

S 2619

JEFAD/FADPPS/90/10

UNITED NATIONS
ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR AFRICA

Joint ECA/FAO Agriculture Division

REPORT TO THE FOLLOW-UP COMMITTEE OF THE NIAMEY-BASED MULPOC ✓
ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ASPECTS OF
THE UNITED NATIONS PROGRAMME OF ACTION FOR AFRICAN ECONOMIC RECOVERY
AND DEVELOPMENT (UN-PAAERD), 1986-1990

Addis Ababa
January 1990

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. The African dilemma since the mid-1970s has resulted in many Africa-led broad proposals for frameworks and strategies to solve the regions crisis, the latest being the African Priority Programme for Economic Recovery 1986-1990 (APPER), the declaration of the United Nations 13th Special Session on Africa which led to the adoption, by resolution S-13/2, of the United Nations Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development 1986-1990 (UN-PAAERD), and the African Alternative Framework to Structural Adjustment Programmes for Socio-Economic Recovery and Transformation. It is difficult to over-emphasize the extent to which these publications have influenced the nature of thinking and debate on Africa's food and development problems.
2. Prior to the above proposals, there was the Regional Food Plan for Africa (AFPLAN-1978) followed by the Lagos Plan of Action (1980) for the implementation of the Monrovia Strategy for the Development of Africa (1979) which received acknowledgement in the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade (the 1980s). The philosophy behind the LPA is to build collective self-reliance, with emphasis on strategies for increasing food production for domestic markets. Indeed, it was recognized that the failure of post-independence policies to reduce excessive external dependence, including the qualitative dependence where production dependents on imported inputs, had clearly contributed to the dimension of the African crisis. With such dependence fully entrenched, the performance of the world economy became the major determinant of the performance of African economies, there being little room to manoeuvre or independent action, including decision-making with regard to domestic policies. The heavy dependence and reliance on external assistance not only makes African economies open to outside intervention in their policy decisions, but also it means that unless structurally these economies are made less dependent, crises will be a regular feature of African life. Overall, Africans are almost as poor today as they were at independence in the 1960s. The challenge facing Africa is therefore dramatic; and it is now clear that the cost of failure would be appalling.
3. Africa had therefore to cultivate the virtue of self-reliance. The region had to come up with its own strategy for development which had to be jealously guarded and its implementation vigorously pursued. Disappointments have been expressed with the lack of the expected impact of the LPA and the likely lack of commitment to the plan by African governments themselves.
4. During the 21st Session (July 1985), the OAU Heads of State and Government adopted APPER which contained short, medium and long-term sectoral measures to accelerate the attainment of the aims and objectives of the LPA. APPER was submitted to the 13th Extra-ordinary Session of the UN General Assembly convened in May 1986 with the objective of discussing in-depth Africa's economic and social crisis. APPER contains a thorough analysis of the crisis in particular the agricultural problems in Africa and provided the basis for the preparation and adoption of resolution S-13/2 on

UNPAAERD^{1/}. In APPER the African countries commit themselves to the reform of economic development policies and adoption of more realistic development strategies, concentrating resources on the high priority areas with considerable emphasis on the food and agriculture sector in recognition of agricultural development as the main engine for recovery and long-term development in Africa. Like the LPA and UN-PAAERD, APPER essentially constitutes an African programme for economic policy reform and further commitment to sound policies for medium and long-term development.

5. The major outcome of the Special Session was based on the 'New York Paper' and the 'African Paper' and, that is, the adoption on 1 June 1986 of UN-PAAERD, 1986-1990 which is in consonant with the principal proposals under APPER. The main conclusions of APPER were basically used as the underpinning of the food and agricultural aspects of UN-PAAERD, which now provides the framework for Africa's economic development during the late 1980s.

6. This Programme was formulated at a time of deepening and worsening economic and social crisis in Africa characterized by falling per capita incomes, low-yielding agriculture, and increasing hunger. It contains a twin commitment: the determination and commitment on the part of the African governments shoulder to the primary responsibility for its implementation including undertaking reform policies in key areas, especially those policies that affect agriculture; and the positive response and commitment of the international community to support and complement the African development efforts by enhancing their financial support of the Programme. Accordingly, the General Assembly requested the organs, organizations and bodies of the United Nations system, in consultation with the Organization of African Unity and the Economic Commission for Africa to support and participate fully in the implementation and achievement of the aims and objectives set out in the UN-PAAERD.

7. The full implementation of PAAERD would require US\$ 128.1 billion during the period. In the spirit of self-reliant development, the African countries have committed themselves to mobilize US\$82.5 billion (64.4 per cent) from domestic sources. The UN Programme of Action calls on the international community to provide the balance of US\$45.6 billion (\$9 billion annually) from external resources. The total investment required for the implementation of the food and agricultural development programme is estimated at US\$57.4 billion, which is 44.8 per cent of the total cost of implementing APPER. The total cost for the implementation of the measures envisaged under other sectors in support of agriculture is estimated at US\$60.1 billion; viz. rehabilitation and development of agro-related industries; development of transport and communications; and trade and finance.

^{1/} The main documents before the Special Session were the "New York Paper" (by the UN secretariat) and the "African Paper" (by the OAU and ECA). The conceptual framework for both these papers was APPER.

8. This study focuses its attention on the evaluation of the efforts being made and measures being taken at the national, subregional, regional and global levels in the implementation of APPER/UNPAAERD as called for in the ECA Work Programme for the 1990-1991 biennium with specific reference to food and agriculture development in the West African subregion^{2/}. This assessment lays more emphasis on the activities of member States. This is based on the belief that the success to be attained will depend largely on strategies and priorities adopted and implemented at the national level. Agriculture will prosper only in a favourable and conducive policy environment. The report tries therefore to determine principally the major activities which are being undertaken at the country level with a view to meeting countries' real and perceived needs with a particular stress on policy re-orientations for sustained development in the area of food and agriculture and related sectors.

9. The findings by this analysis are based on information available in ECA and FAO and field visits to countries and subregional integration groupings. A general finding is that a considerable amount of effort has been made by the African countries, often under very harsh and difficult conditions.

II. AGRICULTURE AND GENERAL ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE

10. Agriculture plays a crucial role in the economies of these countries both in terms of contribution to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and employment generation. Table 1 presents the subregional picture with respect to the share of agriculture in GDP and in the economically active population in agriculture for different countries of the subregion.

^{2/} The area includes some sixteen countries namely, Benin, Burkina-Faso, Cape-Verde, Côte d'Ivoire, the Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra-Leone and Togo.

Table 1: Share of Agricultural in Gross Domestic Product (GDP)
and Share of Labour Force Engaged in Agriculture (in %)
in the Niamey-based MULPOC Countries (West Africa Subregion)

Country	Share of Agriculture in GDP ^{1/}			Share of Labour Force Engaged in Agriculture ^{2/}		
	1965	1980	1987	1975	1980	1988
Benin	38	36	37	76	70	63
Burkina-Faso	44	48	48	88	87	85
Cape-Verde	20	24	23	58	52	45
Côte d'Ivoire	35	41	45	71	65	58
Gambia	31	38	39	85	84	82
Ghana	53	54	53	57	56	51
Guinea	48	57	58	83	81	76
Guinea-Bissau	52	52	55	83	83	80
Liberia	23	21	22	76	74	71
Mali	63	50	54	87	86	82
Mauritania	26	25	28	77	69	66
Niger	45	44	46	93	91	88
Nigeria	20	28	30	70	68	66
Senegal	21	21	22	82	81	79
Sierra Leone	33	38	41	73	70	64
Togo	31	33	33	75	73	70
West African Subregion	24	32	34	74	72	68

^{1/} At Constant 1980 Price (Factor Cost) = ECA.
^{2/} FAO.

Source: - National Accounts, Computer Print-Outs. Statistics Division
December 21, 1989, ECA, Addis Abeba.

- FAO Production Yearbook, Vol.42, FAO, Rome, pp 63-67.

11. From the above table, it is clear that agriculture (food and industrial crop production, livestock, fisheries and forestry) accounted for about or over 40 per cent of the GDP of majority of the countries of the subregion in the 1980s^{3/}. Between 1980 and 1987 the percentage share of agriculture declined for some countries but for others this increased. The overall picture, however, remained basically the same during the two periods. Performance in this sector therefore has strong effects on the economy of most countries. Even in those countries where agriculture contributes less than this figure, economic performance remains strongly determined by that sector. With regard to the labour force engaged in agriculture, over 50 per cent of the labour force in each of the countries listed in the table was engaged in agriculture in 1988. This percentage ranged from 51 per cent in Ghana to 88 per cent in Niger and 85 per cent in Burkina-Faso with the Gambia and Mali also registering a figure higher than 80 per cent. The comparative figure for the subregion is around 70 per cent.

12. Table 2 below gives the general characteristic features of West African economies. The most common feature is the slow growth in terms of both GDP and agricultural production which, except for a very few countries (Cape-Verde, Gambia, Niger, Mali) had negative growth rates during 1980-87 and 1985-88 periods. The per capita GDP growth rate for the ECOWAS subregion as whole was more than - 6.3 per cent between 1980 and 1987 while agriculture growth rate per capita was also negative at - 1.5 per cent for the subregion during 1985-88. The worst hit countries were the three Mano River Union countries (Guinea, Liberia and Sierra-Leone), Nigeria and Togo.

^{3/} The main food crops grown include cereal grains (maize, millet, sorghum, rice etc.), pulse crops and roots (cassava, yams, cocoyams, potatoes etc.).

Table 2: Economic Community of West African States
Population, Income and Growth

GDP at constant 1980 prices.

Member States	Population mid - 1987 (1000)	Area 1000 km ²	1987 Aggregate GDP (million)	GDP Per Capita 1987	Per Capita Average Growth rate % GDP 1980-87	Agriculture Product Growth Rate* Per Capita 1985-88
Total CEAO (6)	43150	4326090	17392	403	- 1.96	
Côte d'Ivoire	11137	322460	8742	785	- 3.28	- 2.0
Burkina-Faso	8308	274200	1307	157	- 0.44	1.4
Mali	8574	1240190	1747	204	- 1.07	1.7
Mauritania	1864	1025520	647	347	- 2.02	1.0
Niger	6488	1267000	1939	299	- 3.60	2.2
Senegal	6779	196720	3010	444	0.00	- 1.3
Mano River Union (3)	12549	428970	2747	219	- 4.63	
Guinea	6379	245860	1173	184	- 4.15	- 0.7
Liberia	2322	111370	655	282	- 6.85	- 3.8
Sierra-Leone	3848	71740	919	239	- 3.67	- 1.0
Others (7)	125135	1383170	72856	582	- 7.29	
Benin	4309	112620	1151	267	- 2.84	- 1.5
Ghana	13734	238540	4521	329	- 2.29	0.8
Nigeria	101875	923770	65669	645	- 7.73	- 2.7
Togo	3154	56790	897	284	- 4.08	- 1.1
Guinea-Bissau	926	36120	162	175	0.16	3.1
Gambia	789	11300	301	381	1.18	0.1
Cape-Verde	348	4030	155	445	4.47	10.7
Total ECOWAS	180834	6138230	92995	514	- 6.33	- 1.5

* / Least Square Growth Rate of Production Per Capita Index Numbers
1979-81 = 100.

Production Index Number Computer Print. Outs April 1989.

Sources: - ECA secretariat for GDP figures.

a) Food Self-Sufficiency

13. For Africa as a whole total agricultural production is estimated to have risen (exponentially) at an annual rate of about 2.6 per cent during the period 1981-88 or 2 per cent if the period 1985-88 is considered, with the North African subregion registering the highest growth rates.

14. During the period under consideration (1980-1988), the per capita food and agriculture situation in the West African subregion has not been at all encouraging. Whereas aggregate food production for the subregion increased by about 3 per cent annually during the period 1981-88, the per capita food production was more disturbing at an annual rate during the same period (Annex Tables 1 and 2). The decline was particularly marked in countries such as Gambia, Guinea, Liberia, Sierra-Leone and Togo.

15. Table 3 and Figure 1 give the trends in food production and self-sufficiency ratio (SSR)^{4/} in food commodities. This ratio declined from 110 per cent to 90 per cent in the period 1961/63 to 1983/85 and is projected to decrease further to 88 per cent by the year 2000 for the subregion as a whole. It is clear from the table that severe declines have occurred in Burkina-Faso, Gambia, Guinea, Mauritania and Senegal among others with no signs of improvement. This fall in self-sufficiency ratio implies that the countries concerned have been facing an increasing trend in food importation, for those who can afford it, and food aid. It also implies that nutritional levels could have suffered. From 1979/81 to 1983/85 calories per capita/day went down from 2176 to 2046 for the countries of the subregion taken together. At the individual country level, however, we find that Sierra-Leone and Nigeria suffered most while the dietary energy supplies (per caput calorie supplies) for Burkina-Faso, Ghana, Guinea and Mali fell far short of requirements throughout the period (Table 4). Although per capita annual rate growth of cereals was positive (2.1 per cent), it was less than population growth during the period 1981-1988 while there was a sharp decline in per capita production of roots and tubers at - 6.66 annually. The rate of growth in livestock production for the same period was - 1.04 per cent per year.

^{4/} SSR as defined in AFPLAN = $\frac{\text{Domestic Production}}{\text{Domestic Utilization}} \times 100$
(or Demand)

Table 3: Self-Sufficiency in Agriculture and Food Production
ECCOWAS, 1961/63-2000

Country	Total Agriculture Production					Total Food Production				
	1961 /63	1969 /71	1979 /81	1983 /85	2000	1961 /63	1969 /71	1979 /81	1983 /87	2000
Burkina-Faso	1.10	1.10	1.01	1.01	1.00	1.09	1.07	0.96	0.96	0.96
Côte d'Ivoire	1.50	1.52	1.53	1.55	1.37	0.90	0.87	0.86	0.87	0.89
Mali	1.21	1.14	1.21	1.15	1.11	1.19	1.11	1.12	1.05	1.04
Mauritania	1.18	1.10	0.87	0.70	0.72	1.19	1.10	0.88	0.71	0.73
Niger	1.37	1.29	1.07	0.93	1.01	1.36	1.29	1.07	0.93	1.02
Senegal	1.59	1.22	0.81	0.73	0.90	1.61	1.24	0.81	0.72	0.91
Mano River Union										
Guinea	1.07	1.04	0.97	0.94	0.93	1.03	1.01	0.95	0.93	0.92
Liberia	1.07	1.20	1.04	1.09	0.92	0.80	0.82	0.76	0.80	0.75
Sierra Leone	1.01	0.98	0.89	0.94	0.91	0.96	0.92	0.81	0.87	0.86
Others										
Benin	1.09	1.20	0.95	0.97	0.91	1.07	1.08	0.97	0.94	0.95
Cape Verde	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na
Gambia	1.82	1.73	1.09	0.90	1.25	1.84	1.76	1.13	0.92	1.29
Ghana	1.63	1.46	1.30	1.12	1.04	0.84	0.89	0.91	0.90	0.88
Guinea Bissau	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na
Nigeria	1.16	1.09	0.91	0.92	0.87	1.09	1.03	0.88	0.90	0.86
Togo	1.22	1.28	1.06	0.98	0.92	1.00	1.02	0.91	0.83	0.82
ECOWAS	1.24	1.17	1.01	0.99	0.95	1.10	1.04	0.90	0.90	0.88

Source: Agriculture Toward 2000 Computer Print-Outs. FAO, Rome, 1987.

Table 4: Food Per Caput: Calories Per Caput, Per Day, ECOWAS

Country	Minimum Daily Calorie Require- ment*	Calories Per Caput, Per Day				Daily Calorie Supply as % of Requi- rement*	
		1961/63	1969/81	1979/81	1983/85	1983/85	2000
CEAO							
Burkina-Faso	2370	1863	1967	2033	1962	83	2185
Côte d'Ivoire	2310	2154	2369	2570	2445	106	2634
Mali	2360	1827	1836	1752	1793	76	1910
Mauritania	2310	1997	1987	2000	2076	90	2305
Niger	2360	2067	2002	2364	2265	96	2304
Senegal	2300	2306	2370	2389	2341	96	2591
Mano River Union							
Guinea	2310	1805	1907	1767	1725	75	2125
Liberia	2310	2093	2210	2381	2343	101	2554
Sierra Leone	2300	1617	1956	2049	1833	80	2187
Other							
Benin	2300	1987	2078	2138	2138	93	2142
Cape Verde							
Gambia	2380	2130	2249	2177	2229	94	2699
Ghana	2300	2033	2200	1783	1682	73	1871
Guinea Bissau	2310						
Nigeria	2360	2181	2131	2245	2062	87	2218
Togo	2300	2199	2194	2218	2203	96	2569
ECOWAS		2088	2115	2176	2046		2222

Source: Agriculture Toward 2000, Computer Print-Outs. FAO, Rome 1987; and other sources.

*/ National food requirements are expressed in calories and are based on the approximate energy needs of working adults, taking account of height, age, distribution and ecological factors.

16. As shown in Annex Table 6, although food aid figures showed a downward trend between 1984/85, when it was highest, and 1987/88, there was an increase from 470,000 tons in 1986/87 to about 585,000 tons. Food aid received during the years 1986/87 and 1987/88 was about half that of 1984/85 and 1985/86 periods.

b) Agricultural Trade

17. Total agricultural exports (i.e. agricultural, fishery and forestry products) from the subregion declined sharply between 1986 and 1987, in value terms, although these were higher than those recorded for both 1984 and 1985. The aggregate reduction of export earnings derived from agriculture was about 10 per cent between 1986 and 1987 (Annex Table 5). The corresponding figure for developing Africa was a decline of just over 8 per cent. For Africa in general, the deterioration in agricultural net barter and income terms of trade in 1988, due mainly to collapse in prices of major agricultural export crops and the low volume of agricultural exports, led to depressed economic situation where these exports could purchase nearly 20 per cent less manufactured goods and petroleum as compared to 1979-81.

18. The performance was uneven among the West African countries with countries like Benin, Burkina-Faso, Gambia and Mauritania, for example, showing increases of 82 per cent, 27 per cent, 77 per cent and 23 per cent respectively. On the other hand Côte d'Ivoire, Mali, Nigeria and Togo had the greatest declines during this period, the highest being that of Nigeria at a decrease of nearly 60 per cent in agricultural export earnings. Côte d'Ivoire whose agricultural exports have been nearly 20 per cent of developing Africa's total agricultural exports in recent years, experienced a sharp adverse shift in its terms of trade between 1986 and 1989, when real prices of its main exports, cocoa and coffee declined by 48 per cent and 55 per cent respectively 5/.

19. Total agricultural imports into the subregion were fairly high during the period 1980-1983, with a peak of about US\$5,702 million in 1981, but they progressively decreased during the next four years with a further contraction of about US\$2,880 million in 1987. Rice and wheat constitute the largest part of food imports. However, no firm conclusions can yet be drawn with respect to the impact of UN-PAAERD on African agricultural trade, and vice-versa.

III. MAIN DEVELOPMENTS IN POLICIES AND STRATEGIES

20. The African governments have reaffirmed that their major concern is the fight against hunger, malnutrition and poverty in the continent. There is therefore hardly a voice in Africa today which does not advocate greater concentration on rural and agrarian matters. And there is no doubt that

5/ Cocoa beans account for nearly 17 per cent of all African agricultural exports.

there have been some positive changes in the thinking of these governments at the policy level with recognition of the centrality of agriculture. Development policies and strategies and other exogenous factors can provide an enabling environment for (or hinder) the agricultural sector to meet the competing claims for food, foreign exchange earnings and the fueling of the development process by generating and transferring resources to the rest of the economy.

21. A wide variety of policy, strategy and institutional reforms and policy changes have evolved in Africa in the 1980s, often involving real sacrifices, social costs and political risks, in particular since the reforms have become a condition for obtaining aid from western countries and institutions. The economic responses to the shortage of food during the period under review, was a renewed interest in agriculture and the land, leading, in some cases, to partial recovery and renewed development. The mid-term review of the United Nations Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development, 1986-1990 which was conducted in September 1988 indicated that the Programme of Action had provided a framework and impetus for action by African countries as well as by the international community. In a way, it is in the light of such programmes such as LPA, APPER and UN-PAAERD that many countries have begun to reform their policies to the food sector.

22. In these efforts, African countries continue to collaborate with international organizations and the donor community in order to increase agricultural production.

a) National Policies and Strategies

23. The wide variations in the performance of the food and agricultural sector of countries with similar resource endowments in Africa critically underline the crucial role of human intervention in determining the direction of agricultural development. This intervention is in the realm of government policies and strategies. The UN Special Session called upon the African governments and institutions to devise appropriate and implementable national programmes in accordance with the UN Programme of Action. Unlike other regions of the world which face the problem of overproduction, for Africa, the need to promote agricultural growth and productivity and enhance self-sufficiency, provides the main impetus for policy reform in many of its countries. The objectives of agricultural policies in the African countries reflect the greater share of agriculture in their economies and lower per capita incomes than in most other regions. Many African countries including those of the West African subregion have embarked on a number of far-reaching macro-economic reforms, the range of measures involving structural changes (improved management of the economy, rehabilitation and revitalization of the agricultural sector) and fiscal and monetary as well as institutional reforms ^{6/}. Most countries of the subregion are taking

^{6/} These reforms are in many cases carried out with the support of the Bretton Woods institutions where practically all the countries of the subregion have adopted IMF and World Bank-supported (or approved) stabilization and structural adjustment programmes.

bold steps to reform and transform their economies and promote recovery and development in accordance with their commitments to the objectives of APPER/UN-PAAERD. For example, most governments have instituted changes in incentive systems including producer prices, reforms in rural and agricultural institutions and the rationalization of public sector enterprises such as the deregulation of markets while significant efforts are also being made on diversification.

24. There is a growing recognition, if the acceleration of agricultural development is to be realized, that member States should consider selective relaxation of government's direct control of economic activities and adopt instead policies that encourage rather than forestall greater productivity. In the subregion, at least six countries (Benin, Ghana, Guinea Bissau, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Togo), have undertaken programmes that aim at privatizing state involvement in agriculture.

25. The programmes being pursued in Nigeria and Senegal, for example, concentrate on governments' intervention in markets, better allocation of resources to agriculture, privatization and agrarian reforms. In Nigeria the programme includes the removal of price distortions in the export sector, including the abolition of the country's export marketing board in 1986. The Nigerian government's intention in its two-year old recovery programme is, *inter-alia*, to make the exportation of agricultural produce attractive. Nigeria, which experienced a rapid growth in food imports in the early 1980s (over 10 per cent p.a.), adopted in February 1988, a comprehensive package of policy instruments for the development and improvement of the performance of its agriculture sector. This policy package is expected to remain the main guideline for food and agricultural development for the remaining years of this decade i.e. up to year 2000 A.D. In pursuance of this national policy on agriculture, the government intends to go beyond the mere promotion of agricultural production to include promotion of processing, development of a viable storage system and marketing of agricultural products in the drive for food self-sufficiency and national food security. The nation's newly established Rural Agro-Industrial Development Scheme (RAIDS) is meant to promote appropriate, agro-processing technology which is best adapted to the small scale system of agricultural production on which Nigeria still depends for much of its food. The national strategic Grain Reserve Programme is also being pursued with vigour at the federal government level and the state governments are also being encouraged to establish buffer-storage for grains.

26. Senegal having lost its comparative advantage in its main export crop, groundnuts, as revealed by investigations during the 1970s, the government reallocated resources into irrigated rice instead ^{7/}. By the mid-1980s

^{7/} Regressing groundnut (the principal tradable) and millet yields on rainfall and time, indicates that nearly 60 per cent of yield variation over the past 30 years can be attributed to rainfall. Rainfall itself has declined significantly, since the early 1960s. Between 1979 and 1984 both crop yields declined by nearly 11 per cent. By 1986 the price of unrefined groundnut oil was around 45 per cent of its 1984 level and less than a third of the 1980 level in real terms. Groundnuts products, which comprised about 75 per cent of export goods earnings in the 1960s, fell to 42 per cent in the 1970s and to 17 per cent between 1980 and 1986.

Senegal was producing only just over 50 per cent of its domestic food requirements the rest, in accordance with the "Ministère du développement Rural", consisting of food imports (40 per cent) and food aid 8 per cent. The basic issue that has confronted policy-makers concerns therefore the means for raising productivity levels in agriculture which has remained at best constant over the past 25 years. Hence, in June 1986 the authorities introduced the Cereals Plan (Plan Céréaliier) with the objective of making Senegal 80 per cent domestic food self-sufficient by the end of this century. They are pursuing this goal through a new general agricultural policy orientation which gives emphasis on reducing the role of the state by liberalizing the domestic markets, particularly for cereals and providing adequate incentives to local cereal producers, including an improvement in the input supply system. Recent public policy towards agriculture has also been an attempt to reduce the burden of parastatals or the budget e.g. reduction of support for inputs and reduction or elimination of subsidies to consumers for major food items. Groundnuts production is still, however, being accorded considerable importance, only the main emphasis has shifted to cereals production. In order to improve the efficiency of public investment, the government has further rationalized the programming of investments as elaborated in the first three-year rolling public investment programme launched in July 1987 (Economic Policy Framework for 1987/88-1989/90) which is a medium-term strategy. The new programme emphasizes the implementation of projects that offer high returns, as well as rehabilitation and maintenance operations. Further objectives of Senegal's economic policy framework include measures to remove structural impediments to economic growth and improve supply conditions, including further increases in the efficiency of public investments and agricultural and industrial policy reforms.

27. Since the mid-1980s, Guinea has implemented far-reaching institutional reforms to create a conducive climate for investment and a structural adjustment plan has been run with the help of the World Bank and IMF. A recent account of the performance of the Guinean Structural Adjustment Programme of 1986/87, was given by a government official indicating that this programme had resulted in improved growth in GDP, agricultural production and the recovery of industry. But the programme had also negative effects which forced the country to introduce such measures as cost of living bonus to the poor, bonus to those retiring voluntarily or otherwise and to those opting to take up farming. In the past few years many other countries in the subregion including Togo, Ghana, Mauritania and Mali undertook substantial changes in their economic systems and adopted policies aimed at improving their macro-economic performance. Like many other African countries, however, they resorted to short-term measures often at unfavourable conditions attached to request for external resources with a view to redressing the crisis ^{8/}. The Benin's three-year IMF/World Bank -

^{8/} The African experience under adjustment has been instructive. Emphasis has been placed on financial stabilization. And by and large has been accompanied by an inability to formulate adequate longer-run sectoral strategies as the policy which has been adopted hardly looks beyond a country's short-run stabilization programme or measures.

assisted Recovery Programme (1989-1991) has replaced all the government's previous plans and programmes. Its emphasis is on the reform of public finance including public investment in agriculture and industry. A group of donors has announced plans to finance the first of this programme including helping Benin set up a social fund aimed at financing basic social services.

28. Ghana's first phase of its Economic Recovery Programme (1983-86) was launched with the assistance of the IMF and World Bank, the features of the Programme being stabilization and diversification, the country pursuing an extensive set of policy reforms which were designed to reverse the economic decline which had been the characteristic feature of Ghana's economy during the previous two decades. Per capita income fell by over 30 per cent between 1970 and 1982 while agricultural output (more than 50 per cent GDP) declined at a rate of 0.3 per cent p.a. through the 1970s. Exports fell sharply as cocoa production declined by almost two-thirds from the 1960s. By the early 1980s the economy had seriously shrunk with rampant inflation, the negative consequences cutting across all sectors. It is against this background that the authorities introduced the ERP, whose major objectives included the promotion of economic growth and exports through pricing mechanisms; rehabilitation of economic and social infrastructure; and the encouragement of private savings and investment. Although there was some improvement in economic performance (real GDP grew by 8.6 per cent in 1984, 5.1 per cent in 1985 and 5.3 per cent in 1986), the Programme is yet to alleviate the hardships of the poor and vulnerable groups. Government's policy to cut down expenditures led to retrenchment of labour from the civil service and parastatals, especially the Cocoa Board.

29. Despite the progress made during the four years, Ghana still faced major structural and financial problems. The Government had therefore to formulate the second phase (1987-98) of SAP, and in order to alleviate the adverse effects of SAP on the poor, it developed a Programme of Action to Mitigate the Social Costs of Adjustment (PAMSCAD), under which there are a number of interventions e.g. water, health, nutrition, access to education and other basic needs. The reforms planned for 1987-90 aim at achieving a 5 per cent annual rate of growth. This strategy is expected to attract an average of US\$425-450 million annually during 1987-90. The main feature of agricultural policy has been the increase in producer prices, with particularly sharp increases in cocoa relative to other crops. Between 1984 and 1987/88 nominal cocoa prices increased by five times, the main focus of government policy under ERP being to revive cocoa production through higher producer prices which is targeted to be 55 per cent of the international price by 1988/89. This rate of increase is substantially higher than that for food crops e.g. maize and rice where floor prices have been established. The reform of public agricultural institutions has been the reduction in the budgetary costs to the government of the large parastatal sector in particular the GCMB overhead costs, the overhaul of the extension system and the reduction of input subsidies. Ghana's agricultural policy aims at ensuring that smallholder productivity is increased and that agriculture becomes an attractive alternative employment to industry, trade and commerce. It also seeks to diversify the export sector while establishing an effective linkage between agriculture and industry. Small scale farmers account for not less than 90 per cent of the food, agricultural raw

materials, agricultural exports and fish produced in the country. With the assistance of the World Bank, the government has initiated a Medium-Term Agricultural Development Programme (MTADP), running from 1990 to 1995. The programme is to identify priorities as well as key policy and institutional reforms. It will also provide a framework for efficient allocation of resources. Under the programme, the government hopes to increase yields of all the crops while post-harvest losses are to be reduced from the current levels of 20-30 per cent to 10-15 per cent. It also aims at increasing national self-sufficiency in meat (from 25 per cent to 60 per cent) and fish (from 50 per cent to 80 per cent) by the end of the programme. The level of agricultural raw materials supplied to industry is to be raised from the current 20 per cent to 50 per cent by the year 1995.

30. In response to severe economic and financial difficulties of the mid-1970s, the government of the Gambia adopted in 1985 a comprehensive and far-reaching medium-term adjustment measures contained in an Economic Recovery Programme. The major objectives of the structural adjustment programme for 1989/90 under ESAF are to achieve a rate of growth of real GDP of about 4.5 per cent, reduce inflation, maintain a liberalised trade and exchange system, attain greater efficiency in the state enterprise sector operations and promote private sector activity through the provision of appropriate price and other incentives to raise output, particularly in agriculture, fisheries, tourism and small-scale manufacturing. The programme is also to continue to diversify the country's export base. Agriculture is the mainstay of the economy, and groundnuts are the leading crop, contributing about 20 per cent of GDP and 15 per cent of merchandise exports. The economic difficulties just mentioned were rooted not only in unfavourable developments in the world economy but also in domestic policy shortcomings. The decline in groundnuts production was due to bad weather, inadequate incentives and world prices fluctuations.

31. Since 1986, Côte d'Ivoire has been facing adverse external developments involving a sharp and prolonged adverse shift in the country's terms of trade between 1986 and 1989. As mentioned on page 11 above, the real prices of the country's main exports, cocoa and coffee fell by 48 per cent and 55 per cent respectively. To address these difficulties, the government is embarking on a medium-term strategy aimed at restoring rapid and sustainable economic growth. The phase of this economic programme is to cover the period up to the end of 1990, and it is designed to stabilize the economy by reducing both the internal and external imbalances. This phase also envisages a recovery in investment by 1990. The government will in addition initiate key structural reforms viz restructuring of the pricing, marketing, and subsidy policies in the agricultural sector; rationalization and privatization of public enterprises; and reforms of the financial sector; among others. The government appears also to have learned the lesson of depending too much on a narrow spread of vulnerable exports. Côte d'Ivoire's share of world markets for cocoa and coffee is estimated to be 30 per cent and 6 per cent respectively. While insisting on maintaining these shares, the country is now taking steps to diversify its agricultural output, by shifting towards alternative cash crops (rubber, bananas, pineapples, cotton and sugar) and the achievement of food self-sufficiency. A four-year programme to revitalize the agriculture sector aims to boost -

farm production by 4 per cent annually. Côte d'Ivoire produces only about half of the food it consumes, importing every year vast amounts of its staples eg. rice, wheat, meat and milk. Food self-sufficiency is therefore one of the major aims of the government plan. Measures are underway to increase the production of maize, rice, groundnuts and soyabeans. A major livestock production programme has also been launched in order to achieve self-sufficiency in animal proteins.

32. As far as Niger is concerned, the authorities are aware that a number of constraints continue to face the economy, a typical Sahelian economy, heavily dependent on foreign aid. The main constraints still facing Niger include the dependence on uranium (over 70 per cent of exports), the vulnerability of agriculture to weather (drought has been the predominant influence in farmers' lives) and the still-limited diversification of agricultural production; and a large debt-service burden. Despite the dominance of uranium in the export sector, Niger is still predominantly an agricultural country, with traditional farming and stockraising providing almost 50 per cent of GDP and 17 per cent of exports in 1985, compared with 95 per cent in 1965. Agriculture provides the livelihood of majority of the population. The authorities recognize that a satisfactory resolution of these constraints will require the pursuit of an intensified and more comprehensive strategy than hitherto. They have therefore adopted a medium-term framework covering the period 1988-91 which aims at accelerating the diversification of the economy to promote a sustained growth of production and exports. The main elements of the strategy include structural reforms in agriculture; an increase in investment in order to address the mentioned bottlenecks; to stimulate private sector activity and the effectiveness of public enterprises.

33. Liberia, which until recently had no agriculture policy, launched in January 1986 a "Green Revolution" Programme. This is in addition to the 1986-1989 Economic Recovery Programme which remained largely unimplemented. The Green Revolution is currently being drafted into an Action Programme (GRAP) with FAO assistance under a TCP Project. A draft on National Agricultural Policy is also being prepared and a request has been sent to FAO to help in formulating a National Agricultural Research Policy with UNDP funding. With the original objectives of the Economic Recovery Programme not implemented, "Green Revolution", the National Budget and some ad-hoc pronouncements at the highest level in the Executive Branch have become the only guidelines for economic recovery and development. Cognizant of the role of agriculture (see Table 1) as the engine for economic development in a country where the once-booming mineral resources are now getting depleted, the "Green Revolution" aims broadly at self-sufficiency in food production, development of new cash crops, import-substitution particularly in rice, more foreign as well as private investment in rubber, and, above all, the improvement in productivity among the subsistence farmers so that they can generate greater marketable surpluses and improve their incomes.

34. More specifically, this new commitment by the Liberian government to agricultural development is designed to mount an attack on poverty through increased agricultural investment and employment especially of the youth.

The objectives also include strengthening of rural institutions, better management of parastatals in agriculture, fair producer prices, improved marketing and intensification of agricultural extension services and input delivery to traditional farmers, in particular. While the Green Revolution is being worked into an Action Programme with the assistance of FAO, it has been used to mobilize the farmers and people of Liberia towards the achievement of the noble goals enshrined in the original document. In fact, this national mobilization continues in the media and through high-level public pronouncements. Although in a few cases, some donors have responded to the Government appeal to support the Green Revolution, the donor community still remains, by and large, cautious pending the production of the FAO-supported Green Revolution Action Programme (GRAP). GRAP will contain concrete project proposals/ideas which, hopefully, will lend themselves to favourable consideration by the donors.

35. Other countries of the subregion are also responding in similar manner to deteriorating economic conditions and mounting financial disequilibria. For instance, after a protracted liberation war, the new government of Guinea-Bissau found itself (in 1974) with destroyed infrastructure, dislocated population, and disrupted production. In response, the authorities pursued a strategy of industrialization and neglected the agricultural sector. By 1986, the output of the rural sector was mainly sold in neighbouring countries for essential consumer goods not available in the domestic market and circumstances were growing increasingly unfavourable. Export earnings were equivalent to only 17 per cent of imports while the debt-service burden had reached 90 per cent of exports and non factor service. Guinea Bissau's economy is dominated by agriculture and its present policies are designed to overcome obstacles to economic growth and to promote better exploitation of the available resource base. Agriculture and fishing are expected to become the main sources of growth in the coming years. Meanwhile Burkina-Faso's five-year Economic Plan (1986-1990), concentrates on improving production in agriculture, livestock, fisheries, timber, forestry, mining, industry, water, energy, transport and communications. The CFA 630 bn Plan aims at achieving an overall growth rate for the economy of 3.1 per cent.

b) Public Investment for Agricultural Development

36. In APPER, it is planned that the African countries should raise their level of investment in this sector to between 20 per cent to 25 per cent of total public investment. The share of agricultural investment of APPER is nearly 48 per cent of total planned investment. Efforts are being made to mobilize domestic and external resources in order to meet the need to match political priority or commitment to the food and agriculture sector. We must also stress the need for the development of manpower and institutional resources, and the provision of producer incentives, in particular to smallholder agriculture. In this respect, there is need for lending institutions to relax their formal collateral requirements to suit the specific situation of the rural poor.

37. The trends in external flows to Africa and the conditionalities attached to them are disappointing. Greater attention ought therefore to be

given to the mobilization of domestic resources. Africa should expect to experience lags in resources far behind requirements, and their flow is a trickle when compared with the level recommended by UN-PAERD.

38. Available evidence shows that many countries of the subregion are making efforts, in some cases significantly, to increase the investment in agriculture and related sectors (Table 5). For others, however, investment in agriculture and agricultural technology remains so sub-optimal, changes in policy framework will be needed.

Table 5: Share of Agriculture in Total Public Investment
%

<u>Country</u>	<u>1978-82</u>	<u>Current expenditure</u>
Benin	9.0	-
Gambia	13.6	-
Ghana	9.0	-
Liberia	10.0	1.3
Mali	-	32.0 ^{a/}
Niger	19.0	36.7 ^{b/}
Nigeria	10.0	14.0
Senegal	11.5 ^{c/}	17.9

Notes: a/ For Secteur Economie Rurale during 1987-1991.
 b/ For agricultural, livestock, forest, fisheries and fauna during 1987-1991, or about 39.5 per cent if développement rurale.
 c/ For 1981/82-1984/85.

39. While it is important to recognize that in Africa price and exchange rate policies have had negative impact on food and agricultural production, it is essential to point out that these policies are not the most important factors for agricultural growth. According to a World Bank Staff Working Paper (Cleaver, 1985), on the basis of empirical analysis of the impact of price and exchange rate policies on agriculture in Africa south of the Sahara, has come to the following conclusion: "..... these policies have a relatively small impact compared to other factors such as Government involvement in farm input supply, population growth, and Government's ability to operate and maintain its agricultural investments. Much of the variation in agricultural growth between African countries still cannot be explained". Output is therefore usually constrained not only by inappropriate pricing and taxation policy but also, more importantly, by inadequate levels of public investment in the sector. With the reorientation of agricultural policies now underway investment policy should also be changed in order to augment investments in the sector while at the same time making them more efficient.

c) Non-Farm Sectors in Support of Agriculture

40. The analysis contained in both APPER and UN-PAERD recognizes the strong and high degree of interdependence of economic sectors, in particular between agriculture and the rest of the economy in the process of growth and

development. The food and the agricultural sector substantially influences the output growth of the non-farm sector, income and employment. The link between agriculture and the general economy stretches to non-farm inputs, consumption goods, capital goods and macro-economic variables. Hence, macro policy processes that permit balanced sectoral growth do benefit both the agriculture and non-farm sectors, thereby ensuring stable economic growth in the long term.

41. APPER and UN-PAAERD have therefore defined a set of immediate, medium and long-term priorities for agriculture, which is the priority sector, and the other sectors (industry, transport, trade, finance, energy etc.) in support of agricultural development and growth.

42. The critical role of industry is well recognized by African Governments as enunciated in resolutions and declarations taken over the years. The African Ministers of Industry, for example, interpreted the Lima Plan of Action target for Africa as an increase in the region's share of world industrial production from the present 0.6 per cent to 2 per cent by the year 2000. The Lima Plan of Action would seem to give emphasis on industries which provide other industries (such as metals, chemicals, fuel and power) with basic inputs and on industries with potential for forward, backward and lateral linkages and therefore exerting powerful growth-promoting effects on other industries viz. those producing agricultural inputs, equipment used in transportation and communications, construction, food processing and mass consumption goods. In order for industry to effectively interact with the agricultural and rural sectors, these must be conceived and directed as part of an integrated programme of industrial, agricultural and rural development. A strong link must be forged among them.

43. It must be recognized in addition, however, that an operation of this kind will necessarily involve action on a much wider base including such areas as managerial capability, technology, mobilization and development of financial resources, natural resources including raw materials, foreign trade, transport and communications, planning, economic co-operation and good government.

44. The African Ministers of Industry committed themselves during their May 1989 meeting to working with UNIDO and the ECA to prepare a new industrial strategy for the Second United Nations Industrial Development Decade for Africa. This strategy is to address mainly functional issues eg. the underlying human, technological, and institutional capabilities rather than concentrating on creating industrial capacity.

45. In the 1980s industry declined in many countries, largely due to poor agricultural performance, excessive dependence on imported inputs, a growing crisis in foreign exchange earnings and external indebtedness. Too few industries were linked to the domestic economy and its local resources. Few countries built up industrial skills. The end result was widespread under-utilization of industrial capacity in Africa where modern manufacturing remained small stagnating at about 10 per cent of GDP and 9 per cent of employment between 1965 and 1987. In effect,

de-industrialization seems to have taken place during the 1970s and the 1980s. Among the most seriously affected countries in the subregion were Benin, Ghana, Liberia and Togo. And examples in which inappropriate technology resulted in unsustainably high operational costs include Benin's fertilizer plant, a denim factory in Côte d'Ivoire and a steel mill in Nigeria.

46. Today, the activities of many countries, as contained in their various ERPs, are geared towards rehabilitation and transformation of the industrial sector while overhauling the other sectoral areas such as transport and communications, trade and finance, especially with regard to resource flows, natural resources and energy development and utilization, human resources development and science and technology. The Technology Consultancy Centre of Ghana's University of Science and Technology, for example, is reported to be working hard on using local materials for construction while Côte d'Ivoire has instituted a testing service for agricultural machinery. Under the ERP initiated in 1983, Ghana's informal industrial and service sector has become an important innovation for import-substitution and labour-intensive technology as the country tries to build indigenous technological capabilities.

47. In the field of energy, both Niger and Senegal have adopted programmes to improve the efficiency of fuel consumption. The main source of energy is woodfuels (fuelwood, charcoal, and agricultural residues) which account for nearly 70 per cent of energy consumption in Africa south of the Sahara on which about 80 per cent of the population depends. The high requirement for this source of energy has resulted in chronic deforestation and other environmental degradations.

48. A number of countries are also paying greater attention to the transport and communications sector, the aim being to overcome the current rampant transport and distribution problems to be found in many countries, constituting a major obstacle to the development of the primary sector. In Guinea, for instance, there is a major priority programme to rehabilitate and construct primary and secondary road network, making for easy access to the production areas and removing one of the major barriers to the realization of the nation's immense agricultural potential. Meanwhile, the European Investment Bank is assisting in financing small and medium-sized enterprises in the industrial, agro-industrial, mining, tourism, energy and telecommunications sectors in Benin, Burkina-Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Mali, Niger, Senegal and Togo.

d) Drought and Control of Desertification and Conservation of Natural Resources

49. Agriculture development in the years ahead is predicted on the continuing availability of finite resources of arable land, forests and oceans, lakes and rivers that are free from pollution and contamination. The ecosystem which underpin the economies of African countries is being seriously degraded. As many African countries pursue their agricultural needs accompanied by the increasing demand for household energy from wood products, deforestation continues to increase at an alarming rate. The

challenge is therefore one of rational management and utilization of natural resources as an anti-desertification measure while at the same time fighting against the decline in soil fertility and conserving water in the interest of raising agricultural productivity. It is the human activity which has become the main cause of advancing desertification; and it will take human efforts to stop this advancement.

50. It is estimated that the Sahelian countries are being deforested at the rate of 300,000 ha annually while the rate of reforestation is only 10,000 ha a year. And in the coastal and equatorial countries forests are disappearing by about 5 per cent per annum. Reversal is therefore absolutely essential for social and economic survival. These and other countries are deeply concerned with drought and desertification as details of their national development plans would indicate. The major actions being taken to contend with drought and desertification include afforestation programmes, efforts to discourage or control deforestation and general environmental protection.

51. In Burkina-Faso, forestry legislation and regulations emphasize peoples' participation in tree planting and the conservation of natural forest cover. This is in line with the Government's top priorities in the five-year plan: self-sufficiency in food supply and the conservation and restoration of the land. The aim is to boost the peasants' food production potential via water control by irrigation, creating water points, and creating anti-erosion sites. Anti-desertification measures are accompanied by the promotion of more environmentally-sound farming aimed at making production more secure in the medium- and the longer-term. Senegal's National Development Plan (1985-1989) has integrated rural afforestation within the overall development policy with emphasis on the combat of desertification, improved vegetal product supply to people, and sound forest management. Other countries such as Mali are also similarly concerned. Mali's Fifth Social and Economic Plan (1987-1991) has allocated 13 per cent of the total investment budget of the rural sector to the forestry subsector. Niger's Fifth Plan (1987-1991) on the other hand, has allocated a meagre 4 per cent to forestry, fisheries and fauna.

52. The eighth summit (1988) of Heads of State and Government of the Inter-State Committee for Drought Control in the Sahel (CILSS)^{9/} examined a number of issues, namely the fight against drought and desertification, the relaunch of agriculture, structural adjustment in the CILSS countries, and the difficult economic situation facing the subregion, especially as a result of debt burden and falling prices of raw materials. The conference was concerned that climatic disruptions continued to create uncertainties in the Sahel and therefore expressed the urgent and imperative need to adopt

^{9/} Member states are: Burkina-Faso, Cape Verde, Gambia, Guinea Bissau, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Senegal and Tchad. CILSS works in co-operation with the UN Sudano-Sahelian Office in tackling drought problems.

CILSS common strategy to better confront the situation ^{10/}. They called, in particular, for the strengthening of solidarity among themselves and the extension of that solidarity to other African subregions in the fight against drought and desertification. They have given priority under their national indicative programmes to agriculture and desertification control with irrigation forming the most critical element in improving food security.

e) Implementation at the Regional and International Levels ^{11/}

53. While it must be emphatically recognised and stressed of the development problems facing the continent must be solved by the African countries themselves acting individually or collectively, this is, however, not to deny the fact that some of these problems will call for concerted international action.

54. Through subregional organizations, African countries continue to strengthen their efforts with a view to meeting their long-term structural transformation and development needs. Organizations such as ECOWAS, CEAO, UDEAC etc. were established precisely for this reason, namely that subregional co-operation and trade will be a major vehicle through which Africa's long-term development can be realized. African leaders have accorded high priority to inter-country co-operation and integration as spelt out in LPA (1980), and APPER/UNPAAERD (1986). There are many areas that lend themselves easily to this co-operation and integration. The main fields of activity that call for priority attention include: joint development of natural resources and liberalization of subregional trade in food in order to enhance food security while reducing Africa's external dependence on food supplies; subregional co-operation in industrial development for intermediate and capital goods, thereby achieving economies of scale and exchanging skills; exploration and development and distribution of Africa's energy reserves; and capacity building through training and high level research in science, technology, agriculture among other fields, if Africa is to fully exploit the potential that exists. Countries should therefore join hands in developing long-term (not less than 15 years) programme for human resource development including top-quality research scientists who are capable of working on local research systems, over the long-term and comprehensive basis, rather than engaging themselves with isolated research components in more general programmes or projects.

^{10/} These countries realize that reforestation effort should go hand-in-hand with concerted action aimed at meeting energy needs through the development of alternative sources of energy for their people eg. policy and programmes for the use of the abundant solar energy, promotion of the use of butane gas instead of firewood, and training in conservation matters.

^{11/} For detailed treatment of this section, attention is drawn to ECA Report Ref. JEFAD/FADPFS/89/37 of July 1989 on the same subject submitted to the five ECA MULPOCs Councils of Ministers. The current report will only give a brief account of the subject matter.

55. Within the West African subregion there are many inter-governmental and non-governmental organizations for sub-regional co-operation and integration. Despite the existence of these organizations (ECOWAS, CEAO, CILSS, Mano River Union), however, the expected co-operation in matters relating to subregion harmonization of agricultural policies in general and more specifically agricultural trade and price policies has been quite limited. Where market forces ignore national borders, this harmonization among neighbouring countries becomes a necessity for the prevailing market situation in neighbouring countries can quite easily nullify whatever policies or efforts are being applied. Conditions in the neighbouring countries must therefore specifically be taken into account when formulating these policies. Different price levels among neighbours invariably lead to the development of unofficial or unrecorded trade, both in agricultural products and production inputs. The existence of diverging and unco-ordinated policies pursued by West African countries for example, have resulted in serious difficulties relating to distorted production and uncontrollable trade in cereals and other food commodities and fertilizers in Niger and Nigeria; food commodities between Nigeria and Benin; groundnuts in Senegal, Gambia and Mauritania; cocoa in Ghana, Côte d'Ivoire and Togo; and cereals in the Sahel countries. It was recently reported that unrecorded trade accounted for as much as 40 per cent among West African countries 12/.

56. The treaty establishing the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) came into force in June 1975, the main objective being to promote co-operation and development in all fields of economic activity including agriculture and commerce for the purpose of raising the standard of living of its people. A major objective of ECOWAS is the promotion of greater self-sufficiency in agricultural products within the Community. Accordingly, in May 1982 the Authority of Heads of State and Government adopted a "Joint-Agricultural Development Strategy in the West African Subregion" to serve as the framework for overall agricultural development of the countries of the subregion. The strategy is to promote the development of the agricultural sector and to ensure self-sufficiency in food production in the subregion. The objectives of the strategy therefore include the attainment of food self-sufficiency in the Community by the year 2000 and greater exploitation of the complementarity of the subregion's different ecological zones (Sudano-Sahelian Zone and Humid and Sub-humid Zone). In pursuance of this strategy, ECOWAS prepared a development programme covering the period 1988-1991 which is intended to achieve the stated goals and its basic framework is sub-regional agricultural co-operation. The realization of food self-sufficiency objective is in particular expected to be through increased trade among countries, especially between the Sahel in the north and the coastal countries. A network of breeding and national seed multiplication centres based on ecological zones has been established with a view to strengthening countries' capability in these fields. In a bid to

12/ M.E. Burfisher and M.B. Missaen, Intra-regional trade in West Africa. Agriculture and Trade Division. ERS, USDA. Report No. AGES 870330, Washington 1987.

boost agricultural production throughout the 16-nation Economic Community of West Africa, the ECOWAS Fund based in Lome, Togo, is planning to establish a US\$ 4 billion network of seed production centres to form the nucleus of a vital West African Seed Technology Centre. These centres will together cover 1000 acres and produce seeds for maize, rice, sorghum, millet, cow-pea, groundnuts, soyabeans, cassava, and sweet potatoes - all vital elements in the region's diet. The ECOWAS Afforestation Decade (1983-1993) aims at sensitizing countries and the harmonization of their policies and legislations in this area.

57. Apart from lukewarm political will, one key problem haunting the organization (ECOWAS) is the acute shortage of funds. By the end of 1988, it was reported that the arrears of contribution to the operational budget of the secretariat stood at US\$ 11 million, not only seriously weakening its operational efficiency but also several projects had to suffer. The implementation of the 1988/1991 development programme will require a substantial amount of human, managerial and financial resources 13/. Closely linked with the financial difficulties is the non-ratification of protocols largely due to administrative bottlenecks in member States. An example is the intra-community trade liberalization scheme which is still on the drawing board; and no remarkable progress has been made on the protocol on free movement of persons 14/.

58. The objective of the Economic Community of West Africa (CEAO - Communauté Economique de l'Afrique de l'Ouest) 15/ is also to promote trade and harmonize customs. Among the market integration schemes, CEAO has probably been more successful. Raw materials move freely within the community, and so does the flow of labour. The manufactures are, however, subject to a subregional co-operation tax. Non-tariff barriers have been reduced and the countries have established a satisfactory compensation mechanism. A Community Development Fund is financed by member countries in

13/ The current debt burden of this group of countries is estimated to be US\$55.7 billion, and this, together with the worsening international economic environment, is likely to make it difficult for them to meet their financial obligations to the organization.

14/ ECOWAS (membership includes CEAO and Mano River Union) appears to have made little progress toward economic integration and trade among its members is about 3 per cent of their international trade which is about at the same level prevailing during the 1970s. This is largely due to little change in tariff and non-tariff barriers; and as in the past, the pattern of trade, where two countries (Côte d'Ivoire and Nigeria) dominate the export of manufactured goods, has remained largely unchanged. To qualify for ECOWAS tariff preferences, the exports must be made by firms which are not less than 51 per cent domestically owned.

15/ Members: French-speaking West African States viz. Burkina-Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Mali, Mauritania, Niger and Senegal. Observers: Benin and Togo.

accordance with respective share of trade in manufactured products. Trade within the CEAO has therefore expanded fairly significantly and is estimated to be around 10 per cent of total trade. Although all the CEAO members belong to the West African Monetary Union wherein they share a common CFA franc (except Mauritania), this convertibility has, however, not been an adequate criterion to promote trade among them. Countries will need, in addition, to work out a supportive mechanism for factor mobility.

59. Within the UN System, the UN Secretary-General has the major responsibility of Co-ordinating the assistance and support of the United Nations system to African countries. He also monitors the process of implementation of the Programme of Action. Accordingly, he established a Steering Committee ^{16/} whose responsibility is to organize and stimulate needed action by the United Nations while promoting consultations with the international community for the effective implementation of the Programme. The Committee also carries out periodic reviews and reports on implementation and other developments at all levels.

60. On its part, the Steering Committee, set-up a UN Inter-Agency Task Force, (composed of ECA, FAO, IFAD, ILO, UNESCO, UNDP, UNICEF, UNCTAD, WFP, World Bank and ADB) to assist it in its functions including a follow-up on the implementation of the Programme at the regional level. In addition, the Task Force is charged with the responsibility of co-ordinating the UN system-wide with the ECA Conference of Ministers as well as the OAU permanent Steering Committee.

61. ECA has been given the responsibility to monitor the Programme activities at the subregional and regional levels, including the support to OAU. The Committees as well as the Task Force have met many times and decided on important issues and activities. In addition to these activities, ECA continues to assist member States in the implementation of the Programme including undertaking advisory and other missions to countries monitoring and initiating follow-up activities of the Programme ^{17/}. In formulating its biennia 1988-1989 and 1990-1991, the priorities of UN-PAAERD/APPER were seriously taken into account.

62. The other organizations and agencies of the UN system have also a major role to play in their respective areas of competence, and they have

^{16/} The Committee is composed of the Executive Heads of ECA, UNDP, UNICEF, UNFPA, DTCD and OSPO with participants from the World Bank, FAO, IFAD, WFP, UNCTAD, UNEP often invited to attend.

^{17/} Apart from ECA's questionnaires in this respect, ECA has organized a number of major international conferences on the Programme, among them being the Khartoum Conference (Human Dimension of APPER in 1988) the Abuja Conference (The Challenge of Economic Recovery and Accelerated Development in 1987) and the Arusha Meeting on People's Participation (1990).

committed themselves to participate in and support the implementation of the Programme. For example, FAO's Programmes of Work and Budget fully reflects the priority action called for in APPER and UN-PAAERD. The new orientation of the food-security programme of FAO seeks to have a more effective integration of food consumption and nutrition objectives and programmes. Other agencies such as UNESCO, UNDP, ILO, IFAD etc. have also conducted a review and reorientation of their functions and operations in Africa paying attention to the activities that are consistent with the Programme. WFC activities continue to sensitize African countries to formulate and implement appropriate and sound food sector strategies that give greater attention to food-production problems.

63. During the Special Session, the UN General Assembly agreed that developed countries and institutions should not become net recipients of resources from Africa during the implementation of UN-PAAERD. Yet, net financial transfers from already debt-distressed African countries to multilateral financial institutions such as the IMF and the World Bank, were estimated at about US\$1.5 billion in 1989 alone.

64. The response of the world development community to the commitments they undertook with respect to UN-PAAERD and the improvement in the treatment of African agricultural exports, are therefore crucial in meeting the challenge of hunger in Africa and in resolving the problem of food insecurity in the region. While external resources may not be a sufficient condition for achieving stabilization, rehabilitation and recovery, and further, while aid is no substitute for national commitment in the struggle against poverty, it is, for most economies, a necessary condition for renewed development. Given that Africa's GDP per capita has steadily declined since 1981, further shrinkage in real external-resource transfers must be averted and, instead, substantial resources deployed. Total external capital assistance to African agriculture declined each year from 1982 to 1985 although it rose again slightly in 1986.

65. It is estimated that globally, aid declined by about 0.6 per cent annually in real terms during 1980-1987. Meanwhile, countries have experienced significant terms-of-trade losses during the 1980s. And the conditionalities have also become stiffer, emphasizing, as they do, short-term objectives instead of putting resources into uses that meet long-term development needs and economic transformation.

IV. MAJOR FACTORS INFLUENCING PERFORMANCE AND IMPLEMENTATION

66. The major problems relating to food and agriculture development have already been clearly outlined in AFPLAN, the Lagos Plan of Action, the African Priority Programme (APPER) and UN-PAAERD and necessary measures and actions to be taken proposed. Here, it is intended only to briefly draw attention to the main issues and constraints and policy measures that are involved and which require continued and particular focus.

67. The Africa region is suffering from economic problems that took many years to develop and will require a long and difficult effort to correct. Most states began their independent existences with some severe handicaps.

In addition to their existing problems of young nationhood (had to devote considerable attention, resources and energy to build a nation) most African countries at independence opted for a high priority to industry and a low one to agriculture. This was dictated by both political reasons (to satisfy influential urban population) and short-sighted domestic policies which held down the price of agricultural products and restricted marketing channels with a view to obtaining cheap food. The African leaders thought that industry represented the best avenue for development, hence they channeled the highest percentage of resources to the industrial sector. Many costly investments were made this way, often with large sums of borrowed money. The policies pursued have proved disastrous. In the agricultural sector, where about 75 per cent of the labour force is employed, and where the allocation of both domestic and external development resources was relatively little, developments since independence have been catastrophic 18/. The most obvious manifestation of this institutional crisis was that the industrial sector did not live to its expectations. It did not create jobs nor did it provide markets for agriculture and it has not generated the expected surpluses for new investment and future growth.

68. In much of Africa industrialization has proved to be inefficient, high-cost and excessively dependent on imported inputs. Often, it is a net user of national resources rather than a generator of surpluses.

69. There are of course also the negative effects of external factors to which the region is especially vulnerable. There was a rapid deterioration of the international economic environment in the 1980s, these external factors playing a larger role in the present pattern of Africa's deterioration than was the case during the 1970s 19/. International commodity prices collapsed. Coffee (robustas) fetched nearly 165.50 cents/pound in 1979; by 1989 exporters received only 82.55 cents/pound. The price of cocoa beans fell from 171.90 cents/pound in 1977 to about 60 cents/pound in 1989, while groundnut fell from US\$ 636/ton in 1981 to less than half at US\$305 per tonne in 1989. The groundnut oil price showed the same trend, falling from US\$1079 per tonne in 1978 to US\$ 749/ton in 1989. At the same time, many African countries depend upon one or two commodities for a high percentage of their exports. The commodity concentration of exports i.e. the percentage share in total exports of three principal exports for Africa south of Sahara has been about 50 to 90 per cent. This

18/ Resources and long-term institutional needs for the sector were required for research and technological development, training and manpower development, credit, natural resources development and conservation, and institutional and infrastructure development, including financing the strengthening of the capability of ministries.

19/ The turbulence in the international and world export market seriously affected African cocoa and coffee producers. For instance, the loss sustained by the 25 members of the Inter-African Coffee Organization in 1989, was estimated at almost US\$ 25 million. The situation could be worse in 1990.

rose from nearly 61 per cent in 1961 to over 79 per cent in 1976-78. That of Nigeria was over 97 per cent in 1976. The sharp deterioration of Africa's terms of trade, as well as of export volumes of commodities, has meant that it has become more difficult for Africa to service its huge external debt. Africa's export volumes have barely grown since 1970, and her share in world markets has consequently fallen by almost half. The debt problem in 1989 became worse as external debt rose to about 85 per cent of Africa's GDP, while debt service amounted to almost US\$30 billion or 40 per cent of Africa's total export earnings. Africa is also apparently more dependent than other regions on financing from international institutions (IMF and World Bank). This must be viewed with some concern particularly since this type of financing cannot be easily rescheduled.

70. With regard to the specific case of the West African subregion, in particular the Sahel, the problem of frequent changes of climatic conditions as a major constraint to production cannot be ignored. This phenomenon not only determines the characteristics of respective zones in the area but will also dictate the type of production eg. cattle production within the subregion is concentrated (75 per cent) in the northern semi-arid and arid zones, while cereals are to be found in the Sudano-Sahelian area and roots and tubers are grown in the humid and semi-humid zones. Sometimes this production has moved into marginal lands where yields are poor and also into grazing areas. The shortcomings of pervasive low level of technological development (low level of fertilizer use, improved seeds etc.), accelerating ecological degradation, and the failure to achieve a major breakthrough in subregional economic co-operation and integration are also among the most prominent factors inhibiting growth. Although official intra-subregional trade has hardly grown in twenty years, the large and growing unofficial trade is a convincing evidence of the potential that exists.

71. Public investment in agricultural R and D has been minimal. And while the cultivation of marginal lands and desertification continues, agricultural research is yet to come up with new agricultural technologies, and whatever little is available the extension services are not extending them to those who need it.

72. In the past there were traditional means of dealing with the food security problem, many of which have been broken down by modernization. Food security policies aimed at eliminating poverty and food insecurity at the household level in many African countries, are in reality still in a state of transition with the attendant problems often common during this transition period. The problems relate mainly to the issues of food security policies management ^{20/}. For a long time the tendency has been to support the urban elite by squeezing the agricultural sector, largely through lower real producer prices. One of the outcomes of this trend has

^{20/} A food security policy will raise such issues as trends in food production and imports; foodstuffs market stabilization seasonally; food supplies distribution to various national groups; and measures to cope with unpredictable fluctuations in food supply.

been the declining food production per capita and an increase in urban market demand. The African food security today is therefore principally a production problem. During the 1970s, the deficiencies in domestic food supply were filled by imports for foreign exchange finance was plentiful and available for recycling. With the debt crisis of the 1980s, however, the ability to fill this gap through importation has been severely curtailed.

V. CONCLUSIONS AND MAIN RECOMMENDATIONS

a) Conclusions

73. The Africa's submission to the UN General Assembly's Special Session (1986) on Africa's Economic and Social Crisis stressed that:

"APPER candidly acknowledges that shortcomings in development policies have been partly responsible for the rapid and continued deterioration in the region's social and economic structures. The programme is, therefore, an unambiguous sign of full commitment on the part of the African leaders to undertake a number of policy measures that will remedy the shortcomings of past approaches" (OAU/ECM/2XV Rev.2 p.17).

In APPER, the OAU member States reiterated their full commitment to the principles and objectives of the Lagos Plan of Action which, in addition, places the blame for Africa's social and economic woes on historical, structural and exogenous factors. APPER/UN-PAAERD recognizes that Africa's recovery from its present economic malaise will have to be led by the food and agriculture sector. New emphasis has therefore been given to improving the performance of this sector. The African member States have committed themselves to raising the share of agriculture in national public investment to 20-25 per cent. And APPER's investment to this sector is estimated at US\$57.4 billion (or nearly 45 per cent of the total)^{21/}.

74. This review has been an attempt to assess the efforts being made to implement the Programme especially at the national level. We have shown that the African countries in general are taking strenuous steps to redress the current African food and economic crisis. These changes include policies relating to increases in investment, food security programmes and better management of their resources. The policy reform measures contained in APPER/UN-PAAERD have been introduced and are beginning to show positive impact. Many countries are already allocating increased shares of public investment to food and agriculture. Overall, however, the performance has not been sufficient enough to reverse the persistent decline in the living standards of the majority of the African people. It is for this reason that the 1980s has been termed Africa's lost decade. It is during this period that apart from declining export volumes, the terms of trade of African countries also sharply declined over the 1970s.

^{21/} APPER, 1986-90 (Addis Ababa, FAO for the OAU, 1985) p.3.

75. As shown in Section II above, at the subregional level the per caput production of both food and agriculture show a long-term decline in all the countries during the 1980s. With the possible exception of two countries (Table 4), the human condition in terms of the level of nutrition continued to deteriorate as indicated by the low level of total dietary energy supply (including imports) available against minimum daily requirement. This was less than what was nutritionally required for health, growth and productive work.

76. In general, therefore, despite the efforts underway, for most countries economic recovery and transformation still remain elusive. This failure in part reflects inadequate action by the African countries to bring about the fundamental changes needed to create conditions for sustained growth and development. It is realized that this transformation is an essentially long-term strategy which should focus on the development and strengthening of agricultural research and technological capability, efficient physical infrastructure, agriculture and ecological base protection and vigorous pursuance of regional integration and co-operation whose progress so far has been disappointing. There are, of course, also the adverse external developments which have contributed to this failure. The shortcomings of post-independence policies and their inability to reduce external dependence have clearly contributed to the current crisis. These factors include in particular depressed prices for commodities which are Africa's principal exports. Furthermore, the actions of the World Bank, IMF and the donor community have not addressed the needed comprehensive reform which by its very nature must extend over the longer term. Indeed, whether we are talking about internal policy shortcomings or external causes, donor agencies, foreign advisers and African governments they all stand indicted for Africa's economic crisis ^{22/}. It is apparent that the present crisis in African agriculture is an outcome of a number of social and economic factors which pre-date the natural calamities experienced by Africa in recent years. In other words, one would emphasize the historical at the expense of physical factors in explaining the African crisis. Physical factors have always been an object of human manipulation.

^{22/} According to one author, donor finance tends to distort rather than reinforce government planning, and in citing the example of a West African Official he said that the official maintained that while his government "had certain minimal criteria for accepting a project, the availability of donor financing could override all other criteria" (Robert J. Berg "The Long-Run Future of Donor Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation", in Development, Washington, D.C., 22, 2-3, 1980 P.72.

b) Recommendations

77. One key issue in food and agricultural production is to lay emphasis on measures which lead to higher production and productivity ^{23/}. For the next decade and beyond the primary source of growth can only be agricultural production, in particular smallholder agriculture given the role of the sector. Moreover, the links between agricultural and industrial growth are strong. These producers must therefore be motivated to raise production not only as the surest means to raise their real incomes but this is also badly needed to meet Africa's food requirements and the generation of foreign exchange. It is realized, however, that long-term price trends in the world markets cannot be expected to improve, the next decades will witness major technological changes in the biological sciences, in materials research etc., hence an improvement in raw material prices is unlikely. If the economies of Africa are, therefore, not to deteriorate further, the challenge is for them to diversify their production. This will mean that they must improve their science and technology, training as well as grappling with the accelerating environmental degradation. Hunger and poverty can be radically reduced through rapid growth in agriculture, especially food production. Increasing and sustaining agricultural productivity in Africa is therefore a major challenge in the 1990s.

78. During the 1990s, the subregion's long-term goal must therefore be food and water strategies fully supported by a massive transfer of domestic resources from other sectors into agriculture, paying particular attention to smallholder agriculture. Measures must be taken to bring to the smallholder field-tested, high-yielding varieties of major cereals and root crops as well as technology relating to new farming methods and locally adapted irrigation systems in order to promote the recovery of the agricultural productive capacity of smallholders as a prerequisite for a successful and more rapid and sustainable economic recovery and growth in the subregion.

79. As mentioned earlier, African countries have already embarked on an economic reform process in a wide range of areas. For years to come, the dominant influence on Africa's economic performance will be the continent's own economic transformation efforts. In this regard, the programmes of economic structural transformation, especially the production structures, currently underway, must be reinforced and continued with emphasis on the long-term investments in human resources development and economic growth in order to realize this sustainability. Due to economic and financial crisis, the African countries have tended to shift from long-term development

^{23/} In order to meet the agricultural growth targets of LPA, Africa will have to dramatically raise the levels of domestic savings and investment. Productivity should be improved by roughly 1 to 2 per cent annually for labour and around 3 per cent for land through adequate economic incentives and enhanced management capabilities.

objectives to the conventional short-term stabilization measures mostly financed by the Bretton Woods institutions 24/. Efforts to restructure African economies as a long-term strategy, should however be placed on a longer-term framework, going beyond the stabilization programmes which are quite inadequate in achieving this goal.

80. With respect to subregional integration, co-operation and co-ordination countries should as a matter of priority facilitate trade across their common borders, labour mobility, improve agricultural education and research, and strengthen the conservation and development of natural resources. There has been a failure so far on the part of member countries to give priority attention to subregional issues thereby seriously reducing the effectiveness of established subregional integration institutions. Countries must co-operate to reverse the present trend of low level of technology, weak research institutions, the decline in animal production, over-exploitation of the fishery resources by foreign fleets and subregional co-operation in agriculture in general. This will call for much greater harmonization of macro-economic policies aimed at more subregional co-operation in various fields and the rationalization of the 40 odd IGOs in existence in the subregion.

81. Domestic policy reforms will require concerted support from Africa's foreign partners. A global commitment for Africa has been proposed in the UN Programme of Action for African Recovery and Development. One of the policy imperatives that will be required of the developed countries in future has to be the need to promote favourable financial and external (trade) environment. Moreover, if the debt-distressed African countries are to endure the demands of far-reaching adjustments, technology and a massive inflow of resources on concessional terms will be vital. It is imperative therefore for the industrial countries to encourage adequate resource flows to countries of the region. The World Bank estimates that gross overseas development financial assistance to Africa needs to expand by about 4 per cent annually in real terms during the 1990s i.e. to a level of US\$22 billion a year (in 1990 prices) by the year 2000. This is, however, below what was achieved during the 1980s.

24/ According to IMF's own assessment of its recent programmes "in many cases the performance fell short of targets", with the majority of countries failing to achieve targeted economic growth, improvement in current account position, credit expansion, external debt position, and a ratio of government expenditure to GDP. The causes of policy failure were cited as unforeseen developments eg. commodity prices; insufficient political support by people for adjustment programmes; inappropriate targets; administrative bottlenecks; and delays and/or shortfalls in inflows of development assistance (J.B. Zulu and S.M. Nsouli, Adjustments Programmes in Africa: the recent experience, Washington, D.C., 1985, IMF Occasional Paper No.34).

82. It is estimated that over the period 1985 to 1991, gross annual capital inflows are likely to stagnate while the payments of debt built up in the 1972-82 period, will rise substantially. The projected net annual inflows points up the need for determined efforts to raise the domestic savings rate from the present level estimated at 12 per cent to not less than 18 per cent by the end of this decade. Furthermore, these very tight financial constraints mean that there must be an improvement in the quality of external assistance, which is considered to be just as important as its volume.

Economically Active Population in Agriculture
West African Subregion, 1975, 1980, 1986 and 1988

Country	1975	%	1980	%	1986	%	1988	%
Benin	1203	75.6	1246	70.2	1305	65.1	1326	63.2
Burkina-Faso	3027	87.5	3353	86.7	3736	85.3	3874	84.9
Côte d'Ivoire	2087	71.2	2220	65.4	2465	59.7	2539	57.7
Cape-Verde	56	58.0	53	51.7	58	46.6	60	45.0
Gambia	234	85.3	264	84.0	295	82.2	306	81.6
Ghana	2205	57.1	2323	55.8	2604	52.3	2681	51.1
Guinea	1984	82.9	2119	80.7	2226	77.0	2261	75.6
Guinea-Bissau	269	83.2	332	82.3	347	80.3	354	79.5
Liberia	490	75.7	550	74.0	616	71.6	638	70.7
Mali	1824	87.3	1963	85.5	2209	82.8	2300	81.9
Mauritania	361	77.1	351	69.3	389	66.5	403	65.5
Niger	2401	92.7	2610	91.1	2917	88.9	3034	88.1
Nigeria	19047	69.6	21866	68.1	24831	66.2	25930	65.5
Senegal	1833	81.6	2128	80.6	2338	79.3	2416	78.9
Sierra-Leone	822	72.6	845	69.6	871	65.3	880	63.8
Togo	747	74.9	813	73.0	904	71.0	939	70.3
West Africa Subregion	38590	73.5	43036	71.6	48111	68.9	49941	68.0

Source: FAO Production Yearbook, Vol.42 pp 63-67.
Rome, Italy, 1988.

Indices of Total Agriculture Production in West Africa
1980-88 (1979-81 = 100)

Country	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1981-88 Total*	1981-88 Per capita
Benin	98	97	100	105	130	136	146	131	149	6.62	3.44
Burkina-Faso	95	103	104	107	107	128	146	135	150	6.25	3.55
Cape-Verde	121	93	90	82	99	95	120	151	136	7.91	5.25
Gambia	92	121	142	108	115	116	118	116	129	0.32	- 3.19
Ghana	101	99	97	89	129	124	130	132	141	6.30	2.43
Guinea	102	104	106	101	102	103	109	110	109	0.92	- 1.47
Guinea-Bissau	94	112	129	113	131	133	146	155	155	4.87	2.82
Côte d'Ivoire	97	107	98	99	106	117	118	124	124	3.46	- 0.74
Liberia	101	102	106	107	115	116	117	121	112	1.89	- 1.33
Mali	98	106	113	118	107	114	123	117	136	2.52	- 0.46
Mauritania	99	105	98	94	95	99	109	108	112	1.66	- 1.00
Niger	102	100	101	100	82	102	105	97	124	2.00	- 0.90
Nigeria	104	103	109	107	113	121	130	123	126	3.24	- 0.15
Senegal	86	122	122	88	106	126	131	145	127	3.07	0.60
Sierra-Leone	100	101	110	111	100	101	113	111	107	0.56	- 1.81
Togo	100	100	99	92	103	106	108	108	114	2.18	0.91
Subregion	101	104	105	102	107	115	124	120	124	3.09	- 0.18

Source: FAO Indices of Food and Agricultural Production Computer Print-Outs, April 1989, Rome.

*/ Growth Rate of Production Index Numbers.

Indices of Food Production in West Africa
1980-1988 (1979-81 = 100)

Country	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1981-88 Total*	1981-88 Per capita
Benin	98	97	99	103	126	132	139	126	143	5.96	2.80
Burkina-Faso	95	103	103	107	107	126	143	132	148	5.89	3.20
Cape-Verde	122	93	91	82	100	96	121	152	137	7.95	5.25
Gambia	92	121	143	109	115	116	119	118	131	- 0.18	- 3.05
Ghana	101	99	97	89	130	125	131	133	142	6.47	2.60
Guinea	102	104	106	100	102	103	109	110	109	0.92	- 1.47
Guinea-Bissau	94	112	129	113	131	134	146	155	155	4.89	2.83
Côte d'Ivoire	99	104	100	100	119	120	121	128	131	4.17	- 0.06
Liberia	98	104	108	112	114	117	118	122	120	2.11	- 1.12
Mali	97	107	115	119	106	114	122	115	135	2.17	- 0.79
Mauritania	99	105	98	94	95	99	109	108	112	1.66	- 1.00
Niger	102	100	101	100	82	102	105	97	124	2.00	- 0.90
Nigeria	104	103	109	107	113	121	131	123	126	3.21	- 0.18
Senegal	86	121	121	88	105	126	132	145	127	3.16	0.68
Sierra-Leone	101	102	112	114	104	102	112	110	108	0.22	- 2.15
Togo	99	100	99	92	104	104	105	103	111	1.60	- 1.48
Subregion	101	103	106	102	110	116	124	119	124	3.04	- 0.23

Source: FAO Indices of Food and Agricultural Production Computer Print-Outs, April 1989, Rome.

* / Growth Rate of Production Index Numbers.

Cropping Intensity in West Africa, 1985

Country	Arable Land (AL) 1000HA		Harvested Area (HA)		Cropping Intensity HA/AL		Growth Rate (%) 1961-85		
	1961	1985	1961	1985	1961	1985	AL	HA	Yield
	Benin	920	1390	973	1224	105.76	88.06	1.73	0.36
Burkina-Faso	2130	26020	2681	2871	125.87	109.58	0.87	0.34	1.89
Cape-Verde	38	38	-	-	-	-	0.00	-	-
Côte d'Ivoire	1680	2890	2396	5384	142.62	186.30	2.29	3.61	1.25
Guinea	1500	1500	1146	1605	76.40	107.00	0.00	1.46	- 0.13
Guinea-Bissau	235	290	-	-	-	-	0.88	-	-
Gambia	121	165	185	218	152.89	132.12	1.30	0.28	- 0.38
Ghana	770	1120	3113	2946	404.29	263.04	1.57	0.21	- 0.82
Liberia	138	126	406	531	421.43	421.43	- 0.38	1.31	1.68
Mali	1665	2070	1857	2092	100.97	101.06	0.91	0.73	1.12
Mauritania	270	192	295	175	91.15	91.15	- 1.41	- 3.02	2.16
Niger	2180	3740	3122	6072	162.46	162.46	2.27	2.95	- 1.98
Nigeria	26400	28550	20478	26222	91.85	91.85	0.33	0.88	0.23
Senegal	4297	5220	2156	2331	44.66	44.66	0.81	0.07	- 0.42
Sierra-Leone	1265	1635	500	652	39.88	39.88	1.07	1.16	0.29
Togo	1080	1358	682	651	47.94	47.94	0.96	- 0.82	1.85
West Africa Subregion	44689	52904	29990	52988	100.14	100.14	0.71	1.12	0.29

Sources: Land Use Computer Print-Outs 7/28/87. FAO, Rome.
Agriculture Toward 2000 Computer Print-Outs,
July 1987, FAO, Rome.

ANNEX TABLE 5

Agriculture, Fishery, Forestry Exports
of West African Subregion
1984-87 (100,000 US\$)

Country	1984	1985	1986	1987
Developing Africa	115881	112275	128455	118475
West Africa	42766	43612	48604	44330
Benin	797	816	699	1271
Burkina-FAso	724	525	510	646
Cape-Verde	23	31	39	37
Côte d'Ivoire	21826	23924	25344	21517
Gambia	296	193	133	236
Ghana	4239	4547	5675	5628
Guinea	227	187	306	291
Guinea-Bissau	134	94	86	91
Liberia	1540	1560	1600	1563
Mali	2223	1881	1510	1395
Mauritania	2185	2168	2969	3655
Niger	866	629	766	680
Nigeria	3577	3193	3791	2370
Senegal	2969	2470	3575	3621
Sierra-Leone	371	601	565	457
Togo	769	793	1036	872

Source: 1987 FAO Trade Yearbook, Vol.41 Rome p.39.

Food Aid: Total Cereals to West African Subregion
1984/85 - 1987/88

Country	1984/85	1985/86	1986/87	1987/88
Developing Africa	7654.5	5903.7	6299.9	6175.7
Benin	21.4	10.8	8.0	11.3
Burkina-Faso	127.7	116.4	22.2	38.2
Cape-Verde	49.6	50.7	59.5	52.1
Gambia	21.1	18.5	15.2	17.0
Ghana	95.9	96.4	66.0	109.6
Guinea	51.6	55.0	91.9	26.2
Guinea-Bissau	30.9	17.7	9.7	11.4
Côte d'Ivoire	-	0.8	-	0.9
Liberia	19.9	76.2	1.7	55.7
Mali	1.9	18.5	11.3	8.9
Mauritania	135.1	136.5	38.4	51.4
Niger	221.3	107.3	17.0	18.9
Nigeria	-	-	-	-
Senegal	130.7	117.5	80.2	109.0
Sierra-Leone	20.8	48.6	42.8	57.9
Togo	22.9	9.3	6.2	16.3
West Africa (16)	950.8	880.2	470.1	584.8

Source: Food Aid in Figures, Vol. 7/1, FAO, ROME, 1989 pp. 48-50.