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SECTORAL PLANNING IN SUBREGIONAL ARRANGEMENTS
TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS AND TRADE

CASE

OF

THE ECONOMIC COMMUNITY OF WEST AFRICAN STATES
(ECOWAS)*

* This represents somewhat a report of the mission made at the ECOWAS secretariat from 11-18 December 1987 by J.K. THISEN.

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I. INTRODUCTION

A. Objective and scope

1. The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) was established in 1975 and it embraces 16 countries, namely: Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, cote d'Ivoire, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone and Togo. According to the Treaty, the main objective of the ECOWAS is to promote co-operation and development in all fields of industry, transport, telecommunication, energy, agriculture, natural resources, commerce, monetary and financial questions and in social and cultural matters for the purpose of raising the standard of living of its peoples, of fostering closer relations among its members and of contributing to the progress and development of the African continent" 1/. Thus, the ECOWAS's objective embraces more than a free trade zone like PTA in Eastern and Southern Africa, a customs union like CEAO, a common market like the former East African Community, or even an economic union. It has also provision for the harmonious development of social and cultural aspects of the life of West African people 2/.

2. The institutions of the ECOWAS are: (i) the Authority of Heads of State and Government responsible for stimulating, directing and deciding on policies affecting the progressive development of the Community and the achievement of its aims; (ii) the Council of ministers that advise and assist the authority of Heads of State and Government; (iii) the Executive Secretariat which in addition to its administrative and executive functions, is in charge of preparing comprehensive and internally consistent subregional programmes/projects that assist in the efficient and harmonious functioning and development of the Community and ensure their implementation; (iv) the Tribunal of the Community charged with the responsibility of settling disputes that may arise in the Community; and (v) the Technical and specialized commissions, namely: the trade, customs, immigration, monetary and payment commission; the industry, agriculture and natural resources commission; the transport, telecommunications and energy commission; and the social and cultural affairs commission. Each commission is made up of experts from all the member States and their duty is to draw up programmes/projects in the relevant fields of competence and to assess the implementation of such programmes/projects. The economic division of the Executive Secretariat is also composed of the three departments related to the first three technical commissions and one department of economic research and statistics.

3. The time schedule for the establishment of the actual economic Community was originally set as follows 3/:

1/ See, ECOWAS, Treaty of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Chapitre 1, article 2 para. 1.

2/ See ECOWAS, Development of the Community - the first five years 1977-1985, Lagos, 1981.

3/ This is in accordance with the provisions of the Treaty instituting ECOWAS, articles 2, 13 and 14.

- (i) Periode 1975-1977: The member States are requested not to impose any new import duties and taxes or increase existing ones. Collection of all the information on import duties for study by the relevant institutions of the Community.
- (ii) Period 1978-1986: Member States are requested to progressively reduce and ultimately eliminate import duties in accordance with a schedule to be recommended to the Council of Ministers by the relevant commission I. The authority may decide to reduce any import duties more rapidly or eliminated earlier than 1986.
- (iii) Period 1987-1992: Member States are requested to gradually abolish existing differences in their external customs tariffs and ensure the establishment of a common customs tariff nomenclature (customs Union). During this period, customs duties or other charges with equivalent effect on imports are eliminated and quota, quantitative or like restrictions or prohibitions and administrative obstacles to trade among the member States are also removed.
- (iv) Period 1993-2000: The establishment of the actual Economic Community through: (i) the abolition as between the member States of the obstacles to the free movement of persons, services and capital; (ii) the harmonization of the agricultural policies and the promotion of common projects in the fields of marketing, research and agro-industrial enterprises; (iii) the implementation of schemes for the joint development of transport, communication energy and other infrastructural facilities as well as the evolution of a common policy in these fields; (iv) the harmonization of the economic and industrial policies of the member States and the elimination of disparities in the level of development of member States; (v) the harmonization of the monetary policies of the member States; (vi) the establishment of a fund for co-operation, compensation and development; and (vii) other activities of common interests.

B. Areas of intervention and means available for action

4. When the ECOWAS was established, the areas of intervention were the harmonization and coordination of policies in all fields, especially in the trade and customs sector. Progressively, the basic texts of Treaty were improved to include co-operation and programmes that will best serve the integration needs of the subregion; For instance, it became apparent after the establishment of Community that the social and economic co-operation in West Africa would require not only the removal of the fear of aggression by other member States but the assurance of mutual defence against external attack. It is against this fear that the non-aggression part and the protocol on mutual assistance on defence matters were signed in 1978 and 1981 respectively. It was also recognized that economic co-operation among ECOWAS member States should go behind the liberalization of trade, to include the supporting sectors such as the infrastructural development and production integration programmes. Thus, in addition to the priority areas on which the initial community programme (e.g. trade and customs matters; fiscal and monetary matters; transport and communications matters; immigration matters; industrial co-operation; and agricultural co-operation), the Community has adopted decisions and programmes in the following areas: (i) energy co-operation; (ii) social and cultural co-operation; (iii) institutional and administrative matters; and (iv) co-operation in defence matters 4/

4/ See ECOWAS, Ten years of ECOWAS 1975-1985, Lagos, June 1985 pp. 11-13.

5. In addition to these long-term programmes, and as a result of the ongoing world economic crises, the seventh summit of the ECOWAS authority of Heads of State and Government meeting in November 1984 at Lomé (Togo), has made the "Lomé Declaration on Economic Recovery in West Africa" in which it is recognized the need to adopt a sub-regional recovery programme that addresses short-term and medium term socio-economic problems and identifies a series of actions to be undertaken at national and Community levels. On the basis of this desire of the Heads of State and Government, the ECOWAS institutions formulated a two part economic recovery programme: the first dealing with short-term measures to alleviate the effects of the global recession and achieve a revival of the national economies in the short term; the second dealing with medium-term measures designed to lay the foundation for sustained growth and initiate the process of structural transformation required for the effective development of the West African economy 5/.

6. In the implementation of these short, medium and long-term programmes, the ECOWAS lies on its budget of contributions paid in by member States. Financial institutions such as the fund for co-operation, compensation and development and the various development banks also contribute to financing the ECOWAS programmes/projects. Also financial and technical assistance from bilateral and multi-lateral sources are solicited to complement ECOWAS own resources.

II. TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS PLANNING AT THE SUB-REGIONAL LEVEL 6/

A. Transport and communications objectives

7. According to the provisions of the Treaty (article 40), ECOWAS member States undertake to evolve gradually common transport and communications policies through the improvement and expansion of their existing transport and communications links and the establishment of new ones as a means of furthering the physical cohesion between them at the promotion of greater movement of persons, goods and services within the Community. The common policies cover all the modes of transport and communications, namely: roads, railways, shipping and international waterways, air transport, telecommunications and postal services.

B. Major constraints of transport and communications in ECOWAS

8. One of the basic problems of the ECOWAS subregion is the lack of physical interaction and of communication between the 16 countries of West Africa. Of the 16 ECOWAS countries, three - Niger, Mali and Burkina Faso - have no sea coast and a fourth Cape Verde - is an archipelago. Physical isolation of these land-locked and island countries remain a problem for the physical integration of the Community because the relations between coastal countries and isolated (land-locked or island) countries are still very unequal. The physical infrastructure is inadequate and where it exists it serves only as an evacuation lines to extra-community trade with Europe, America and is not oriented to promote intra-community traffic and economic integration.

5/ See Momodu Munu "ECOWAS contribution to West African effort at economic Recovery and Renewed Development" ECA/CERAD/87/39 presented at International Conference on "Africa: the Challenge of Economic Recovery and Accelerated Development". Abuja, 15-19 June 1987.

6/ Most of the materials of this section are drawn from ECOWAS Study on the Co-ordination of Transport and Communications Vol.1, Lagos 1980; ECOWAS Situation of Telecommunications in member States, Lagos, 1980; "Rapport sur l'Etat d'exécution du Programme des transports de la CEDEAO" (ECW/TCEC/XXVII/TR/VIII/4).

9. The transport system is just as fragmented as the Community space. The river Niger consists of four reaches between which there is no communication. There is virtually no traffic between Senegal and Mali and it is impossible to travel through Guinea-Bissau. It was not possible to fly in the same air craft between Lagos and Ouagadougou, and the international airport of Cape Verde is situated in one of the least populated islands. There is a change of locomotive between Dakar and Bamako and there is no rail access to the new wharves of Lagos harbour. The transport network in West Africa is inadequate and its improvement needs to be linked with the overall economic planning of development. Communication between member States is further hampered by restrictive and uncoordinated legislation and administrative practices.

C. Methods and approaches adopted in the planning of transport and communications at the subregional level

1. Introduction

10. To deal with the above problems, the authority of Heads of State and Government of ECOWAS adopted on 28 May 1980 a short and long-term programme for the development of a modern and multi-modal system of transport and communication. This programme seeks to achieve greater cohesion and physical interaction among the countries of West Africa in accordance with the objective stipulated in the Treaty. To assure at this Community objective, the following strategy was adopted:

- The development and modernisation of transport infrastructure (roads, harbour installations, railways, etc...);
- Making a land-locked countries accessible to the sea;
- Harmonisation of transport legislations so as to facilitate the movement of goods, services and persons;
- Standardization of transport equipment;
- Encouragement of the establishment of industries to produce transport equipments;
- Establishment of training centres in transportation.

11. To achieve this objective and the specific strategic aims, the ECOWAS had to play the role of coordination of all the practices in the field of subregional transport in order to avoid overlapping and allow concentration of efforts that are needed to realise the common objective. Consequently, ECOWAS first proceeded to recensing all the projects which are being implemented by the various sub-regional organisms and to recense the available resources for their realisation. The projects were classified in the same line as the classification adopted by the United Nations Transport and Communications Decade in Africa: (i) sub-regional projects; (ii) Land-locked countries projects; (iii) the Least developed countries projects; (iv) the national projects of the sub-regional nature.

2. Transport infrastructures

a) Road and road transports

12. The Commission of Transports, communications and energy elaborated a programme for the expansion of the road network that could be utilised at all time within the Community with the view to promote social and trade relations between member States. This could be done through the improvement of the existing road networks and the establishment of the new ones in the conformity with the international standards. In the elaboration of this programme the Commission gave priority to the road networks that link the territories of the member States.

13. In this connection, according to the decisions that were taken by the authority of Heads of State and Government, the short term road programme should involve :

(i) the harmonization of highway legislations in the Community since legislations in force in ECOWAS member States are either derived from French law in French speaking countries, or from English or American law in the English speaking countries, or from Portuguese law in Portuguese speaking countries. Furthermore, the various international guidelines set by the Vienna Conventions adopted in 1968 under the aegis of the United Nations have been incorporated to a greater or lesser extent by all ECOWAS; (ii) the establishment of ECOWAS brown card relating to motor vehicle third party liability insurance in order to facilitate for any person driving a vehicle within the member States; (iii) the adoption of convention regulating inter-States road transportation between ECOWAS member States with a view to promoting trade and facilitate the gradual integration of the ECOWAS economies; and (iv) the convention relating to inter-State road transit of goods to facilitate the transportation of goods between the territories of the member States. The long-term road programme would consist of the realisation of the Trans-West African Nouakchott-Dakar-N'Djamena and the Lagos-Nouakchott Trans-Coastal road network.

b) Rail transport

14. The short-term programme involved the undertaking of the economic feasibility studies on a Burkina-Faso-Niger-Togo and Burkina-Faso-Mali rail link; the Guinea-Mali rail link and its variants Kankan-Bamako/Kouroussa-Bamako; the Trans-Sahelian railway; and the Lagos-Cotonou-Lome-Accra coastal rail link. The long-term programme consisted of the realisation of these links.

c) Maritime transport

15. The short-term programme emphasized on the creation of free-zones at sea ports for the use of land-locked countries, the establishment of an ECOWAS multinational maritime transport company, the study of harbour operations, formalities and customs documents, stocking and warehousing as well as the monitoring of projects for the development of inland waterways in the sub-region. The study of a regional scheme for export shipment will be the long-term aim.

d) The air transport

16. The programme recommends that in short-run there should be harmonization and simplification of airport formalities and the study of cooperation between air transport companies of ECOWAS member States and the possibility of establishing an ECOWAS air company. In the long-run, a study of the market potential of ECOWAS exports by air should be conducted, as well as that of improving the operations of the airline in the sub-region in respect of profitability: better control of operating cost and the identification of air services that will enhance profit.

e) Multi modal transport

It is envisaged to establish a regional institute of transport.

3. Communications cooperationa) Telecommunications

17. The telecommunications programme is aimed at turning the existing generally rudimentary communication facilities between member States into a modern network over a five year period, through linking all the sixteen capitals of west Africa and ensuring easy internal communication within each member State. The INTELCOM programme has three major objectives: (i) to facilitate and promote trade, free circulation of persons goods and ideas through the establishment by the year 2000 of an inter-State telecommunications network, well integrated and with a big enough capacity to accomodate telephone, telegraphic, telex and data transmission services; (ii) to reduce the dependency on the outside by eliminating the triangular approach (South-North-South) and using south-south communications by improving the quality of the network, its reliability, efficiency and the availability of the asteries; (iii) to assist the member States in their efforts to improve the internal communication network through the intensification of means of communication in the rural areas and ensure that by 1987 links between the 16 capitals are estimated by equipping the network with the appropriate infrastructure.

18. The main contents of INTERCOM I programme are divided into two phases: Phase I consists of microwave links between Ouagadougou (Burkina Faso) and Accra via Koforidua - Bolgatangu; Lagos-Niamey via Sokoto - Benin Nkonni; Bamako - Nouakchott via Kayes - Koulmegote - Kaedi; Bamako-Abidjan via Sikasso-Khorogo; Bamako-Conakry via Siguiri; Dakar-Banjul via Ziguinchor; Dakar-Conakry via Kedougou-Mali; Conakry-Bissau via Koundara and Cotonou-Ouagadougou via Fada N'gourma-Porya) and exchanges and external plants (telephone exchange of Kayes (Mali), Telephone exchange of Po and Orodara (Burkina Faso) and external plants Po and Orodasa). The Phase II include the microwave links between Kaolach (Senegal) - Banjul (Gambia); Banjul-Ziguinchor (Senegal); Tambacounda (Senegal) Kedougou (Senegal); Kedougou-Mali (Guinea); Ziguinchor - Cacheu (Guinea), Bamako (Mali) - Siguiri (Guinea) and Nouakchott (Mauritania) - Kaedi (Mauritania) - Sellibaly (Mali), Mopti-Gao-Tombouctou (Mali) and Kayes (Mali) telephone exchange.

b) Postal services

19. The postal programme is to modernize the postal system of the subregion in order to provide a cheap regular and efficient postal exchanges and services between Member States. In the medium-term, the ECOWAS postal programme seeks: (i) to ensure a regular delivery period of three days for mail within the Community irrespective of distance and means of despatch; (ii) to bring the rate of delivery by direct despatch from capital to capital to 70 per cent within the next five year; (iii) to ensure reliability and frequent delivery particularly by promoting greater use of air postal system and reducing wrong addressing and the rate of undelivered mails to between 1 and 3 per cent. In the long run the programme aims at assimilating by the year 2000 the Community into one single territory from the point of view of postal tariffs and routing and removing the obstacles arising from differences in institutions and materials used with a view to maximising postal exchanges.

D. The State of implementation of the ECOWAS transport and communications programmes

20. Since the adoption of transport and communications programme, the following projects were implemented.

1. Road transports

21. The executive secretariat made the following studies which were adopted: (i) the study of Convention on inter-state road transport (TIE) and the study on the inter-state road transport (TSRT) Convention adopted on 29 May 1982 at Cotonou-Benin; (ii) the harmonisation of road transport legislation of the ECOWAS member States adopted on 29 May 1981 at Freetown (Sierra Leone); (iii) the establishment of ECOWAS Brown Card adopted on 29 May 1982 in Cotonou (Benin); (iv) the realisation of the studies on trans-west african road network namely identification studies on the transsahelian Dakar-N'djamena, the Lagos-Nouakchott trans-coastal road network and the trans-west african road networks.

22. The technical feasibility studies financed by the ECOWAS fund were realised for the following tracks : Tapeta-Tobli (Liberia), Front-Ghana-Noepe-Agbanchin-Front Benin (Togo); Front Senegal-Kenieba-Bamako (Mali); Front Mali-Orodara-Bobo Dioulasso (Burkina Faso). The following projects are as of now completed:

(i) The Lagos - Nouakchott Trans-coastal road network

- Lagos-Seme-Front-Benin (Nigeria): 65 Km paved.
- Front Nigeria-Cotonou-Front Togo (Benin): 172 Km paved.
- Tema-Accra (Ghana): 34 Km paved.
- Accra-Axim- front Cote d'Ivoire (Ghana): 347 Km paved.
- Front Gahana-Aboisso (Cote d'Ivoire): 69 Km paved.
- Aboisso-Abidjan (Cote d'Ivoire): 132 Km paved.
- Abidjan-Yamoussoukoro-Dalao Doukoué-Guiglo (Cote d'Ivoire): 555 Km paved.
- Gonta-Monrovia (Liberia): 268 Km paved.
- Monrovia-Kley (Liberia): 40 Km paved.
- Kley-Pont MRU (Liberia): 49.1 Km paved.
- Bandajuma-Bo Mile 66 (Sierra Leone): 249 Km paved.
- Coya-Conakry (Guinea): 51 Km paved.
- Coya-Dubreka (Guinea): 35 Km paved.
- Bambadinga-Bissau (Guinea-Bissau): 117 Km paved.
- Bissau-Sao Vicente (Guinea-Bissau) 52 Km paved.
- Ziguinchor-Diouloulon (Senegal): 93 Km paved.
- Diouloulou-Selety Front-Gamia (Senegal): 14.6 Km paved.
- Front Senegal-Selety-Mandinaba Banjul-Karang--Front Senegal (Gambia): 76 Km paved.
- Front Gambia-Kaslock-Dakar (Senegal): 75 Km paved.
- Dakar-St. Louis-Rosso-Front Mauritania (Senegal) : 369 Km paved.
- Front Senegal-Nouakchott (Mauritania): 203 Km paved.

(ii) On the trans-sahelian Dakar-N'djamena

- Dakar-Tambacounda-Dialakoto (Senegal): 530 Km paved.
- Aioun'El Atrouss-Kifa-Nouakchott (Mauritania): 814 Km paved and 814 Km unpaved.
- Bobo-Dioulasso-Sakoi-Ouaga-Koupela-Pada N'gourma Front-Niger (Burkina faso): 750 Km paved.
- Front Burkina-Niamey-Dosso--Birni Mara Di-Front-Nigeria (Niger): 824 Km paved.
- Front Niger-Kano-Maiduguri-Front Cameroun (Nigeria): 970 Km paved.

23. Funds are being sought for the execution of other tracks for which feasibility studies have already completed and for the implementation of feasibility studies for the other missing links.

2. Railway transports

24. In the railway transport, no feasibility studies have been undertaken up to now because of the difficulties with the World Bank for the construction of new railway links. However, an identification study was undertaken and a follow-up of the studies undertaken by CEAO and some member States. The feasibility studies made by ECA will be examined by the Executive secretariat. The Vienna Institute for Development has in May and October 1985, agreed to provide assistance to ECOWAS for the realisation of sub-regional railway projects.

3. Maritime transports

25. Two main activities have been realised: (i) the creation of ECOWAS coastal shipping company whose feasibility studies were made in two phases by UNCTAD. The long term planning association also prepared studies funded by the ECOWAS Fund. The three studies were examined by experts of maritime transport from member States who finally recommended the formation of a semi-public coastal shipping company. The co-operation of the West African Chamber of Commerce will be needed for the execution of the projects which were already been approved by the Council of Ministers. (ii) The creation of franch zones in maritime ports for the land-locked countries. The execution of this project is undertaken in collaboration with UNCTAD and CEAO.

4. Air transports

26. A study on the co-operation between the airline companies of the ECOWAS member States and the possibilities of creating an ECOWAS airline company were undertaken. The first study has been financed by ACDI and the termes of reference for the feasibility studies on the creation of an ECOWAS airline company have been prepared.

27. In some cases ECOWAS has been involved in funding transport projects from member States having a sub-regional dimension. The estimated amount of funds accorded by ECOWAS to the member States for the implementation of transport programmes in 1985 was as follows:

Table 1: Transport projects funded by ECOWAS

Country	Project description	Cost
Liberia	Technical feasibility studies of the road: Tapeta-Tobli Front, Cote d'Ivoire	408 600 UC
Mali	Technical feasibility studies for the road: Front Senegal-Kenieba-Kita-Bamako	100 000 UC
Togo	Technical studies of the route: Front Ghana-Noepe-Agbanak in Bamako	230 000 UC
Liberia	MRU bridge construction on the road Monrovia	2.5 Million US \$
Sierra Leone	Road construction: Freetown-Bom-Pont MRU	2.5 Million US \$
Benin	Construction of two bridges on Sazue and Mono	1 500 Million FCFA

Source: CEDEAO "Rapport sur l'Etat d'exécution du programme des transports de la CEDEAO" (ECW/TCEC/XXVII/TR/VIII/4), p. 19.

28. The problems which constraint the implementation of the transport programmes are mainly: the insufficient external financial assistance for the execution of infrastructural projects. The insufficient budgetary allocation devoted the control and coordination of the programme; professionals are not free to act quickly and have difficulties to apply the decision and protocols in the field of transport; member States do not effectively apply the transports decisions and protocols agreed upon; and the lack of coordination between the ECOWAS Fund and the Executive secretariat for the efficient implementation of the transports programme.

5. Communications

29. In the field of telecommunications, the following steps have been made for the implementation of phase I and II of the TELCOM I programme: (i) the implementation of phase I is very much advanced, with the manufacture of the appropriate equipments; (ii) for the phase II, in 1984 the ECOWAS Tender Board selected a winning firm (Thomson) to negotiate the necessary contract for the execution of the various projects; (iii) a special fund for telecommunication was created by the authority decision in May 1980 for the support of the INTELCOM programme, namely through providing guarantee for loans and subsidies for the purchase of spare parts needed for the maintenance of the networks; (iv) the principle of a uniform telephone tariffs in all member States was approved by the Council of ministers on 24 November 1979 and a telephone tariff scheme adopted by ministers in charge of telecommunications is being implemented by some telecommunications administrations. The objective of this

low cost scheme is to foster an extensive use of the subregional network, so as to avoid transiting via external centres. The need for the adequate maintenance of telecommunications networks to ensure continued and reliable service and the need to draw up a national plan for the improvement of the system of maintenance were the subject of two seminars held in Lomé (24-29 January 1982) and in Dakar (20-30 September 1983) organized with the assistance of ITU, and the French Telecommunication administration.

30. As to the development of postal services, due to lack of resources and the subsequent reordering of priorities, the earlier time schedule could not be followed as outlined in the ECOWAS Postal programme. So far the implementation of the postal programme was confined to the study on mail circulation within West Africa, the organisation of seminars on postal routing, the assistance in construction of transit and sorting centres (see annexes) and the negotiation of preferential rates with West African airlines for carriage of air mail. The next stage will be a physical evaluation of specific projects.

E. New planning bases of transport and communication

31. The physical integration of the sub-region as well as the integration of the production base have been accorded top priority in the ECOWAS next five year programme (1986-1990). In the field of transport and communications networks, the following actions are envisaged for the next five years ahead:

1. Development of uncompleted portions of the Trans West African highway;
2. Monitoring implementation of ECOWAS road legislation documents;
3. Creation of West African coastal shipping service;
4. Improvement of port facilities and operation;
5. Formulation and implementation of air transport co-operation programme;
6. Modernisation of West African Air traffic navigation facilities;
7. Completion of studies on the development of a West African railway system;
8. Monitoring implementation of 1st phase of telecommunications programme (INTELCOM I);
9. Tendering and contracting out of the 2nd phase of the telecommunications programme (INTELCOM I);
10. Programme of establishing manufacturing enterprises for telecommunications materiel and equipment;
11. Improvement of the sub-regional postal routing system.

32. As to ways and means for strengthening the operational capacity of ECOWAS in the field of transport and communications, the regionalization of Training Centres for Road Maintenance has been envisaged. A formal cooperation agreement between the Conseil de l'Entente (Entente Council) and ECOWAS has been drafted for the extension of CERFER (Togo) to other francophone member States. The identification of a Centre for the English-speaking member States is underway. A study on setting up of Regional Advanced P & T Training schools and harmonizations of training programmes and reinforcing of national training schools was made in 1984.

33. For a greater implementation capacity, it was envisaged to create national secretariats in charge of regional cooperation matters, so that, as ECOWAS moves from policy formulation towards project execution, the centre of action is shifted more and more to the national level. In adopting this decentralized aspect of the cooperation programme, ECOWAS wants to ensure that the responsibility for the execution or implementation of the sectoral programmes/projects is being assigned to the member States using highly qualified national experts.

III. TRADE PLANNING AT THE SUBREGIONAL LEVEL^{7/}

A. Trade objectives

34. One of the main objectives of ECOWAS economic integration is to transform the whole of West Africa into one big uniform market through trade cooperation measures, namely through the integration of the markets of Member States ^{8/}. This requires: (i) the removal of all tariff and non-tariff barriers to trade within the sub-region (that is, creation of a free trade zone), and (ii) the adoption of a common external tariff (that is, the creation of a customs union).

35. In accordance with the provisions of the Treaty, the elimination of tariff and non-tariff barriers on Community originating products which are traded among member States should start two years after the declaration of the consolidation of tariffs. This declaration was made in May 1979 whereas the Treaty initially predicted that such a consolidation should have been made in 1977 within two years after the entry into force of the Treaty in 1975. One of the reasons is that ECOWAS did not start operations till the beginning of 1977 after the five initial Protocols were signed on 5 November 1976 and decisions were made as to the location of its headquarters and the appointment of its statutory posts. Accordingly, the timetable for the establishment of the Community would have changed: the elimination of tariff and non-tariff barriers would have started on 29th May 1981.

^{7/} Most of the materials in this section are drawn from ECOWAS. Ten Years of ECOWAS 1975-1985, Lagos, June 1985; ECOWAS, Development of the Community - The 1st Five Years 1977-1981, Lagos, 1987; ECOWAS, "Economic Community of West African States: study of recorded trade flows" (ECW/WP.2/114), March 1978; ECOWAS, "Intra ECOWAS Trade Statistics 1985", Research Department, Lagos; and the various issues of ECOWAS Official Journal on Trade protocols, Decisions, resolutions and Directives.

^{8/} This is in accordance with Article 12 to 26 of the Treaty and the three of the initial five protocols attached to it.

36. The tariffs or import duties and taxes of equivalent effect are to be eliminated over eight years from that date. However, the scheme adopted by the Authority of Heads of State and government was as follows:

- (i) Removal of tariffs on all unprocessed goods and on all traditional handicrafts should be completed by May 28, 1981;
- (ii) Removal of tariffs on industrial products from Community enterprises should be completed by May 28, 1987 and those on priority industrial products imported into the four industrially more advanced member States ^{9/} should be completely removed over a four-year period starting from May 28, 1981 and those on such products imported into the twelve industrially less advanced member States should be completely removed over a six year-period, starting from May 28, 1981.
- (iii) Removal of tariffs on all other industrial products imported into the four ECOWAS industrially more advanced countries should be completed over a six-year period starting from May 28, 1981 and over an eight-year period if imported into industrially less advanced member States.

37. The rate of reduction of the tariffs was to be agreed upon for each product/country. Thus, by May 28, 1989, all import duties and taxes of equivalent effect would have been eliminated completely on intra-community trade as far as Community originating products are concerned. With respect to the non-tariff barriers, it was decided that there should be removed over a four year period, beginning from May 28, 1981. However, it was left to each member State to decide at what rate these restrictions would be reduced; broad indicative guidelines were provided on the time-table for the elimination of these categories of non-tariff barriers. (Import and export prohibition; quantitative restrictions-quota, licences; foreign exchange control; state participation-monopoly practices; quality control - standards, sanitation, price analysis, etc.; administrative restrictions - certificate, prior authorisation, etc.).

B. Major constraints of intra-ECOWAS trade

38. Several efforts have been made by ECOWAS and other sub-regional organisms of the West Africa to increase intra subregional trade and to change the traditional North-South pattern of trade. But these efforts do not go without problems. Currency over-valuation and imprudent pricing policies of a number of countries, trade restrictions, multiplicity of trade facilitation documents, ethnic affiliation across common borders are among the problems that impede trade in the sub-region.

^{9/} Of the 16 member States of ECOWAS, Cote d'Ivoire, Ghana, Nigeria and Senegal were designed as industrially more advanced countries for purposes of the trade liberalization scheme.

39. The natural position of the countries within the sub-region (i.e. land-locked vis-a-vis coastal countries, rain forest region vis-à-vis Sahelian region) and the disparities in levels of industrialization and natural resources endowments should favour trade among ECOWAS member-States. But the domination of some national economies by transnationals which engage in industries using imported intermediate raw materials do not lead to any appreciable intra-subregional trade. Another obstacle to the intra-ECOWAS trade is the multiplicity of currencies in the subregion. Apart from the CFA franc used by Benin, Cote d'Ivoire, Niger, Senegal, Togo and Burkina Faso, there is the Liberian dollar, the Malian franc which had fixed parity to the CFA franc, ^{10/} the Mauritanian Ouguiya, the Nigerian Naira, the Ghanaian Cedi, the Sierra Leonean Leone, the Gambian Dalasi, the Pestos of Guinea-Bissau, the Escudos of Cape Verde and the Guinean Syle. ^{11/} This currency, multiplicity increases smuggling which is still vitiating the West African economies.

40. Another obstacle to intra-ECOWAS trade is the poor state of transport and communication system with the increasingly high transportation costs. The lack of information about the trade possibilities and potentialities of the countries of the sub-region is a real dissincentive to trade.

41. Another problem is the existence in the sub-region of three major subregional organizations aimed at promoting trade: the ECOWAS, the West African Economic Community, (CEAO), the Mano River Union (MRU). All the three have agreed to use common harmonized trade documents, customs nomenclature, statistical standards, customs declaration forms, certifications of origin and movement of persons. But major differences still exist between them, namely the ones relating to the time tables for tariff liberalization and to the area of compensation schemes for loss of revenue in trading in industrial goods. (see analysis below) as well as in the philosophies of development. There have been efforts made by these sub-regional organizations to revolve these differences in their trade liberalization schemes, but up to now unhealthy rivalries still exist and this impedes trade among member-States. In offset, the issue of three incompatible trade liberalization schemes should have been resolved with the adoption of a single liberalization scheme decided by the ECOWAS Authority in January 5, 1983; but the CEAO has turned round to reject it.^{12/}

^{10/} Since 1985, the Malian franc has been changed to CFA franc after the integration of Mali into the CFA franc zone.

^{11/} The "Guinea Syli" has now been changed to "Guinea Franc" after the changing of governments in 1984.

^{12/} ECOWAS, Ten Years of ECOWAS, 1975-1985, Lagos, June 1985. Despite its adoption in May 1, 1983, the single liberalization scheme for industrial products has not been implemented and in November 1984, the ECOWAS Authority directed that all member States should endeavour to implement it by May 1985. But implementation problems still persist.

C. Methods and approaches adopted in planning intra-ECOWAS trade

42. In pursuing the Community's objectives of economic integration through trade cooperation measures, ECOWAS took a number of action, namely the corrections and modifications of the Treaty's texts, the adoption of a set of common customs documents, regulations and procedures to bring uniformity and compatibility and the modification of the time-tables of free trade area.

1. Improvements to basic texts

43. The original provisions of the Treaty and the Protocols concerning the rules of origin, the re-exportation and the assessment of loss of revenue have been amended in parts and decisions or supplementary protocols have been adopted to ensure a better application of the original texts regarding customs and trade cooperations. The following are some of the amendments made:

(a) Provisions on the Rules of Origin

44. The article 2 of the Protocol on Rules of Origin was amended to introduce intra alia traditional handicrafts of member States as originating products. Such handicrafts were defined in a supplementary protocol and a list of such items was agreed upon and annexed to the Protocol. 13/

45. The paragraph 2 of the article 3 of the Protocol on Rules of Origin was modified to include inter alia, the provisions that the level of participation by nationals of member States in the equity capital of industrial enterprises as well as the corresponding periods of implementation would be fixed as follows: 20 per cent for 28 May 1981; 35 per cent for 28 May 1983; and 51 per cent for 28 May 1989. The article 7 of the Protocol was improved by introducing a particular accounting system to be adopted by industrial enterprises desirous of benefitting from preferential treatment in respect of their goods manufactured through a process which makes it impossible to segregate physically the material used. The accounting system which provide information on date of receipt and date of release for use of the material, characteristics of the materials, quantity or volumes of the material and reference period would enable ECOWAS to determine the amount of imports originating within the sub-region and thus that portion of the product to be accorded preferential treatment. 14/

46. The article 8 of the same Protocol was also amended to spell out in more detail, rules that are applicable to mixtures to be accorded originating status. It is specially stated that a "member State may refuse to accept as originating in a member State any product resulting from the mixing together of goods which would

13/ See ECOWAS, Official Journal, Vol. 3, June 1981.

14/ See ECOWAS, Official Journal, Vol. 2, June 1980.

qualify as originating in the member State with goods which would not qualify, if the characteristics of the products as a whole are not essentially different from the characteristics of the goods which have been mixed".^{15/} However, mixtures do not undergo a sufficient transformation process to constitute by themselves manufactured goods worthy of being classified and treated differently from their component parts.

(b) Provisions on the re-exportation

47. The provisions of the Protocol on re-exportation to cover ECOWAS originating products were extended to ensure that until the process of establishing a free trade area has been completed; the duties and taxes on any products of member States that are re-exported within the ECOWAS Community should be re-imbursed. And the procedure for re-imburement of the duties and taxes paid on any goods that are subsequently re-exported was modified to make it more equitable and realistic in its application. ^{16/}

(c) Provisions regarding the classification of import duties and taxes and indirect internal taxes and duties

48. The provisions of Articles 13 and 17 of the ECOWAS Treaty were complemented by the decisions of 2 November 1981 establishing the classification of import duties and taxes and indirect internal taxes and duties to be reduced progressively and eliminated or harmonized within the framework of trade liberalization, which was worked out as follows:^{17/} (A) Customs Duties and taxes of equivalent effect - actual customs duties, entry fiscal duties and service taxes should be reduced progressively and finally eliminated within a period of eight years beginning on 28 May 1981; (B) Internal indirect taxes collected on imported goods - discriminatory by their nature and/or by their rates and non-discriminatory - the first discriminatory should be adjusted within a period of one year at the expiration of the consolidation period and the second non-discriminatory should be retained in each member States and should not be reduced or eliminated; (C) Taxes of equivalent effect to customs duties such as taxes on import licenses should be compensated for losses in revenue suffered by member States as a result of the implementation of the trade liberalization programme.

(d) Provisions relating to the definition and nomenclature of the non-tariff barriers

49. The provisions of article 18 of the ECOWAS treaty were amplified to account for the effectiveness of granting preferential treatment to goods of community originity. ^{18/} From now on the definition on non-tariff barriers to trade include:

^{15/} Ibid., p. 3.

^{16/} See ECOWAS Official Journal, Vol. 2, June 1980

^{17/} ECOWAS, Official Journal, Vol. 4, November 1982 (supplement)

^{18/} ECOWAS, Official Journal, Vol. 4 June 1982.

(i) restrictions, prohibitions, quota, quantitative and restrictions of similar nature; (ii) administrative barriers to intra-community trade; and (iii) any other non-tariff measures or practices of equivalent effect identified and approved by the Council of Ministers. And the nomenclature of non-tariff barriers to be eliminated at the discretion of member States within a period of four years from 28 May 1981 includes:

(A) Direct or legal non-tariff barriers such as:

- (1) Prohibitions (absolute and relative prohibitions).
- (2) Quantitative Restrictions (restrictive licensing for imports, global quota for imports, country quota for imports, import quota linked with export performance of the purchase of products of local origin, seasonal restrictions on imports).
- (3) Foreign exchange restrictions on current transactions (foreign exchange licenses, visas for imports, advance import deposits, minimum cash margins, multiple exchange rates for different categories of imports, import rates different from exports), ^{19/}
- (4) Customs valuation (such as mercurial value of increasing the relative import/export price).

(A) Administrative or indirect non-tariff barriers (surveillance licensing, quantitative restrictions, prior or special authorization).

(C) Other non-tariff measures and practices of equivalent effect identified and approved as such by the Council of Ministers (like standards and technical regulations, price and quality control, etc.).

(e) Provisions on the revenue losses

50. The articles 13, 20, 50 and 52 of the ECOWAS Treaty and the Protocol relating to the assessment of loss of revenue accorded by ECOWAS member States and that relating to the Fund of Cooperation, Compensation and Development were amplified by spelling out in detail the procedure, timing and mode of payment of the compensation to be made under this scheme. The loss of revenue suffered by a member State due to the implementation of the Treaty is equal to the difference between the revenue that would have accrued if the most favoured nation rate or the general rate, whichever, was applicable and consolidated on 28 May 1979, and the actual revenue collected by using the preferential rate of duty derived from the liberalization programme. The rate applicable to countries benefitting from the most favoured nation clause to be taken into account is the rate in force by the date of consolidation of tariff and non-tariff barriers, which is 28 May 1979. ^{20/}

^{19/} The elimination of these non-tariff barriers will be carried out after the problems of monetary cooperation and convertibility of currencies within the ECOWAS Community would have been solved.

^{20/} See ECOWAS, Official Journal, Vol. 2, June 1980, pp. 7-8.

2. Harmonization of instruments - customs documents and procedures

51. Several decisions were taken to ensure the use of common customs documents throughout the ECOWAS Community and to eliminate incompatibilities in customs practices, namely: (i) the adoption on 19 November 1979 of a common customs nomenclature and common customs and statistical standards; (ii) the adoption on 19 November 1982 of a common system of coding customs, statistical and tax regimes and of the standard ECOWAS customs declaration forms for use in all member States; (iii) the adoption of the proof and verification of the Community origin of products and procedures relating to the circulation of goods within the Community; (iv) the convention for mutual administrative assistance in customs matters signed on 29 May 1982; (v) the convention on the inter-state road transit of goods signed on 29 May 1982. 21/

3. Trade liberalization scheme

52. The time-table for the establishment of a customs union within fifteen years of the coming into force of the Treaty was outlined earlier in this report (Articles 13, 14 and 18 of the Treaty). As was said earlier, there was a slack period of two years during which the time-table provisions lapsed, the reactivation of which started on 28 May 1979. Consequently, the details of the original schedule for eliminating tariff and non-tariff barriers have been re-worked and the ECOWAS trade liberalization programme leading to the creation of a free trade zone has three separate components:

(a) Liberalization of trade in unprocessed goods

53. In the recognition of the fact that unprocessed goods constitute the basis of the little trade within the sub-region, the ECOWAS Council of Ministers took the decision on 19 November 1979 to call for the immediate abolition of all duties and taxes on and the elimination of all non-tariff barriers to unprocessed goods circulating within the sub-region, because the free trade of such products would constitute the inputs of the budding industrial sector, thus encouraging further trade among member States. It was also decided that such products would not be subject for compensation paid to importing countries for revenue losses caused by the elimination of import duties and taxes because, generally, the levels of these paid on unprocessed goods, are much lower than those on manufactured goods. 22/

(b) Liberalization of trade in traditional handicrafts

54. In view of the importance of the handicraft industry in developing manufacturing skills and the necessity of promoting rural-based small-scale enterprises that increase employment and standards of living of the majority of

21/ See ECOWAS, Official Journal, Vol. 2, June 1980.

22/ See ECOWAS, Official Journal, Vol. 3, June 1981.

population, the ECOWAS Authority of Heads of State and Government took the decision on 29 May 1987 calling for the immediate abolition of import duties and taxes on, and the total elimination of non-tariff barriers to traditional handicrafts circulating within the sub-region. There is also to be no compensation to importing countries for any revenue loss, that will be caused by not levying import duties and taxes, the list of traditional handicrafts recognized by ECOWAS as eligible for this preferential treatment was confined in a supplementary protocol signed by the Authority on 29 May, 1981. 23/

(c) Liberalization of trade in industrial products

55. The ECOWAS Authority of Heads of State and Government took decisions on 28 May 1980 agreeing for trade liberalization in industrial products and on 30 May 1983 adopting a single trade liberalization scheme for industrial products originating from member States. However, in the recognition of the complex problems for eliminating tariff and non-tariff barriers to traded industrial goods by adopting a differentiated scheme for the elimination of these barriers for different groups of industrial products within different categories of countries, it was decided that compensation for revenue losses resulting from the preferential tariff treatment should be accorded by importing countries to industrial goods originating within the ECOWAS area. 24/

56. Accordingly, special treatments for non-tariff and tariff barriers were made: (i) all non-tariff barriers should be eliminated by member States within 4 years, starting from 28 May 1981 25/; (ii) For tariff barriers on import duties and taxes of equivalent effect on industrial goods), countries were grouped in the following three categories. 26/

Country group (G)	Priority Industrial products (P1)	Non-priority industrial products (P2)
G1: Cape Verde, the Gambia, Guinea-Bissau, Burkina Faso, Mali, Mauritania and Niger	8 years on the basis of 12.5 per cent reduction each year	10 years on the basis of 10 per cent reduction each year
G2: Benin, Guinea, Liberia, Sierra Leone and Togo	6 years on the basis of 16.66 per cent reduction each year	8 years on the basis of 12.5 per cent reduction each year
G3: Cote d'Ivoire, Ghana, Nigeria and Senegal	4 years on the basis of 25 per cent reduction each year	6 years on the basis of 16.66 per cent reduction each year

23/ See ECOWAS, Official Journal, Vol. 3, June 1981.

24/ See ECOWAS, Official Journal, Vol. 2, June 1980 and Vol. 5 June 1983.

25/ See ECOWAS, Official Journal, Vol. 2, June 1980. The elimination of such barriers should be linked with the ECOWAS monetary cooperation programme.

26/ The list of priority products was agreed upon in May 26, 1982. See Official Journal, Vol. 4, June 1982 and Vol. 2, June 1980 for the compensation products for the loss of revenue.

57. To facilitate trade data collection and up-dating the ECOWAS Council of Ministers endorsed in November 1983 in Conakery the "automatic data processing (ASYCUDA) programme" which should start processing customs and external trade data (and eventually other types of statistics). This programme had to be installed in a local ECOWAS Computer Centre based at Lomé (Togo) with the technical assistance of UNCTAD. 27/ The Centre's aim is to gather materials at the country projects, to process, analyse and compile the data, and calculate the level of compensation. It also aims at offering training facilities for the operators of the national projects. A number of donors are helping through both financial and technical support, to implement the ASYCUDA programme.

D. Present status of intra-ECOWAS trade

1. ECOWAS imports and exports

58. Table 1 below gives the recorded trade flows of the ECOWAS countries in 1986 and shows that the volume and share of intra-ECOWAS trade in the total trade of the ECOWAS countries are very limited. The intra-ECOWAS imports represent about 5.9 per cent of the total world imports of the ECOWAS countries and the intra-ECOWAS exports accounts for about 4.9 per cent of the total world exports of the ECOWAS countries. The performance of individual countries varies considerably. It is worth noting that countries like Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Cote d'Ivoire, Mali, Niger, Senegal and Sierra Leone imported more from the ECOWAS member States than the overall average import share of 5.9 per cent in the ECOWAS total world imports. Likewise, countries like Benin, The Gambia, Cote d'Ivoire, Mali, Niger and Senegal exported more to the ECOWAS member States than the overall average export share of 4.9 per cent in the ECOWAS total world exports. Cote d'Ivoire, Mali, Niger, and Senegal are among the countries that have performed best in their exports to and imports from other ECOWAS countries. In dollar value, Nigeria is the largest exporter to other ECOWAS countries but relative to its total world exports, its trade with other ECOWAS countries is small (2.8 per cent). Intra-ECOWAS trade is concentrated in food and live animals, crude materials, and manufactured products. Since 1973, petroleum and its products have come to play a significant role in intra-ECOWAS trade.

59. Thus, the magnitude of intra-ECOWAS trade is still very small and has been far from being commensurate with the efforts already made at promoting it through the trade liberalization scheme. Even though the value of intra sub-regional exports increased from US\$240 million in 1973 to over US\$600 million in 1986 and to about US\$800 million in 1986, its growth rate after 10 years of the entry into force of the ECOWAS Treaty was only 2.9 per cent per annum (1976-1986). The same

27/ Due to financial, material and human resource limitations, the UNCTAD secretariat introduced the ASYCUDA programme in Geneva where a "Core Project" has been developed. As the Lomé Centre gets established, the role of the "Core Project" will be transferred to Lomé.

Table 1: Trade between member countries of ECOWAS (1986)
(in million of U.S. dollars)

TO	Benin		Burkina Faso		Cape Verde		The Gambia		Ghana		Guinea		Guinea Bissau		Cote d'Ivoire	
	M	X	M	X	M	X	M	X	M	X	M	X	M	X	M	X
Benin			0.12	0.22		0.10			1.70						0.50	15.10
Burkina Faso	0.25	0.11							0.60	2.4					1.70	89.10
Cape Verde	0.12										0.22					
The Gambia									37.30	0.10	3.69	0.20	0.07	0.01	1.00	
Ghana	0.03	1.53	2.67	0.58			0.09	33.87			0.05				0.50	25.80
Guinea							0.21	3.36	0.10				0.03	0.02	0.10	
Guinea Bissau					0.20		0.01	0.06			0.02	0.03				
Cote d'Ivoire	16.61	0.41	98.01	1.58					28.40						14.00	
Liberia	0.05	0.01					0.02	0.02	0.20	0.90	0.62	0.42			0.10	12.80
Mali		0.22	1.26	0.42							0.09				3.10	88.80
Mauritania		0.21					0.57								7.00	
Niger	0.75	2.80	2.06	0.65					0.08						7.60	24.60
Nigeria	5.31	1.36	1.09	0.22				0.43	32.10	0.20			0.02		134.20	12.90
Senegal	4.13	0.05	3.13	0.01	0.10		6.47	1.50	0.90	0.10	3.87	0.04	5.40	0.02	35.90	48.20
Sierra Leone							0.17				0.04	0.07				
Togo	0.43	0.24	0.98	0.48					0.40	0.50	0.08	0.11			0.10	25.00
Total ECOWAS Trade	27.68	6.94	109.32	4.16	0.30	0.10	6.97	39.81	101.70	4.30	8.40	1.01	5.52	0.27	200.60	342.30
As percentage of World Total Trade	5.1	5.4	2.8	2.9	0.5	2.8	4.2	65.3	11.6	0.5	2.4	0.3	8.8	4.8	10.5	10.2

Source: Compiled from IMF Direction of Trade Statistics, Yearbook 1987.

Table 1: Trade between member countries of ECOWAS (1986)
(in million of U.S. dollars)

TO	Liberia		Mali		Mauritania		Niger		Nigeria		Senegal		Sierra Leone		Togo		Total	
FROM	M	X	M	X	M	X	M	X	M	X	M	X	M	X	M	X	M	X
Benin			0.24		0.23		2.06	2.46	1.00	3.00	0.05	3.75			0.26	0.39	6.26	25.02
Burkina Faso			0.47	1.14		0.71	1.87		1.00		0.02	2.36			0.53	0.89	4.28	98.87
Capex Verde			0.01									0.03					0.12	0.26
The Gambia	1.00				0.63				1.00		1.65	5.88	0.16				46.34	6.35
Ghana	0.50	0.20	0.10			0.12	0.01			29.00	0.07	0.79			0.53	0.32	4.61	92.15
Guinea	0.10	0.60					0.07				0.05	3.52	0.08	0.03	0.12	0.07	0.79	7.67
Guinea Bissau											0.02	4.91					0.25	5.00
Cote d'Ivoire	14.00		97.03	3.52		6.40	27.04	1.46	14.00	122.00	53.04	32.67	0.21		7.43	0.75	370.57	168.79
Liberia				1.34	0.08	0.33			6.00	5.00	0.03	0.50	0.73	1.66	0.16	0.03	7.99	23.01
Mali	1.50				0.01	0.08	1.39	0.66			0.40	15.80			0.09	0.39	8.55	106.46
Mauritania	0.40	0.10	0.09	0.01							0.67	15.38			0.46		8.64	16.27
Niger			0.72	1.26		0.02			1.00	5.00	0.01	2.35			0.41	1.50	6.63	38.28
Nigeria	5.30	5.80		0.23	0.24	31.91	20.11				66.52	8.23	18.48	0.01	0.87	0.18	295.80	49.91
Senegal	0.30		17.38	0.36	16.92	0.61	2.58	0.01	9.00	61.00			0.93	0.20	2.45	0.01	109.46	112.11
Sierra Leone	4.80	0.30								17.00		0.84					5.01	18.21
Togo		0.1	0.42	0.09	0.01	0.08	1.65	0.38	1.00		0.01	2.22					4.08	30.20
Total ECOWAS Trade	27.90	7.10	117.65	7.96	17.88	7.76	67.48	27.03	82.00	244.00	122.54	99.23	20.43	2.06	13.31	4.50	879.08	798.56

As percentage
of Total World
Trade

1.4	0.8	27.5	8.5	4.6	2.4	21.4	10.4	0.6	2.8	11.3	16.8	11.3	1.2	2.5	1.8	5.9	4.9
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Source: Compiled from IMF, Direction of Trade Statistics, Yearbook 1987

argument holds for the ECOWAS imports. It seems that the volume of unrecorded trade through smuggling within the subregion is more than the triple of the recorded intra-ECOWAS trade and it involves all categories of primary products, local manufactured goods and foreign imported products as well as gold, diamonds and local narcotics and drugs.

60. There are important bottlenecks in intra-ECOWAS trade which have already mentioned above. These include production problems, deficiencies in the transport and communications network and factors relating to tariff and non-tariff barriers, payments and commercial information constraints and lack of a uniform grading system. Indeed, the production structure of the economies of the ECOWAS countries is characterized by high protective tariffs, high production cost, the under-utilization of capacity and the close similarity of the types of products traded. The existing infrastructure is basically geared to overseas exports. Transport costs and service charges are high. The lack of proper storage facilities and transport equipment for perishable products has aggravated the transport situation and helped to impede the growth of intra-ECOWAS trade.

61. In spite of these and other difficulties, the prospects for increasing intra-ECOWAS trade in a number of products and commodities would be quite substantial provided that the countries in the Community are willing to take a number of policy and practical measures, including the granting of incentives for intra-ECOWAS exports and an appropriate reduction of the tariff and non-tariff barriers on commodities for which are immediate prospects for increased intra-ECOWAS trade within the framework of the planned trade liberalization exercise mentioned earlier.

2. Major trading items

62. In West Africa, there is a number of countries exportable of surpluses. For instance, Nigeria has large amounts of crude oil and petroleum products as well as coal that can be supplied to neighbouring countries: Senegal, Cote d'Ivoire, Ghana and Sierra Leone. Given Nigeria's potential, other countries could expand their exports of food stuffs and manufactured products to Nigeria. Ghana also could expand substantially its already appreciable export trade to other ECOWAS countries in commodities such as pineapples, wood products, textiles, leather and leather substitutes chemical products, electrical appliances, manufactured tobacco matches and candles. Cote d'Ivoire has also a large potential for increasing exports to other ECOWAS countries in such items as fertilizers, textiles, paper, rice, cotton, natural rubber, sugar, refined oil and soap. The petroleum refining facilities in Abidjan have the capacity of refining 200 000 to 300 000 tons per year. As the refining capacity of Nigeria is not sufficient to satisfy local demand, Nigeria could export crude oil to Abidjan for refining and re-export it back to Nigeria. A similar arrangement could also be worked out between Nigeria and Sierra Leone.

63. In Senegal, the petroleum and natural gas, once intensively exploited, could be exported to neighbouring countries. An electricity dam constructed on the River Gambia could be exported to Guinea, Guinea-Bissau and the Gambia. Phosphate

deposits which have been found in Senegal could open up the way for export of fertilizers to neighbouring countries. The production of fish and groundnuts is expected to grow substantially and these products can be exported to Ghana. Niger's production of cotton fibre and livestock products can be increased if ECOWAS provides export markets for them. In brief, there exists a range of products in the ECOWAS sub-region that can increase trade among member States. Those are mainly: 28/

- | | | |
|-------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|
| - Beverage | - Ginger | - Textiles |
| - Confectionery | - Nails | - Cement |
| - Chalks | - Kola nuts | - Refined oil |
| - Salt | - Manufactured tobacco | - Crude oil |
| - Cosmetics | - Meat | - Aluminium sheets |
| - Pharmaceuticals | - Ceramics | - Electrical appliances |
| - Chicken feed | - Footware | - Razor blades |
| - Dried fish | - Timber | - Matches |
| - Pepper | - Wood products | - Candles |
| | | - Bicycles. |

64. Other products for which these are potential exportable surpluses which could be traded to greater advantage among the ECOWAS countries are:

- | | | |
|----------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------------|
| - Cotton fibre | - Fertilizers | - Palm Wine |
| - Rice | - Phosphates | - Meat |
| - Natural rubber | - Paper | - Assembled vehicles and accessories |
| - Sugar | - Electrical energy | - Wheat flour |
| - Petroleum products | - Fish | - Maize |
| - Gas | - Groundnuts | - Millet |
| - Coal | - Palm oil | |

65. Already the governments of the ECOWAS countries have adopted measures to reduce the burden imposed by the tariffs and non-tariff barriers in these products as was indicated earlier. 29/ But still intra-ECOWAS trade has not increased substantially. There would be a need to accompany these measures with export incentives and supporting services, such as export credit guarantee schemes, facilities for forward exchanges and freight forwarding agencies.

28/ ECOWAS, "Study of Recorded Trade Flows" (ECW/WP.2/114), March 1978.

29/ See ECOWAS, Official Journal, Vol. 4, June 1982, pp. 60-63 and Official Journal, Vol. 3, June 1981, pp. 3-5.

3. The state of implementation of measures related to trade and customs

66. As of October 19, 1986, no legislative and administrative measures have been taken in most ECOWAS countries for the implementation of the acts and decisions taken by the ECOWAS Authority and Council of Ministers in the area of trade liberalization, namely the one relating to a single trade liberalization scheme for industrial products originating from member States of ECOWAS. However, despite the absence of national legislative or regulatory texts, certain decisions were implemented, in particular: (i) the free movement of unprocessed goods and handicraft products between certain member States, which presents no problem, even when the goods are not accompanied by ECOWAS customs documents (customs declaration forms, certificate of origin); (ii) the consolidation of customs duties and taxes of equivalent effects at their 1979 rates in certain member States; (iii) the ISRT booklet has been put into force in two member States; it was however noted that the transit system can only work properly if all member States implement it and the problem of deposit is settled; (iv) ECOWAS customs documents are now in use in two member States.

67. Certain member States are still linking the implementation of the Community Acts and Decisions to the results of the ongoing consultation meetings between ECOWAS and other sub-regional organizations, i.e. CEAO and MRU. It is also argued that the implementation of these acts and decisions does not only depend on the member States, but also on the ECOWAS Executive Secretariat which should raise the level of contacts in member States and have a permanent monitoring and follow up system in order to drag ECOWAS out of its lethargy.

68. It is reported that the difficulties encountered by ECOWAS member States in the implementation of the Community Acts and Decisions on the intra-ECOWAS trade liberalization programme are as follows:

- (i) Difficulties arising from the very nature of customs administration which is an implementation service and acts on the instructions from political authorities which have yet arrived at that office. It is however pointed out that the administration concerned should be responsible for triggering off the decision-making process of the political authorities.
- (ii) The absence of information from the national administrations concerned as well as from users of customs services.
- (iii) The fears on the implementation of certain decisions, particularly those relating to compensation on the ground that the problem of the provisional compensation budget has not yet been settled and that the existence of such a budget should be a pre-condition.
- (iv) The slow pace of the process of consultation between ECOWAS and other sub-regional organizations (CEAO, MRU), whereas much depends on the outcome of these meetings to sort out the existence of several customs instruments (nomenclature, certificate of origin, customs declaration, liberalization schemes and country codification systems).

- (v) The problems related to the computerization of customs and statistical data (hardware and training problems; maintenance problem of hardware and software; absence of table of concordance between CEAO and ECOWAS nomenclatures; non-codification of ISRT booklet whereas other declarations are codified).
- (vi) The problems related to evolutions in international trade which need to be taken into account, namely the Harmonized system and the GATT code with new definition of customs value.
- (vii) The unrealistic nature of the very nature of a number of decisions, in particular, regarding the issue of rules of origin and the criterion for the participation of nationals in the equity capital of export enterprises. In comparison with those in force in other organizations of economic integration, these rules of origin are too rigid.

E. A new strategy for intra-ECOWAS trade planning

1. New means and ways of promoting intra-ECOWAS trade

69. In view of the above difficulties, the meeting of Directors-General of Customs and National Experts of ECOWAS member States responsible for Statistics Trade and Industry recommended to the Executive Secretariat the following: 30/

- to strengthen ECOWAS units in member States by conferring on them certain powers as regards monitoring ECOWAS matters at national level in areas such as generation, collection and dissemination of information, preparation of forms for monitoring the level of implementation of acts and decisions taken the ECOWAS Authority and Council of Ministers. The units should in short, serve as liaison offices between the national Administrations of the member States concerned, and the Executive Secretariat.
- to continue holding consultations with the other two major sub-regional organizations - the CEAO and the MRU, with a view to implementing the single trade liberalization scheme adopted by the ECOWAS Heads of State and Government in 1983.

30/ See ECOWAS, "Final Report" of Second Meeting of Directors-General of Customs and National Experts of ECOWAS member States responsible for Statistics, Trade and Industry (ECW/TCIMPC/CSC/DG/2/3/Rev.1), Lagos, 7-10 October 1986.

- to ensure the application of the criteria determining the Community origin of products at member State level and to review the rules of origin in order to make it less rigid, and to examine in consultation with the CEAO and the MRU the possibility of harmonizing the Customs and statistical instruments of the three organizations.
- to re-examine the implementation schedule for the liberalization scheme for industrial products (nature of duties and taxes to be abolished or consolidated; commencement date for the progressive elimination of tariff barriers, etc.), to remove all the obstacles to the implementation of the programme (rules of origin, customs and statistical documents, compensation, etc.) before 28 May 1988. This must be considered as a new launching date for the effective tariff liberalization for industrial products within the framework of intra-ECOWAS trade and the date 28 May 1979 would still remain the effective date for the consolidation of customs duties and all other taxes of equivalent effects on imports, etc.
- to draw up a budget estimate for compensation, on the basis of eligible products traded between member States, to provide relevant information on enterprises likely to benefit from the liberalization scheme and information on industrial products traded between them to be submitted not later than 21 March 1987 and to examine the following compensation procedures for loss of revenue. To harmonize ECOWAS, CEAO and MRU Customs and statistical nomenclatures, customs declaration forms and the coding of customs, statistics and tax regions.
- to assist member States to install, develop and maintain their computer systems that would computerize their customs procedures and to transfer the ECOWAS Computer Centre from Geneva to Lomé as soon as possible.

2, New means and ways of strengthening the planning and operational capacity of ECOWAS Executive Secretariat

70. At the beginning, the ECOWAS Executive Secretariat, like other subregional secretariats, commissioned experts or consultants to undertake studies on the implementation of the acts and decisions of the ECOWAS Authority and Council of Ministers and there was little involvement by the core staff of the Secretariat. Consequently, few members of ECOWAS staff have little personal knowledge of the problems of development in the countries of the subregion. It is within this concern that in August 1982, ECOWAS embarked upon a programme of sending its senior staff on "know-your-subregion" tours in order to have an active and intelligent interaction with officials and ministers in the field and to spend about four or five days in a country and submit a report. The senior members of staff were also involved in studies of aspects of the economy of a particular country or countries while the junior staff members were provided useful practical training.

71. The area in which the ECOWAS Executive Secretariat seems to have made moderately significant progress is the area of co-operation in trade and customs. Uniform trade and customs documents have been devised as a means of facilitating trade although there are still problems of harmonization with those of the CEAO and MRU Secretariats; in terms of common statistical standards and definitions, customs Declaration forms for domestic use for exportation, re-exportation, warehousing etc, certificates of origin for industrial products, unprocessed products and traditional handicrafts and movement certificate.

72. With a view of attaining the objectives of the trade liberalization programme, the Executive Secretariat regularly publishes all the Acts and Decisions, as they are adopted, in the Official Journal of the Community which it then distributes in all member States, to ensure that the necessary legislative and administrative provisions for their implementation can be taken. The Executive Secretariat, aware of the role it has to play in monitoring the implementation of all the Decisions of the Community, undertook under the leadership of the Chairman of Council of Ministers, to carry out a tour of all member States between 1982 and 1984, in order to assess progress made towards the achievement of ECOWAS objectives. The mission included the Chairman of the Council, the Executive Secretary and his close collaborators.

IV. CONCLUSION

73. The performance of the ECOWAS countries in terms of the terms of the implementation of the objectives, the Acts and decisions of the ECOWAS Authority in the field of transport and communications and trade and customs union has varied considerably in the past and will probably continue to be so in the future but this does not mean that they have no real interest in co-operating on these fields within the ECOWAS framework. Even within a static framework, countries, with relatively limited intra-ECOWAS trade relations like the Gambia, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Sierra Leone and Mauritania will find that where certain key products are concerned, ECOWAS plays a crucial role as a market and as a source of supply. But in a dynamic setting, such as the one which ECOWAS was established to provide, certain changes were bound to occur and, provided that appropriate policies are instituted at both the ECOWAS and the national level, all the countries in the West African subregion appear likely to derive greater benefit from the ECOWAS Community in the future than they have so far.

74. The prospects for expanding intra-ECOWAS trade will depend on how soon the governments of the ECOWAS countries can decide to implement the very many appropriate policies and decisions already undertaken by the ECOWAS Authority aimed at removing the various transport and communications and trade and customs bottlenecks and providing the necessary incentives. This can be done only if concurrently the agricultural and industrial activities are promoted so that advantage can be taken of the larger ECOWAS market. In this regard, ECOWAS countries should be encouraged to begin to consider the possibilities of rehabilitating the existing, establishing new rail, road and sea connections with other members of the ECOWAS Community and to put particular emphasis on those links that are needed immediately for the development of intra-ECOWAS trade.

ANNEX I
COURRIER DE SURFACE/SURFACE MAIL
PROJET DE PLAN D'ACHEMINEMENT CEDEAO/PROPOSED ECOWAS ROUTING CHART

LEGENDE

D: Acheminement direct
T: Transit
(LFW): via Lomé

DE/ FROM	VERS/ TO	COTONOU	OUAGA	PRAIA	ABIDJAN	BANJUL	ACCRA	BISSAU	CONAKRY	MONROVIA	BAMAKO	NOUAK- CHOTT	NIAMEY	LAGOS	DAKAR	FREE- TOWN	LOME
COTONOU			T(LFW)	T(DKR)	T(OUA)	T(DKR)	T(LFW)	T(CKY)	T(BKO)	T(ABJ)	T(OUA)	T(DKR)	D	D	T(BKO)	T(CKY)	D
OUAGA		T(LFW)		T(DKR)	D	T(DKR)	D	T(CKY)	T(BKO)	T(ABJ)	D	T(DKR)	D	T(COO)	T(BKO)	T(CKY)	D
PRAIA		T(OUA)	T(BKO)		T(OUA)	T(DKR)	T(OUA)	T(CKY)	T(DKR)	T(ABJ)	T(DKR)	T(DKR)	T(OUA)	T(COO)	D	T(CKY)	T(OUA)
ABIDJAN		T(LFW)	D	T(DKR)		T(DKR)	D/T(OUA)	T(CKY)	T(BKO)	D	D/T(OUA)	T(DKR)	T(OUA)	T(COO)	T(BKO)	T(C)	D/T(OUA)
BANJUL		T(LFW)	T(DKR)	T(DKR)	T(BKO)		T(OUA)		D	T(CKY)	T(CKY)	T(DKR)	T(OUA)	T(COO)	D	T(CKY)	T(OUA)
ACCRA		T(LFW)	D	T(DKR)	D/T(OUA)	T(DKR)		T(CKY)	T(BKO)	T(ABJ)	T(OUA)	T(DKR)	T(OUA)	T(COO)	T(BKO)	T(ABJ)	D
BISSAU		T(CKY)	T(CKY)	T(DKR)	T(CKY)	D	T(CKY)		D	T(CKY)	T(CKY)	T(DKR)	T(CKY)	T(CKY)	T(CKY)	T(CKY)	T(CKY)
CONAKRY		T(BKO)	T(CKO)	T(LKR)	T(BKO)	T(DKR)	T(BKO)	D	D/T(FNA)	D/T(FNA)	D	T(DKR)	T(OUA)	T(COO)	T(BKO)	D	T(OUA)
MONROVIA		T(ABJ)	T(ABJ)	T(DKR)	D	T(DKR)	T(ABJ)	T(CKY)	D/T(FNA)	T(ABJ)	T(ABJ)	T(DKR)	T(OUA)	T(COO)	T(BKO)	D	T(OUA)
BAMAKO		T(OUA)	D	T(DKR)	D	T(DKR)	T(OUA)	T(CKY)	D	T(ABJ)		T(DKR)	T(OUA)	T(COO)	D	T(CKY)	T(OUA)
NOUAKCHOTT		T(DKR)	T(DKR)	T(DKR)	T(DKR)	T(DKR)	T(DKR)	T(DKR)	T(DKR)	T(DKR)	T(DKR)		T(DKR)	T(DKR)	D	T(DKR)	T(DKR)
NIAMEY		D	D	T(DKR)	T(OUA)	T(DKR)	T(OUA)	T(DKR)	T(BKO)	T(ABJ)	T(OUA)	T(DKR)	T(COO)	T(COO)	T(BKO)	T(CKY)	T(OUA)
LAGOS		D	T(COO)	T(DKR)	T(OUA)	T(DKR)	T(LFW)	T(CKY)	T(BKO)	T(ABJ)	T(OUA)	T(DKR)	T(COO)		T(BKO)	T(CKY)	T(COO)
DAKAR		T(OUA)	T(BKO)	D	T(BKO)	D	T(OUA)	T(CKY)	T(BKO)	T(ABJ)	D	D	T(OUA)	T(COO)		T(CKY)	T(OUA)
FREETOWN		T(OUA)	T(CKY)	T(DKR)	T(CKY)	T(DKR)	T(OUA)	D	D	D	T(CKY)	T(DKR)	T(OUA)	T(COO)	T(CKY)		T(OUA)
LOME		D	D	T(DKR)	T(OUA)	T(DKR)	D	T(CKY)	T(BKO)	T(ABJ)	T(OUA)	T(DKR)	T(OUA)	T(COO)	T(BKO)	T(CKY)	

ANNEX II

COURRIER - AVION/AIR-MAIL
PROJET DE PLAN D'ACHEMINEMENT CEDEAO/PROPOSED ECOWAS ROUTING CHART

LEGENDE

D: Acheminement direct
T: Transit
(ABJ): via Abidjan

VERS/TO		COTONOU															
DE/FROM		OUAGA	PRAIA	ABIDJAN	BANJUL	ACCRA	BISSAU	CONAKRY	MONROVIA	BAMAKO	NOUAK-CHOTT	NIAMEY	LAGOS	DAKAR	FREE TOWN	LOME	
COTONOU		T(ABJ) T(DKR)	D	T(DKR)	T(ABJ) T(DKR)	T(ABJ) T(DKR)	T(ABJ) T(DKR)	T(ABJ) T(DKR)	T(ABJ) T(DKR)	T(ABJ) T(DKR)	T(ABJ) T(DKR)	T(ABJ) T(DKR)	T(ABJ) T(DKR)	T(ABJ) T(DKR)	T(ABJ) T(DKR)	D	
OUAGA	D		T(DKR)	D	T(DKR)	T(ABJ) T(DKR)	T(ABJ) T(DKR)	T(ABJ) T(DKR)	T(ABJ) T(DKR)	D	T(DKR)	D	T(ABJ) T(DKR)	D	T(ABJ) T(DKR)	D	
PRAIA	T(DKR)	T(DKR)		T(DKR)	T(DKR)	T(DKR)	T(DKR)	T(DKR)	T(DKR)	T(DKR)	T(DKR)	T(DKR)	T(DKR)	T(DKR)	T(DKR)	T(DKR)	
ABIDJAN	D	D	T(DKR)		T(DKR)	D	T(DKR)	D	D	D	T(DKR)	D	D	D	D	D	
BANJUL	T(DKR)	T(DKR)	T(DKR)	T(DKR)		T(DKR)	T(DKR)	T(DKR)	T(DKR)	T(DKR)	T(DKR)	T(DKR)	T(DKR)	D	T(DKR)	T(DKR)	
ACCRA	T(ABJ)	T(ABJ)	T(DKR)	D	T(DKR)		T(DKR)	T(ABJ) T(DKR)	T(ABJ) T(DKR)	T(ABJ) T(DKR)	T(DKR)	T(ABJ) T(DKR)	D	D	T(ABJ) T(ABJ)	T(ABJ)	
BISSAU	T(DKR)	T(DKR)	T(DKR)	T(DKR)	T(DKR)	T(DKR)		T(DKR)	T(DKR)	T(DKR)	T(DKR)	T(ABJ) T(DKR)	T(DKR)	D	T(DKR)	T(DKR)	
CONAKRY	T(ABJ)	T(ABJ)	T(DKR)	D	T(DKR)	T(DKR)	T(DKR)		T(DKR)	T(DKR)	T(DKR)	T(ABJ) T(DKR)	T(ABJ) T(DKR)	D	T(DKR)	T(ABJ)	
MONROVIA	T(ABJ)	T(ABJ)	T(DKR)	D	T(DKR)	T(ABJ) T(DKR)	T(DKR)	T(ABJ)		T(ABJ) T(DKR)	T(DKR)	T(ABJ) T(DKR)	T(ABJ) T(DKR)	D	T(ABJ) T(ABJ)	T(ABJ)	
BAMAKO	T(ABJ)	D	T(DKR)	D	T(DKR)	T(ABJ) T(DKR)	T(DKR)	T(ABJ)	T(ABJ)		T(DKR)	T(ABJ) T(DKR)	T(ABJ) T(DKR)	D	T(ABJ) T(ABJ)	T(ABJ)	
NOUAKCHOTT	T(DKR)	T(DKR)	T(DKR)	T(DKR)	T(DKR)	T(DKR)	T(DKR)	T(DKR)	T(DKR)	T(DKR)		T(DKR)	T(DKR)	D	T(DKR)	T(DKR)	
NIAMEY	D/T(ABJ)	D	T(DKR)	D	T(DKR)	T(ABJ) T(DKR)	T(DKR)	T(ABJ) T(DKR)	T(ABJ) T(DKR)	D	T(DKR)		T(ABJ) T(DKR)	D	T(ABJ) D	D	
LAGOS	D	T(ABJ) T(DKR)	D	T(DKR)	T(DKR)	D	T(DKR)	T(DKR)	D	T(DKR)	T(DKR)	T(ABJ)		D	D	D	
DAKAR	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	T(ABJ)	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	
FREETOWN	T8DKR)	T(DKR)	T(DKR)	D	T(DKR)	T(ABJ) T(DKR)	T(DKR)	T(ABJ) T(DKR)	T(ABJ) T(DKR)	T(ABJ) T(DKR)	T(DKR)	T(ABJ) T(DKR)	T(ABJ) T(DKR)	D	T(ABJ) T(ABJ)	T(ABJ)	
LOME	D	D	T(DKR)	D	T(DKR)	D	T(DKR)	T(ABJ) T(DKR)	T(ABJ) T(DKR)	T(ABJ) T(DKR)	T(DKR)	D	D	T(ABJ) T(ABJ)	T(ABJ)		