ The number of long term technical assistance personnel fell sharply in the eighties and nineties because of the growing concern about the cost, quality and the tendency to undercut local capacity building. Today the emphasis has shifted from technical assistance to partnerships because all professionals worthy of their calling attach value to collaborative working relationships or partnerships with competent colleagues.³⁹

5. AID DEPENDENCY.

Tanzania is often cited as a textbook case of a country where aid dependency has increased over time in spite of the declared objective of the Arusha Declaration of 1967 to achieve self-reliance (Wangwe 1997). Both donors and the government of Tanzania contributed to the problem of limited ownership of development projects/programs. The combination of needing an IMF emergency loan, and the use of technical assistance “to get the work done” undermined local capacity building. Catterson and Lindahl (2003) recently evaluated 12 Swedish supported development projects in different sectors of the economy over the past thirty years and concluded that this experience “leaves an impression of how little economics really mattered in the sense of using scarce resources as efficiently as possible... Donors continued to lend because of ignorance and political reasons. One has to applaud this 30 year retrospective study because capacity building, ownership and management of the development agenda are part of a process that unfolds almost invisibly over time.

6. MONITORING DONOR PERFORMANCE.

The late Elliot Berg (2002) was an authority on monitoring donor performance and he often posed the question: Why aren't aid organizations better learners about the use of aid in development? Killick, Helleiner, Elbadawi and others contend that donors are sheltered because monitoring and evaluation studies at the country level are being carried out by donors or recipients, raising questions of “who will scrutinize the donors” (Killick 2003)? To address this problem, Tanzania has taken the lead in promoting mutual donor – recipient accountability and joint reviews of development effectiveness (Wangwe 1997).

³⁸ For a skeptical perspective of NGOs and their role in development see White and Eicher 1999.

³⁹ One of the most successful examples of research partnerships is USAID's Collaborative Research Support Program (CRSPs) that was launched in the late seventies to strengthen linkages between U.S. universities and research institutions in developing countries. Currently USAID is supporting nine CRSPs with an annual budget of \$ 21 million. The CRSPs operate under the assumption that joint research on sorghum, millet, beans etc will be of mutual benefit to U.S. agriculture and to farmers in developing countries.

VI. LESSONS OF EXPERIENCE

Eight lessons flow from 50 years of donor aid to African agriculture.

1. INSTITUTION BUILDING REQUIRES A MULTI-GENERATIONAL TIME SPAN.

Sub-Saharan Africa has 700 million people, 1000 different ethnic groups and a diversified land base seven times larger than that of India. Nevertheless, some experts overlook Africa's diversity, complexity and uncritically recommend the adoption of the Asian Green Revolution model for Africa and importing institutions from other continents. The challenge ahead is to turn inward and craft an array of African farm production, food security, and institutional models based on local traditions, agroecologies and access to markets (Rukuni et al 1998). Yet instead of preparing pilot studies to learn how to craft African institutions, the FAO is promoting the Farmer Field School (FFS) extension model that it helped develop in Asia. Instead of developing and testing new African food security models, the FAO is busy promoting its Special Program for Food Security (SPFS) in 62 countries around the world. Fifty years of donor experience in Africa has shown that successful institution building is an accretionary and almost invisible process that requires a multi-generational time span (Bonnen 1998). Africa's experience has also shown that the transformation of African agriculture must be public-sector-led.

2. AGRICULTURE AND THE RURAL ECONOMY: POLICY VACUUM.

Surveys over the past two decades reveal that the agricultural sector accounts for about 60 to 70 percent of rural employment while the rural non-farm economy accounts for the remaining 30 to 40 percent in African nations (Haggblade and Hazell (1989)). But aid to agriculture has declined while aid to rural social services is increasing.⁴⁰ In "agrarian Africa" where 2/3 of the people derive their living from agriculture, the message is clear: more attention should be given to increasing investment in the prime movers (human capital, technology and institutional innovations) to accelerate agricultural growth. In short this means getting agriculture back on the agenda and getting agriculture moving.

3. TIME, EVALUATION AND LEARNING BY DOING.

The evidence of the past 50 years demonstrates the critical role of time and learning as important ingredient in the development process.⁴¹ Community – driven development (CDD) is now an established corporate priority of the World Bank, and it represents about 45 percent of lending managed by the Bank's rural sectoral board. What is the track record of these bottom-up projects? The CDD, CBD and poverty alleviation design teams should look into the future with an eye on the past because many of the contemporary models of bottom-up development projects are close to the failed CD models of the 1950s and while egalitarian in theory, many are thin in substance.⁴² Unless design and redesign teams study the global experience of bottom-up rural projects in historical perspective, they may

⁴⁰ But the OECD database on donor support for agriculture is presently unable to track some of the donor support for agriculture because agriculture disappears as it is incorporated into community and rural development projects. The data problem is illustrated in Table 2 which shows that the UK allocated only 3 percent of its total aid to Africa to agriculture in 2001 when it is well known that the UK is supporting agriculture indirectly through community and rural development programs.

⁴¹ In a memo to a Vice President of the World Bank, some 35 year ago Hans Adler, a senior economist in the World Bank, reviewed the poor track record of IRD projects in Africa in the seventies and urged the Bank to devote more attention to learning by doing through gradualism, pilot studies and feedback. He noted that "many staff members believe that experimental, pilot projects are not acceptable to the Bank. The Bank staff feels under pressure to present unrealistic time horizons of 5 to 10 years for development when we should be thinking of 20 years or more; they doubt that projects with such time horizons would be accepted" (Adler1978).

⁴² See for example, World Bank 1999, 2003a, 2003b.

unwittingly repeat some of the same mistakes that were made during the community development era of the fifties. What can be done to ensure that CDD/CDS and agricultural projects will be guided by pilot studies,⁴³ and subject to systematic evaluation and redesign during the course of implementation? After all, Hirschman pointed out some 35 years ago that the critical difference between successful and unsuccessful projects was that most successful projects were redesigned during the course of implementation (Hirschman 1967). Another critical question that requires further study is the sustainability of projects. A study of the sustainability of 24 German Technical Cooperation agricultural projects after handover to partner countries found that “none of the nine projects carried out in Africa had a stable and effective counterpart organization at the time of handover (Schubert 1985, p 234).

4. SEEKING POLICY COHERENCE.

President Toure of Mali reports that Mali’s bilateral aid from the United States (US\$37.5 million in FY 2002) was less than the US\$55 million that Mali lost through lower cotton prices as a result of US cotton subsidies. It is encouraging to note that the discussion of agricultural subsidies, and protectionism in OECD countries has moved from the “back room” to the centerpiece of debates on how to bring about greater policy coherence between aid policies, and OECD’s agricultural and trade policies. From this day forward, how can an aid official from an OECD country pressure African policy makers to reduce fertilizer subsidies when farmers in OECD countries enjoy generous subsidies and protectionism? Resolving these fundamental policy distortions are critical to getting African agriculture moving. The ECA and NEPAD should pursue these issues and provide the intellectual leadership for informed debate on subsidies and protectionism.

5. CHANGING PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SECTOR ROLES.

The promotion of agribusiness and the drive to privatize research, extension and marketing, all raise some hard questions about appropriate public and private roles at this stage of agricultural development in Africa. Zimbabwe’s smallholder maize revolution points illustrates how public and private sector roles change over time. Privatization of extension may be appropriate in Uganda today, but not in Mozambique where 3.3 million smallholders have been living in peace for only a decade. Can the poor farmers of Mozambique buy their way out of poverty by paying for extension? Even if private firms and commodity associations slowly take over the delivery of extension service, it is highly probable that the Ministry of Finance will have to pay the bulk of the cost of this activity. In my judgment, public sector-led investments are going to be crucial for transforming smallholder agriculture in Mozambique and many other African countries over the coming 20 to 30 years. Without question most African countries will require publicly – financed extension for some decades ahead.

6. FOOD AID SUBSCRIPTIONS?

I argued in “Facing up to Africa’s Food Crisis”, *Foreign Affairs*, 1982, that Africa was facing a long term structural food deficit comparable to (but on a smaller scale) India’s food crisis of the early 1960s. India rose to the challenge and with the aid of outstanding political leadership, food aid and imported high yielding wheat and rice varieties, India “crawled” its way to food self sufficiency over a 16 year period from 1965 to 1981. When U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger offered to continue food aid beyond 1981, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi declined because she reported that India could not have an independent foreign policy if it continued to rely on food aid. Indonesia also achieved food self-sufficiency after a 17 years march from 1968 to 1985. The number of food aid subscriptions is increasing in Africa. Numerous African policy makers have commented that it is easier to garner food aid subscriptions from the North than to get their Ministries of Finance to allocate funding for

⁴³ For studies of scaling up and evaluating CDD/CBD projects see Binswanger (2003); Binswanger & Aiyar (2003) Mansuri and Rao (2003), Kumar (2003), and Platteau (2003).

rural roads, human capital, research, and old fashion development projects and programs. How many African Ministers of Finance are attending this conference on Agricultural Success Stories?

7. Return to Regionalism

The 1968-74 drought in the Sahelian region of West Africa brought regionalism back to the center of the development agenda. In a sign of solidarity, donors set up the Club du Sahel with an office in Paris to co-ordinate donor aid to Sahelian countries and a regional organization – CILSS – was set up in Ouagadougou to prepare and coordinate regional projects, including a famine early warning system, food and livestock production, technology transfer and regional trade. Both the Club and CILSS are functioning today despite the often- heard criticism that they are both basically “talk shops’ that have over-invested in seminars, workshops and meetings. However, the record shows that both organizations have helped shift the policy debate from the narrowly defined national food self-sufficiency goal of the 1970s to the current promotion of household and national food security and expanded regional trade. Likewise, the regional spraying programs to control river blindness and the cassava mealy bug represent some of the unsung regional success stories of donor aid over the past 30 years. The return to regional programs faces up to the reality that sub-Saharan Africa is seven times larger than India and that regional programs are an effective way to assist small counties through technology spillins, specialized human capital training centers and the promotion of intra-regional and international trade.

8. GETTING AGRICULTURE BACK ON THE AGENDA.

Eric Tollens of Belgium argues that agriculture has been dethroned from the donors’ agenda not because of any conscious decision of donors but a result of effective NGO pressure to broaden the aid agenda to a point where “ it is fashionable to say that aid is people-centered, instead of sector or activity-centered (Tollens 2003). Who is going to make the case to get agriculture back on the agenda? Who is going to help African nations develop agricultural strategies that are visible, relevant and productive in an era of SIPs, PRSPs, CDDs, CBDs, HIPCs and EHPCs? The World Bank is the logical organization to provide leadership on these issues just as it did in the sixties and seventies. Yudelman (1985) reminds us that

Between 1949 and 1984, the Bank shifted from a policy of “benign neglect” of agriculture to one that led it to become the world’s single largest source of external capital for investing in agriculture in developing countries. Lending for agriculture grew from around 6 percent of total Bank lending through the early 1960s to over 30 percent of a much larger total by the mid-70s. Indeed, agricultural commitments between 1974 and 1984 totaled more than \$30 billion – by far the largest single component in the Bank’s portfolio.

Will the Bank, the EU, bilateral donors and foundation rise to the challenge and both reform aid and increase aid to African agriculture over the coming 20 to 25 years?

VII. SUMMARY: DREAMS AND DEEDS

This review of a massive amount of raw material on donor aid and African agricultural development has covered a fifty year span from 1953 to 2003. The hallmarks of the 1960s and 1970s were optimism, skipping stages of development and the preparation of national development plans and thousands of development projects. But this optimism was followed by Afro-pessimism and a shift to program aid and policy reform during the eighties. During the 1990s, donors expanded the aid agenda to include politically sensitive issues such as governance, corruption and decentralization while they cut both total aid to Africa and aid to agriculture in Africa. Over the past decade, the NGOs has been effective in convincing

donors to increase their support for rural development, social services and poverty alleviation. As a result, aid to agriculture has declined not, because the NGO attacked investments in agriculture but because they were successful in making the case for health, education and the environment.

It is encouraging that many donors are now reordering their priorities and coming around to the conclusion that rural social services, food aid, post conflict aid may keep people alive but they do not increase crop yields and earnings capacity – the keys to mass poverty alleviation (Evenson 2003a). There is also growing recognition that “food aid subscriptions” can become a way of life. For example, the one million tons of U.S. food aid to Ethiopia in 2003 is valued at US\$ 475 million, a sum larger than the \$354 million of total U.S. aid to agriculture in all developing countries in 2001 (Table 2) (USAID 2003). Africa is now facing the same type of long term food deficit problem that India faced in the early 1960s. Without question NEPAD should focus on mobilizing African and donor investment in genetic and agronomic research on Africa’s eight major food staples because reducing food prices is the most promising avenues for reducing mass poverty in Africa.⁴⁴

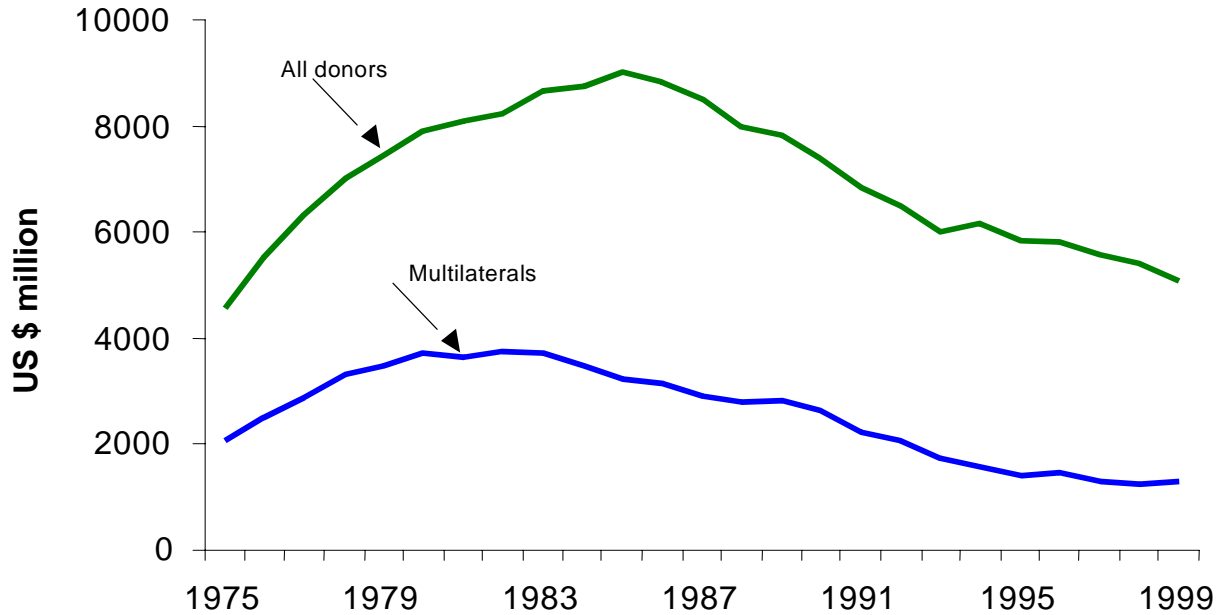
Several recent developments in Africa counter “the perils of slipping into an over-generalized habit of despair about Africa’s present status and prospects for the future” (Killick 2002). There are a number of reasons for optimism about Africa’s development prospects. The first is the establishment of NEPAD and its pledge to help mobilize African political support for agriculture because political leadership is one of the most critical factors in getting agriculture moving in Africa (Bingen 1998 and van de Walle 2001). Second, there has been a vast accumulation of global knowledge about the development process over the past fifty years that can be judiciously brought to bear on African development problems (Lele and Goldsmith 1989). Third, despite frequent shifts in donor priorities there have been some notable success stories in donor aid to African agriculture. These include the development of high yielding cassava varieties, the smallholder cotton and maize revolutions, the new NERICA rice varieties, the regional spraying programs to control cassava mealy bug, and the development of early warning and regional food security programs in the Sahel and southern Africa.

Fourth acknowledging the importance of Agriculture, the World Bank has renamed its Rural Development Department - - the Department of Agricultural and Rural Development. The Bank is also hiring new agricultural staff for their Africa department and it has just compiled an Agricultural Investment Source Book aimed at providing “best practice” information to field practitioners. Fifth, many African countries are increasing their investments in capacity building in science and technology and improving the quality and relevance of their universities. For example, Tanzania and Kenya have recently agreed to increase government outlays on science and technology. The sixth reason for optimism is to call attention to Uganda’s agricultural success story. The Government is providing leadership in combating HIV/AIDs and pragmatically restructuring its agricultural research and extension services and Makerere University.

Although many of the dreams of independence have been shattered, a Ghanaian historian reminds us that it is better to be free and poor than live under colonial rule. Africa’s development experience drives home the point there are no quick fixes for Africa’s problems. “Africa needs patience and enough time to manage its development process” (Elbadawi 2002).

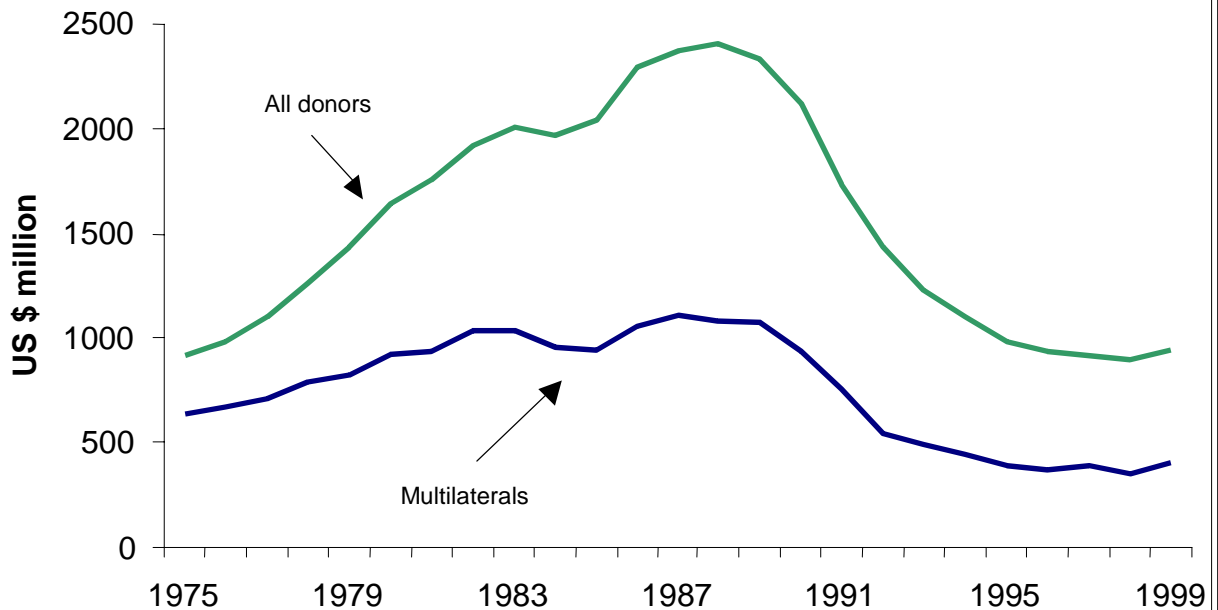
⁴⁴ See Smale and Jayne 2003, Nweke, Spencer and Lynam 2002, Matlon and Spencer 1984 and Evenson and Gollin 2003.

**Figure 1. Aid to Agriculture in Developing Countries 1975-1999:
Five year moving average (2000 prices)**



Source: OECD DAC and CRS

**Figure 2. Aid to Agriculture in Sub Saharan Africa, 1975-1999:
Five-year moving average, constant 1999 prices**



Source: OECD

Footnote – Data are from OECD's Creditor Reporting System. Coverage is generally incomplete and varies by donor and by year. Thus the figure above is likely to underrepresent aid to agriculture.

Figure 3. Guinea: Country Assistance Strategy (CAS). Transition from support through projects towards programmatic lending

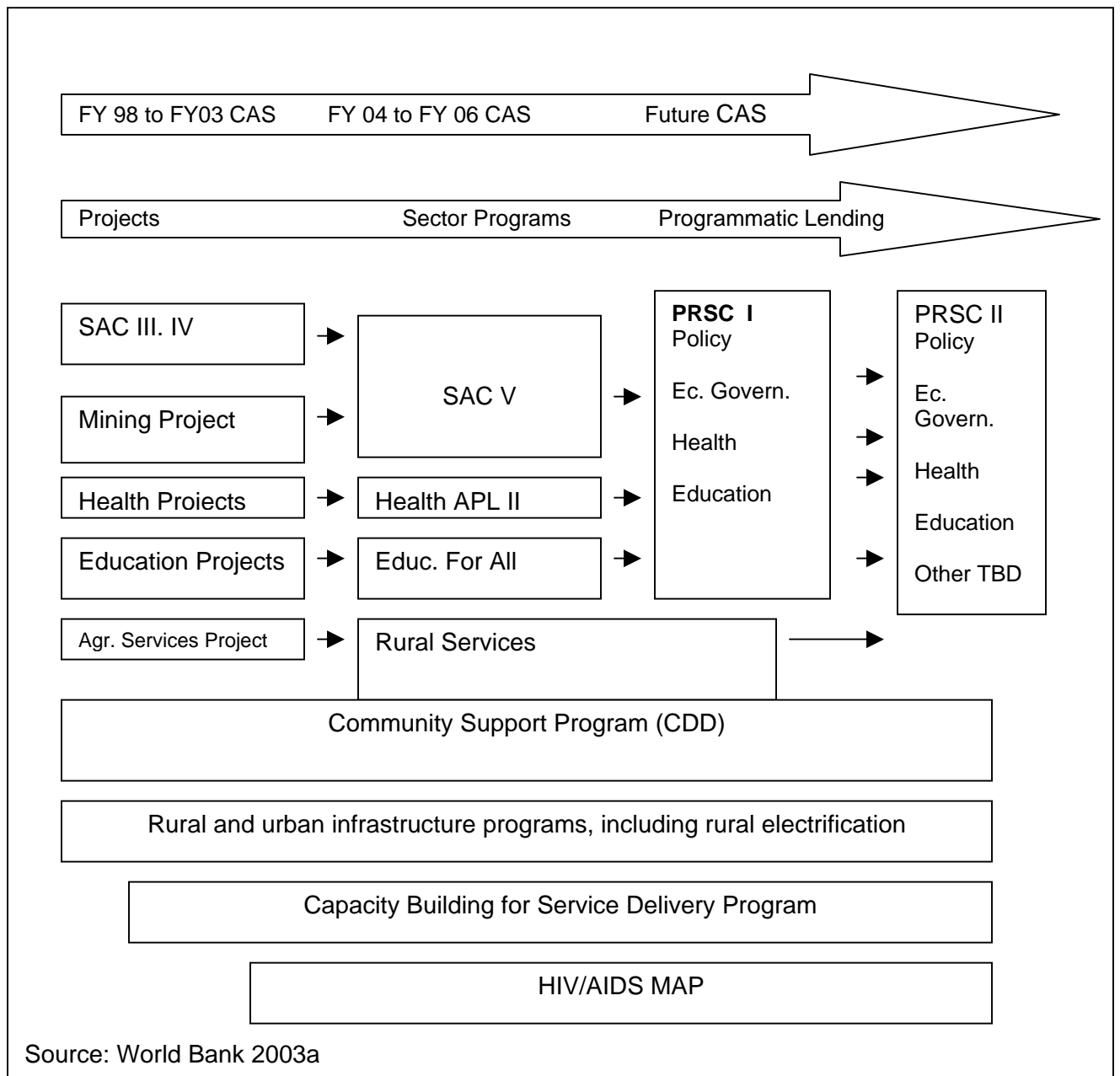
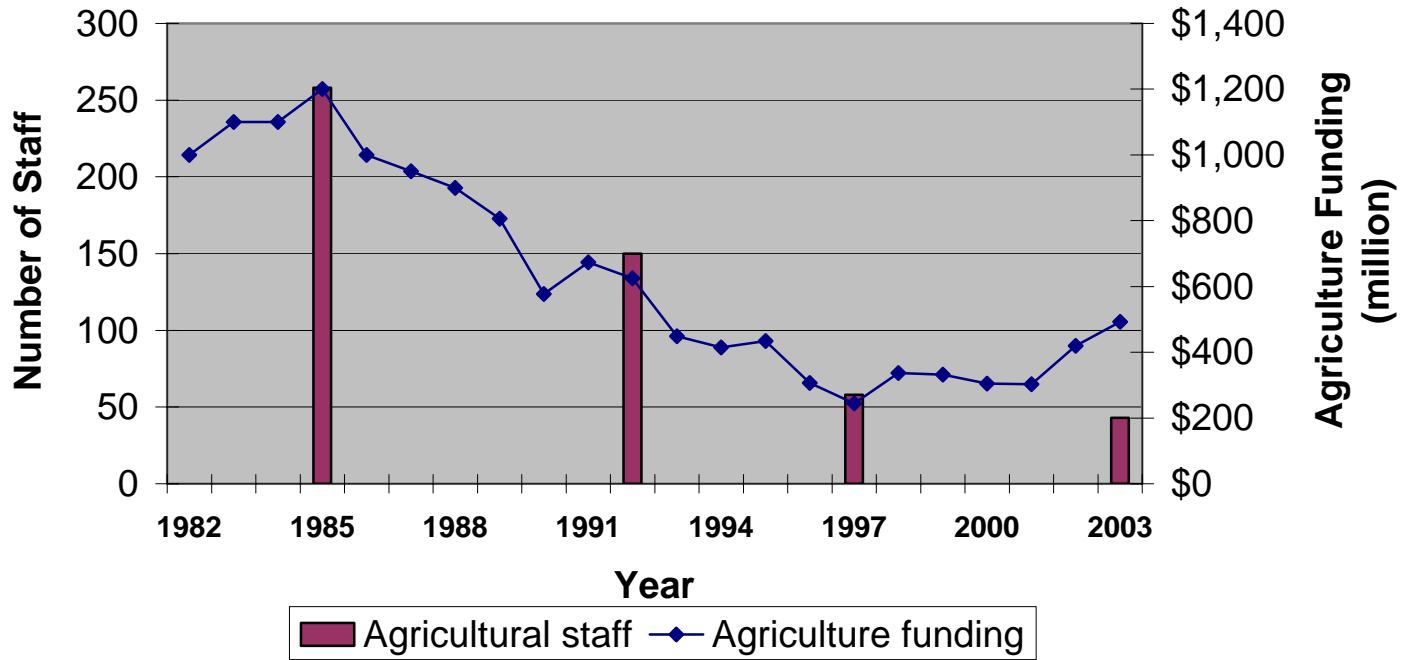


Table 1. USAID Agriculture Funding & Staff Trends: 1982 - 2003



Source: USAID (2003)

Table 2. Aid to agriculture in developing countries by donor and share in total developing country aid¹, 1980-2001²

	1980-84 ³	1996-2000	2001		
	% Donor Total ^a	% Donor Total ^a	USD million	% Donor Total ^a	% All Donors ^b
Australia	3	12	72	10	2
Austria	0	2	3	1	0
Belgium	0	10	46	8	1
Canada	21	5	29	3	1
Denmark	21	13	37	4	1
Finland	9	9	23	8	1
France	10	5	239	9	6
Germany	8	5	148	4	4
Ireland	-	6	10	5	0
Italy	13	5	25	4	1
Japan	11	10	1132	13	31
Netherlands	23	6	126	5	3
New Zealand	26	4	-	-	-
Norway	23	1	45	4	1
Portugal	0	4	5	3	0
Spain	-	-	64	5	2
Sweden	10	5	41	5	1
Switzerland	32	10	46	6	1
United Kingdom	6	7	69	3	2
United States	11	4	354	4	10
DAC Countries -Total⁴	11	7	2514	7	68
AfDF	21	13	171	14	5
AsDF	39	11	83	6	2
EC (EDF)	25	4	173	6	5
IDA	36	12	599	9	16
IDB Sp.Fund	22	9	0	0	0
IFAD	71	61	157	43	4
Multilateral Total	33	11	1183	9	32
Total	20	8	3697	7	100

a: Aid from each donor to developing country agriculture as a percent of donor's total aid to developing countries

b: Aid from each donor to developing country agriculture as a percent of aid from all donors to developing country agriculture

Source: OECD CRS

¹ The definition of aid excludes "other official flows" that are either not primarily aimed at development, or do not have a grant element greater than 25 per cent.

² Agriculture is defined here as inclusive of the forestry and fishing subsectors.

³ Moving averages are used as the basis of analysis to even out the "lumpiness" of commitments and so give a clearer view of the underlying trends.

⁴ Data for various donors may be distorted due to an inability of the database to capture flows to agriculture that are allocated via various programmatic or multisectoral programs.

Table 3. Aid to agriculture in Sub Saharan Africa by donor and share in total Sub Saharan Africa aid¹, 1980-2001²

	1980-84 ³	1996-2000	2001		
	% Donor Total ^a	% Donor Total ^a	USD million	% Donor Total ^a	% All Donors ^b
Australia	1	10	5	23	0
Austria	0	4	3	1	0
Belgium	0	12	24	10	2
Canada	16	7	11	6	1
Denmark	20	14	24	12	2
Finland	19	14	17	17	2
France	18	6	68	6	6
Germany	5	6	32	5	3
Ireland		8	8	5	1
Italy	14	8	6	3	1
Japan	21	15	105	14	10
Netherlands	15	7	48	7	5
Norway	19	6	31	8	3
Portugal		1	4	3	0
Spain		5	12	10	1
Sweden	14	6	3	1	0
Switzerland	35	9	14	11	1
United Kingdom	7	5	11	1	1
United States	18	7	115	8	11
DAC Countries -Total	15	8	542	7	51
AfDF	22	14	171	14	16
EC (EDF)	28	3	62	4	6
IDA	23	5	183	5	17
IFAD	69	70	95	55	9
Multilateral -Total	27	7	511	8	49
Total	20	8	1053	7	100

a: Aid from each donor to SSA agriculture as a percent of donor's total aid to SSA

b: Aid from each donor to SSA agriculture as a percent of aid from all donors to SSA agriculture

Source: OECD CRS

¹ The definition of aid here excludes "other official flows" that are either not primarily aimed at development, or do not have a grant element greater than 25 per cent. CRS statistics are used rather than DAC statistics (which provide more complete coverage) because of the ability to obtain sectoral data at the country level.

² Agriculture is defined here as inclusive of the forestry and fishing subsectors.

³ Moving averages are used as the basis of analysis to even out the "lumpiness" of commitments and so give a clearer view of the underlying trends.

Table 4. Total Aid to Agriculture in Sub Saharan Africa by country, 1990¹

	DAC Countries (USD million) ²	Multilateral (USD million)	ALL Donors (USD million)	% Donor Total to Ag ^a	% of Total Donor to Ag ^b
Angola	24	8	32	17	1
Benin	9	3	12	9	1
Botswana	2	0	2	3	0
Burkina Faso	40	6	46	21	2
Burundi	23	29	52	28	2
Cameroon	99	1	100	22	5
Cape Verde	3	0	3	5	0
Central African Rep.	10	21	31	17	1
Chad	16	0	16	12	1
Comoros	4	0	4	50	0
Congo - Rep.	14	9	23	14	1
Congo Dem.Rep. (Zaire)	30	6	36	7	2
Cote d'Ivoire	54	14	68	11	3
Djibouti	7	0	7	23	0
Equatorial Guinea	2	13	15	63	1
Ethiopia	48	18	66	12	3
Gabon	0	1	1	6	0
Gambia	10	0	10	14	0
Ghana	28	17	45	7	2
Guinea	44	10	54	15	2
Guinea-Bissau	12	16	28	28	1
Kenya	169	7	176	13	8
Lesotho	7	0	7	13	0
Liberia	2	0	2	13	0
Madagascar	30	4	34	8	2
Malawi	15	72	87	23	4
Mali	33	55	88	35	4
Mauritania	28	26	54	34	2
Mauritius	1	2	3	5	0
Mozambique	97	39	136	20	6
Namibia	3	0	3	5	0
Niger	68	21	89	54	4
Nigeria	10	0	10	3	0
Rwanda	12	9	21	11	1
Sao Tome and Principe	0	2	2	6	0
Senegal	40	37	77	12	3
Seychelles	6	0	6	25	0
Somalia	5	38	43	24	2
South Of Sahara Unall.	62	0	62	11	3
St. Helena		2	2	100	0
Sudan	33	11	44	21	2
Swaziland	4	0	4	24	0
Tanzania	131	227	358	30	16
Togo	15	9	24	13	1

¹ OECD's CRS statistics on aid to agriculture only relate to activities that have agriculture as their main purpose and fail to capture aid to agriculture delivered within multi-sector programs.

² All values are given in constant 2001 values

Uganda	21	142	163	24	7
Zambia	33	0	33	6	1
Zimbabwe	22	1	23	10	1
TOTAL	1326	876	2202	16	100

a: Total aid to agriculture sector as a percent of total donor aid to the country

b: Total aid to the country's agriculture sector as a percent of total aid to Sub Saharan Africa agriculture

Source: OECD CRS

Table 5. Total Aid to Agriculture in Sub Saharan by country, 2000¹

	DAC Countries (USD million) ²	Multilateral (USD million)	ALL Donors (USD million)	% Donor Total to Ag ^a	% of Total Donor to Ag ^b
Angola	7	0	7	3	1
Benin	8	26	34	13	3
Botswana	4	0	4	12	0
Burkina Faso	72	14	86	24	8
Burundi	1	0	1	1	0
Cameroon	2	0	2	1	0
Cape Verde	3	0	3	4	0
Central African Rep.	1	0	1	1	0
Chad	9	11	20	6	2
Comoros	1	0	1	6	0
Congo - Rep.	1	0	1	2	0
Congo Dem.Rep. (Zaire)	1	0	1	1	0
Cote d'Ivoire	13	11	24	7	2
Djibouti	0	1	1	1	0
Equatorial Guinea	1	0	1	6	0
Eritrea	13	0	13	4	1
Ethiopia	51	1	52	6	5
Gabon	7	0	7	10	1
Gambia	3	0	3	9	0
Ghana	34	94	128	20	12
Guinea	6	1	7	5	1
Guinea-Bissau	0	0	0	0	0
Kenya	27	10	37	4	3
Lesotho	4	0	4	8	0
Liberia	2	0	2	9	0
Madagascar	34	5	39	11	4
Malawi	32	0	32	6	3
Mali	16	32	48	10	4
Mauritania	11	9	20	12	2
Mauritius	0	1	1	5	0
Mozambique	29	0	29	2	3
Namibia	11	0	11	11	1
Niger	8	54	62	22	6
Nigeria	12	0	12	2	1
Rwanda	10	52	62	14	6
Sao Tome and Principe	3	0	3	8	0
Senegal	29	17	46	8	4
Seychelles	0	0	0	0	0
Sierra Leone	1	0	1	0	0
Somalia	0	0	0	0	0
South Africa	9	0	9	3	1
South Of Sahara Unall.	36	45	81	14	7
St. Helena	0	0	0	0	0
Sudan	1	0	1	0	0

¹ OECD CRS statistics on aid to agriculture only relate to activities that have agriculture as their main purpose and fail to capture aid to agriculture delivered within multi-sector programs.

² All values are given in constant 2001 values

Swaziland	3	0	3	11	0
Tanzania	60	16	76	6	7
Togo	4	0	4	8	0
Uganda	27	41	68	7	6
Zambia	17	13	30	3	3
Zimbabwe	13	0	13	7	1
TOTAL	637	454	1091		100

a: Total aid to agriculture sector as a percent of total donor aid to the country

b: Total aid to the country's agriculture sector as a percent of total aid to Sub Saharan Africa agriculture

Source: OECD CRS

Table 6. DAC country ODA to Agriculture in Sub Saharan Africa by country, 1990-2000¹

	1990 ²	1995	1998	1999	2000	2001
Angola	24	1	4	6	7	8
Benin	9	10	7	6	8	3
Botswana	2	0	1	2	4	3
Burkina Faso	40	11	15	13	72	21
Burundi	23	1	1	1	1	1
Cameroon	99	5	15	14	2	16
Cape Verde	3	4	7	6	3	9
Central African Rep.	10	7	5	3	1	5
Chad	16	10	14	6	9	3
Comoros	4	0	0	0	1	0
Congo - Rep.	14	1	1	1	1	0
Congo Dem.Rep. (Zaire)	30	0	1	1	1	5
Cote d'Ivoire	54	17	21	9	13	6
Djibouti	7		0	0	0	1
Equatorial Guinea	2	0	1	1	1	0
Eritrea		9	1	2	13	13
Ethiopia	48	36	28	24	51	17
Gabon	0	0	4	1	7	1
Gambia	10	0	1	4	3	12
Ghana	28	3	29	21	34	32
Guinea	44	31	16	13	6	19
Guinea-Bissau	12	6	0	0	0	0
Kenya	169	24	32	17	27	35
Lesotho	7	2	4	1	4	3
Madagascar	30	9	14	11	34	17
Malawi	15	15	24	20	32	9
Mali	33	17	14	43	16	20
Mauritania	28	12	15	14	11	15
Mauritius	1	4	0	0	0	0
Mozambique	97	38	22	83	29	50
Namibia	3	7	8	3	11	9
Niger	68	4	20	12	8	17
Nigeria	10	0	0	1	12	13
Rwanda	12	1	2	7	10	5
Sao Tome and Principe	0	2	1	3	3	2
Senegal	40	54	34	35	29	47
Sierra Leone		0	7	0	1	2
Somalia	5		2		0	1
South Africa		1	8	6	9	8
South Of Sahara Unall.	62	40	27	16	36	59
St. Helena		1	0	1	0	0
Sudan	33	3	1		1	1
Swaziland	4	17	4	1	3	0

¹ OECD CRS statistics on aid to agriculture only relate to activities that have agriculture as their main purpose and fail to capture aid to agriculture delivered within multi-sector programs. Forestry and fishing are included as part of aid to agriculture.

² All values are in constant 2001 values

Tanzania	131	22	24	14	60	16
Togo	15	2	6	0	4	1
Uganda	21	8	38	10	27	20
Zambia	33	38	12	9	17	7
Zimbabwe	22	28	28	21	13	3
Total	1324	502	521	465	639	542

Source: OECD CRS

Table 7. Sub Saharan Africa: Net Aid Disbursements from all Sources to Individual Recipients (\$m), 1995-2001¹

	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
Angola	418	473	355	335	388	307	268
Benin	280	288	221	205	211	239	273
Botswana	90	75	122	106	61	31	29
Burkina Faso	491	420	368	400	398	336	389
Burundi	288	111	56	67	74	93	131
Cameroon	444	412	499	499	434	380	398
Cape Verde	117	117	111	130	137	94	76
Central African Rep.	169	170	91	120	118	75	76
Chad	236	296	228	168	188	131	179
Comoros	42	39	27	35	21	19	28
Congo Dem.Rep. (Zaire)	196	166	158	125	132	184	251
Congo, Rep.	125	429	270	66	142	33	75
Cote d'Ivoire	1213	965	446	967	448	352	187
Djibouti	105	97	85	81	75	71	55
Equatorial Guinea	34	31	24	22	20	21	13
Eritrea	149	159	123	167	149	176	280
Ethiopia	883	818	579	660	643	693	1080
Gabon	144	127	39	45	48	12	9
Gambia	47	37	39	39	34	49	51
Ghana	651	651	494	702	609	609	652
Guinea	417	299	381	359	238	153	272
Guinea-Bissau	119	181	124	96	52	80	59
Kenya	734	597	448	415	310	512	453
Lesotho	114	104	92	61	31	37	54
Liberia	124	173	76	72	94	68	37
Madagascar	301	357	834	481	359	322	354
Malawi	435	492	344	435	447	446	402
Mali	541	491	429	347	354	360	350
Mauritania	230	272	238	165	219	212	262
Mauritius	23	20	43	42	42	20	22
Mayotte	108	130	104	104	112	103	120
Mozambique	1064	888	948	1040	805	877	935
Namibia	192	188	166	181	179	153	109
Niger	274	255	333	292	187	211	249
Nigeria	212	190	200	204	152	185	185
Rwanda	702	467	230	350	373	322	291
Sao Tome and Principe	84	47	33	28	28	35	38
Senegal	666	580	423	501	535	423	419
Seychelles	13	19	17	24	13	18	14
Sierra Leone	206	184	119	106	74	182	334
Somalia	189	88	81	80	115	104	149
South Africa	389	364	496	514	541	488	428
South of Sahara Unspec.	419	893	741	416	327	345	686
St. Helena	13	16	15	16	14	19	15
Sudan	242	220	139	209	243	225	172

¹ OECD DAC statistics

Swaziland	58	33	28	35	29	13	29
Tanzania	877	877	945	1000	990	1022	1233
Togo	192	157	125	128	71	70	47
Uganda	835	676	813	647	590	819	783
Zambia	2034	610	610	349	624	795	374
Zimbabwe	492	371	336	262	245	178	159
Total	18420	16119	14245	13900	12723	12702	13530

Source: OECD DAC

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