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TRADE LIBERALIZATION OF DOMESTICALLY PRODUCED GOODS
(West African subregion)

I. INTRODUCTION

1. African countries generally agree when it comes to acknowledging the role and importance of trade liberalization in the process of economic integration and development. This is concretely reflected in the decisions taken by the subregional integration groupings making provision, among other things, for the gradual reduction and eventual removal of all types of trade barriers, the pursuit of a common trade promotion policy and the establishment of vast subregional markets which should lead to the creation of an African common market.

2. The Economic Community of West African States, (ECOWAS) brings together all 16 countries of the subregion, thus promoting the strengthening of the integration foundations laid by such subregional groupings as the West African Economic Community (CEAO) and the Mano River Union (MRU). Furthermore, the establishment of the West African Economic and Monetary Union (UEMOA) opens the way to increased trade within the subregion. It is expected that the gradual liberalization of trade will help to transform the current national markets into one vast West African market. In North Africa, efforts have been made to promote the extension of the Arab Maghreb Union (AMU). This initiative is encouraged by the existence of large markets in neighbouring countries like Egypt (whose population exceeds 55 million) and the Sudan (which has abundant agricultural raw materials)[1]. In Central Africa, the heads of State of the Central African Customs and Economic Union (UDEAC) have formulated a new treaty for the establishment of the Central African Economic and Monetary Community (CAEMC). The new institution will englobe UDEAC and the Central African Monetary Union (CAMU)[2]. Nevertheless, the integration of the subregion could be compromised by the financial crisis that the Economic Community of Central African State (ECCAS) is undergoing. In Eastern and Southern Africa, the Common Market of Eastern and Southern African State (COMESA) has taken over from the Preferential Trade Area (PTA) while the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) has become the Southern African Development Community (SADC). SADC has been strengthened by the membership of South Africa which joined in August 1994 and Mauritius which joined in 1995. This would be a weighty argument when discussing the harmonization and rationalization of the two subregional institutions. With the coming into force of the Treaty establishing the African Economic Community (AEC), it is expected that various groupings would be strengthened and a degree of sectoral policy harmonization achieved subregionally at first and continentally thereafter.

3. Thus, the institutional framework for promoting the development of intra-African trade exist. Most of the decisions and resolutions taken to promote trade and to lay the groundwork for regional economic integration, however, have yet to be followed through. This, at any rate, is what can be observed in the performance of intra-African trade whose share in the total trade of Africa has grown little, from 6.9 per cent in 1990 to 7.4 per cent in 1992 and 8.1 per cent in 1993[3].

4. A number of factors impeding the development of intra-subregional trade have been identified. Nationally, economic activity is hampered by the lack of productivity in the production system arising from the virtual absence of inter-sectoral linkages, the structural deficiency of investment and the persistence of domestic imbalances (budgetary deficits relating to inadequate revenue as compared to expenditure, export trade deficits and so on). Subregionally, the mismatch of physical transport and communications infrastructure, the persistence of tariff and non-tariff obstacles, payments and trade financing difficulties and the lack of policy convergence are so many obstacles to the promotion of intra-African trade. Combined

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[1]/ ECA 1995 Survey of Economic and Social Conditions in Africa.

[2]/ Ibidem.

[3]/ International Monetary Fund (1994), Direction of Trade Statistics.

with such external factors as the excessive burden of external debt servicing and the continuing decline in prices of most African exports, these various factors have resulted in a crisis of unprecedented seriousness.

5. To cope with such a situation, and in the absence of resources to be used in guaranteeing longer-term recovery, the concern of most of the countries has been to achieve short term economic recovery and to make domestic adjustments. While this was being done, long term development planning practically come to a stop. This is why little attention has been paid to economic integration in general and to promotion of intra-subregional trade in particular. In most African countries, however, structural adjustment programmes have not been of much effect. Indeed, the reforms undertaken have not always enabled the countries to bridge the widening gap of public finance imbalances and declining conditions of domestic production. With the global liberalization of trade that comes following the Uruguay Round of multilateral trade negotiations, the problem of African products gaining access to international markets is going to become more acute. African countries should perceive, more than they ever did, the vital necessity of achieving regional economic integration through the liberalization of intra-subregional trade if they want their interest to be taken into account within the emerging international trading system.

6. In the particular context of the West African subregion covered by this study, several factors seem to militate in favour of intra-subregional trade liberalization. They include: (i) geographical proximity and the existence of a common currency (among the UEMOA countries) or a mechanism for the harmonization of monetary policy aiming at the eventual adoption of a common currency (within the context of ECOWAS); (ii) the need for the countries of the subregion to come to terms with the interdependency of their trade policies and to achieve policy convergence in that regard; (iii) the structurally high level of indebtedness of countries in the subregion mainly due to the continued rise in their import bill for food products and manufactures while their export revenue is declining; and (iv) the need for the countries of the subregion to gear up for the increasing competition which will result from the implementation of Uruguay Round agreements, particularly the global liberalization of trade. Their capacity to do this will depend largely on the progress they make in liberalizing intra-subregional trade with a view to enhancing the competitiveness of subregional economies.

7. This case study is being conducted in the context of the ECA work programme and priorities for the biennium 1994-1995. It focuses on the main aspects and the scope of trade liberalization schemes and mechanisms instituted by the countries of West Africa to cope with the world economic trend of progressive trade liberalization, increasing cross boundary integration, intensifying competition and equally rapid technological progress.

8. With that in view, the study will first analyze the various trade liberalization schemes and mechanisms in West Africa. Issues relating to institutional arrangements and to the rules of origin governing intra-subregional trade will be considered. Furthermore, there will be an appraisal of the scope of liberalization mechanisms within the particular context of structural adjustment programmes. These various aspects will be treated in the next chapter. Chapter III of the study will be devoted to analysis of the impact of trade liberalization on the development of trade in West Africa, particularly the impact on the pattern of trade in local products (its expected contributions to food self-sufficiency and food security) and on the development of the productive sectors and employment. The problems encountered in the implementation of intra-subregional trade liberalization schemes will be considered in the fourth chapter. Finally, taking into account the prospects for increased liberalization of international trade on the one hand and the limited chances of African countries to cope with the emerging international trading environment (given the narrowness of their national markets and the lack of competitiveness of their products) various measures and mechanisms for supporting the promotion and development of intra-subregional trade will be proposed in the first chapter of the study.

II. TRADE LIBERALIZATION SCHEMES AND MECHANISMS IN WEST AFRICA

A. Major programmes for the liberalization of intra-subregional trade: Rules of origin for determining local products

(a) The ECOWAS trade liberalization scheme[4]

9. Among other things, the ECOWAS Treaty provides for the gradual reduction until total elimination of customs duties and taxes of equivalent effect, the dismantling of non-tariff barriers and the institution of a common external tariff. In other terms, this means the establishment of a custom unions among member States of the community. It had been agreed that the first stage in the establishment of the customs union would be the creation of a free trade area which was the reason for the launching of the trade liberalization scheme on 1 January 1990.

10. According to the liberalization scheme, products of origin and traditional craft products would, when imported by a member State, be completely exempt of customs and excise duties. No quantitative restriction would be imposed on their circulation nor would compensation be payable for revenue losses arising from their importation. In contrast, industrial products originating from member States and qualifying for the advantages of the liberalization scheme would be subjected to: (i) gradual tariff reduction up to total elimination of such tariff over a period of 10 years beginning on 1 January 1990. Customs duties and taxes of equivalent effect payable on the importation of these products could be completely eliminated as indicated in table 2 in the annex; and (ii) with effect from January 1990, all non-tariff barriers and other administrative impediments to trade would be effectively removed. Revenue losses incurred by member States because of the ECOWAS trade liberalization scheme on eligible industrial products would be compensated for under procedures established by the policy organs of the community.

Rules of origin

11. Rules of origin stipulate the conditions that a specific product must meet in order to be eligible for preferential treatment under a trading regime. In ECOWAS, products of origin and traditional craft products must meet the following conditions: (i) originate from one of the ECOWAS member States; (ii) be listed among those products of origin or traditional craft products (as the case may be) annexed to the liberalization decision; (iii) be accompanied by an ECOWAS certificate of origin or export declaration; and (iv) comply with domestic customs formalities in the importing country.

12. With regard to industrial products, the rules of origin are as follow: (i) the product should have been made from community raw materials which account in value terms for 40 per cent or more of the total cost of the raw materials used or which account in volume terms for 60 per cent or more of all the raw materials used. Otherwise, they may be made from raw materials of foreign or indeterminate origin whose c.i.f value does not exceed 60 per cent of the total cost of raw materials used or which account for 40 per cent or less of all raw materials used in their manufacture; (ii) the product should have secured, during manufacture, an added value equal at least to 35 per cent of the ex-factory duty-free selling price; and finally (iii) the

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4/ The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) was established under the Lagos Treaty 28 May 1975. It brings together the 16 countries of the subregion, namely: Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Cote d'Ivoire, the Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, the Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone and Togo. The ECOWAS Treaty was revised in 1993 and the revised Treaty is in the processes of being ratified by member States.

companies manufacturing the product should have achieved equity participation in their social capital of at least 25 per cent by nationals.

13. Member States have accepted to harmonize the customs and statistical instruments which constitute a common customs and statistical nomenclature for ECOWAS, a customs declaration and certificate for local products and traditional craft products and also a certificate of origin for industrial products. The issue of the common external tariff is still under study.

(b) Overview of the CEAO trade regime[5]

14. The specific nature of the CEAO trade regime has to do with the fact that it was quite different from traditional customs unions such as the West African Customs and Economic Union (UDEAO)[6]. The member States have been able to organize themselves into a free trade area aimed at achieving economic and customs unification over the territory. This was made possible by the institution of the preferential regime of the regional cooperation tax (TCR). The preferential tariff regime applied to imports into member States and to industrial products manufactured within the community and meeting specific criteria of origin which made them eligible products of origin. The TCR replaced all customs duties and taxes normally applicable to the importation of goods into member States except for VAT or consumption taxes levied at the same rate to products not of origin, whether locally manufactured or imported. Along with this, a community development fund was established with the aim, on the one hand, of compensating financially those member States which incurred budgetary revenue losses arising from implementation of the TCR regime and, on the other hand, to provide resources that could be used to intervene with a view to maintaining a more equitable economic balance within the zone. The TCR system was backed up by a compensation mechanism operating through the community development fund.

15. The trade regime established worked well, promoting the rapid development of intra-community trade. Table 4 in the annex shows a fairly favourable growth trend in trade among member States from 1991 to 1993 with the intra-community export share in the total export of member States rising from 10.22 per cent in 1991 to 10.56 per cent in 1992 and to 12.24 per cent in 1993. This growth pattern, however, also generated a sharp increase in the loss of budgetary revenue related to the application of the TCR. The accumulation of arrears in contribution to the community fund (as much as CFAF 63 billion by Côte d'Ivoire and Senegal, the main exporters of the community) blocked the compensation mechanism. To improve the situation, another financing system (the community solidarity levy-PCS) was instituted but once again, its non-application by Côte d'Ivoire and Senegal led to the blockage of the mechanism with the result that the entire system became blocked.

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[5]/ The West African Economic Community (CEAO) was established of 17 April 1973 among seven States namely: Benin, Burkina Faso, Cote d'Ivoire, Mali, Mauritania, the Niger and Senegal. Since March 1994, the CEAO has ceased to exist so the foregoing analysis is merely of historical interest.

[6]/ It was the 1966 UDEAO Convention which was revised to give birth to the CEAO Treaty.

(c) The UEMOA trade regime[7]

16. According to its promoters, the establishment of UEMOA derived from a two-fold concern of the heads of State and Government who sought on the one hand, to consolidate the West African Monetary Union (UMOA) and, on the other hand, to help speed up the process of regional integration. The need for consolidation became particularly acute with the worsening of the economic and financial crisis facing the member States. Combined with that are the deep changes of the international economic environment characterized, on the one hand,
by the globalization of markets and heightened competition and, on the other hand, by the acceleration in the formation of regional blocs. The blockage of the CEAO and the change in parity of the CFAF franc, its common currency, have made this need even more urgent.

17. In article 4(c) of its Treaty, UEMOA which will probably be built on what CEAO had achieved[8] provides for the creation, among member State, of a common market based on the free movement of persons, goods, services and capital, the right of residence of persons in self or paid employment as well as a common external tariff and a common trade policy. To build the common market, UEMOA is pursuing, among other things, the gradual achievement of the following objectives: (i) elimination of customs duties, quantitative entry and exit restrictions, taxes of equivalent effect and other measures and any other such measures likely to affect trade among member countries (subject to compliance with union rules of origin which will be stipulated in an additional protocol); and (ii) the establishment of a common external tariff under article 76, paragraph (a)and (b) of the Treaty.

18. In light of the review of the various trade regimes in West Africa, the ECOWAS trade liberalization scheme is the only such programme currently operating in the subregion since countries of MRU are implementing the scheme for one thing and the policy instruments of the UEMOA trade union have yet to be defined, for another. The problem still remains of implementation of the ECOWAS scheme particularly with regard to the rules of origin. Furthermore, the issue of arrears in assessed contributions and the non ratification of the revised ECOWAS Treaty by 14 member countries has raised fears that the subregional institutions might go the way of CEAO - which would seriously hold up the process of trade liberalization in the subregion. As matters stand, it could be said that subregional trade might well be hampered or even decline if steps are not taken to find solutions to the various problems facing trade liberalization in the subregion.

B. Trade liberalization mechanisms within the context of structural adjustment programmes (SAPs)

19. The economic and financial crisis facing the countries of the subregion has not enabled them to pay due attention to subregional integration. Lack of local product competitiveness, persistent domestic imbalances, the debt overhang and limited financial resources have compelled governments to make the achievement of short term economic recovery their first priority with a view to creating an enabling environment for trade promotion and entrepreneurship. Accordingly, a number of reforms have been undertaken mainly within the context of structural adjustment programmes with the support of financial institutions such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund.

7/ The Treaty establishing UEMOA was signed on 11 January 1994 by seven member States, namely: Benin, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Mali, the Niger, Senegal and Togo but came into force on 1 August 1994.

8/ This is what was proposed in the memorandum of the CEAO Council of Ministers on cession of CEAO assets to UEMOA submitted to the UEMOA Council of Ministers in December 1994.

20. In Burkina Faso, the liberalization programme focused on prices and external trade regulation[9]. With regard to prices, the Government has: (i) lifted price controls on local products; (ii) done away with the setting of profit margins on a number of imports; (iii) removed the requirement for compliance with procedures for approving the prices of local manufactures; (iv) abolished marketing and distribution monopolies except for those relating to petroleum products and rice; and (v) streamlined the pricing of petroleum products. At the level of trade itself, the liberalization measures focused on: (i) the planning of administrative procedures for imports and exports and the removal of quota restrictions; (ii) the consolidation of import licensing and technical clearance into a single special import authorization; and (iii) the reduction of the number of list products subject to the new authorization from 43 to three only. In order to protect national manufacturing, a decreasing protection tax was instituted beginning from a 30 per cent rate for the first year, 20 per cent for the second year and 10 per cent for the third and last year. Currently, this applies to 22 products. Among the export incentives should be noted the abolition of all exports duties and taxes and the institution of a customs warehousing regime. With effect from January 1993, a value-added tax at a single rate of 15 per cent was levied on all professional income-generating activities.

21. In Côte d'Ivoire the various economic adjustment programmes initiated have not necessarily helped to arrest the worsening domestic production situation, especially over the period 1987-1990. In view of its continuing economic and financial imbalances, Côte d'Ivoire embarked on a medium-term economic recovery and stabilization programme in January 1994 by taking a number of steps. Carried out under sectoral programmes, these measures were aimed at restoring economic competitiveness, overhauling the financial system and developing human resources while the Government leaves the competitive sectors to the private sector.

22. However, by early 1994, all the CFA countries initiated a monetary adjustment exercise in the face of a cumbersome debt servicing and macro-economic context persistently characterized by a non-competitive production system. This adjustment saw the franc parity reduced by 50 per cent and helped improve the competitiveness of export goods in countries like Côte d'Ivoire, which had a relatively diversified production base. This, in addition to further domestic adjustment efforts and speedy structural reform, has helped to improve the domestic production system and make the Ivorian economy competitive again. Thus, there was an increase in the volume of exports which rose by 1.8 per cent in 1994, despite the reduction in cocoa and coffee exports compared to the 1993 figures.[10] Similarly, there was a drop of more than 10 per cent in import volume throughout 1994, coupled with a decrease in final consumption and the substitution effects induced by the parity change.[11]

23. In contrast, the devaluation in Burkina Faso sparked off a sharp rise in prices, resulting in an inflation rate which may make Burkina Faso's goods less competitive than those produced in neighbouring

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[9]/ Note sur l'environnement macro-économique, judiciaire et réglementaire de l'investissement (8 November 1994), prepared by the Direction générale de la promotion économique, Ministry of Industry, Trade and Mines, Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso.

[10]/ According to la Note trimestrielle de conjoncture No.3 of September 1994 published by the Cote d'Ivoire Chamber of Commerce and Industry, coffee export between June 1993 and June 1994 decreased from 112,800 tons to 97,900, representing a 13.2 per cent reduction. Cocoa exports also dropped from 440,000 tons in June 1993 to 385,400 tons in June 1994, representing a 12.4 per cent reduction.

[11]/ See the 1995 economic and financial report published by the Department of economic crisis management and forecasts, Ministry of Economy, Finance and Planning. Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire.

countries like Côte d'Ivoire. The trade authorities should look closely into this issue and come up with a pricing policy in line with competitive pricing regulations in the subregion.

24. In Ghana, a country outside the West African franc zone, there have been encouraging results from a vast reform programme with a 5 per cent growth rate and an inflation rate not exceeding 15 per cent.[12] The aim of the programme, which embodies Ghana's current economic policy, is to create an enabling environment for a competitive industrial sector and promote private initiative. In this connection, a number of steps have been taken to: (a) put in place special protection taxes for local industries in an attempt to make their goods competitive on the domestic and international market. Target industry units include those producing alcoholic beverages, cigarettes, textiles, cosmetics, rubber products, copper and related products; (b) set up an assistant fund for the rehabilitation of enterprises hard hit by the economic crisis but which are potentially viable; and (c) provide financing for the export of non-traditional goods such as fruits and vegetables.

25. Furthermore, the Ghanaian Government recently introduced a 17.5 per cent value added tax (VAT). This, however caused a significant increase in the prices of local products; government authorities therefore had to compile a list of reference prices for some products and put on hold the application of the VAT. At the same time, the Government is looking into ways and means of cushioning the harsh effects of creeping inflation without reverting to the price control system. Moreover, steps are being taken for instance to streamline prices and provide adequate incentives for the renewed production of non-traditional export goods. It is also desirable to create an enabling environment for investments especially in the import-substitution industrial sectors.

26. Other countries in West Africa also undertook domestic reforms to promote trade and private initiative. In view of the scope of their economic crisis, West African countries will continue to operate under structural adjustment pressures which increasingly affect the world economy. These countries will have to cope with the increasing competition resulting from the application of the Uruguay Round agreements and the global liberalization of world trade. Such adaptation, however, will only be possible if the countries formulate policies likely to make their economies more competitive and initiate integration-led structural adjustment programmes. Indeed, structural reforms will not succeed unless accompanied by policies and measures geared towards the strengthening of subregional integration, based on an increased liberalization of intra-subregional trade.

III. CONSIDERATION OF THE IMPACT OF LIBERALIZATION PROGRAMMES ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF TRADE IN WEST AFRICA

B. Trends in local products trade

27. The rules of origin stipulate that goods imported from any member of the same economic community are considered as local products. Under this arrangement, subregional economic groupings intend to promote trade liberalization among member States and expand intra-subregional trade, thus making their respective economies more competitive. However, intra-subregional trade performance has been generally disappointing with little or no increase in the volume of subregional trade and at the same time showing a very irregular pattern. For instance, the intra-ECOWAS export share of the total exports of member States which stood at 10.11 per cent in 1990 declined to 8.58 per cent in 1991, then rose to 10.40 per cent in 1992. Over the same period, the intra-ECOWAS import share which stood at 12.9 per cent fell to 8.92 per cent before rising to 8.94 per cent respectively (see table 5 of the annex). If member States are taken individually, one will observe the same trends although trade volumes are relatively higher. In the case of

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12/ Ghana Ministry of Trade and Industry, "Review of the Tariff Regime during the first half of the year 1994".

Mali for instance, the share of intra-community exports in Mali's total export fell from 83.39 per cent in 1990 to 33.00 per cent in 1991 then rose to 45.18 per cent in 1992.[13] With regard to Côte d'Ivoire, this fell from 26.05 to 21.72 per cent, then to 21.48 per cent in 1990, 1991 and 1992 respectively. The share of intra-community exports of Ghana's total trade volume which stood at 20.33 per cent in 1990 was 17.14 per cent in 1991 and rose to 20.13 per cent in 1992. Senegal, for its part, recorded 11.36 per cent, 11.96 per cent and 16.31 per cent respectively for those three years. On the other hand, for Nigeria which had the majority of enterprises under the trade liberalization scheme, the share of intra-community exports in the total export volume did not exceed the 6 per cent per annum mark.

28. Comparatively, CEAO recorded a relatively higher share of intra-community trade which dropped from 11.72 per cent in 1990, to 10.22 per cent in 1991 and then rose to 12.56 per cent in 1992 (see table 4 of the annex). Among CEAO member States, Senegal seems to have had the best intra-community trade performance with a share of intra-subregional trade of 10.85 per cent of its total trade volume in 1990, 13.95 per cent in 1991 and 14.18 per cent in 1992. Côte d'Ivoire came second with 15.96 per cent, 12.54 per cent and 13.17 per cent respectively for the three consecutive years.[14]

29. The composition of local products trade throughout the West African subregion is practically the same as found region-wide (table 1 of the annex). There are, however, some variations depending on the specific requirements and potential of each country. In Burkina Faso, the major exports are meat and live animals, exported mainly to Côte d'Ivoire and (to a lesser extent) to Togo, the Niger and Nigeria. There are also fruits and vegetables most of which are exported to Ghana at an average of 1,655 tons per annum and cotton and cotton fabric exported to Togo and Nigeria. On the other hand, there is a wide range of imported goods such as spices and stimulants, building materials, petroleum products, fruits and vegetables which come mainly from Côte d'Ivoire. There are also mineral products imported from Togo and Ghana while Nigeria supplies petroleum products.

30. As shown in table 6 of the annex, Burkina Faso's imports from ECOWAS countries exceed its exports to those countries thereby causing a significant trade deficit ranging from CFAF 16 to 30 billion over the period 1987 to 1991, i.e. about 26 to 39 per cent of its total trade deficit. Its trade deficit with CEAO countries accounted for 80 to 90 per cent of its total trade deficit with ECOWAS.

31. There is also a significant volume of trade between members of the community and Côte d'Ivoire whose ten major customers include Burkina Faso, Mali, Nigeria and Senegal.[15] Côte d'Ivoire's major exports to community member States include instant coffee, cotton, processed wood, palm oil, building materials, cosmetics, packaging bags and sachets and petroleum products. In view of its geographical location, Côte d'Ivoire offers outlets and access to landlocked countries such as Burkina Faso and Mali. Thus, from 1987 to 1991 Côte d'Ivoire absorbed nearly 58 to 69 per cent of Burkina Faso's value exports to ECOWAS countries. Over the same period, it also supplied 67 to 77 per cent of Burkina Faso's imports from ECOWAS countries (see table 6 of the annex).

32. Among Côte d'Ivoire's 10 major suppliers, Nigeria supplied nearly 18.7 per cent of its total import in 1992, coming second after France which accounted for 34.2 per cent. Nigeria's supplies of top quality crude oil to Côte d'Ivoire may dwindle when the Ivorian refinery company starts processing crude oil

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[13]/ Estimates based on the statistical reference data on tables 3 and 5 of the annex.

[14]/ Estimates based on statistical reference data in tables 3 and 4 of the annex.

[15]/ Cote d'Ivoire 1994, Marchés tropicaux et méditerranéens No. 2528, 1 July 1991.

extracted from Côte d'Ivoire. Furthermore, Côte d'Ivoire imports fresh fish, cotton fabric, calcium phosphate, table salt, groundnuts and millet. These come mainly from Senegal, Burkina Faso, Mali and Mauritania. Ghana supplies Côte d'Ivoire with partly refined petroleum.

33. Senegal for its part exports to other members of the community especially to the member States of the erstwhile CEAO, fertilizers, petroleum products, table salt, stationery and other paper products, fresh sea fish, cotton fabrics, plastics and pharmaceutical products. Its major customers are Benin, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Guinea, Mali, Mauritania and the Niger (see table 8 of the annex which shows the trade situation between Senegal and members of the former CEAO in 1992). Major products imported by Senegal are petroleum products, refined palm oil, wood and wood products, processed foods, iron and steel products (metal sheets, rods and pipes), edible fruits (kola nuts, fresh bananas, coconuts, etc.) and plastic products. The major suppliers are Côte d'Ivoire and Mali.

34. There has been a significant increase in the export of fertilizers, paper and paper products, cotton and plastic materials. Major imports include petroleum products, refined palm oil, processed foods, iron and steel products and plastic products. There is a tendency towards a reduction in the export of petroleum products and fresh sea fish, on the one hand, and the import of edible fruits, on the other.

C. The impact of trade liberalization on food self-sufficiency and security

35. One of the major objectives of the community is to attain speedy and sustained growth in food production and greater food security. But with inadequate government domestic pricing policies and exchange rates, imported food items such as rice and wheat are cheaper than traditional foodstuffs like millet, sorghum, plantains, roots and tubers. This has caused a reduction in food production.

36. Such a problem would have been resolved by genuine liberalization of intra-subregional trade which in turn could have promoted the production of import-substitution food items. But the various problems facing the application of liberalization programmes in addition to the lack of technical know-how, inadequate popularization of research and development, limited access to factors of production and the lack of incentives for production are some of the factors militating against increased food production. Furthermore, demand remains inelastic vis-a-vis supply whose regularity and consistency cannot be guaranteed owing to weather conditions. Under such circumstances and due to the lack of adequate policies on food production, most African countries will continue to get their food supplies from developed countries. Since the world prices of these commodities continue to rise while African export product prices tend to fall, African countries may be recording a higher trade deficit. Food production projections up to the year 2000 for sub-Saharan African countries show that the production of 110.4 million tons of basic food items will leave a deficit of about 15.9 million tons compared to the projected consumption figures (see table 9 of the annex). According to these projections, all the three subregions of Sub-Saharan Africa will record a food deficit by the year 2000 with West Africa taking the lead (34.1 million tons).

D. The impact of the development of the production sectors on employment

37. The purpose of the ECOWAS Community protocol was to completely eliminate custom duties on industrial goods manufactured by community enterprises and thus contribute to the promotion of investment in these sectors. However, the paucity of community resources and the very low external resource flow do not seem to augur well for the achievement of community objectives. In order to solve this problem, member States might consider pooling a portion of their resources to promote joint ventures with the involvement of foreign private capital. This may also provide job-creating opportunities, reduce the chronic unemployment besetting the subregion and improve the living conditions of the population.

E. Issues related to the application of subregional trade liberalization schemes

38. In reviewing the various liberalization programmes initiated in West Africa and assessing their impact on trade development in the subregion, it has been realized that the current intra-subregional trade situation does not provide an enabling environment for economic recovery. Even the most basic projects for intra-subregional trade promotion have not taken off the ground for various reasons. At the national level, countries grappling with structural problems give priority to their domestic reforms to the detriment of their commitment to subregional economic integration efforts. At the subregional level, the non-availability of financial resources, tariff constraints, inadequate physical infrastructure, limited technical, marketing and management skills and the lack of uniform trade policies pursued by the various countries are the major impediments to the promotion of intra-subregional trade.

F. Issues related to local production structures

39. One of the major bottlenecks to the promotion of trade in West Africa is the similarity in local production structures across the subregion. As a matter of fact, most West African countries produce the same basic agricultural products whereas their most urgent requirements are manufactured goods which account for an average of 73 per cent of their imports for which the developed market-oriented countries have a secure advantage. This shows the lack of coordination and harmonization of production and marketing policies which in turn accounts for the low volume of trade among the community countries. Furthermore, their low technological level leads to high production cost which make domestically produced goods more expensive than imported goods. In addition, there are problems related to supply management and inadequate production and marketing skills.

G. Tariffs

40. Subregional integration groupings provide for the elimination of tariff barriers to trade between member States. Within ECOWAS, raw materials and local handicrafts enjoy relatively free movement between member States. In contrast, industrial products of origin are yet to qualify for preferential treatment as outlined in the liberalization scheme for two main reasons: (a) trade is carried out outside the liberalization scheme without using the relevant documentation like the certificate of origin and customs declaration forms; (b) there have been delays in instituting the measures necessary to dismantle all barriers to the implementation of the scheme. These measures are aimed, among other things, at putting in place a budget to offset customs revenue losses and initiating legislative and financial measures in each member State to implement the scheme[16] Owing to the fact that customs revenue constitutes a significant source of income to countries in the subregion, a considerable time interval is unavoidable between the formulation and application of these measures. Countries, however, should assess the financial implications of such measures. A special ECOWAS technical experts meeting was organized in Dakar in June 1992 in an attempt to review the liberalization scheme but it considered instead issues related to changes in the criteria of the rules of origin and thereby failed to address the substantive issue of tariff dismantling and the modalities for financing of the compensatory budget for customs revenue losses which are the fundamental problems facing ECOWAS member States.

H. Non-tariff obstacles and constraints

41. Countries in the subregion initiated a number of protectionist measures which constitute obstacles to intra-subregional trade promotion. Among these are the numerous road-blocks and customs check points between countries despite those resolutions taken to promote the free movement of goods and persons. Other

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[16]/ ECOWAS (1993), Achievements, challenges and prospects, ECOWAS Secretariat, Lagos, Nigeria.

barriers include complicated import and export procedures, protectionist measures for local industries which compensate for customs revenue losses on all imported goods, and the lack of measures to support intra-subregional trade.

I. Infrastructural obstacles

42. West African economic operators are further handicapped by inadequate infrastructural transport and storage facilities and the lack of modern telecommunications. Governments have not helped matters by applying costly trade procedures which involve the processing of customs documents.

43. In a bid to facilitate trade, the bulk of which is done by road, ECOWAS has, through its community transport programme, established two highways namely: the Lagos-Nouackchott coastal highway and the Dakar-Ndjamena trans-Sahelian highway which run through practically all the West African capital cities. However, further investments will be required to open-up the landlocked areas. Governments will also need regular and reliable communication systems and warehousing facilities to cater for the perishable commodities produced in the subregion.

J. Financing and payment issues

44. One of the major obstacles to trade promotion in West Africa is the difficulty in financing the activities of the economic groupings, which as a matter of fact, depend on member State contributions for their recurrent budgets. Problems created by economic crisis have combined with the lukewarm attitude to subregional cooperation to diminish national readiness to honour financial obligations. The groupings have been unable to implement all their activities owing to limited budgets and that is why integration at all levels, including trade has not taken off the ground.

45. Moreover, major problems facing exporters in West Africa include payments and inter-convertibility of national currencies. There will be no meaningful intra-subregional trade where exporters are not sure of being paid promptly for their goods and services. Problems of payments are attributable to the heavy debt burden, poor performance of national financial sectors, lack of export credit and export insurance facilities. At the subregional level, regrettably, monetary policies are not harmonized. Nor are the clearing mechanisms working.

K. Issues related to trade promotion

46. Governments, chambers of commerce and professional associations ought to provide information on market opportunities and market access. While the governments in many West African countries only play a marginal role in providing trade information, the chambers of commerce and professional associations do not do much better.

47. Furthermore, reaching and keeping trade customers in West Africa has been made impossible by the problems of quality and packaging of some local goods and inadequate distribution networks. Indeed, quality packaging and labelling would have prevented damage to goods being shipped and appealed to customers. African goods need effective distribution network and good publicity which they generally lack.

V. MEASURES AND MECHANISMS TO SUPPORT TRADE DEVELOPMENT IN WEST AFRICA

48. Concrete measures that should be implemented to facilitate trade in the West African subregion entail stimulating the competitiveness of local goods, promoting production diversification and growth in the production sectors, simplifying and harmonizing the liberalization schemes of subregional integration

organizations, developing physical infrastructure, and improving payment and financing conditions for intra-subregional trade.

L. Measures designed to make locally produced goods competitive

(a) Stable macro-economic environment

49. Governments' main goal should be to promote a sustained economic growth and improve the living conditions of the population by creating a stable environment for economic operators. The latter need such stability to map out their production, marketing and investment strategies. This objective could easily be defeated by drastic policy changes as operators will be ready to invest only if they are sure of sustained growth in demand. Another important objective is to keep inflation in check as it distorts prices and makes interest rate rise, with the result that locally produced goods become less competitive than imported goods. Moreover, a high inflation rate will compel economic operators to prefer short-term profit to long-term gains and shy away from the productive sectors and thus, from producing local goods. Similarly, it is incumbent on governments to maintain a public financial balance. Without this, production will be increasingly uncertain and costly, with taxes adversely affecting the production of local goods and their competitiveness abroad.

(b) The significance of diversification and specialization

50. Countries in the subregion should also diversify their production and export patterns by promoting the production of non-traditional export goods which are competitive on regional and international markets. Furthermore, each country should specialize in producing those goods for which it has comparative advantages vis-à-vis other countries in the subregion. This will provide more opportunities for trade between them. In carrying out the diversification required for the promotion of local production, governments might consider changing their industrial development policies and strategies based on import substitution to an industrialization scheme based on the processing of domestic raw materials and local innovation.

(c) Access to markets

51. In keeping with the principle of free enterprise, governments may make subregional enterprises more competitive by applying the free trade policy, promoting exports and improving investment conditions in the productive sector of the economy. Furthermore, they should promote the access of these goods to subregional markets by applying better costs of production, which will make for competitive prices, and by trying to reduce trade barriers. In this connection, West African countries should take concrete steps to harmonize their trade liberalization schemes, adapt uniform standards that will enable them eliminate the various obstacles to intra-subregional development. To this end, they should simplify customs procedures and eliminate the various constraints to road transport and the shipment of goods.

(d) Export promotion

52. Governments should play a key role in building necessary skills for export promotion, by providing up to date reliable information, and implementing support measures for exporters. Chambers of commerce and professional associations should look into reorganizing their activities. They should focus on the promotion of production and trade, thus making up for the public sector's inadequacy in this area, and also enlist further involvement of the private operators. Current monetary and financial policies should be critically reassessed so as to favour local production in terms of interest rates and financing modalities. Putting in place medium- and long-term credit mechanisms and facilities for the production and marketing of local goods will make the latter more competitive. Initiatives taken by some countries in providing guarantees and export credits should be encouraged. Similarly, opportunities for partnership with foreign operators through joint ventures should be explored.

(e) Promotion of human resources

53. Promoting human resources is crucial in building the capacities required for the implementation of the trade liberalization schemes for locally produced goods. It also provides the skills required for the promotion of local goods. Countries in the subregion should improve the relevant skills in their respective economies. They need a training programme in modern marketing and distribution methods and the effective application of the provisions of the protocol on tariff dismantling and the elimination of non-tariff barriers in ECOWAS and WAEMU.

M. Enhancing the support of the subregional integration organizations to economic operators

54. The support of the subregional integration organizations to the economic operators could be enhanced by setting up trade facilitation and promotion organizations whose purpose would be to provide direct assistance to national exporters and assist governments in formulating appropriate and harmonized trade policy measures. They should also provide exporters with necessary information on foreign markets, their access and standards. Such organizations could be set up and coordinated by the chambers of commerce.

N. Improving subregional physical infrastructure

55. Since the bulk of intra-regional trade is done by road, governments should promote the development and modernization of this sector by encouraging privatization and partnership among various road transport companies in the subregion. Moreover, countries should promote other support services to marketing such as communications, warehousing and storage, in collaboration with private enterprises.

O. Promoting investments and facilitating payment systems

56. Governments should promote direct foreign investments, thereby giving their respective economies a sound technological base that makes their products competitive. In this connection, they need to encourage partnership between national economic operators and foreign investors and enterprises in a bid to enhance supply and marketing capacities.

57. It is also important to improve the payment and financing aspects of trade in order to eliminate one of the main obstacles to trade development in West African subregion. In the first place, alternative ways of financing regional integration activities independently of member State budgets should be sought. This approach was outlined in the revised ECOWAS Treaty. In this regard, the West African Clearing House (WACH) established under the auspices of ECOWAS is being changed to West African Monetary Agency. Efforts should be stepped up to provide medium-term credit facilities in to solve finance subregional organizations. Moreover, it is expected that the West African Central Bank (WACB) and the West African Development Bank (WADB) will finance the activities of the West African Economic and Monetary Union during the transitional period. Beyond that, the Union's resources should derive mainly from a portion of the joint subregional external tariff revenue and indirect taxes.

III. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

58. Measures to promote intra-subregional trade and the competitiveness of locally produced goods will only be effective if countries in the subregion have the basic framework required for their trade expansion schemes. Macro-economic stability and the promotion of private initiative are two of the major components of such framework. Furthermore, countries in the subregion should endeavour to outline a set of strategic objectives for their trade development programmes. Such objectives should of course take into account the potential of each country.

59. Since countries in the subregion do not have all the resources required to finance each of the measures outlined in their objectives, they might want to order their priorities as follows:

(a) Establishing a framework for free trade promotion and investing in trade facilitation. In the first place, it is important to initiate trade policy measures based on the analysis of supply and demand of goods traded in the subregion as well as an adequate planning of human and financial resources channelled into infrastructural investments. This would provide a sound basis for trade promotion across the subregion. Moreover, governments should seriously consider lifting all barriers and constraints to trade, and should encourage private initiative by providing access to credit and trade information.

(b) Putting in place trade promotion structures. Attention should be focused on providing support services to trade promotion through supervision, training in financial management and planning, publication and dissemination of information on production patterns.

(c) Putting in place a consistent standards and approval system which will make it possible to eliminate all barriers to the development of intra-subregional trade.

(d) Improving the subregional payment arrangements. The ECOWAS clearing mechanism should be revised and incorporate appropriate measures to reduce exchange fluctuations in national currencies. In addition alternative means of financing subregional trade should be sought.

(e) Encouraging direct foreign investments in high technology industries. Governments should pay greater attention to direct foreign investment in order to make their respective economies technologically up to date. This will, in turn, enable foreign enterprises to locate their research and development units in the subregion and establish contacts between the units and local enterprises.

60. Once countries in the subregion have defined their priorities, they should initiate, with the assistance of the international community, a set of projects to support the foreign sector. Among these are support measures that will make the trade sector more amenable to on-going changes in international trade. The new trade regulations and liberalization schemes concluded under the Uruguay Round agreements should encourage governments to initiate projects designed to inform the economic operators about new opportunities, how to improve packaging, marketing, product quality and supply. Further assistance could be provided by trade promotion organizations through their own projects. Moreover, since the bulk of West Africa's export earnings derives from the sale of their primary commodities, governments should ensure that the staff of the enterprises concerned have the right qualifications and accurate information on various markets, when they enter into trade agreements with big international negotiators. They should also provide the operators with the means of managing risks arising from the highly volatile prices of primary commodities.

STATISTICS

Table 1: Intra-African trade per product catergory, 1980-1992
(in millions of U.S. Dollars)

	1980		1989		1990		1991		1992	
	Value	% of total value	Value	% of total value	Value	% of total value	Value	% of total value	Value	% of total value
Drinks, foods and tobacco	727	24.4	871	22.5	926	23.5	984	20.2	1,097	20.6
Petroleum products, greases and raw materials	271	9.1	483	12.5	486	12.4	594	12.2	597	11.4
Fuel	1,219	40.9	1,123	29.1	1,163	29.6	1,622	33.3	1,793	34.3
Chemicals	131	4.4	333	8.6	312	7.9	356	7.3	408	7.8
Machines	87	2.9	274	7.1	243	6.2	341	7.0	288	5.5
Other manufactured goods	543	18.2	781	20.2	803	20.4	970	19.9	1,064	20.3
Total	2,978	100	3,865	100	3,933	100	4,867	100	5,229	100

Source: UN monthly statistics bulletin, May 1994.

Table 2: Elimination of import duties and taxes on industrial goods from ECOWAS member States

Group of countries	Tariff elimination time frame	Tariff elimination rate
Group 1.: Cape Verde, Burkina Faso, Gambia, Guinea-Bissau, Mali, Mauritania, Niger	10 years	10 % reduction per annum
Group 2.: Benin, Guinea, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Togo	8 years	12.50 % reduction per annum
Group 3.: Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Nigeria, Senegal	6 years	16.66 % reduction per annum

Source: ECOWAS Secretariat.

Table 3: West Africa

Total exports per economic grouping

(FOB values in millions of U.S dollars)

ECONOMIC GROUPINGS/COUNTRIES	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992
ECOWAS	18,179	19,454	13,052	14,641	13,343	15,173	20,885	20,041	19,950
Benin	167	152	104	114	71	77	39	43	44
Burkina Faso	79	70	83	155	142	214	222	141	169
Cape Verde	3	5	4	8	3	7	7	6	5
Côte d'Ivoire	2,698	2,939	3,354	3,110	2,168	2,503	2,318	2,950	3,105
Gambia	46	27	32	63	96	138	171	166	230
Ghana	540	623	862	909	1,014	972	1,081	1,260	1,152
Guinea	462	474	439	500	477	587	627	666	590
Guinea Bissau	18	9	7	6	10	7	21	31	31
Liberia	449	436	408	382	396	504	517	340	389
Mali	129	124	212	146	166	197	289	303	301
Mauritana	291	373	421	428	508	451	468	518	507
Niger	305	259	317	443	289	243	282	311	416
Nigeria	12,020	13,113	5,899	7,383	6,875	8,138	13,649	12,254	11,895
Senegal	633	554	625	606	780	751	783	652	705
Sierra Leone	148	106	80	144	106	138	143	146	150
Togo	191	190	204	244	242	245	268	253	262
MANO RIVER UNION	1,059	1,016	927	1,026	979	1,229	1,287	1,152	1,129
Guinea	462	474	439	500	477	587	627	666	590
Liberia	449	436	408	382	396	504	517	340	389
Sierra Leone	148	106	80	144	106	138	143	146	150
CEAO	4,302	4,471	5,116	5,002	4,123	4,436	4,401	4,918	5,246
Benin	167	152	104	114	71	77	39	43	44
Burkina Faso	79	70	83	155	142	214	222	141	169
Côte d'Ivoire	2,698	2,939	3,354	3,110	2,168	2,503	2,318	2,950	3,105
Mali	129	124	212	146	166	197	289	303	301
Mauritania	291	373	421	428	508	451	468	518	507
Niger	305	259	317	443	289	243	282	311	416
Senegal	633	554	625	606	780	751	783	652	705

Source: ECA Statistics Division.

Table 4: CEAO: Intra-community trade

(in millions U. S. dollars)

Countries	Imports						Exports					
	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993
Benin	24	21	26	25	28	32	1	7	7	3	3	6
Burkina Faso	74	64	103	147	162	192	15	14	20	4	4	4
Côte d'Ivoire	63	53	68	57	63	77	279	250	370	370	409	473
Mali	114	137	200	222	244	291	8	8	15	7	8	9
Mauritania	4	2	1	6	6	7	24	29	16	20	22	26
Niger	32	35	42	36	39	48	4	2	3	8	8	10
Senegal	64	68	75	71	77	92	51	82	85	91	100	116
CEAO total	375	380	515	564	619	739	382	392	516	503	554	644
Total trade	5,330	4,821	5,137	5,471	5,953	6,256	4,123	4,436	4,401	4,918	5,246	5,260
Share of intra-community trade in member States' total trade	7.03	7.87	10.02	10.30	10.39	11.80	9.26	8.83	11.72	10.22	10.56	12.24

Source: Figures based on data from IMF's annual trade statistics, 1994 edition.

TablE 5: ECOWAS: Intra-community trade 1/
(in millions of U.S. dollars)

Countries	Imports					Exports				
	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992
Benin	61	47	67	18	23	18	14	37	8	10
Burkina Faso	103	87	142	163	153	25	20	26	19	23
Cape-Verde	2	3	4	4	5	-	-	-	-	-
Côte d'Ivoire	289	414	568	528	548	518	451	604	641	667
Gambia	6	7	10	9	9	7	6	11	10	13
Ghana	182	95	72	86	92	240	235	221	216	232
Guinea	22	14	8	10	14	7	5	5	4	6
Guinea Bissau	4	12	10	11	12	4	2	2	2	4
Liberia	33	11	1	1	6	6	3	1	2	4
Mali	83	106	183	212	337	25	94	241	100	136
Mauritania	5	2	1	2	4	32	36	20	17	35
Niger	75	98	102	38	92	22	29	38	69	73
Nigeria	33	14	19	29	43	387	456	780	514	713
Senegal	112	123	170	158	166	90	92	89	78	115
Sierra Leone	31	15	12	17	19	1	1	1	2	3
Togo	37	44	86	48	64	20	29	37	38	42
Intra-ECOWAS Total	1,078	1,092	1,455	1,334	1,587	1,402	1,473	2,113	1,720	2,076
Member States' total trade 2/	11,878	11,065	11,256	14,941	17,739	13,343	15,175	20,885	20,041	19,950
Share of intra-ECOWAS trade in member States' total trade	9.07	9.86	12.92	8.92	8.94	10.50	9.70	10.11	8.58	10.40

Sources: 1/: ECOWAS Secretariat.
2/: ECA Statistics Division.

Table 6. Trade between Burkina Faso and CEAO/ECOWAS
(FOB values in millions of U.S. dollars)

Countries	1987		1988		1989		1990		1991	
	Value	%	Value	%	Value	%	Value	%	Value	%
EXPORTS										
Cote d'Ivoire	9,371	68	6,018	58	3,816	59	4,826	65	4,462	69
Mali	251	2	385	4	335	4	300	4	366	6
Niger	604	4	193	2	288	4	260	4	95	1
Benin	102	1	205	2	31	0	146	2	44	1
Senegal	119	1	7	0	23	-	16	0	8	0
Mauritania	0	0	-	0	5	0	-	0	1	0
CEAO total	10,449	75	6,808	65	4,397	68	5,548	75	4,976	77
Togo	2,315	17	3,365	32	1,846	29	1,332	18	882	14
Nigeria	248	2	32	0	5	0	391	5	433	7
Ghana	868	6	212	2	208	3	125	2	163	3
ECOWAS total	13,880	100	10,417	100	6,456	100	7,396	100	6,474	100
IMPORTS										
Côte d'Ivoire	13,302	77	21,243	71	17,741	71	21,513	67	26,661	72
Mali	389	1	494	2	333	1	370	1	452	1
Niger	165	1	194	1	121	0	242	1	134	0
Benin	112	0	194	1	209	1	298	1	331	1
Senegal	597	2	547	2	1,014	4	2,407	8	1,886	5
Mauritania	437	1	807	3	983	4	590	2	531	1
CEAO total	25,002	83	23,579	78	20,401	82	25,420	79	29,995	81
Togo	2,832	9	3,418	11	2,447	10	3,101	10	2,636	7
Nigeria	1,190	4	1,995	7	1,210	5	2,457	8	3,394	9
Ghana	1,055	4	1,056	4	812	3	955	3	1,021	3
ECOWAS total	30,079	100	30,048	100	24,870	100	31,933	100	37,046	100
BALANCE										
Côte d'Ivoire	-13,931		-15,225		-13,925		-16,687		-22,179	
Mali	-138		-109		-98		-70		-86	
Niger	439		-1		167		18		-39	
Benin	-10		11		-178		-152		-287	
Senegal	-478		-540		-992		-2,391		-1,878	
Mauritania	-437		-807		-978		-590		-530	
CEAO total	-14,553		-16,771		-16,004		-19,872		-24,999	
Togo	-517		-53		-601		-1,769		-1,754	
Nigeria	-942		-1,963		-1,205		-2,066		-2,961	
Ghana	-187		-844		-604		-830		-858	
ECOWAS total	-16,199		-19,631		-18,414		-24,537		-30,572	

Source: National Trade Department, Ouagadougou.

Table 7: Côte d'Ivoire's foreign trade

Côte d'Ivoire's 10 major customers in 1992 (%)		Côte d'Ivoire's 10 major suppliers in 1992 (%)	
France	15.0	France	34.2
Netherlands	11.5	Nigeria	18.7
Germany	5.8	Japan	4.2
Italy	5.6	Germany	3.9
Burkina Faso	5.3	Netherlands	3.8
Mali	4.5	United States	3.7
Nigeria	4.3	Italy	3.0
United States	4.2	Spain	2.5
Senegal	3.4	United Kingdom	2.3
United Kingdom	3.3	China	2.2

Source: West African Central Bank.

Table 8: Trade between Senegal and CEAO in 1992
(Value in millions of CFA francs; quantity in tons)

EXPORTS					IMPORTS				
Commodities	Value	Quantity	Customer countries1/	1992/1991 trend	Commodities	Value	Quantity	Suppliers 2/	1992/91 trend
Fertilizers	4,466.1	80,030.7	ML, CI, BE	+ 59.3 %	Petroleum products	13,329.1	250,394.6	CI	+ 46.3 %
Petroleum products	4,008.3	81,997.2	ML, CI	- 24.5 %	Refined palm oil	4,234.9	26,739.9	CI, ML	+ 14.5 %
Table salt	2,077.1	117,831.7	CI, ML, BF	+ 5.7 %	Wood and related products	3,983.6	7,154.1	CI, ML	+ 1.5 %
Exercise books and other school stationery	1,202.4	2,722.7	ML, BF, BE	+ 190.2 %	Food preparations	3,864.9	1,678.4	CI	+ 15.2 %
Fresh sea fish	780.7	4,668.3	CI, ML	- 21.0 %	Iron or steel products (roofing sheets, rods, pipes)	2,131.4	9,233.7	CI	+ 44.3 %
Cotton fabric	655.2	303.5	ML, CI, BF, NI	+ 61.22 %	Edible fruits	1,192.4	9,359.6	CI, ML	- 46.4 %
Plastic materials	640.8	1,266.5	ML, MR, BE, CI	+ 271.1 %	Plastic products	812.8	880.4	CI	+ 41.0 %
Pharmaceuticals	607.4	145.8	CI, ML, NI, BF	+ 36.2 %					

Source: Regional Trade Information and Documentation Centre (CRIC-CEAO), newsletter no. 31 of January - February 1995.
1/ Customer countries: Benin (BE), Burkina Faso (BF), Côte d'Ivoire (CI), Mali (ML), Mauritania (MR), Niger (NI).
2/ Suppliers: Côte d'Ivoire, Mali.

Table 9: Consumption and production trend projections for Sub-Saharan Africa's main crops up to year 2000
(in millions of tons)

Group of countries	Consumption 1	Production 2	Surplus/deficit
Sub-Saharan Africa	161.3	110.4	-50.9
West Africa	76.0	42.0	-34.1
Central Africa	24.4	19.2	-5.3
East and Southern Africa	60.8	49.2	-11.5

Source: ECA Agriculture Division.

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