

Round table discussion

Impossible to “wean” when more aid is needed

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Kirigia and Diarra-Nama from the WHO Regional Office for Africa say that funding for health in the WHO Africa Region remains inadequate and that, in some countries, is significantly dependent on donor funding. They propose five strategies for these countries to “wean themselves off” donor funding. While each of the proposed strategies might have some value in itself, they will not succeed in the double objective the authors set: to wean countries from depending upon international health aid and to achieve the US\$ 34 per person annual health expenditure target suggested by the Commission on Macroeconomics and Health¹ – an amount that must now be adjusted to US\$ 40 due to inflation.²

Of the five strategies proposed, only the second and third strategy – reprioritizing public expenditure and raising additional domestic revenue – would increase domestic financial resources for health. The other three strategies (reducing inefficiencies and corruption and increasing private sector involvement in health development) might improve efficiency but would not bring countries closer to the US\$ 40 per person annual target. It could be argued that with increased efficiency, less money is required. However,

the Commission’s target is based on need and does not factor in inefficiencies or corruption.

Furthermore, even if countries were to reprioritize public expenditure and raise additional domestic revenue, this is unlikely to generate sufficient additional financial resources, particularly for those countries most dependent on international health aid. To test this, we estimated the impact of these two strategies for the 4 countries where – according to the WHO Statistical Information System – the external contribution to total health expenditure exceeded 40% in 2004 (Madagascar, Malawi, Mozambique and Sao Tome and Principe), plus four other countries where the external contribution to total health expenditure exceeded 40% in 2005 (Liberia, Rwanda, Sierra Leone and Zambia).³

Kirigia and Diarra-Nama propose reprioritizing public expenditure by adjusting military expenditure to the average of the countries of the WHO African Region. We estimated military expenditure per inhabitant by using data from the CIA of the United States of America⁴ – which are expressed as a percentage of GDP – and multiplied those with GDP per capita estimates of the International Monetary Fund.⁵ Using the average annual military expenditure of US\$ 16 per person provided by Kirigia and Diarra-Nama, we find that the 8 countries of our selection already spend less than US\$ 16 per person per year on the military. The proposed strategy would therefore not make a difference (Table 1).

The other strategy proposed to raise domestic financial resources for health is that all countries should aim for government revenue equivalent to 15% of GDP. Five out of the 8 countries of our selection already have higher government

Table 1. Impact of strategies proposed to reduce dependency on aid

Countries	Justification of selection: external contribution to total health expenditure		GDP per capita, 2006 ⁵ (US\$) ^a	Impact of second strategy proposed			Impact of third strategy proposed		Current situation
	2004 ³ (%)	2005 ³ (%)		Military expenditure pp/yr, 2006 ⁴ (% of GDP)	Military expenditure pp/yr, 2005 (US\$) ^a	Budget available pp/yr (US\$) ^{a,b}	Government revenue excluding grants, 2005 ⁵ (% of GDP)	Budget available pp/yr (US\$) ^{a,c}	
Liberia	33.2	41.2	126.0	1.3	1.6	0.0	18.6	0.0	10.0
Madagascar	42.2	46.1	278.0	1.0	2.8	0.0	11.3	1.5	9.0
Malawi	59.4	61.2	157.0	1.3	2.0	0.0	17.5	0.0	19.0
Mozambique	50.2	66.5	344.0	0.8	2.8	0.0	15.9	0.0	14.0
Rwanda	35.9	43.9	268.0	2.9	7.8	0.0	12.9	0.8	19.0
Sao Tome and Principe	50.8	49.9	698.0	0.8	5.6	0.0	21.3	0.0	49.0
Sierra Leone	31.9	41.0	232.0	2.3	5.3	0.0	11.8	1.1	8.0
Zambia	34.0	40.5	366.0	1.8	6.6	0.0	16.9	0.0	36.0

GDP, gross domestic product; pp/py, per person per year.

^a US\$ amounts use average exchange rate.

^b If military expenditure were reduced to US\$ 16 per person per year and if 15% of the reduced expenditure were allocated to health.

^c If government revenue increased to 15% of GDP and if 15% of the increase was allocated to health.

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revenue. Three out of 8 countries would indeed increase financial resources if they followed the recommendation, but even if they spent 15% of these additional financial resources on health – in line with the Abuja Declaration⁶ – it would merely raise between US\$ 0.8 per person per year (Rwanda) and US\$ 1.5 per person per year (Madagascar).

Furthermore, 6 out of these 8 countries still face a huge gap between current total health expenditure and the revised target made by the Commission on Macroeconomics and Health: in Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Mozambique, Rwanda and Sierra Leone, total health expenditure is still below US\$ 20 per person per year, even with 40% coming from international health aid.

Even if some countries of the African region might be able to wean themselves from international health aid, others obviously cannot: they need increased aid, urgently. This can be achieved through sustained international health aid, which should not be seen as an act of charity to be overcome as soon as possible, but as an act of global solidarity, with health recognized as a human right that entails both national and international duties. For these reasons we agree with the position of WHO's Director-General who has called for much greater, and more predictable, international health aid for Africa.⁷ We hope that her voice will be heard and understood throughout WHO and the wider international community. ■

Competing interests: None declared.

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Response to Ooms and Van Damme

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The thesis of our base paper is that if African Region countries armed themselves with a strategy for weaning themselves off donor funding for health, which is backed up by effective programmes for improving economic efficiency in public

and private expenditure; identifying and pruning unproductive public expenditure; raising additional domestic revenue; creating an enabling environment for private health sector growth; and boosting health development governance to curb corruption, they would have a high probability of succeeding in this century, i.e. in the next 92 years.

In their commentary, Ooms and Van Damme attempt to argue that none of the above-mentioned strategies would singly enable African countries to raise the US\$ 40 per person required to provide an essential package of health interventions. They do not propose an alternative set of strategies that would enable African countries to mobilize the US\$ 40 per capita without depending solely on donor funding. Instead, they make a rallying cry for sustained international health aid.

The commentators mistakenly assumed that our proposed strategies are mutually exclusive. Of course, none of the five strategies alone would be able to raise enough domestic resources needed to wean countries off donor funding. However, our argument is that the five strategies, depending on each country's context, should be implemented in tandem.

Our argument was that 8 countries (Algeria, Angola, Botswana, Gabon, Lesotho, Namibia, Seychelles and South Africa), whose current military spending is above the regional average of US\$ 16 per person, may have scope for savings. Ooms and Van Damme argue that this strategy would not make a difference to Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Mozambique, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Sierra Leone and Zambia. This is tautological since the military expenditure of the latter set of countries is below our assumed US\$ 16 per capita threshold.

Concerning the strategy on raising additional revenue, we argued that 13 countries whose tax share of GDP is less than 15% have scope for raising additional revenue by improving efficiency of their tax administration systems. Commentators argue that countries such as Madagascar and Rwanda would raise merely an additional US\$ 1.5 and US\$ 0.8 per person per year. When multiplied with the total population, those seemingly small figures would yield an additional US\$ 36.15 million per year for Madagascar and US\$ 9.68 million per year for Rwanda. Those amounts are not insignificant in these countries where more than 60% of the population live below the international poverty line of US\$ 1 per person per day.¹

We concur with the WHO Director-General's call for increased and more predictable international aid for Africa which adheres to the principles of the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness.² In our opinion, the effectiveness of international aid should also be judged on the extent to which it helps recipient countries to develop and implement strategies for weaning themselves off external donor funding before the end of this century. ■

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