



ALL PARTY
PARLIAMENTARY
GROUP FOR DEBT,
AID & TRADE.

Putting Food First; Securing an adequate response to famine in Niger

**Working Paper by
Graham Banton**

Executive Summary

In July, the media alerted the international community to the food crisis blighting the poor in Niger. Unfortunately, the crisis is not confined to Niger and is wreaking havoc on the lives of millions of Africans throughout the continent. In a year dedicated to the plight of Africa, the existence of these famines and the inadequacy of donor responses demonstrate that there needs to be a fundamental change in the way in which food security is approached. Unless the international community and African leaders recognise this need for change, witnessing famine on our TV screens will remain an annual event. More importantly, if Africa is ever to break out of the mire of chronic poverty and hunger, food security must become a central feature of development plans for Africa.

About the Author

Graham Banton completed a Masters Degree in Development Studies at the University of Leeds in 2004, specialising in Famines, Food Security and Complex Emergencies. He is currently the Research Officer for the Democracy, Development and Good Governance Project at The Foreign Policy Centre. It must be noted that the views expressed in this piece are entirely those of the author and do not reflect those of the Foreign Policy Centre in any way.

Putting Food First; Securing an adequate response to famine in Niger

In July 2005, shocking images on the front pages of newspapers and on television screens alerted the world to the unfolding famine blighting Niger's poor. The sudden news interest reinforced western perception that famine is an event that emerges quickly and without warning¹ yet in reality it was the culmination of longstanding food insecurity affecting not just Niger but much of Africa. There were clear warning signs about the impending crisis as early as August last year.² The emergency relief appeal for Niger headed by the World Food Programme (WFP) remains under-funded by about 50 per cent³ despite the high-level media campaign, and the situation in many other African countries is even worse. The uncomfortable irony is how such a tragedy could be allowed to happen in a year supposedly devoted to a renewed focus on the plight of Africa's poor.

The inability of the international community to prevent the onset of emergency food crises and its failure to react once crisis is declared should be a growing concern. This paper will seek to question why, in an era when food production in the developed world has reached bountiful excess, we still see levels of malnutrition and food insecurity growing, especially in sub-Saharan Africa. We also need to question what is being done to tackle these problems and ask if current methods and solutions will prove to be sufficient. Most importantly, this paper aims to clarify that food security should be a main priority for western donors if Africa is ever to escape the mire of poverty and perpetual emergency. Without significant action taken now, we are likely to see the famine cycle repeating itself on a yearly basis.

The state of food security

The most significant step towards ensuring the eradication of famine is bolstering food security within Africa. Production shocks can trigger famine conditions but only if the affected population is already food insecure. Therefore the international community must work to improve long-term food security, as achieving it would be the most effective barrier against the onset of famines.

At the World Food Summit in 1996, the definition of food security was stated as 'food that is available at all times, that all persons have access to it, that it is

¹ Paul Howe, 'Reconsidering Famine', in *IDS Bulletin* vol.33 (4) 2002

² BBC News, 'Niger food crisis timeline', 30th July, Available at, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/4699643.stm>

³ WFP Website, Niger Appeal, Available at, http://www.wfp.org/appeals/flash_appeals/index.asp?section=3&sub_section=1

nutritionally adequate in terms of quantity, quality and variety, and that it is acceptable to a given culture'.⁴ Despite this conceptual recognition of food security, many studies have confirmed that food security has actually been diminishing throughout the developing world during the last decade.⁵ The Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) estimates that between 2000/2, 852 million people worldwide were undernourished.⁶ With levels of food insecurity increasing, the threat of famine becomes ever more likely. Although Niger has attracted the most immediate attention, another twenty-two countries in Africa face serious shortages, seven in Asia and five in Latin America.⁷ The numbers affected are staggering: ten million people are at severe risk in Southern Africa, a further twenty million across the central belt of Africa with ten million of these in Ethiopia alone.⁸

Therefore we must begin to seek the causes of this ongoing hunger crisis at a time when world production of surplus food has broken all records.⁹ Traditional explanations point to unavoidable events, such as droughts, locust plagues and general misfortune. More contemporary explanations highlight long running conflicts, lack of democracy, corruption and general bad governance. Yet we need to explore whether these contributory factors bear any relevance to the crises we see unfolding today.

Africa has always been susceptible to production shocks caused by climatic conditions, and a number of countries in the post-independence years produced successful strategies for coping with them. Therefore current shocks, although apparently occurring more consistently, should not have such an acute impact on overall food security. In fact, this year's food production in Niger was down by a mere 11 per cent on 2004, yet this has been enough to induce famine.¹⁰

Conflict has had a history of creating or exacerbating famines within Africa. The experience of Ethiopia in the 1980's illustrates this, and the current crisis in Sudan goes some way to support the theory. However, many of the countries experiencing food crises at the moment, such as Mali, Niger and

⁴ Sophia Murphy, 'Securing enough to eat', International Institute for Sustainable Development, Jan 2005, Available at, http://www.iisd.org/pdf/2005/trade_securing_enough_to_eat.pdf

⁵ Food and Agriculture Organisation, 'The state of food insecurity in the world', 2004, Available at, http://www.fao.org/documents/show_cdr.asp?url_file=/docrep/007/y5650e/y5650e00.htm

⁶ FAO, 'Report of the 28th Committee on World Food Security' June 2002, Available at, <http://www.fao.org/DOCREP/MEETING/004/Y7070E.HTM>

⁷ FAO, 'Report of the 28th Committee on World Food Security' June 2002, Available at, <http://www.fao.org/DOCREP/MEETING/004/Y7070E.HTM>

⁸ Mark Doyle, 'Food crisis 'runs across Africa'', BBC News online, 10th August 2005, Available at <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/4138120.stm>

⁹ Sophia Murphy, 'Securing Enough to Eat', International Institute for Sustainable Development, Jan 2005, Available at, http://www.iisd.org/pdf/2005/trade_securing_enough_to_eat.pdf

¹⁰ Jeevan Vasagar, 'Plenty of food, yet the poor are starving', The Guardian, 1st August 2005.

Malawi are at peace,¹¹ and have been for some time. It is necessary to look for further explanations for these countries current crises.

According to the formula applied by Professor Amartya Sen, effective parliamentary democracies prevent the onset of famines as governments have to be responsive to the needs of their people. Most of these countries undergoing the present crisis do have functioning multiparty democracies, albeit in their infancies. However, the problem is that they have democratic accountability but little political autonomy. The governance and economic policies of many of these countries such as Niger and Mali are increasingly scrutinised and dictated by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) or World Bank. Parliamentary democracy alone is not sufficient to defeat famine; authorities must have legislative control to conquer food crises within their own borders.

Understanding food security

The present crisis blighting much of Africa highlights the immediate need to establish a renewed emphasis to solve the problem of food insecurity. This year has seen a number of high profile publications ranging from the Commission for Africa to the Millennium Project Review designed to improve the long-term future prospects for Africa. The meeting of the G8 leaders in July focussed on the key themes of debt relief, increased aid and climate change. Yet in the absence of food security as a major theme within these initiatives demonstrates it is viewed as a side issue, one that will be solved through the correction of other problems. This approach fails to realise the importance that food security has in affecting all other outcomes, and now practitioners such as James Morris of the WFP have called for the adoption of a 'food first' policy. Without such a policy, many African families will simply not be able to take advantage of debt relief or increased development aid.¹²

It is essential the importance of food security be recognised in international debate. President Obasanjo of Nigeria has correctly drawn attention to the fact that currently, hunger and malnutrition kill more people in Africa than HIV/AIDS, malaria and tuberculosis combined.¹³ Whilst campaigns to fight these diseases continue to gain greater precedence over the problem of food insecurity, this ignores the clear logic that access to food is a vital precondition both for combating disease and sustaining life.

¹¹ James Morris, 'Stop the hunger horror tour', 27th July 2005

¹² James Morris, 'Stop the hunger horror tour', 27th July 2005

¹³ President Obasanjo, 'Poverty's Handmaiden', 23rd June 2005.

Damage to the immune system caused by lack of adequate sustenance is in itself a killer. When the rains eventually come in Niger they will be accompanied by malaria, and those who have managed to survive the food shortages will be greatly susceptible to the disease. Their deaths will be attributed to malaria but it is doubtless that the key factor will have been insufficient immune systems, crippled by lack of access to adequate food. HIV/AIDS is also a handmaiden of chronic lack of food. The sale of sex for cash or food is a common famine coping strategy and has obvious dangers.¹⁴ Those already infected cease to be productive, which in turn creates generations without parents and a general decline in the size and ability of the workforce. It is clear that food security should be a central feature of the mechanism for coping with disease in Africa although the importance of this is often neglected

Food also plays a key function in economic development. A recent study has shown that per capita GDP in Africa may have been halved relative to its potential, due to under-nourishment.¹⁵ Food insecurity and malnutrition impairs people's ability to develop skills and reduces their productivity.¹⁶ According to a report by UNICEF as many as a third of the world's people do not reach their physical and intellectual potential because of vitamin and mineral deficiencies in their diet caused by food insecurity.¹⁷ Better nutrition makes for brighter children, and most immediately well-fed children find it easier to concentrate in schools.¹⁸ If improving economic performance and access to education are viewed as key goals in the current proposals put on the table for African development then improving access to adequate food is essential for these goals to succeed.

The current priorities of international donors and aid agencies all stress the need for transparency and good governance within recipient countries. This is clearly a desirable aim although the supreme arbiters of the effectiveness of governments should be the people who elect them. Food security is a vital precursor to ensuring accountable government. Commitment to democracy cannot be fostered if people are faced with the more pressing challenge of securing enough to eat, especially when it is obvious that the government does not have the ability or authority to provide for them.

¹⁴ Stephen Devereux 'The Malawi famine of 2002', IDS Bulletin vol.33 (4), 2002

¹⁵ New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD), 'Implementing the Comprehensive Africa Agricultural Development programme, NEPAD Website.

¹⁶ International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI), 'Toward food and nutrition security', July 2005, Available at, <http://www.ifpri.org/about/gi14.pdf>

¹⁷ FAO, 'Report of the 28th Committee on World Food Security' June 2002, Available at, <http://www.fao.org/DOCREP/MEETING/004/Y7070E.HTM>

¹⁸ The Economist, 'Food for thought', 29th July 2004, Available at http://www.economist.com/displaystory.cfm?story_id=2963282

Food security needs to be given a new focus in donor prescription for the development of Africa as it has fundamental importance within a number of problems facing the continent. Disease, education and to some extent governance are all affected by levels of food security and in order to tackle these effectively, food security must become a priority, yet at present the issue seems to have only secondary importance to many of the institutions that shape African development.

Why current methods fail.

One of the major problems is that institutions such as the World Bank and the IMF believe that the key to securing progress within Africa is through economic liberalisation, incorporating reduced government market interventions, 'opening' economies through abolishing trade tariffs and thus enabling African producers to have greater access to world markets.

The logic of this argument is clear; open markets will encourage African farmers to produce more, thus enabling them to establish bigger reserves of assets which will in turn give them the means to buy more food in times of crisis. Using this model, food security is a by-product of economic growth, and thus economic growth is viewed as the vital forerunner to establishing food security. This argument has been adopted by foreign donors since the 1990's and is a prominent feature of most international development reports. However, in practical terms, adherence to the doctrine of market liberalisation has often resulted in failure.

After independence, the government of Malawi, like many African states, implemented a number of measures to ensure market stability and the basic food security of its citizens. The central pillar of this safety-net was the government controlled Agricultural Development and Marketing Corporation (ADMARC). The role of this body was to establish depots throughout the country to buy and release food into the market to create some form of stability for Malawian farmers. The board would guarantee farmers certain prices for their products, monitor regional production and provide subsidised agricultural inputs such as quality seed and fertilisers. In times of crisis, ADMARC could also release food from its reserves at cheap prices so people could survive until their crops grew again. Although very expensive and subject to low levels of corruption, it effectively banished the threat of debilitating hunger for the majority of Malawi's citizens. Most significantly it enabled Malawi to overcome a severe production shock in 1991/2.

The Structural Adjustment Policies in the 1990's, implemented by the World Bank and IMF aimed to boost the role of the free market in African development, and ADMARC became a key target for reform. It was viewed as a massive waste of state resources, a source of corruption, and most importantly it prevented Malawian farmers from developing an entrepreneurial spirit. State paid agricultural subsidies were to be phased out and, in Malawi's case, farmers were given incentives to move into tobacco production. Many of the regional grain reserves controlled by ADMARC were closed down as they were deemed to be 'unprofitable'¹⁹ and finally the IMF advised that much of the Strategic Grain Reserve (SGR), that had been viewed as vital for ensuring food security in a crisis, should be sold to create funds for debt service. If a food emergency should occur again, the Malawians were reassured that the international community would support the country by supplying food aid. The true test of these economic reforms was demonstrated in 2001/2 when Malawi again suffered inconsistent rains and a major production failure.

The production shock of 2001/2 was by no means as serious as the one affecting the country in 1991/2, however, it did lead to the worst famine in Malawi's recorded history.²⁰ This famine should perhaps be seen as an early warning for the kind of crises that have become endemic within Africa today. It represented the classic entitlement failure famine model articulated by Amartya Sen.²¹ There was still plenty of food within Malawi but the chronic poverty of Malawians barred them from access to it. As with the current situation in Niger, food production did not fall massively but sufficiently enough to put the price of food above affordable levels for most rural Malawians. The emphasis on tobacco production for asset generation was misplaced as a fall in the world price for tobacco left many crops virtually worthless. Also there was a lack of information on the situation in the many rural regions which were worst affected due to closure of regional ADMARC offices. The IMF blamed the Malawian government for the famine stating 'government interventions in the past may have contributed to the current crisis by eroding initiatives for producing food'.²²

The famine in Malawi of 2001/2 has been described as an 'Economic Liberalisation famine',²³ the trigger was environmental but the underlying cause was the crucial inability of either the Malawian Government or

¹⁹ Stephen Devereux, 'The Malawi famine of 2002', IDS Bulletin vol.33 (4), 2002

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Amartya Sen. 'The Political Economy of Hunger', jointly edited by J Dreze, Volume 1, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1991

²² Stephen Devereux, 'The Malawi famine of 2002', IDS Bulletin vol.33 (4), 2002

²³ Ibid.

international donors to secure adequate food resources for the people. The economic policies of international donors and funding institutions greatly weakened Malawi's own ability to cope with the crisis and failed to provide an adequate assistance plan, a situation mirrored presently in Niger.

Despite demonstrated failings, the pre-eminence of the theory of economic liberalisation as the means to ensure food security remains. As recently November 2004, representatives of the IMF announced that trade liberalisation was a necessary condition for food security.²⁴ This theory has removed the responsibility for food security from national governments and placed it in the hands of multiple international institutions and NGO's. As we have seen recently through the delayed response to the crisis in Niger, the international community is incapable of performing this role adequately, due to the sheer multiplicity of donor interests. What is also a tragedy is that the current models of economic liberalisation have not only undermined food security but have failed to improve the economic performance of the majority of African countries, increasing the number of people threatened by production shocks.

As Alex de Waal has stated, there is currently a black hole of unaccountability at the heart of the international relief system.²⁵ The authority of the state for securing the food needs of its people has been devolved to a host of supranational, international and local actors and this greatly undermines the ability of the state to act.²⁶ One question that arises is who shall be held to account for the current crisis in Niger. The media has been quick to highlight that the government of Niger refused to give out free food early enough to alleviate the situation. In fact, the government of Niger was simply following advice from its donors such as the UN and the EU who stated such a policy would damage future economic recovery, once again placing future economic objectives ahead of current human concerns. In this situation governments no longer have the freedom to implement strategies to protect those that elected them. However, it is also unlikely that international donors, financial institutions and NGO's will be held accountable for the clear failures in their response to the emergency situation as they operate externally to Niger's political system.

The current model of ensuring adequate food supplies to the world's neediest people is clearly flawed and in urgent need of reform. The international

²⁴ Sophia Murphy, 'Securing Enough to Eat', International Institute for Sustainable Development, Jan 2005, Available at, http://www.iisd.org/pdf/2005/trade_securing_enough_to_eat.pdf

²⁵ Devereux, Howe and Biong Deng, 'The New Famines', IDS Bulletin vol.33 (4), 2002

²⁶ Mark Duffield in Devereux, Howe and Biong Deng, 'The New Famines', IDS Bulletin vol.33 (4), 2002

community has been slow to recognise this need for change, the warning signs have been apparent for sometime. Not only does the current system fail to address the needs of the poor but it undermines democratically elected administrations.

Short-term solutions, Long-term Challenges

Solutions, to the type of crises affecting Niger and much of Africa at the moment, need to be two-fold; firstly to deal with crises that have reached emergency proportions as in Niger, and secondly long term preventative measures to ensure that situations never reach that point.

Emergency Famine Relief - At the UN Summit this coming September, proposals, promoted by DFID and Oxfam,²⁷ for a centrally co-ordinated emergency fund of \$1 billion will be discussed. This fund, overseen by the WFP, is designed to overcome the current constraints endured by having to appeal for each specific emergency. One of the crucial weaknesses of the WFP is that it is reliant on donors responding to specific emergency appeals and this creates a serious time lag when dealing with emergency crises. A central fund would greatly speed up the process of getting food to the needy. As a short-term measure it certainly has some merit and its adoption as an emergency system in September is paramount to provide greater responsive ability to the WFP in times of crisis.

However, adoption of this fund is not on its own sufficient to guarantee food security. It must be regarded as one small step towards meeting the needs of the chronically food insecure, but donors need to accept that a radical rethink of a number of priorities is vital, if the Millennium Development Goal of halving world hunger is ever to be achieved.

Economic Liberalisation – Initially donors must accept that as long as large numbers of people remain hungry, the quest for economic growth will prove illusory.²⁸ Economic growth is necessary to reduce poverty, but is not in itself sufficient nor have the policies implemented so far succeeded in achieving it. The experience of liberalisation in Africa is harsh, and in many countries it is associated with rising poverty and deepening inequality.²⁹ Industrial growth is the most important step towards wealth creation and Africa must boost its exports of manufactured goods to gain foreign capital which it can then invest in its future development. However, current liberalisation models miss out a

²⁷ Oxfam Press release, UN Summit must act to stop Niger food crisis happening again. 27th July 2005

²⁸ New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD), 'Implementing the Comprehensive Africa Agricultural Development programme, NEPAD Website.

²⁹ Stephen Devereux, 'The Malawi famine of 2002', IDS Bulletin vol.33 (4), 2002

critical growth stage between establishing the basics and having fully functioning markets.³⁰

As this years Sachs report highlights, a 'green revolution' has preceded virtually every economic take-off in modern history.³¹ Africa has yet to have this green revolution and the current approach seeks to bypass it. Without a dramatic improvement in the agricultural sector and without the ability to ensure food security, African industries will not be able to take-off as they did in the Far East. African development needs to be slowly nurtured from its agricultural base, and the IMF policies of slashing subsidies for inputs such as fertilisers and good seed will hinder such development.³²

The international community needs to recognise the major importance of agriculture in Africa and adopt strategies to build this capability rather than solely emphasising industrial growth. Without agricultural growth, industries will also flounder.

Subsidy Reform – In 2002 direct support to farmers in OECD countries added up to \$235 billion, almost 30 times the amount provided as agricultural aid to developing countries.³³ To demonstrate the impact this has on African producers, the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI) has estimated that EU subsidies alone have reduced African exports of milk by 90 per cent, livestock by 70 per cent and meat by 60 per cent.³⁴ The consequences of eradicating these subsidies would be a 13 per cent rise in GDP per person in Africa.

Currently, the World Trade Organisation (WTO) is insisting that developing countries drop their tariff barriers to improve access to international trade. However, what the above statistics make apparent is that similar measures adopted by the developed world would have massive repercussions for the state of African agriculture, and play a huge role in asset creation which would help to stave off the threat of food insecurity. At the forthcoming WTO meeting in Hong Kong, the developed world should seriously question the impact that its own economic protectionism has on Africa's poor and recognise that they are a significant contributor to endemic poverty and food insecurity. If the fundamental right to food as enshrined by the UN Declaration of Human Rights is to be taken seriously, developed countries

³⁰ Dorward *et al.*, 'Rethinking Agricultural Policies for Pro-poor Growth', Overseas Development Institute, G8 Portal, September 2004, Available at <http://www.odi.org.uk/nrp/nrp94.pdf>

³¹ Jeffrey Sachs, 'Investing in Development: A Practical Plan to achieve the Millennium Development Goals', London: Earthscan 2005

³² *Ibid.*

³³ International Food Policy Research Institute, 'Looking Ahead; Long-Term prospects for Africa's Agricultural development and food security, August 2005.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

must rapidly implement their own economic reform for the sake of Africa's long- term food security.

Food sovereignty – It is essential that African governments are given back some responsibility to determine the food requirements of their own people and allowed to implement strategies to achieve it, a concept known as food sovereignty. Recent reports by the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) show there is an understanding of Africa's needs and valuable ideas regarding how to meet them. The Maputo declaration of 2003 demonstrates this deep commitment 'to ensure the establishment of regional food reserve systems, including food stocks, linked to Africa's own production, and the development of policies and strategies under the African Union and Regional Economic Committees, to fight hunger and poverty in Africa'.³⁵ However, so far the international community has placed little confidence in the ability of NEPAD to oversee African development, for reasons not often clear. International donors need to recognise that despite its weakness NEPAD is best placed to coordinate complex strategies for Africa, and they should also actively seek ways to bolster its institutional backbone.

Unlike many international donors, the recent NEPAD study appreciates that African nations need to be treated on a case by case basis and there is no overall magic formula. The study draws upon success stories of the past. Many states in Africa would benefit from a return to the maintenance of Strategic Food Reserves, a system that originally worked well in countries like Malawi. A number of states including Ethiopia already have reserves but they are chronically under-funded and donors are reluctant to add to them. These reserves need not necessarily be physical in nature. In Senegal and other countries with seaports a financial reserve has proved successful, as funds could be used to import food from abroad in times of crisis. A flexible approach is needed to ensure success, an undertaking to which the international community has proved incapable.

In order for Africa to become a much stronger producer of agricultural products, there needs to be much greater investment in infrastructure, in subsidising inputs, establishing sustainable irrigation and the support of local markets. African produce cannot yet compete on the world markets unless there is crucial government subsidisation of vital agricultural inputs. NEPAD has currently set a target of 10 per cent investment in agriculture compared to the average of 5 per cent in the nineties.³⁶ However, whether IFI's will endorse this commitment is unclear.

³⁵ NEPAD, 'Study to explore further options for food security reserve systems in Africa, June 2004.

³⁶ IFPRI, 'New Risks and opportunities for Food Security- Scenario Analyses for 2015 and 2050', February 2005, Available at, <http://www.ifpri.org/2020/dp/dp39/2020dp39.pdf>

Almost all nations protected their agricultural sectors in the early stages of development, yet at the moment African states are denied this opportunity. The forthcoming Non-Agricultural Market Access (NAMA) talks at the WTO will seek for African nations to open their economies further without taking into account that they are considerably more open already than many of their developed counterparts.³⁷ Experience has demonstrated that unless there is significant investment in agriculture, enforced slashing of tariff protection will damage rather than support African agriculture.³⁸

For too long the developed world has dictated agricultural policy to African nations regarding economic growth as more of a concern than food security. This emphasis has failed African farmers and African populations as a whole. African's themselves must be given greater ownership for their development prospects, and the strategy for food security is a valuable place to start. This will lead to greater accountability in a sector where currently there is none and this can only be seen as a positive in achieving food security for generations to come.

Conclusion

This paper has sought to demonstrate the need to elevate food security as an essential priority for international donors and African leaders alike, if significant progress is ever to be achieved in Africa. For too long the idea of food security has been treated as a side issue, something that can only be achieved once economic growth or western style democracy has been adopted. These ideas have ignored the historical reality that swift economic growth and accountable democracy have always grown on the back of significant agricultural breakthroughs. The example of Malawi in the early 1990's has shown that countries do not need to have well established economies to boast the luxury of food security.

The existing model stresses that African countries need not worry about food security and should prioritise economic growth by adopting policies that have all too often harmed agricultural development. In this context the international community has maintained that it can step in and aid countries if food shortages reach crisis proportions. However, the current situation in Niger demonstrates that this is a role that the international community is incapable of filling. Therefore there is a need to place authority back in the

³⁷ Sophia Murphy, 'Securing Enough to Eat', International Institute for Sustainable Development, Jan 2005, Available at, http://www.iisd.org/pdf/2005/trade_securing_enough_to_eat.pdf

³⁸ Ibid.

hands of democratically elected governments within Africa and allow them, in partnership with donors, to establish food sovereignty and produce measures to ensure that minimum food standards for their people can be met. The example set by NEPAD in producing innovative and workable solutions provides a basis from which to start. For these ideas to bear fruit, consultation and financial support from donors is required, although donors must learn to relinquish some authority and allow Africans to have ownership of their own development. NEPAD is still in its infancy but with genuine support, financial and intellectual, from international institutions it can become a vital pillar for assisting African Development.