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PRIMARY COMMODITIES IN THE WORLD ECONOMY*

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The views expressed in this paper are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect those of the United Nations, the Office of the Chairman of the Group of 77 (New York) or the Research Centre for Co-operation with Developing Countries.

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. The position of developing countries on the world market of primary commodities is of vital importance to their further development. Over the years the issue has been the subject of numerous international gatherings, particularly among UN bodies where developing nations have expressed their concern with strength. The tone of these discussions is best characterized by the statement of the Tresident of the United Republic of Tanzania, "Colonialism has left only one right to the developing countries in inheritance - the right to sell cheap and buy expensive on the world market."

2. The position of developing countries on the world market is highly complex and related to various aspects of trade, technological innovation and financial and political connexions between North and South. Consequently, the results of extensive dialogues on the position of primary commodities are often more or less formal. The international economic recession of the early 1980s and the slow progress achieved by UNCTAD VI in 1983 are indicators that call for new attitudes in the theoretical practical search for improved solutions in the area.1/

II. PRESENT SITUATION AND ITS RELEVANCE TO FUTURE ACTION

A. Price instability

3. Historically, and more particularly in the years following the second world war, prices of primary commodities were subject to substantial and sharp fluctuations which were caused by demand and supply including opportunities of storage, transportation, substitution and, in the long run, changing technology and the structure of production. Generally-speaking, those factors have a stronger impact on how supply rather than industry adapts to demand.

4. Factors influencing the level of and fluctuation in prices of primary commodities include relatively low income from and elasticity in demand prices for primary commodities, technological changes such as substitution of commodities by synthetic products, market structure, the role and economic power of transnational companies, different contracts and agreements, movements of exchange and interest rates amongst others.

5. Price fluctuations are caused by the short, medium and long-term factors.

1/ Primary Commodities in the World Economy - Problems and Activities of Developing Countries; A. Kumar (Research Centre for Co-operation with Developing Countries, Ljubljana 1983).

1. Short-term factors

6. The most important among those are weather conditions that influence the volume of agricultural production. They are particularly evident in tropical products: the drop in coffee production due to frost in 1975 in Brazil was the principal factor behind the sixfold increase of the price of coffee between 1975 and the spring of 1977; the drop in production of sugar in the Caribbean caused a manifold increase of the price of the commodity between the middle of 1979 and the autumn of 1980. Short-term factors of this type remain out of the reals of regular and effective controls; they can only be effectively regulated through stocking policies.

2. Medium-term factors

7. The most notable medium-term factors are cyclical fluctuations in economic activities in developed western countries. In recent years, economic recession in the highly developed countries has been the main factor for the drop in prices f primary commodities: the level of real prices, excluding energy products, during 1062/83 dropped to its lowest since 1957/53. 2/ In addition, some commodities experience modium-term price fluctuations connected to their production cycles in the case of boef this lasts three-years.

3. Long-term factors

8. In previous times changes due to the gestation period of investments have been among the most important long-term factors in price fluctuation. For example, rubber plantations start yielding from six to eight years and coffee plantations from four to six years after planting; since this usually occurs in years of boom, mew production appears on the market at unequal intervals. The same applies to minerals, where the gestation period can last up to ten years.

9. Today, the most important long-term factors are technological changes, such as substitution of commolities by synthetic products. Since World War II this has been the case for rubber, cotton, jute, sisal and word: the share of natural rubber in the world consumption drogged from 57 per cent at the beginning of the 1950s to 33 per cent at the beginning of the 1970s. However, the increase in petroleur prices in the 1970s and, to a certain extent, improved technology for the production and processing of natural products, particularly rubber and cotton, reduced the increase in the world consumption of synthetic raw materials of these products. It should be noted, therefore that the eventual effect of technological change, particularly, the timing cest and extent of its application, is difficult to anticipate. Consequently, long-term anticipation of technological change does not have any direct inpact on the current prices of respective products.

10. Due to these and other factors, the extent of fluctuations of individual product prices varies greatly, with the following consequences:

Source: INF World Economic Outlook 1983, page 155.

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- The prices of sugar, copper, copper, rice, palm oil, tungsten, silver, gold, lead, bananas, rubber and copra are considered highly unstable;
- The prices of coffee, groundnuts, tea, sisal, tin and jute are considered unstable.

A few commodities experience minor fluctuations: they mainly include 11. cereals and other export-oriented agricultural products from highly developed countries which have sufficient financial resources and other means for market control and for adaptation of production to market needs. In other words, fluctuations are essentially stronger and sharper in case of exports from devoloping countries which, due to their weak marketing power, are not able to take advantage of high price levels in the same way as the developed countries do and are therefore incapable of absorbing the consequences of a price drop. Fluctuations in prices particularly affect those countries whose exports predominantly consist of a very small number of primary commodities with unstable prices. This is recognizably the case in almost all African countries, where price instability often translates into unpredicable and substantial variations in total export revenues, thus making the implementation of development plans impossible. In cases of extended recession, a drop in export revenues may mean catastrophic deterioration of the entire economic and social situation: This has been the case in Zambia since 1978.

12. Developing countries that export primary commodities are experiencing deteriorating development opportunities. According to the IMF World Economic Outlook 1983, the instability of non-oil primary commodity prices is growing: in years 1972-83, it was 3,5 times higher than in 1957-71.3/

13. The impact of a share decline in price which occured in 1981-82 caused, for example, a reduction in export earnings of about US\$ 20 billion in 1981 and US\$ 15 billion in 1982. In other words, at 1980 commodity prices and with import values and export volumes unchanged, the current account deficit of the non-oil developing countries as a group in 1982 might have been well under \$ 60 billion, instead of the \$ 87 billion actually recorded.

n. Level and tendency of prices

14. number of important factors determine the level and long-term tendency of primary commodity prices. Two of the most important ones -- market structure and role of transnational companies -- are discussed below. They are closely connected with other elements causing long-term deterioration of the primary commodities prices against the prices of manufactured products; their effect is comparatively evident and has, in some cases, been proven in practice and in theory.

^{3/} Instability in IMF Outlock is measured by the average of the absolute values of percentage deviation of quarterly observations from the trend. The exact values are: years 1957-71 3,6%, years 1972-92 12,8 %

15. Though market structures for each primary product have specific features, what all of them now share is absence of "free" markets as described in the classical economic theory, on perfect-competition markets. Instead they are under the influence of large producers or buyers who often form real oligopolies and oligopsonies. In addition, and particularly in the case of agricultural products, they are affected by governmental interventions and international arrangements.

16. The following designations are often used for different types of markets: 4/

- Free market, where a greater number of sellers and buyers prevails. In many exporting countries, however, the basic products on these markets are highly subject to government interventions that influence prices and terms of export. This type of market prevails for cotton, hides, rubber, jute, hard fibres and pil-scool meal;
- <u>Controlled/protected market</u>, where a major portion of commodities is under permanent state control, and where the government determines the volume and conditions of export or import. This kind of market prevails in cases of wheat, maize, rice, meat, wine, powder milk, butter, citrus fruits, and to some extent coffee;
- <u>Closed market</u>, where exporters and importers are associated on a longterm basis through joint ownership or through vertical integration, which is particularly the case for bananas, bauxite and nickel, or by longterm agreements, which applies particularly to iron ore and phosphate markets. The number of exporters and importers on these markets is essentially smaller than that on free or controlled markets;
- <u>Oligopsony</u>, where a small number of importers prevails. Such are the markets of tobacco, tea only four importing companies appear at tea auctions in London), cocca, and partly coffee (in 1978 four importers in the USA imported 70 per cent of coffee);
- <u>Mixed market</u>, which includes Market of many commodities with different structures: about 70 per cent of natural rubber, for example, is sold on a free market and the remaining 30 per cent within the transmational companies owing rubber plantations. Mixed markets also typify tropical woods, copper, lead, zinc and sugar.

17. A mixed structure on a market results, inter alia, in different price levels for the same commodity) the prices of a concetnrate or metal on the London Metal Exchange or petroleum prices on the Rotterdam market are often significantly different from the prices of the same commodity under medium-term agreements.

4/ Mostly after N. Rangarajan, Commodity Conflict, Croom Helm, London 1978.

18. Although the share of vertically organized transnational companies (TNC) in production and to a lesser extent, in trade and processing of primary commodities has statistically been on the decrease, TNCs still constitute a dominant factor in determining primary commodity prices. It is well known that the statistical decrease of TNC share in primary production was not accompanied by a general reduction of their importance in the field. To a great extent TNCs have retained monopoly over modern technology from prospecting to processing of different primary commodities; as a result, developing countries still depend on TNCs, even in nationalized production of primary commodities.

19. The level and tendency of primary commodity prices and the participation of developing country producers in determining the price obtained on the end user markets is still predominantly dependent on the TNC role in the primary commodity sector. TNCs have the power to manipulate prices because of the huge dimensions of their business and the wide geographic distribution of their subsidiaries. Their share in international trade is particularly substantial in case of soya beans and cereals; one of the largest TNCs in this area, Cargill, USA, has an annual turnover of 25 million tons of grain. Similar companies with a worldwide information service exist for metal too: a well known company of this type is Philip Brothers, USA.

20. Generally, in the case of most primary commodities, concetntration of distribution activities (trade in the narrower sense, transport and insurance, storage, conditioning, and packing) is greater than production. In addition to concentration of information, financial facilities and other components of marketing power, technological factors connected with distribution and processing work to the benefit of large companies.

III. PRIMARY COMMODITY POSITION IN AFRICA

21. Any considerations on eliminating both the elements of instability in primary commodity prices and the long-term fluctuations in unfavourable prices should be based on an assessment of the production and exporting potential of African countries.

22. In 1981 the share of exports from African countries 5/ exceeded 30 per cent of total world exports for two primary products only: rock phosphate - 45,7 per cent, and cocoa beans - 60,4 per cent. Their share of half the commodities included in the Integral Programme for Commodities (IPC) (bananas, jute, meat, vegetable oil, natural rubber, tin, sugar, wood and iron ore), is less than 10 per cent of total global exports. The remaining seven commodities included in IPC represent between 10 and 30 per cent of global exports. Examining the present share of African exports in the world market, it becomes obvious that any eventual regional stabilization and improvement in the level of primary commodity prices would be a potential failure from the very beginning. The only exceptions, to a certain degree, would be cocoa and phosphate.

^{5/} In table 2 - statistical appendix - calculations are made for 18 commodities included in Integral Programme for Commodities.

23. The cass is similar for import volume which does not offer the classical possibility of unilateral determination that export prices do. Due to their small volume, imports do not constitute an appropriate basis for any action to eliminate negative trends in primary commodity exchange. The relatively low volume of imports to African countries, connected to both production structure and low level of industrialization, also restricts the theoretical advantages of collective self-reliance. Commodities listed in Appendix table 2 are only modestly represented in global imports. Eleven of them account for less than 5 per cent of total global imports for any single primary commodity. Only three commodities (sugar, jute, tea) imported by the African countries represent over 10 per cent of total imports. It is evident therefore that opportunities for greater trade and collaboration in the field of primary commodities among African countries as well as within the Group of 77 as a whole are restricted by the low level of economic development and the low per capita income in African countries, where the principle of collective selfreliance, when applied in practice to primary commodities, is thus very limited. Available data confirms that there can be no satisfactory solution to the issues of primary commodity exchange and exports from developing countries without a global approach towards the problems of economic underdevelopment, external indebtedness, transfer of know-how and technology and industrialization.

24. High concentration is without doubt another characteristic of African primary commodity exports and imports. Single countries alone, at the rate of one per commodity, contribute to over 50 per cent of all exports of bananas, bovine meat, natural rubber, hauxite, copper, iron ore, manganese ore and phosphates. 6/ Similarly, three individual countries alone account for over 50 per cent of all African imports of bananas cotton and copper, again at the rate of one per commodity. 7/ The share of the greatest African importer is less than 20 per cent of 3 out of 18 commodities (coffee, natural rubber, sugar). On the other hand, the largest African exporter exports less than 20 per cent of total exports of one commodity only -- vegetable oil 3/

25. Also characteristic of African countries is the extremely high share of agricultural products in total exports of orimary commodities. In 1981, about 70 per cent of the total value of exports of IPC commodities were represented by agricultural commodities. The value share of agricultural products from Africa is substantially higher than in other developing nations where, at the beginning of the 1980's it equalled approximately 51 per cent. Among agricultural products, the more valuable African exports include cocoa, coffee and cotton (about 47 per cent of the total agricultural commodity exports). The largest exporter of coffee and cocoa is the Ivory Coast (24 and 43 per cent respectively of total African exports) while Egypt is the main cotton exporter (37 per cent of total African exports). Because of the important rate of agricultural

- 6/ See Appendix Table 3
- 7/ Ibid
- 8/ Ihid

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commodities in African experts and of the difficulties in providing adequate food supplies for African populations D/ it is importative to direct all efforts towards collaboration between African countries in the fields of increased production, mutual exchange and joint presentations on the third markets, regardless of the present unfavourable situation. The ECOWAS Agricultural Development programme is an example of a joint action to increase agricultural production and exchange 10/ For many African countries, agricultural production remains the most important sector of economic activity as it increases employ ment and is a potential foreign currency generator.

26. Because of their exportability, industrial acricultural products are extremely important for developing countries; necessary steps are required to keep them competitive in terms both of price and technological level as compared with synthetic substitutes currently available. Action leading to supervision and production of individual synthetic substitutes will also have to be undertaken in the near future. 11/

27. The necessity for an integrated and efficient solution to the problems of production and export of foodstuffs has for some time been the subject of research and discussion among developing countries. As for the efforts of African countries towards greater co-operation in production, processing and marketing of foodstuffs, the basis for further activities should be the conclusions and recommendations of the Conference of Government Experts on Technical Co-operation among African Countries, held in Nairobi in May 1980, 12/

23. The problems which have hindered increase in agricultural production and exports from the African countries are still very pressing. Solutions are dependent on effective removal of deficiencies in socioeconomic structures in individual countries, provision of alequate investment resources, improvement in educational structure of labour force, implementation of efficient administrative measures by governments and provision of rural infrastructures amongst others.

29. At the international level, increases in production and exports of agricultural products should mainly be linked to activities leading towards decrease of agricultural protectionism and increase of self processing in developing countries. 13/

10/ Monted in May 1982 in the framework of ECOWAS.

11/ The difficulties in solving the problems of synthetic substitutes are known, frequently talked about but up to now with no visible results. e.g., see UNCTAD paper TD/B/C.1/PSC/27, Page 8.

12/ See Working paper UNDP, FCDC/NF/6.

13/ A comprehensive survey of protectionism, in the field of primary commodities' exchange as well as action proposals was made in the framework of UNCTAD - see TD/B/C.1/DSC/27.

^{2/} Many African countries have in the past two decades become net importants of agricultural products. The acknowledgement of the danger of ever increasing dependence on imports of foodstuffs led to the adoption of the Lages Plan of Action by the 1980 Extraordinary Summit of the Organization of African Unity. The Plan envisages steps for a rapid improvement of the present ever worsening situation in the supply of foodstuffs in Africa.

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IV. INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENT AND POSSIBLE ACTIONS

Under the present international economic system, the economic recession 3°. which also appears as a financial crisis of over-indebtedness of developing countries, is an obstacle to efficient solutions for rapid growth of processing facilities in developing countries. It is therefore becoming increasingly important to reduce trade protectionism, as this limits imports of primary commodities and semi-finished products from developing to developed countries. Inalyses of and activities to reduce its effects now seem to be the most offective way of improving export revenues of countries exporting primary commodities. Action to reduce forbign trade protectionism in the field of export of primary commodities from developing countries would not only serve the latter, but also the leveloped countries. In increase in revenue from exports resulting from an increase of the amount of commodities (with simultaneous stabilization of prices) would enable the developing countries to repay their accumulatel external debts more easily and realiably. Increased external financial liquidity of indebted developing countries would no doubt contribute towards stabilization of the international financial system

31. Because of the difficulties in negotiating better terms for the exchange of primary commodities between developing and industrialized countries, the search for greater economic co-operation in this field among developing countries themselves is becoming more and more important (ECDC). The Caracas Programme of Action as well as different sub-regional programmes have given the basic premises for ECDC in the field of agricultural products. In this context it will be necessary to create possibilities for introduction of contractual or preferential agreements on foodstuff exchange among developing countries while at the same time set up adequate credit and financial instruments to permit production and exchange.

32. Success in co-operation among developing countries in the areas of production, processing and exchange of primary commodities is predominantly dependent on solutions to the lack of investment and loans and the problem of over-indebtedness. At the moment, the best solutions seem to be the following:

- Formulation of guarantee schemes for investments in and among developing countries;
- Monetary and financial co-operation, especially in developing different payment and clearing arrangements;
- Incorporation of developing countries in the process of introducing export guarantees for developing countries in the framework of UNCTAD.

33 An important contribution towards greater profitability in production, processing and exchange of primary commodities could be the establishment of an International Association of State Trading Organizations of Developing Countries (ASTRO), Multinational Marketing Enterprises (MMEs) and Multinational Production Enterprises (MPEs).

34. The formulation of own strategy for development and co-operation among developing countries is without doubt a precondition for an efficient solution to long-term problems which are of extreme economic importance. Own strategy, supported by joint financial-monetary action to be realized through general state trading preferentials among developing countries represents the only realistic and materially feasible basis for future dialogue with the industrialized countries. Export and import of 18 commodities from Africa (1970-1981) AUNEX TABLE 1:

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	 	20,2	11,9		3 1 1	5 7 7 V	
<u>1361</u>	Value	1.695,60	1.001,30 502,20	າ.325,6^	10,30 6,80 4,00	476,90 290,00 167,30	
		् र र	14,0		ç <u>)</u> ş	5 0 1 5 0 0	·
10 6 US	Value	C.	949,50 556,70	6.390,67 	3,97 3,60 3,30	537,70 331,70 153,90	
	 00		10° 1			12,5 5,7 2,9	
197)	Value	1.535,10	964,20 508,20	5.167,10	4,00 2,70 1,30	332,60 150,70 77,40	
	 0%	21,0	ار ارد ارد ارد ارد ارد ارد ارد ارد ارد ا	ا ــــ هــ . ـــ ور. ا ا ا ا	\$ 1 1	ເຊັ່ມ ດ ເຊັ່ນ ດ	
1581	C	1.100,5	463,3	5.230,0	້ວຍ ທີ່ສືບ	19.5 4 3,0 13.044,0 5,746,0	
SN SN		24,7	14,3 5,6 14,3			10,3 6,6 2,7	uni
000 TONS	Ö	1.225,1	733,4 425,9	4.569,0	2,4 2,4 2,5	23.019,0 15.198,0 6.296,0	
		୍ ଅ ଅ	17,0 9,5		111	15,1 7,4 3,0	
t	õ	0' SOL . L	582,8 369 ,7	3+ 300 * 3	e e e v v	26.953,C 14.160,O 5.309,0	
			er Jrters (1931) Zalvia Zalve (1 exporting contries)	QTOM	INTORT Africa <u>a/</u> Errot Algeria (only 2 im orting Comtries)	IROM ORE EXFORT Africa A/ Major exporters (1931) Liberia Mauritania (9 exporting	countrics)

 \underline{a} South Africa is excluded

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		τους TONS		10	6 US 8	
=	1970	1976			1976	1991
	60		o€ 1	æ 	e 2	
WORLD	01.414,0	1.594,0	232.169,0	2.653,40	5.550,60	7.753,60
TMPORT Africa a/ Algeria Kenya	2,0 3,0 2,0	1 1 1	111	0,10 0,10 -		
MANGAUESE	2.407,4 25,5	2.568,4 22,2	1.000,7 21,1	A,10 26,5	127,90 27,5	113,70 25,3
Major exporter (1991) Gabon	1.512,7 1€,5	2.009,0 13,1	1,543,0 17,2	28,40 17,1	103,00 22,5	A7,60 19,5
Midest Fluct. of Export Anire (5 Count- ries only)	C 1 5 5 11 5	1 0 °CT	13,0 0,2	2,00 1,2	- 0,17	1,20 2,7
MORLD	9.743,6	11.567,9	8,957,4	166,40	457,20	449,70
IMPORT Africa a/ Egypt Countries only)	21 00 01 01	2,0	2,9 1,4	9,40 0,10 -	C C	1,00 0,2 0,10 -
PHOSPHATE ROCK						
EXPORT Africa 2/	17.397,7 44.3	21.132,4 49,3	20.843,2 45,7	166,90 40,1	765,60 50,3	098,10 48,3

2/ South Africa is excluded

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	1970	1976		1001		1370		1	1001	
						Value	Caley	de"	Value	сх ²
Majar Majar Maraco (f. c.untries anly)	35 ° - 3	2	m	15.635,5 33,3	~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~	112,90 27,1	Cr G G G G G G G G G		739, SO 33	C S S
WORLD	32.5(),3	42.023.3		45.630,9 4.5.630,9		416, of .	1.520,70		2.064,50	
HECA Effica <u>a/</u> Frannia (7 countries enly)	1.7	5 5 5 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7		37,3 31,≏			2 m	4, 30 - 14, 5	2,40 1,90	1,
TIB FXFORF Lfrica <u>a</u> / Mitcria (2 countrios only)	्र २,5 २,5 २,5	(5. m) C C	ज ए र ल		 г. т. с. т.	27 27 80 22 50 22 50	් සිටි ද ස විශ්	50,70 3,6 21,40 1.5	57,75 32,40	्न । २न ।
TORUD	222,5	199,5		31212		06, AG	1.401,90	1,90	2.450,30	
IL GM JErica <u>a</u> Alteria Meroco		00 1	.7.0	5 3 3 0 0 0				9,70 0,7 1,40 - 1,20 -	7 7,00 3,60 2,60	0,2
(5 countries) (5 countries) 1991 Amly 3 countries	s Algeria, Nerroco	and Egypt					· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·			7
<pre>>/ South Africa is excluded</pre>	exclude1							· · ·		
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E/ECA/ERADE/~ Page 22 TABLE 2: African country export and import of 18 primary commodities in total world quantity - 1981 8 Commodities EXPORT Bananas (?,8 %), Jute (Ø %), Bovine meat (1,3 %), 0 - 5 % Vegetable bils (2,6%), Natural rubber (4,3%), Tin (3,1%) of Africa's export in world total _____ Sugar (5, 2, 2); Timber (3, 5, 3), Iron ore (3, 4, 3)5 - 10 % of Africa's . export in world total Coffee (24,2 %), Cotton and yarn (11,4 %), Hard fibres (23,9 %), 10 - 30 % Tea (15,6 %), Bauxite (27,4 %), Copper (21,0 %), Manganese of Africa's export in (21,1 %) world total ______ Phosphate rock (45,7 %) 30 - 50 % of Africa's export in world total Cocoa beans (69,4 %) Over 50 % IMPORT Bananas (0,7 %), Cocoa beans (% %), Coffee(1,1 %), Cotten 0 - 5 % yarn (2,3 %), Hard fibres (2,0 %), Natural rubber (1,0 %), of Africa's Timber (2,2 %), Bauxite ((2, %), Copper ((3, %), Iron ore ((3, %), import in Phosphate rock $(\mathscr{J}, \mathfrak{F})$, Tin $(0, 2, \mathfrak{F})$ world total Vegetable .cils (7,4 %), Sugar (11,8 %), Bovine meat (7,3 %) 5 - 10 % of Africa's import in world total Jute (13,2 %), Tea (13,0 %) 10 - 30 % of Africa's import in world total 30 - 50 % of Africa's import in work total over 57 % Source: Table 1 Nasib<mark>rex</mark> spriva

	۱ C	20 %	20 % - 50 %		Over 50 %	مه د
Comrodity	Export	Inp. rt	Export	Import	Export	Import
Determination of the second			F		Ivory Coast	Liberia
cocca beans			Ivory Coast		I	
Coffee		MOL CCO	Ivory Coast			
Cotton and varn			Egypt			Nigeria
Hard fibres			Tanzania	Maradoo		
Jute				Egypt		
Bovine meat				Egypt	Dotswana	
Vegetalle pils	Ivory Coast			Egypt		
Natural rubber	M	Eqyl,t			Liberia	
Sugar		Equit	Mauritius			
To a		k 5	Kenya	Egypt		
Ranvite			۹.		Guinea	
					Zambia	Egypt
Contract Tron ore					Liberia	
Manganese				Egypt	Gabon	

Major exporting and importing countries in Africa - 1981 Individual countries' part in Africa's export or import - guantities) 'n TMBLE

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