

Special Edition, February 2007

SERDES
BORDERS
FRONTIÈRES

FRONTIÈRES ET INTÉGRATIONS EN AFRIQUE DE L'OUEST
WEST AFRICAN BORDERS AND INTEGRATION

CROSS-BORDER DIARIES

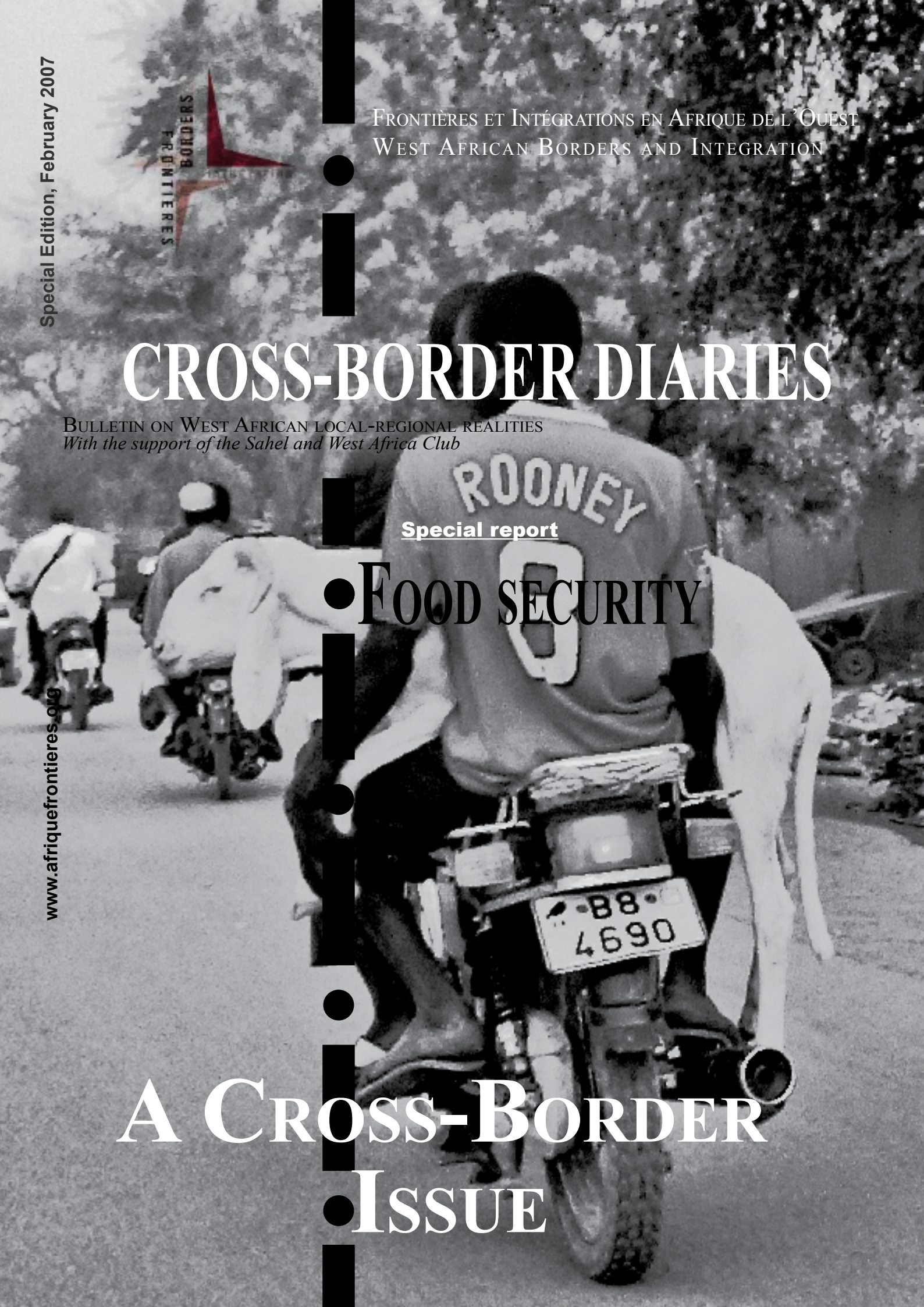
BULLETIN ON WEST AFRICAN LOCAL-REGIONAL REALITIES
With the support of the Sahel and West Africa Club

Special report

● **FOOD SECURITY**

A CROSS-BORDER
● **ISSUE**

www.afriquefrontieres.org





Editorial : *FOOD SECURITY, MARKETS' ACCESSIBILITY QUESTION*, p.5**Special report** : FOOD SECURITY AND CROSS-BORDER TRADEIN THE KANO-KATSINA-MARADI (K²M) CORRIDOR

- THE CONTEXT OF THE 2005 FOOD CRISIS IN NIGER, p.14
- THE "CEREAL-LIVESTOCK COMPLEX", p.16
- WHAT PERSPECTIVES? p.17
- THE FOOD CRISIS PREVENTION NETWORK IN THE SAHEL, p.18

Interviews

- BUILDING ON COMPLEMENTARITIES,
NORMAND LAUZON AND JEAN S. ZOUNDI / SWAC, p.19
- «THE PROBLEM AND SOLUTION IS NIGERIA.»,
MICHELE FALAVIGNA / PNUD-NIGER, p.23
- REGIONAL SUPPORT PROGRAMME FOR MARKET ACCESS,
MOUSSA Cissé / CILSS-BURKINA FASO, p.25
- «CROSS-BORDER ISSUES ARE IMPORTANT TODAY»,
LAOUALI IBRAHIM / FEWS NET, p.26

Report : SÉNÉGAMBIE MÉRIDIONALE

... THE CROSS-BORDER NETWORK OF SENEGAMBIAN COMMUNITY RADIO STATIONS
Professionalisation for Integration building, P.5

... THE CREATION OF A NETWORK OF SENEGAMBIAN BEEKEEPING PROFESSIONALS
Impetus for a Growing Regional Sector, P.8

**MEETING**

- DEVELOPMENT OF BORDER REGIONS IN AFRICA,
FOCUSING ON NIGERIA AND ITS NEIGHBOURS, P.11

The Cross-border Diaries are published
both in French and English.
available on
www.oecd.org/sah
www.afriquefrontieres.org

In editorial and financial partnership with
the Sahel and West Africa Club-OECD

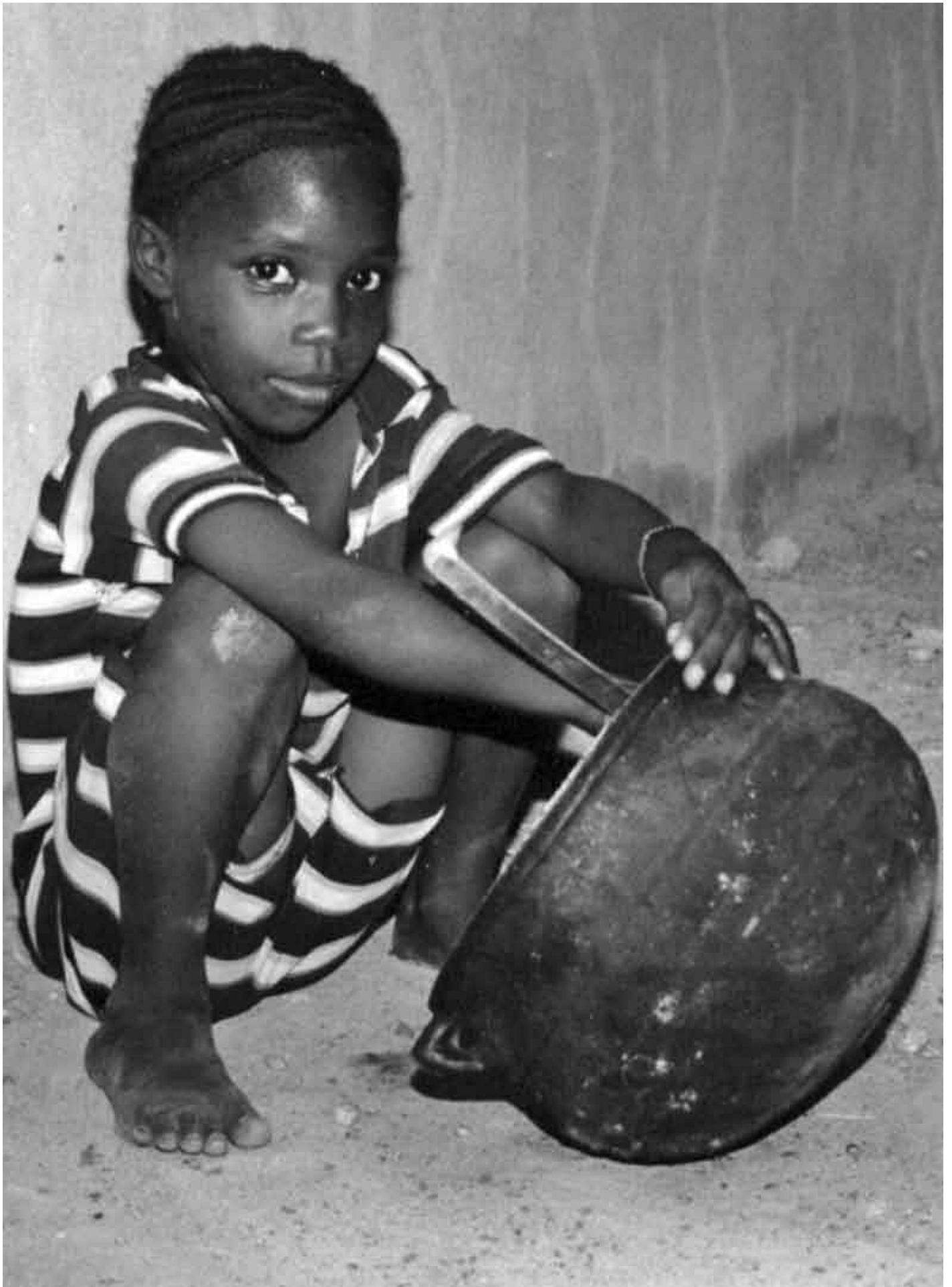
Responsible : Marie Trémolières
SWAC-OECD
2 rue A. Pascal
75116 Paris-France
T: +33 1 45 24 89 68
F: +33 1 45 24 90 31
marie.tremolieres@oecd.org

Editor : Guy-Michel Bolouvi
Sud Communication (Sud-Com Niger)
BP 12952 Niamey-Niger
T: +227 96 98 20 50
F: +227 20 75 50 92
mboluvi@yahoo.fr

With contributions by
Guy-Michel Bolouvi, Philipp Heinrigs,
Léonidas Hitimana, Emmanuel Salliot,
Marie Trémolières, Jean Zoundi

Translation
Leslie Diamond
Printing OECD

This publication's content
only represents its authors' views.



FOOD SECURITY, MARKETS' ACCESSIBILITY QUESTION

The market's role in the accessibility to food resources by the most impoverished populations enables a better understanding of the importance of the economic pole of the 3 villages of Kano, Katsina and Maradi in terms of food security.

It constitutes a corridor of intense trade of manufactured goods and agricultural products which are determining components of food challenges for the region.

While the populations' needs of the two countries drive most of the demand, the needs of the Niger processing industry continue to increase.

This cross-border economic hub not only concerns Niger and Nigeria, it extends to all of the economic actors trading in regional agricultural products.

Thus international organisations, government authorities and donors should be aware of the importance of the regular monitoring of markets and their functioning.

In another cross-border area, in Sénégalambie méridionale, emphasis is placed on the development of apiculture production industry and the use of a community radio network in order to stimulate the economy.●

The Editors



Cereal Trade on the Maradi Market (Southern Niger), Border with Northern Nigeria.

CROSS-BORDER NETWORKS

SÉNÉGAMBIE MÉRIDIIONALE (Senegal, the Gambia, Guinea Bissau)

By Emmanuel Salliot, Enda Diapol

Support for cross-border cooperation initiatives are continuing in Sénagambie méridionale, the result of a budding and promising collaboration between the SWAC, GTZ Procas and Enda Diapol. Focus on the launching of two initiatives during the last quarter of 2006.

In view of the serious stakes affecting economic accessibility and conflict management, priority has been given to the professionalisation of community radio stations and support to certain integration-oriented productive sectors, such as honey or cashew nuts. There are very good prospects today for the sustainability of these initiatives.

THE CROSS-BORDER NETWORK OF SENEGAMBIAN COMMUNITY RADIO STATIONS

PROFESSIONALISATION FOR INTEGRATION BUILDING

A meeting was held in Djalicunda (Oio region–Guinea Bissau) from 10 to 14 September 2006 in the Kafo Farmers’ Federation offices.

Eight community radio stations were represented in the meeting. For three days, sixteen Gambian, Bissau Guinean, and Senegalese participants shared the same observations: permanent climate of insecurity, obstacles to carry out their profession, dilapidated equipment, voluntary services, etc.

They discussed the most appropriate strategies to enable these radio stations broadcasting in border zones to actively play their role in the development of “exit from crisis” village communities.

At the end of the meeting, a cross-border action plan was adopted and the Cross-border Community Radio Network (RETRARC) of Sénagambie méridionale was created.

Currently made up of one Gambian radio station, two Bissau Guinean radio stations, and five Senegalese radio stations, the network has the following objectives:

Objective 1

“Upgrade the skills of member radio stations”

- Prepare a directory of addresses (telephone and e-mail) of the group’s member radio stations;
- Identify the training needs of the members;
- Identify internal and external skills;

THE CROSS-BORDER NETWORK OF SENEGAMBIAN COMMUNITY RADIO STATIONS IS A TOOL FOR PROFESSIONALS AND POPULATIONS, AN IMPETUS FOR PEACE AND FREE CIRCULATION OF PEOPLE AND GOODS.

- Organise quarterly meetings;
- Prepare a training plan including communication techniques in conflict areas;
- Organise training sessions every six months;
- Conduct visits and exchanges of experience between radio stations every three months;
- Exchange programmes;
- Create a web-site for the network; and
- Support member radio stations in defining the minimum qualifications required for the recruitment of journalists and reporters.

Objective 2

“Raise the populations’ awareness regarding their rights and duties”

- Request ECOWAS to transmit

to the network the laws on free circulation of people and goods;

- Understand completely ECOWAS laws on the free circulation of people and goods, produce and broadcast programmes;
- Produce and broadcast programmes on human rights (e.g. : violence against women);
- Negotiate a discussion framework with administrative authorities;
- Use the network of actors of the ECOWAS Cross-border Initiatives Programme and develop their initiatives; and
- Carry our joint production of programmes.

Objective 3

“Strengthen the autonomy of community radio stations”

- Identify the common problems of member radio stations and find adequate solutions so as to formulate a common financing project for the network;
- Support the radio stations in defining their financial policies;
- Exchange experiences between radio stations on financing problems and solutions;
- Protect the independence of community radio stations with respect to pressure groups (solidarity);
- Prepare a procedures manual and tools for the self-regulation of radio stations in ethics and compliance with national laws, which regulate the management of the media;
- Set up a surveillance and alert mechanism within the network for actions by pressure groups;
- Provide advocacy for laws

“IDENTIFICATION SHEET” OF THE NETWORK

Organisation Method	Network managed by a Principal Coordinator and three National Coordinators
Name	“Cross-border Community Radio Network (RETRARC) of Sénagambie méridionale” (Senegal, Guinea Bissau, the Gambia: “Guisengamb”)
Members	All the radio stations present in the Djalicunda workshop, and those that will apply for membership at a later date
Management Body	The network will be managed by an Executive Committee comprising the managers of the following radio stations: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Voz de Djalicunda (Guinea Bissau) - AD Kassoumay (Sao Domingos – Guinea Bissau) - Dioulacolou (Kolda Department - Senegal) - FM Awaña (Bignona Department – Senegal) - Radio de la paix de Sindian (Bignona Department – Senegal) - Radio Diouloulou (Bignona Department – Senegal) - Brikama’s radio (Western Division of the Gambia) - Radio Kassoumay (Ziguinchor Department – Senegal) - ACSAS (Sédhiou Department – Senegal)

that ensure more protection for journalists and radio stations;

- Strengthen dialogue with the authorities;
- Conduct negotiations for better rates of programmes for NGOs (definition of common rates?);
- Exchange information regarding the different partners;
- Help each other within the network; and

- Set up a solidarity mechanism for member radio stations in the network (e.g.: equipment).

The second meeting of the network will take place in Bignona (Senegal) in February 2007, with the aim of rapidly integrating new stations and mobilising funding to implement the three focus areas

of the action plan.

The workshop will also be an opportunity for validating the by-laws, including an Ethics Charter on the handling of sensitive information in post-conflict zones.

In the very near future, a training plan will be scheduled, and exchange visits organised.

They will primarily enable the conception and production of information sheets in Pulaar, Mandingo, Creole and Joola on ECOWAS laws and regulations relating to the free circulation of people and goods, and also train broadcasters responsible for broadcasting them.

Interview

Abdou Diao, Network Regional Coordinator, Mouhamed Kairaba Sonko, Ndeye Aby Fall and Mamadu Silla discuss the political and economic reasons why community radio stations are today

perceived as credible instruments for rebuilding social links between border communities, known as “peaceful”¹.

How do you perceive the role played by community radio stations in bringing border populations closer?

Mouhamed Kaïraba Sonko: In an area with the same ethnic groups who share the same languages, but where the borders divide life basins, divide villages, and separate families, radio stations have a key role to play.

Indeed, it is at the borders that linguistic and political differences between Senegal, Guinea Bissau and the Gambia are most striking. These differences prevent the populations from experiencing their social solidarities and strengthening their family ties weakened by more than two decades of political and economic instability.

In view of these burning issues, community radio stations programmes aim at rebuilding the social fabric and giving voice to the “voiceless” who live in an atmosphere of constant insecurity.

Abdou Diao: Border communities face the same difficulties, and it is undoubtedly at the level of their economic development that the similarities and problems are most striking. Indeed, despite the existence of ECOWAS laws that facilitate the free circulation of people

and goods in West Africa for all citizens of member countries who hold a simple identity card, customs obstacles on the road and at the borders persist.

The role of radio stations consists in highlighting these practices



From left to right: Mamadu Silla, Dye Aby Fall, Abode Dial and Mouhamed Kaïraba Sonko

and these dysfunctions and in helping to bring communities closer together so that they cooperate with each other to effectively fight against abuses.

Mouhamed Kaïraba Sonko: On radio Awāna, I very often call on women, who are dynamic in cross-border trade but whom, in view of the illegal levies and loss of their products, are today completely discouraged and without material resources. That is why one of the first major actions of the network

of Senegambian radio stations would be to disseminate ECOWAS laws in local languages for them to be accessible to the populations.

Dye Aby Fall: Within a context

the poverty cycle.

Within this context, what are the network’s objectives?

Mouhamed Kaïraba Sonko: We have talked about raising awareness of ECOWAS laws, for example. However, I wish to focus again on other aspects which I consider fundamental. First of all, the idea of the network is based on the hypothesis that faced with the same problems on both sides of the border, the network would help us find similar and effective solutions.

However, the network is not intended only for the populations.

It is intended, above all, for the radio stations themselves. This is a prerequisite for proposing effective services to the communities.

In other words, the radio stations all operate within a very difficult environment and they need to be placed in minimal operative conditions. They are of little interest to development partners.

Today, the equipment is
(Continued on page 10)

NOTES

1 : A. Diao, Director of the Dioulacolon Radio Station (Senegal); Mr. Kairaba Sonko, Director and N. Aby Fall, Presenter of FM Awāna (Senegal); Mr. Silla, Director of Voz de Djalikunda (Guinea Bissau)

THE CREATION OF A NETWORK OF SENEGAMBIAN BEEKEEPING PROFESSIONALS

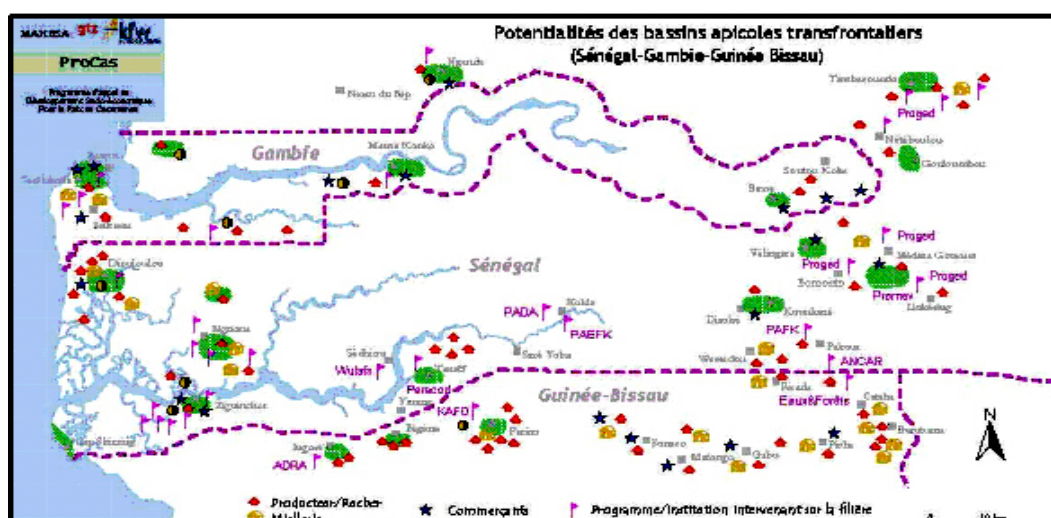
IMPETUS FOR A GROWING REGIONAL SECTOR

From 14 to 17 November 2006, a workshop for beekeeping sector professionals of the Gambia, Guinea Bissau and Senegal was held in the Governor's Office in Ziguinchor (Senegal), under the auspices of the regional administration of Lower Casamance.

For three days, twenty representatives of professional organisations, eight regional and departmental technical services, three commercial companies, as well as five development partners shared their experiences before preparing a cross-border action plan and deciding to meet again in February 2007 to start implementing their joint activities.

In the course of 2006, GTZ Procas – Peracod¹ supported the formulation of analyses and action plans for each production basin in the Tanaff, Kolda and Bignona zones in Senegal. Consequently, collaboration was initiated with the members of WABI network in Sénagambie.

This workshop promoting dialogue between beekeeping professionals was an appropriate opportunity to include cross-border issues in the support activities already initiated by other partners.



Known for their quality and diversity, honey and wax from the river zones of the South (natural region of Casamance) fully exploit the extraordinary eco-geographic potential of Sénagambie méridionale.

Today, it goes without saying that an integrated trans-national and cross-border strategy would facilitate the development of this growth-oriented economic sector.

The stakes in this regard are many:

It seems important today to revive beekeeping so as to generate additional income for producers, and thereby contribute to the socio-economic development of these border communities by creating more jobs, improving the quality of nutrition, and promoting honey-based medicinal treatment.

An important issue is improving environmental awareness in the communities. This entails harmonisation of extraction methods among Senegambian professionals since many producers are still not yet well-organised and continue to use a method which, by causing large brush fires, degenerates the plant coverage.

While today this economic niche cannot demonstrate all its marketing potential, it is mainly due to the lack of structure of the sector's organisations.

The Gambian, Bissau-Guinean and Casamance honey production and marketing sectors are structured locally, with a few exceptions.

While these organisations will remain dynamic in the short term because of the steady local demand, the inaccessibility and small size of production zones often located in the hinterland are very likely to make them ineffectual in the medium and long terms. Networking these organisations would further ensure their sustainability.

Through crop pollination beekeeping contributes to agricultural development. This contribution to agricultural activity today should be better known and exploited so as to optimise the mutual development of these various sectors.

This requires that a dialogue framework bringing together professionals and decentralised technical services of the three countries be put in place.

At the marketing stage, it is clear that because of the existence of stable local consumer markets, the differences in extraction methods between beekeeping professionals result in a lack of competitiveness for those who have modernised their methods.

Spontaneously, producers feel that by sharing their experiences, they will harmonise their methods, improve quality and packaging, develop honey by-products, and promote public-private partnership.

These strategies should generate financial and trade benefits to sustain local consumption, better integrate the sector, and open the market to tourism and export.

These attempts to harmonise prices and the quality of products will be effective at the national level only if there is, at the same time, at the sub-regional level a "codus alimentarius" supporting a West African label and certification of beekeeping products.

Some cooperation experiences have already been initiated between the National Beekeepers of the Gambia (NBAG) and

the “Union Régionale des Apiculteurs de Ziguinchor” (URAZ), as well as between the “Fédération des Apiculteurs de l’Arrondissement de Tanaff” (FAAT) and producers in Oio region (Guinea Bissau).

During this three-day meeting, the participants:

- Conducted clear analyses of the sector’s potential, the organisations which operate in it, and the constraints on its development;

- Prepared a joint activity programme comprising, in particular, the promotion of inter-professional collaboration in training, exchanges of experience, as well as technical and organisational support;

- Defined the most operational methods for the joint implementation of activities considered as top priority by the producer organisations.

- Increased control of the sector by producers;

- Better harmonisation of prices and regulations;

- More sustained coordination between beekeeping organisations as well as support projects for the beekeeping sector in Sénégalie;

- The implementation of a more “aggressive” commercial strategy that provides added value; and

- The building of a “successful” partnership between the producers and the other actors in the sector.

It was only at the end of the workshop that the professional organisations proposed that a Steering Committee be set up to serve as an interface between the sector actors at the national level and development partners to refine and implement the cross-border action plan.

It is composed of two Gambians, six Bissau Guineans, and five Senegalese.

In the near future, another meeting of the Steering Committee will be held in Banjul.

The aim of the meeting will be to set out the activities of the cross-border action plan and prepare good practices guides on the quality of beekeeping products.

These guides, broadcast on community radio stations in local languages, are intended for all honey producers in Southern Senegambia.●

NOTES

1. Rural Electrification and Sustainable Domestic Fuel Supply Programme
2. Integrated production systems project for the sustainable management of natural resources in the Middle and Upper Casamance.
3. Netherlands Development Organisation.

Interview

Alcali Cissé,

President of FAAT (Sédhiou Department, Senegal) talks to us about his experience in cooperation with beekeepers in the Bègène area in Guinea Bissau.



How are you collaborating with the beekeepers of Ngoree and Bègène sectors (Guinea Bissau) in Tanaff District (Senegal) and why?

A few years ago, we, the producers of FAAT, were supported by partners such as the Senegal-German Cooperation with the PSPI programme².

We were then able to acquire Kenyan beehives and receive training. Subsequently, we were able to produce high quality honey and become more aware of the environmental stakes.

However, with this type of equipment, the operating costs were higher. We had to sell our honey for a higher price, but there were no buyers on the Bissau Guinean border market because there, demand is rather low and steady, people do not care very much about quality.

This explains why the beekeepers there produce rather poor quality, cheap honey.

We therefore went to meet producers on the other side of the border, and we started to sensitise them on the quality of honey. Since then, many things have been done.

Now, we meet in cross-border committees, each composed of fifteen members, every month for discussions!

Today, we help them benefit from the training we receive.

We have a transfer of competencies with them in many areas: the environment, extraction methods, accounting, etc. We have also enabled them to benefit from loans from the Tanaff Fund.●

Interview

Messrs. Pedro Emballo and Eduardo Baldé, traders and former Governors of Gabu and Bafata regions respectively discuss the highlights of the workshop and identify some medium-term perspectives:



From left to right : Before samples of kapok, mangrove and mango tree honeys, Antonio Sence from SNV Bissau, Pedro Emballo and Jorge Forini, beekeepers in Bula sector.

What did you gain from this meeting?

Pedro Emballo: The major outcome of this meeting is that it enabled more than thirty actors of the sector to meet and identify common perspectives for action.

In Guinea Bissau, the network should, above all, improve the quality of honey for it to fulfill all the conditions for sale on the international market.

We believe that the support of an intergovernmental organisation, such as ECOWAS, to this economic sector is very encouraging, and would give us better visibility at the political level.

Eduardo Baldé: This coordination mechanism will be useful for all the countries. Today, we can say that 70% of the honey produced in Guinea Bissau is sold in Senegal and Guinea Bissau, despite the poor quality of our honey.

This initiative comes at the appropriate time because in Guinea Bissau, we have, with SNV³, also reorganised the sector at the national level.

During these three days, professionals exchanged information and experiences. We have learned a lot, particularly from the Gambian professionals, who are far ahead of us in extraction methods, by-products, and organisational management.

All this gives us ideas for obtaining more support from the Bissau Guinean Government to develop honey products at the national level.●

dilapidated and this affects the quality of broadcasts.

Due to lack of resources, the radio stations face serious difficulties in producing programmes and enabling reporters to travel, even on bicycles, and to have tape recorders and cassettes.

It is also necessary to train the journalists, who continue to “live from hand to mouth”, offering voluntary services. The network therefore has a role to play in coordinating mutual assistance between member radio stations.

Abdou Diao: Behind the lack of technical and financial resources lurks a very serious problem in a region like ours, which is not peaceful and which experiences regular peaks of tension.

The problem is that of lack of professionalisation of radio staff, and in particular broadcasters and journalists. The three States have just held elections or are in sensitive electoral periods.

There is illegal imprisonment of journalists in Senegal. In addition, there are also the problems of Casamance, highway robbers and cattle theft. Here, if a piece of information is not well-handled, the consequences could be tragic.

Journalists need to have access to appropriate training to treat these issues and promote peaceful coexistence between ethnic groups and communities.

Mouhamed Kaïraba Sonko: We need to train people capable of gathering information and handling it as objectively as possible.

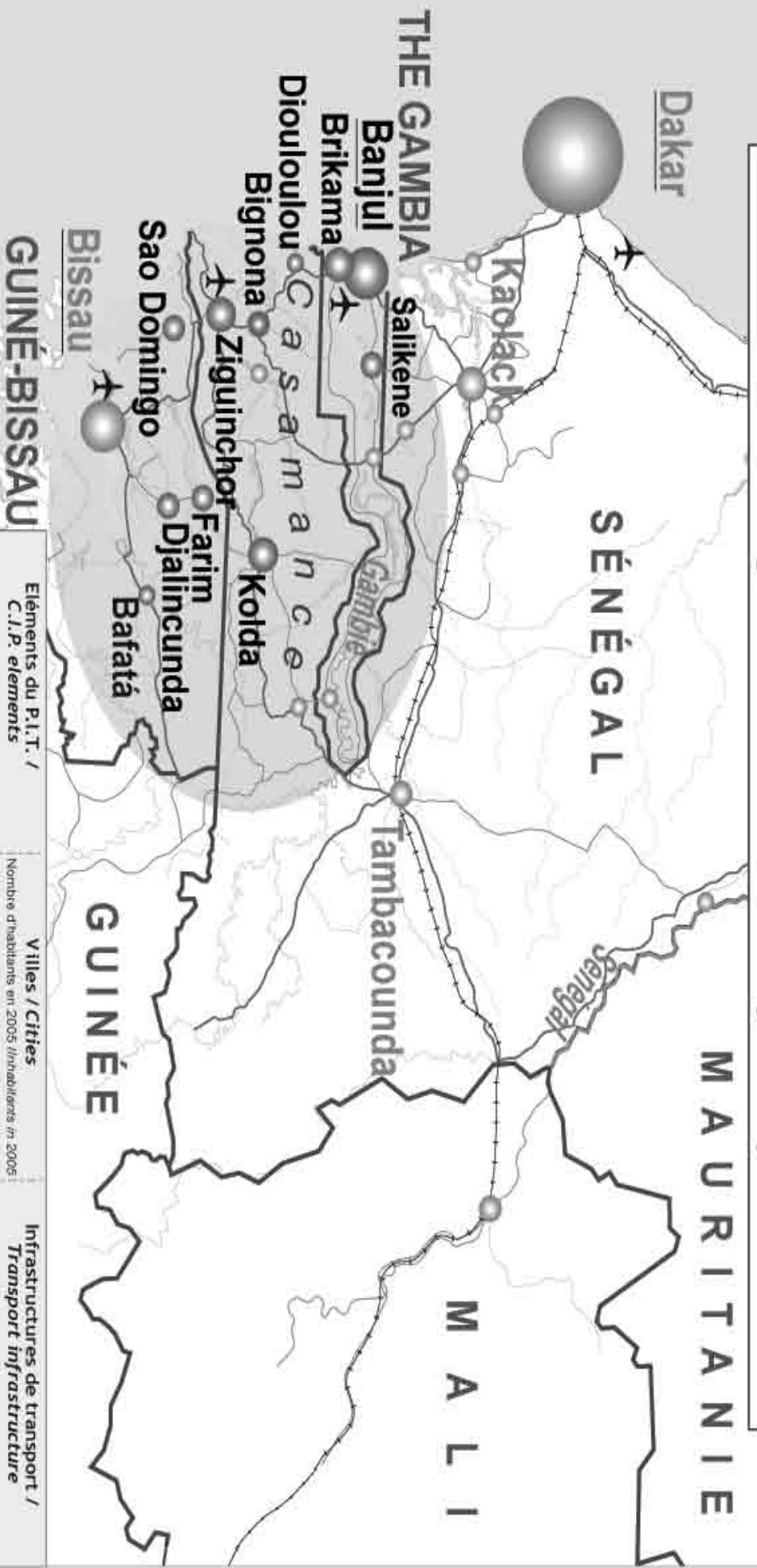
Mamadu Silla: The network should also defend the journalists of community radio stations facing pressure from the authorities and the army in Guinea Bissau.

It should be said that in our countries, there is a wide gap between the laws on freedom of speech, NICTs and the realities on the field. For example, in Guinea Bissau, the laws regarding freedom of the press were adopted before the creation of commercial and community radio stations, but they have not been amended since.

These statutory instruments are no longer adapted to the stations real working conditions and do not allow journalists to do their work well and in security.

In Guinea Bissau, we really need to have an exchange of views with our brothers who are more experienced than us.

Opération pilote frontalière en Sénégambie méridionale Southern Senegambia cross border pilot operation



© Club du Sahel et de l'Afrique de l'Ouest / OCDE 2006

<p>Éléments du P.I.T. / C.I.P. éléments</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Localité du P.I.T. / C.I.P. community * ■ Espace pilote 	<p>Villes / Cities</p> <p>2 - 10 millions</p> <p>Nombre d'habitants en 2005 / Inhabitants in 2005</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 500 000 - 1 million 250 000 - 500 000 100 000 - 250 000 50 000 - 100 000 20 000 - 50 000 <p>Lomé</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Capitale d'Etat / National capital Frontière / International Border 	<p>Infrastructures de transport / Transport infrastructure</p> <p>Réseau routier en 2005 / Roads in 2005</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Road principal (revêtu) / Main road (hard surfaced) Road secondaire (revêtu et non revêtu) / Secondary road (hard surfaced and unsurfaced) Piste / Track <p>Autres infrastructures en 2005 / Other infrastructure in 2005</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Voie ferrée / Railway Aéroport (plus de 30 000 passagers par an) / Airport (more than 30 000 passengers per year)
---	---	--

* Les localités du P.I.T. de moins de 20 000 habitants sont représentées à l'échelle d'une localité de 20 000 - 50 000 habitants. / Only communities with less than 20 000 inhabitants are represented like cities with 20 000 - 50 000 inhabitants. Seules les informations en lien avec le P.I.T. ont été localisées sur cette carte. / Only informations relevant to C.I.P. have been reported on this map. Le tracé des frontières figurant sur cette carte n'a pas de valeur juridique. / The positioning of the borders on this map does not imply legal recognition.

NIGERIA-BENIN

DEVELOPMENT OF BORDER REGIONS IN AFRICA, FOCUSING ON NIGERIA AND ITS NEIGHBOURS

From 5 to 7 December 2006, the African University Institute in Imeko, on the southern Nigerian border with Benin, has hosted a sensitisation and training workshop for administrative border actors. The theme of the workshop: "Development of Border Regions in Africa, focusing on Nigeria and its neighbours". The one disadvantage of this workshop is that only Nigerian actors are registered participants.

Benin's absence is glaring. It is a question of financial means according to the organisers. Professor Anthony Asiwaju, President of the African University Institute and coordinator of this workshop, is reassuring on the conviction that all Nigeria's and coastal countries' international borders must be mobilised, which up to now have not been involved in cross-border cooperation activities.

The workshop participants insisted on their "part" of the Cross-border Initiatives Programme, by starting with orientation meetings such as that as the one in Sikasso for the SKBo zone and Ziguinchor for S n gambie.

We come back to this workshop with Professor Asiwaju who needs no introduction as he is so well-known in his field.



Professor Anthony Asiwaju, President of the African University Institute (AFRUI)

What was the motivation behind this workshop on the development of border regions in Africa, focusing on Nigeria and its neighbours?

This workshop was organised mainly to raise awareness of the border region development efforts undertaken by the Federal Government of Nigeria as well as within the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS).

This is surprising, but in Nigeria populations, even the main actors involved in border regions, are not well informed.

Firstly, A law was recently drawn up and called "Border communities development agency amendment act, 2006".

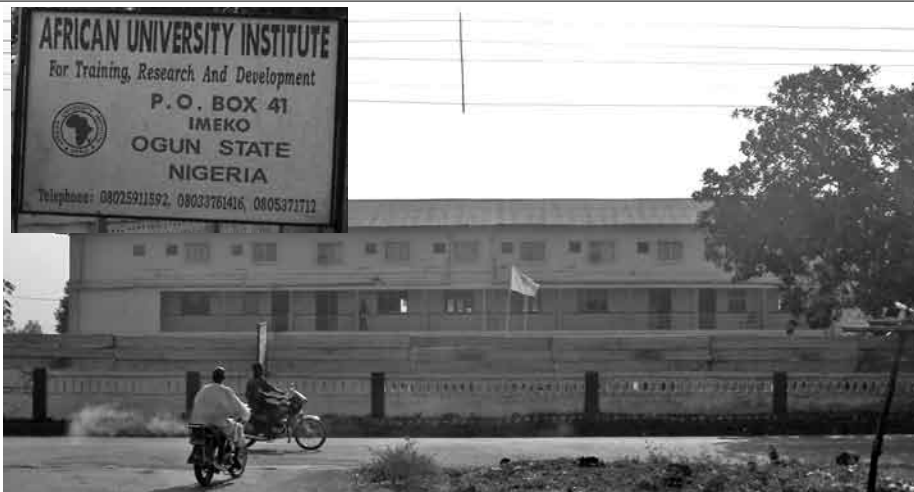
These laws aimed to accelerate the development of border regions, at least Nigeria's international borders and, at this very moment, a special agency is in the process of being set up to this effect.

Secondly, within the West African region, we consider the Cross-border Initiatives Programme (CIP) an initiative that promotes the development of border regions. This constitutes two important initiatives.

With this workshop, we wanted to sensitise the actors most concerned by this dynamic, for cross-border populations themselves and police officers, traditional authorities, local and regional authorities at the federal level, institutional agents at the federal level, such



Border administrative agents well represented.



as the Ministry of Cooperation and African Integration.

Thirdly, [we wanted] to have an exchange of views and share practical ideas regarding the development of border regions.

In Nigeria, we focused on the two largest agencies that are involved in this sector: the National Borders Commission which, since 1990, makes funds available for border region development; and the Commission for the Development of the Delta Region, the coastal region where the oil resources are concentrated.

Finally, at the West African level there is the Sahel and West Africa Club (SWAC) which has a great deal of experience in the area of cross-border initiatives.

We have not relied on the quantity of participants but insisted rather upon the presence of qualified personalities, agency representatives, academic research and training centres, resource people like the police commissioner of the Cross River State which manages the Bakassi dossier.

Why have you insisted so much on training the agents involved in the border regions?

We stressed the fact that the issue of research and training is crucial in this area.

A special programme must be created for the training and orientation with regard to cross-border cooperation and regional integration. Because, with us, the most established mind-set is that of the Nation but not of regional integration.

It is a question of training. The creation of the African University Institute tries to imitate what was done in Europe, notably the European University Institute in Florence, Italy, the College of Europe in Bruges, Belgium in order to disseminate regional guideline information.

Our new institution, the African University Institute, can provide the foundation of an institute within the African Union.

With regard to the size of Nigeria, are you going to hold many of these workshops in order to reach all of the country's border regions?

The training workshop's programme should be expanded. At this workshop in Imeko for example, there are no representatives from the north, north-east or eastern regions. Even this border zone with Benin is not well-represented: there are no participants from Koala or Sokoto.

Due to the lack of financial means we could not invite everyone. But we are convinced that there must be a permanent institutional base with regard to the development of border regions. Hence this workshop has recommended that this institution be adopted as a base for border initiatives in the region.

Once this recommendation is adopted, the issue of distance and financial means should no longer be a problem. At best, such an institution must be increased through Africa, and I am available to share my experience on this subject.

The programme must implicate all border regions.

On my agenda, a special tour will be made within all ECOWAS countries. Last October, I was in Addis Abeba where I met my friends Aguibou Diarra, the Director of the National Borders Directorate of Mali

(DNF) and Normand Lauzon, the Director of the Sahel and West Africa Club with whom I came up with the idea of extending the Cross-border Initiatives Programme to the Commission of the African Union. The Chairman Alpha Omar Konaré approved the idea.

How do you explain that Nigeria and the coastal zone in general are lagging behind with regard to development initiatives for the border regions?

The SWAC set the CIP in motion and interest was focused on the land-locked countries, the Sahelian countries. Special effort is needed to involve and interest the coastal countries.

Sensitisation is going to be needed. We are aware of this and that is why the African University Institute has been set up here in the border region of Nigeria with Benin.

Now that the CIP has made its mark, why not envisage here in Imeko for the Ogun region (Nigeria) and the Ouémé and du Plateau regions (Benin), the replication of the pilot operations launched in Sikasso for the SKBo zone and Ziguinchor in Sénégalambia?

Last February, we held a workshop here in Imeko on cross-border crime and the strategy of setting up a community police force. We brought together traditional and civil authorities, Nigerian and Benin police authorities from both border regions.

A replication of the Sikasso and Ziguinchor experiences is needed, between coastal countries as well as between coastal and Sahelian countries, like the Maradi-Katsina-Kano axis.

I am not saying that Togo, Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire are not important, but we must concentrate particularly on Nigeria which is vital in the region.●

Interview carried out by Michel Bolouvi

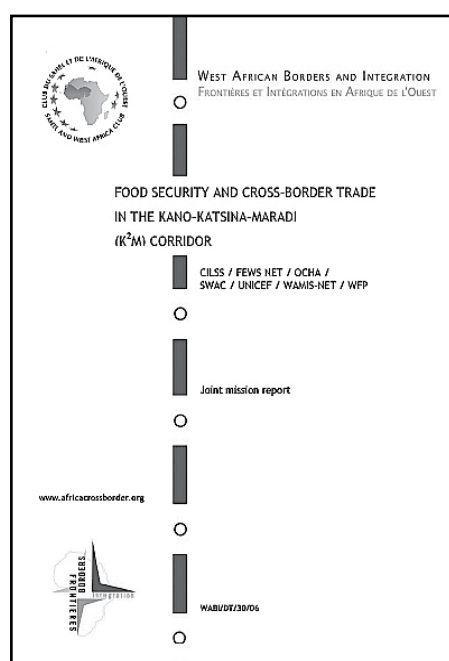


From left to right, AIG. I.O. Ajao, the administrative authority of the region and Professors Anthony I. Asiwaju and Segun Adesina of AFRUI.

NIGER-NIGERIA

FOOD SECURITY AND CROSS-BORDER TRADE IN THE KANO-KATSINA-MARADI (K²M) CORRIDOR

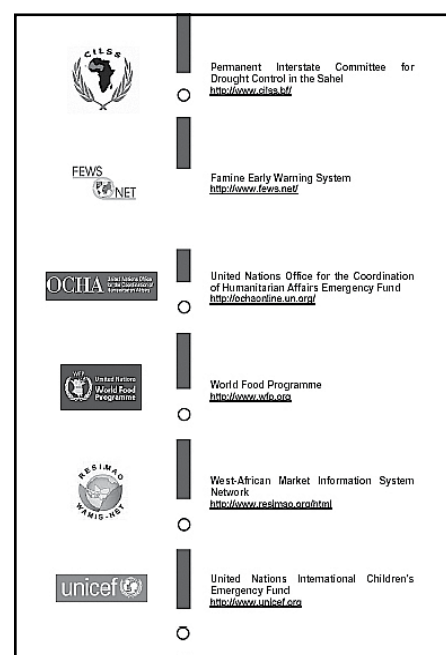
Joint study : CILSS, SWAC, FEWS NET, OCHA, WFP, WAMIS-NET, UNICEF



The study of the joint mission in May of the SWAC, the CILSS, FEWS NET, WFP, UNICEF, OCHA and WAMIS-NET to Maradi (Niger), Katsina and Kano (Nigeria) was made available.

It analyses cross-border trade of livestock and cereals and its impact on food security; prepares an eventual Niger-Nigerian cross-border cooperation process between concerned actors.

Proposals will be discussed at a cross-border workshop schedu-



led for the first trimester of 2007. This workshop will bring together representatives of central and local government authorities, traders, producers and livestock breeders, transporters and manufacturers from the two countries, as well as technical and financial partners.

Contact: philipp.heinrigs@oecd.org

THE CONTEXT OF THE 2005 FOOD CRISIS IN NIGER

With the advent of the 2005 food crisis in Niger, some experts contributing to the ensuing discussion raised the issue of the role played by markets and cross-border trade in the difficulties relating to access cereal production.

While 2004 cereal production in Niger was relatively low (11 % below the average of the five preceding years), mainly due to insufficient rainfall and a locust invasion, it reached 2.6 million tons, 35% higher than in 2000 (the last year considered as "bad", but which did not give rise to major food security problems).

This situation compelled the WFP, FEWS NET and the CILSS, to carry out an assessment on the available information as regards this subject¹, before launching a series of studies on markets and on cross-border trade

flows in cereals and cash-crops, the sale of which allows the population to buy cereals.

The twofold objectives of this process:

- Better understand the cross-border trade in livestock and cereals and its impact on food security;
- To prepare an eventual Niger-Nigeria cross-border cooperation process in these two sectors (and food security).

In addition, the SWAC/OECD animates jointly with ENDA-Diapol the WABI² network and works with ECOWAS on the implementation of the Cross-Border Initiatives Programme (CIP).

It has been suggested that this cross-border area should be integrated into the CIP framework as its 4th pilot experience. The other areas being Southern Senegambia, the

areas of Mali and Burkina Faso bordering northern Côte d'Ivoire and the Karakoro basin between Mali and Mauritania.

This process follows the joint WFP/FEWS NET/CILSS assessment and its outcomes will equally be capitalised upon by CILSS in the process of setting up a permanent system for monitoring cross-border trade in the region.

Quid food security?

Despite a diversification of Niger's sources of cereal supply since the mid 1990s, Nigeria remains its major supplier in periods of food shortages.

Besides the proximity of the areas of production and the relatively cheap price of fuel in Nigeria, reducing transport costs, many other factors relating to the size of its market and its production structure explain

the competitiveness of products from Nigeria. In addition, traders from Niger and Northern Nigeria understand each other perfectly, belonging to the Hausa area with 50 million Hausa speakers.

They share 1,500km of common border and are often related by family, religious and lineage links.

In this context, an analysis of production and trade in cereals and their impact on food security cannot be limited to just one country.

The southern part of Niger and northern Nigeria form one cereal production basin in which markets are perfectly integrated and products circulate easily, sometimes even in contravention of national laws.

The Kano–Katsina–Maradi corridor represents the axis around which the whole area gravitates. A major trade corridor in West Africa, it has for a long time linked the Gulf of Guinea to North Africa and the Middle East.

If these circumstances justify our interest in cereals, it emerged indispensable to include the livestock sector in the analysis, due to its significant impact on food and nutritional security.

Marketing of cash “products” allows the populations to earn revenue, which can be used to buy cereals on the market. Livestock is the principal cash “earner” of Niger and 97 % of its livestock exports are to Nigeria.

Therefore, this process is supports strengthening food security on a regional and bilateral level between the two countries and on a development dynamic based on cross-border cooperation.

Whenever regional production is abundant, significant volumes of Nigerian cereals are exported towards the neighbouring regions of Niger, which are structurally deficient in cereal production.

On the other hand, when production is low, not only does Nigeria consume a large share of its own production, but may even import cereals from other countries in the sub-region.

The disruption of cereal flows from Nigeria towards Niger can hence expose the deficit in Niger. However, the available quantity of cereals on markets is not the only determinant of prices. For example, consumers can substitute between products, e.g. maize for millet, while agro-allied food industries, which are developing rapidly in Nigeria, have lesser substitution possibilities.

The demand from the agro-allied food industry is therefore less price sensitive and can lead to more significant price increases, especially during crisis years.

Large traders from Niger have information on Nigerian markets and buy in Nigeria to replenish their stocks.

The Nigerian traders on their part have effectively adapted their strategies to the characteristics and dynamics of the Nigerien market, thus competing with Maradi traders during the harvest period and stocking some of the cereals in the city of Maradi in anticipation of the lean season.●

The importance of complete and reliable information

Poor quality of information undoubtedly plays a role in market imbalances.

It appears that Nigerian cash-crop production has, under government instigation, several times increased in recent years, in order to assure the supply of local processing industries (oil mills, textile industries, etc.) and selling the remainder on the world market.

These increases have led to a reduction in acreage under cereal cultivation and hence, to an increase in prices of the latter.

The local processing industries, however, did not absorb the totality of production, which caused a sharp fall in prices of cash-crops and a reinvestment in cereals, causing renewed movements in prices.

Farmers as well as some traders are complaining about this instability, which does not allow optimising investments in production or marketing of cereals.

Therefore, it seems important to have complete and reliable information on acreage cultivated, production, quantities used for auto-consumption and marketed, volume of stocks, etc.●

Table 1: Production, imports and exports of cereals (average 1994–2003)

	Production (1000 t)	Importation (1000 t)	Exportation (1000 t)	Consumption Kg per head
Nigeria	20 648	2 499	48	149
Niger	2 598	214	1	212
West Africa	35 235	7 137	184	146

Table 2: Import and export figures for cattle and small ruminants

	Livestock (x 1 000 heads)		Imports (x 1 000 heads)		Exports (x 1 000 heads)		Consumption of cattle and small ruminants meat (kg per inhabitant)
	Cattle	Small ruminants	cattle	small ruminants	Cattle	Small ruminants	
Nigeria	15 200	51 000	350	780	0	0	4.6
Niger	2 260	11 400	3	1.5	74	309	7.3
West Africa	45 518	143 563	606	1 450	264	1 171	5.2

NOTES

1. Cf. Noëlle Terpend, “Bilan des connaissances sur le commerce et les marchés impliqués dans la sécurité alimentaire en Afrique de l’Ouest”, December 2005, available on www.wfp.org/operations/Emergency_needs

2. West African Borders and Integration. See the website www.africacrossborder.org www.afriquefrontieres.org/.

FOOD SECURITY

THE “CEREAL-LIVES- TOCK COMPLEX”

Meat and its by-products and especially poultry products and eggs, have a growing importance for the satisfaction of nutritional needs, particularly those of poor households.

Accessibility depends on prices and revenues and consequently, for a large part of the population (especially in pastoral and agropastoral areas of northern Niger) on the terms of trade between livestock and cereals.

As shown by the figure (Terms of trade millet/goat), it is with the start of the lean season (May) that prices of cereals and livestock begin to diverge and terms of trade deteriorate for livestock rearers.

During crisis years, like 2005, the sharp increase in the price of cereals combined with a decline in livestock prices – due to a lack of grazing lands and hence lower weight and quality of animals - translates into the need to increase the sale of livestock to satisfy food needs. The multiplier effect which results from the supply and demand disequilibrium (because of too high supply³) reinforces the decline in prices for livestock and starts a domino effect.

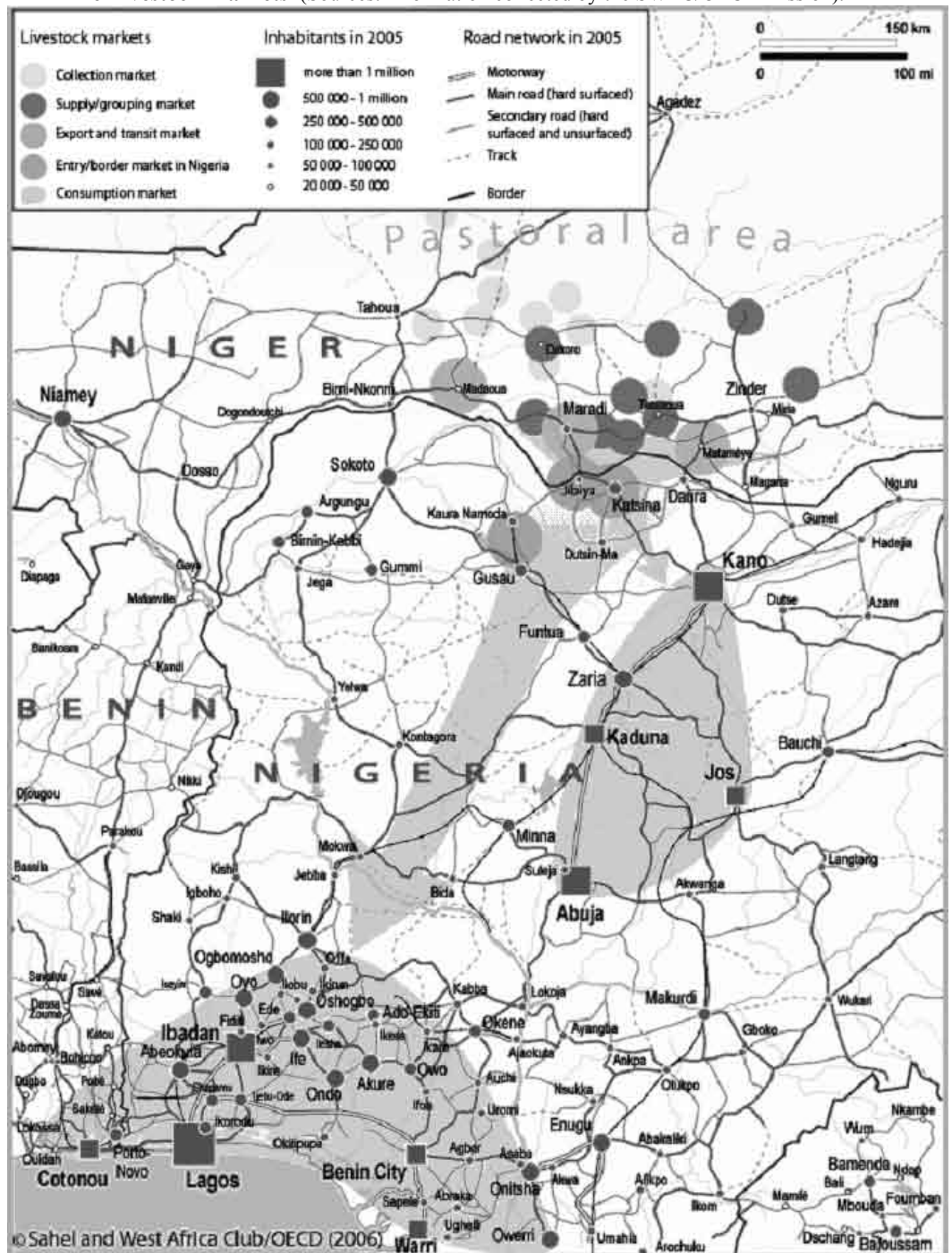
In addition, if the Nigerian market continues to grow and the Nigerian livestock sector is willing to remain its main supplier, what is the realistic capacity of the Nigerian livestock sector to follow and to satisfy Nigerian demand? What changes should it undertake?

Strong and continuous Nigerian demand will certainly have a positive impact on this sector, where some informed producers will strive to consistently supply quality animals to the market, in accordance with market standards which will not take long to emerge.

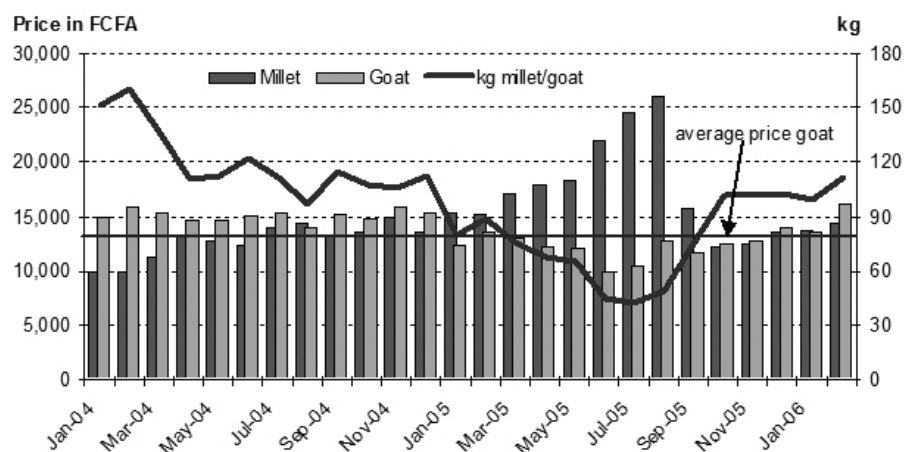
However, to seize these opportunities cross-border initiatives must be supported which aim to capitalise on the complementarities of production systems of both countries.

The livestock sector is of strategic importance for food security, considering its ability to generate revenue regularly and to provide meat for consumption.

The Livestock Markets (Sources: Information collected by the SWAC/OECD mission).



Terms of trade millet/goat



WHAT PERSPECTIVES?

1. An analysis of the food security situation taking into account the interactions between the two sectors - which influence the fixing of respective prices and exercise mutual multiplier effects - seems therefore essential.

The absence of information on cross-border trade flows represents an important gap to be filled.

2. To maximise benefits from its trade policy, Niger needs not only to facilitate cross-border trade flows by reducing harassments at borders, but also implement sectoral policies geared towards expanding production. The coming adoption of the Common External Tariff (CET) of ECOWAS represents an opportunity to increase benefits from complementarities and comparative advantages between the two countries.

Nigeria's comparative advantages⁷ lie in: important ecological resources (higher lying and hence more accessible water tables) and its demography (developed urbanisation, high population density), whereas those of Niger are availability of large pastures and low population density.

Today, public policies are in need to define strategies based on the complementarities and the socio-cultural, ecological, and geographical homogeneity of a strongly integrated area.

3. The importance of the livestock sector to food security should be taken into account in the formulation of food security strategies.

An initiative to improve the circulation and marketing of livestock towards Nigeria, major market for Nigerien production, constitutes an interesting option to improve food security.

ESTABLISH A MONITORING SYSTEM OF CROSS-BORDER TRADE FLOWS

The cereal markets of West Africa are more and more integrated at the sub-regional level.

In this environment, market information systems that remain limited to one country only and which do not take into account the exchanges between surplus and deficit countries do not have any possibility of correctly evaluating the evolution of markets and food security.

It is therefore important to regular monitor cross-border trade, which for the most part remains informal, given that Niger's food security situation also depends on imports. An improved monitoring of trade allows for a more exhaustive analysis.

FEWS NET in collaboration with WFP envisages analysing cereals trade to help CILSS and all its partners to define an effective monitoring system.

The Niger-Nigeria border, so important for food security in the sub-region is concerned by this effort, as is the Nigeria-Cameroon and the Chad-Nigeria border.

The CILSS will propose a regional monitoring system in August 2006 after a series of missions in border areas of the region.

The mechanism could:

- Cover trade in animal and agricultural products;
- Be integrated in a sub-regional cross-border trade monitoring system;
- Benefit from a strong independence (given that most cross-border trade is informal, that

traders and custom officials prefer to avoid official contact at the border and that during crisis periods, tension between authorities wanting to limit the export of food stuff and traders is likely to increase).

NOTES

3. In 2005, in Niger, the various types of livestock supplied increased 22% over 2004, but sales increased by only 10%.

7. One could also talk of a higher opportunity cost between livestock and agriculture in Nigeria.

Impact of avian flu

With the appearance of the avian flu in Nigeria and also in Niger in the Zinder province⁴, trade in poultry and its by-products declined sharply.

In Niger, restrictions on the sale and transport of poultry products and the drop in demand and supply almost halted commercial activity during the first weeks of the outbreak.

Trade picked up gradually led by a regain in consumer confidence⁵ and a certain flexibility on the part of the Government in enforcing the existing restrictions and also tolerating the informal opening of markets (e.g. Maradi and Tounfafi) and the transport of poultry.

If there are no new cases of avian flu confirmed and if the governments continue their tolerant approach as regards the poultry trade, the mission expects that trade will be revived quickly and the impact on food security will be minimal.

However, if new cases are detected and/or in case of obstacles to proper market functioning, the impact will be felt by poultry owners and traders⁶.

Notes

4. No case of avian flu was recorded in the Maradi province during the mission (mid-May 2006).

5. Ban on transport between regions, departments and villages, as well as between Niger and Nigeria.

6. A third effect could be a fall in maize prices due to a drop in demand from poultry farms in Nigeria.



THE FOOD CRISIS PREVENTION NETWORK IN THE SAHEL

At the request of CILSS Ministers who met in Nouakchott (Mauritania) in January 1984, the Sahel and West Africa Club and the CILSS brought together experts from cooperation agencies to examine ways in which to possibly respond to future crises. Thus the Food Crisis Prevention Network in the Sahel was conceived as an informal forum for discussion, open strategic thinking, a place to have an exchange of views, confrontation and analysis of information, a space for consultation on actions to be undertaken in case of crisis.

The FCPN is holding its 22nd meeting on 12 and 13 December in Rome at FAO Headquarters.

This meeting will be an opportunity to assess the food situation in the Sahel and West Africa in order to undertake the necessary measures related to the prevention management of food crises.

The Network includes experts and representatives from bi- and multilateral aid agencies, international organisations (WFP, FAO, OMM, etc.), the CILSS, some specialised NGOs and farmers' organisations. It is co-managed by the Sahel and West Africa Club/OECD and the CILSS.

The work carried out by the Network directly relates to a larger food crisis prevention and management mechanism within which Sahelian countries play a more important role than they have in the past.

The annual meeting organised at the end of the agriculture campaign focuses on the Network's activities.

In fact, specialists and decision-makers meet alternately in a Sahelian country or a donor country in order to assess the food situation of the campaign underway and to have an exchange of views and debate on topics of prospective strategic thinking (information systems approach, evaluation of the Food Aid Charter's application, etc.).

Among the new approaches, the following aspects being integrated into the monitoring of the food situation are:

- nutritional aspects;
- the setting up of a harmonised vulnerability analysis framework; as well as
- the monitoring of cross-border markets.

Contact

leonidas.hitimana@oecd.org





BUILDING ON COMPLEMENTARITIES

From 7 to 10 November 2006, ROPPA (Réseau ouest africain des organisations de paysans et de producteurs agricoles - West African Network of Farmers' organisations and agricultural producers) held a regional forum in Niamey on food sovereignty.

This subject is at the centre of the Sahel and West Africa Club's (SWAC/OECD) concerns: activities in of West African regional institutions consisting of identifying dynamics of transformation underway in the region. The Club was represented by its Director, Mr. Normand Lauzon, and the Head of the SWAC's Rural Transformation and Sustainable Development Unit, Mr. Jean Zoundi. Within the context of the Forum, they accepted to discuss cooperation, security as well as food security for the Border Diaries.

How do you explain the presence of the Sahel and West Africa Club at this Forum held by ROPPA?

Normand Lauzon: Since its creation in 1976, the SWAC has been concerned with the food security issue in Sahelian countries. Since 2001, we cover all of West Africa, the 15 ECOWAS States plus Cameroon, Chad and Mauritania.

Food security is one of our mandate's main objectives, notably within the two areas of concentration in our Organisation: cross-border cooperation and agriculture, for which Jean Zoundi is responsible.

Jean Sibiri Zoundi: The SWAC has been working on the food security issue since the 1980s along with other partners, especially the CILSS, and other new partners like ROPPA. Attending this regional forum on food sovereignty is certainly within the realm of our activities.

What is food sovereignty?

J.S.Z.: The concept was launched in 1996 by the International Peasant Movement "Via Campesina" at the World Food Summit held under the auspices of the FAO.

It is the right and responsibility of countries or group of countries to define their own agricultural and food policy without dumping on a third country. But as far as we are concerned, I think that this notion of food sovereignty must be understood more at a regional level or West African level than within the context of a country.

Do you think that this sovereignty is already in the process of taking form?

N.L.: Already food sovereignty must be the objective that is to say, a better relationship

between production and consumption. By food sovereignty, this does not however mean "countries cannot import".

In the case of Cape Verde, for example, it is clear that this country is going to continue to depend on exports and that there are some areas that are going to depend on cross-border trade.

I was an agricultural economist in Niger in 1971 and it was clear that in 35 years the range of foods would evolve greatly. First and foremost, there are more food varieties, it is no longer just millet and sorghum.

The populations are much more interdependent, that is to say that each producing for their consumption, while urbanisation and soon 50% of the population will be living in urban areas.

There is a considerable awareness to meet this challenge of food security by improving production and access.

We know, for example, that in 2005 the price of cattle dropped and the price of cereals increased significantly, making the terms of trade between livestock products and cereal products difficult for livestock breeders to purchase cereals.

I would like to say that in 1971 few people thought that the population would triple in 35 years and that agricultural production would more or less keep the pace with this population growth.

But when the population of the region is set to increase by 130 million more inhabitants over the next 20 years, producers will be facing a challenge at the local, national

and regional levels as well as that at the consumer level in order for there to be food security, and if possible, sovereignty at the regional level, without nevertheless wanting to say that there will be no imports.

In the past, food self-sufficiency and today food sovereignty, does the notion of access depend on a regional perspective?

J.S.Z.: I would not make the analogy between self-sufficiency and food sovereignty because no country in the region today is self-sufficient.

If you take a certain number of policies, agro-sylvo-pastoral or the agricultural guidelines, as is the case in Mali and Senegal, the objective is to strengthen production at the local and national levels.

Very few refer to the regional level and this leads to further strategic thinking because there must be accessibility in the region.

There are many cross-border dynamics between the various countries and today the



Jean S. Zoundi

issue of sovereignty concerns not only one country.

In the years to come are we going to be more concerned by food insecurity in urban areas or rural areas?

If the rural environment is not enticing and shantytowns increase around urban areas, inevitably how to manage poverty as well as food security in urban areas must be examined.

If there is a continuation of forced urbanisation which is not led by development, we will have to manage food crises not only in rural areas but also in urban areas.

N.L.: Even though food crises are recurrent, I believe that considerable progress has been made over the last 30 years in handling the increasing population.

The question today is how to deal with the demand for food, year after year, but also how to anticipate who the producers are going to be over the next 20 years.

How to respond to the needs of a soon-to-be population of 430 million living in the 18 countries with which we work? How to respond to the needs of a population which has increased ten-fold?

There are other questions as regards rural transformation. Is the rural environment going to absorb a large part of this increasing population?

How will this be construed in terms of agricultural productivity?

What regional planning is needed?

As regards land regimes: How will the status of women evolve with regard to their rights to land, to income, etc.?

What is the future for the youth?

Will they want to work in the rural sector?

What can be done to attract, motivate and stimulate the youth by convincing them that there will be a better future?

These questions are important challenges. In this regard, the ROPPA Forum is a remarkable initiative in the regional integration process and thus with regard to sovereignty.

Does the issue of rural-urban relations take on another proportion?

N.L.: This question effectively becomes more important than it was 30 years ago. Urban areas demand food crop products and this demand constitutes a driver for development of the rural environment but on the condition of accessibility.

Therefore both sides of this issue must be addressed: production which involves management of natural resources, water,

fisheries, livestock breeding, agriculture; and accessibility which involves markets, prices, income.

Under what conditions can productivity be improved must be examined as well as production, accessibility to production, how to ensure that local production costs less than imported products.

For some time now analyses in countries of the West African region are carried out at the regional level rather than examining countries individually. How can you explain this trend?

N.L.: In order for there to be progress, to reduce poverty, stimulate economic growth, encourage trade and better position the region internationally – because there is also the issue of global competitiveness – local, national and regional development must be coordinated.

It is not to say that more attention is given to the regional or cross-border levels compared to the national or local levels.

This must be examined from an angle of complementarity by defining what the role, the responsibilities, what should be done at each level.

Cross-border dynamics are not new. Before independence, there were no borders and we were not able to speak of cross-border movements but there were population movements.

Today communities trade across the borders. The former President of Mali, Alpha Omar Konaré, Chairperson of the Commission of the African Union, was right in 2000 in launching the “cross-border areas” concept. This concept has been taken up by several organisations such as the WAEMU, ECOWAS as well as us, the Sahel and West Africa Club.

I was in Addis Abeba at the beginning of October and had the opportunity to meet with Mr. Konaré.

He reiterated that he would like to see the West African experience as regards cross-border cooperation to be expanded throughout the continent. Cross-border coopera-



Normand Lauzon

tion does not come from ideas conceived in offices, “ready-to-wear or already-thought-up”.

In reality, it is a matter of asking populations, locally-elected officials, and local actors “what do you need in order to be more effective in your region based on verifiable observations?”

This is an idea of regional institutions having a better understanding of the populations’ needs.

Before populations and locally-elected officials, should not political decision-makers take on this vision, as was done with success in Mali with President Konaré?

N.L.: All Heads of State have accepted the cross-border cooperation concept. In 2005 as in 2006, the ECOWAS Heads of State meeting selected cross-border cooperation as an important focus, a pillar of regional integration.

In 2006, the Conference of Ministers, followed by the ECOWAS Heads of State, asked that the currently existing initiatives between, for example, Mali, Côte d’Ivoire and le Burkina Faso; in Sénégal, etc. be expanded throughout the region.

The level of cooperation between various countries is not the same, but I believe that progress has been made.

J.S.Z.: I think that in addition to national policies, cross-border cooperation is not new.

Communities have been living this reality even before it was taken up at the political level and legalized in texts to go along with the dynamic.

However, between Ghana, Burkina Faso and Mali, there was the “cola, salt and fish” route.

The fact that politicians are interested is good, there is no better way to convey regional integration than via the cross-border dynamics underway and, little by little this “mayonnaise” of regional integration will take form.

What does the Club think of the management of this cross-border cooperation dynamic at the level of cooperation between institutions?

N.L.: Currently, we work within the framework of a joint initiative with ECOWAS. We have the same type of close cooperation with the WAEMU, the CILSS and other organisations.

Our role is to encourage working in complementarity on joint initiatives.

J.S.Z.: As concerns food security, I think that the current dynamic demonstrates a renewal of interest and consideration for the cross-border dimension.

This links up with the implementation of some agricultural policies which were conceived and based on regional complementarities.

It remains difficult to apply the laws on the ground regarding free circulation. Does this affect the cross-border integration dynamic?

N.L.: Free circulation is not only a problem in Africa but in the entire world. For the moment, goods and capital circulate most readily.

As for people, it is a little more difficult. At the WAEMU level, there are intergovernmental agreements for the free circulation of persons.

At the ECOWAS level, there is a Protocol on Good Governance which advocates the free circulation of goods and people as well as the ECOWAS passport.

Now, this idea of free circulation must be made concrete.

A lot of progress has been made notably in West Africa. I believe that political decision-

makers and heads of regional organisations must be conscious of the limitations, but I am convinced that we can only go forward.

Speaking of progress, there was the idea of juxtaposed¹ border posts, some talk and then nothing. What do you think?

J.S.Z.: Nothing is perfect. All of this will be worked out little by little by the strengthening of regional integration.

I can only say that yes, there are difficulties, and it must be recognised that in addition to this regional economic organisations as well the countries have their own concerns, their national policy contingencies.

Thus, work must be done and that takes time. I am convinced that with the ECOWAS Commission, which is the process of being established, things will certainly go much quicker.

N.L.: I will say that as regards development like regional integration, and I am going to seem contradictory, we must be at the same time impatient, because we have to move fast, we cannot wait forever, and we have to be patient, because long-term perpetual changes take time.

For a person 3 or 5 years is a long time, but for a country, 3 or 5 years is not that long.

As regards development, you must have the impatience of a gardener and the patience of a forester.●

**Interview carried out
by Michel Bolouvi**

1. Initiatives UEMOA et CEDEAO.

«THE PROBLEM AND SOLUTION IS NIGERIA.»

Michele Falavigna, UNDP Resident Representative in Niger, Coordinator of the United Nations System and Humanitarian Coordinator since 3 August 2005.

Michele Falavigna's responsibilities go beyond the strict mandate of the UNDP, particularly as regards national capacity building to achieve the Millennium Development Goals. He promotes synergy between the operations of the various agencies including those with a mandate directly related to the food security issue: FAO and WFP, which have an important programme in Niger.



What would you say is the relationship between the UNDP and food security?

Food security is a problem that has been facing Niger and the Sahel region since the 1970s, and which, since then, remains one of the priorities to resolve in order to ensure sustainable development in the region. Obviously, a solution has not yet been found, and I even think that we have gone astray.

To be more specific, I would say that we depended too much on agricultural production, whereas we needed to emphasise mechanisms for access and use of the available food products.

On the one hand, we developed cash crops enormously to the detriment of food crops, which goes against the concept of food sovereignty and therefore food security, in general.

There was also the tendency to focus on food security in the strip of countries from Mauritania to Senegal, Chad, Burkina Faso, Niger to Sudan and the Horn of Africa. In the case of West Africa, we did not take into account the existence of other realities

which have an impact on food security, in particular, the population explosion since the 1970s in the States of North Nigeria.

We did not pay enough attention to the substitution of food crops with cash crops in the coastal countries, notably Ghana, Togo and Benin.

All these factors now increase cereal prices, while availability, and therefore accessibility are decreasing.

The view of the UNDP and the United Nations is that if we want to get out of poverty and achieve the Millennium Development Goals, we have to learn from the relevant lessons.

The problems require a collective response, a more extensive study than before, and intervention by the institutions which have a regional mandate.

In short, new policies which protect food security instead of giving way to an anarchic process.

Why are food security issues now considered from the perspective of borders?

We experienced a very serious food and nutritional crisis in Niger in 2005 which was due to a deficit of about 10% in comparison to 2004.

However, the impact on the populations particularly affected by the crisis was above the 10% production deficit. We were therefore faced with a situation never experienced before.

Following a detailed evaluation, the post-action studies by the WFP, "Save the Children", and the most recent study by the Sahel West and Africa Club in the Kano and Katsina area in North Nigeria, and Maradi in South Niger, show us that it is not the 10% deficit that caused the food crisis in 2005. Rather, it is the cross-border transaction mechanisms which had a very significant impact.

There was a huge shortage in cereal production in North Nigeria, and with a favourable CFA franc exchange rate against the Naira. The sale of the available cereals in the Niger production zones, particularly Maradi and

Zinder regions, to North Nigeria pushed up prices sharply in November. Furthermore, the harvest did not record a deficit only in Niger but also in Nigeria, Benin and Togo, and of course, speculation came into play.

On the other hand, the 2005 crisis was not only a food crisis; it was also a nutritional crisis. Niger was very much in the news as the country, in quotes, of famine, and many malnourished children were shown on television screens around the world, but

many of these children were from Nigeria. The assistance network, MSF France ("Médecins sans frontière") and MSF Switzerland, which we set up in Niger, assisted children from Niger, but especially those from Nigeria. The Hausa communities in the border area face the same problems.

How do the different United Nations mechanisms coordinate their actions in this strip of the Sahel?

Under the United Nations, we have internal coordination of the humanitarian coordination mechanism.

On 3 August 2005, I was appointed Humanitarian Coordinator by a panel of United Nations agencies and NGOs, providing me with a mandate covering the entire humanitarian response.

We also carry out development operations with the government, following a joint 2004-2007 schedule, which underwent a mid-term review on 28 and 29 November.

As regards the Sahel strip, this inter-agency coordination mechanism is already present everywhere, but what should be stressed in particular, as regards food security, is that following the great crisis of the 1970s, international organizations such as the CILSS and the Sahel and West Africa Club were created with the specific mandate to coordinate, supervise, and provide technical assistance and guidance.

Every year, we conduct joint exercises with the CILSS and other organisations, such as Fews Net and the government of the country concerned, to evaluate the agricultural situation. There were three types of exerci-



ses in particular: a pre-harvest evaluation, when we can measure the seedling density, to have a perspective on the production for the year; an early evaluation, at the time of harvest, which provides an idea of the initial estimates of available supplies; and a final evaluation, at the end of the harvest.

To illustrate this with the case of Niger, we would say that while we had estimated the effective harvest for 2004 at 3.2 million tonnes of cereals and for 2005 at 2.7 tonnes, this year, the harvest exceeded 4 million tonnes for the first time.

It is therefore a good year in terms of provisions for Niger.

We conduct these exercises because we need some objectivity to reach consensus, which can guide response efforts, monitoring and better coordination of our actions.

Obviously, the Sahel zone is a strip extremely vulnerable to all types of things. We face the recurrent threat of locust outbreaks, drought, floods and therefore, omnipresent vulnerability.

Hence we are strongly advocating for strengthening the early warning mechanisms and inter-State surveillance in which the SWAC and the CILSS can play an important role.

Fews Net and WFP are reflecting on the establishment of a mechanism for monitoring cross-border markets: how can the local level contribute to better management of food crises?

At the country level, we have the Market Information System (MIS) which is the basic source of information because it regularly collects prices from the various markets, and zone by zone in all the Sahel countries.

Fews Net and WFP encourage this mechanism to exchange information between countries, in such manner as to obtain a more global view of the price trends on the cereals market.

One of the difficulties was identified at the level of information on North

Nigeria, which is a zone with a very high population density which sometimes could reach 200 persons per Km², and determines and influences the market trend in the region.

The demographic factor is very important. It is in this light that the initiative taken by the SWAC concerning a cross-border mission and the establishment of a cross-border observatory mechanism in South Niger and North Nigeria, can provide a key element for understanding market trends in the Sahel strip, in particular Niger. Prices today in Niger are fairly low and are due to high production and also the favourable CFA franc exchange rate against the Naira.

This is one of the recommendations set out in the study carried out by the SWAC, and which we support enthusiastically because we believe that, without cross-border observation which covers in particular this highly populated zone in North Nigeria, we cannot control or understand the mechanisms that affect market trends.

Do you think it is possible that one day prices will be stabilised in Sahel countries and food security will be under control?

Price stabilisation is a very difficult operation, unless an equalisation mechanism similar to that of the European Union is established.

For European farmers, the European Union spends 300 billion Euros of subsidies per year to stabilise prices.

With this amount, a more than satisfactory agricultural market can be developed for all the populations in the Sahel strip.

Concerning the response mechanisms of cereal and cattle markets: what are the internal and external factors of the region that influence these mechanisms?

First of all, we need to take into account some key factors, ranging from rainfall to exploitation and quality of the product and therefore availability of land, demography, rate of return on the product, marketing, the processing industry and the porous nature of the borders, particularly between Nigeria and Niger.

Conditions are almost the same on both sides of the border; the populations are also the same - the language, culture, and area are the same.

Questions should be asked concerning the tax provisions, the availability of infrastructure, access to credit, etc. A series of factors influence market trends.

Many raw materials are produced in Niger – cereals and cattle from Niger are appreciated throughout the region but, concerning cattle for example, they are sold live which results in Niger producers obtaining the minimum price since processing takes place elsewhere.

The problem and solution is Nigeria. This country should be the market that would promote the development of Niger.

With a fairly small population, Niger is a large area and neighbouring a population as great as that of Nigeria with very high demand, it constitutes a huge market.

In reality, production in Niger depends on the economic interests of North Nigeria, which do not encourage development of Niger.

The tendency is to buy in large quantities at lower costs, rather than develop export possibilities of finished products.

This is the hard reality of the current market between the two borders.

The two countries are neighbours and their populations are nearly the same, with about 50 million Hausas within the Maradi-Kano-Katsina triangle.●

Interview by Michel Bolouvi

REGIONAL SUPPORT PROGRAMME FOR MARKET ACCESS

MOUSSA CISSÉ, CILSS

Why are food security issues now addressed from the perspective of borders?

The border perspective has always been considered as an “important component” of national and regional food security. Indeed, agricultural products have always circulated more or less freely between the countries (due to porous borders).

These activities have been generally “tolerated”, especially as they are based on age-old socio-cultural relations: this is the case between Niger and Nigeria, between Burkina Faso and Mali, between Mali, Burkina Faso and Côte d’Ivoire (the Wholesale Market of Bouaké is mainly managed by Malians and Burkinabés), and between Senegal and Mauritania.

However, the crisis in 2005 in Niger and in some other countries, such as Burkina Faso and Mali, has triggered reactions to the unilateral closure of borders: public opinion has understood the importance of the “interlinking system” within agro-ecological regions that do not always follow the borders.

For example, national information mechanisms on markets have tried in some countries to monitor cross-border flows. However, they were impeded due to lack of a methodological approach, adequate resources and respondents on the other side of the border.

How do the United Nations’ mechanisms coordinate their actions in this Sahel strip?

I am not familiar with the formal mechanisms, apart from OCHA, which is responsible for coordinating humanitarian actions.

The CILSS, FEWS NET, and WFP are carrying out strategic thinking on the establishment of a mechanism for monitoring cross-border flows and markets: how can the local level contribute to better management of food crises?

The local level can contribute to better management of food crises, particularly through the following actions:

- change in behaviour or farming techniques: producers should adapt their techniques and also integrate into the market (also produce for the market);
- good local storage practices (Village Cereal Banks);
- networking/dynamic producer/operator organisations;
- participation in the functioning of information mechanisms for monitoring food security by providing reliable information.

Question on the cereal and cattle market response mechanisms: what are the internal and external factors of the region that influence the mechanisms?

As regards the internal factors, I will mention:

- variations in local production;
- the dynamism of traditional market actors;
- the importance of markets in their zone of operation: number of polarized villages, frequency of attendance of markets by operators;
- the levels of local and regional supply and demand;
- market accessibility during all seasons;
- the level of equipment of markets.

As regards the external factors

- the unusual attendance by external actors to the market and region;
- the abundance of “foreign” products;
- “optimistic” or “alarmist” information disseminated by various media, which increasingly influences the decisions of various actors;
- the operators’ speculative practices;
- the operators’ expectations.

Does your institution provide funds for food security dynamics only at the national and multilateral levels?

The CILSS provides funds at two levels: At the local level, funds are provided for desertification control support projects implemented under various programmes. The CILSS also undertakes catalytic support actions.

At the regional level, funds are provided mainly for support missions to countries to assess harvests and strengthen mechanisms for monitoring food security.

Consultation meetings are organised regularly between country experts as well as the facilitation of meetings between West African economic operators for the fluidity of trade in agricultural products and agro food.

What do you think are the structural responses to food crises in the zone?

The structural responses in the region concern, in particular:

- the adoption of agricultural policies based mainly on water management, the development of minor irrigation, the diversification of crops, the introduction of short-cycle crops in some areas;
- the creation or strengthening of communication between the countries so as to open up production zones;
- the use of innovative products: new varieties of seeds, pesticides and other inputs;
- re-establishment of production capacities through micro-finance and good environment-friendly farming techniques;
- the processing of and capitalisation on local products. Certainly, there have been more or less successful attempts, but they remain isolated;
- the growing of crops for both home consumption and the market;
- an increase in the number of meetings and exchange of experiences between producers and operators;
- the networking of producers and operators.●



LAOUALI IBRAHIM,
RÉGIONAL COORDINATOR
FEWS NET

**«CROSS-BORDER ISSUES
ARE IMPORTANT
TODAY»**

Why are food security issues now considered from the perspective of borders?

Following the first food crises in the Sahel, the countries responded by directly seeking to restore their food self-sufficiency that had deteriorated within their borders.

Consequently, they launched vast and costly agricultural development programmes, particularly cereals, to increase their food supplies. Sometimes, they stopped supporting cash crops, such as cotton. They hoped to resort to imports of traditional cereals only in situations of serious food crisis.

Concerning rice, policies have ranged from strong protection of local products to totally open borders, including the quota system and carefully considered customs tariffs. Under normal circumstances, the principle of self-sufficiency justified the protection of the local market.

The prohibition of cereal exports, the setting of import quotas and/or application of protective customs systems, and subsidies to national sectors (rice) made up the protection mechanism.

Consequently, in each country, the markets and sectors were virtually independent. The markets were organized within the country based on national products protected from external competition.

Recourse to external flows occurred only in times of crisis, and was controlled by the authorities most of the time in the form of food aid.

In the long run, the domestic market opened up to imports (reduction of customs duties or broadening of the quota system) to replenish the local market.

Despite that, food self-sufficiency was never achieved and the economic situation of countries deteriorated further as regards the trade balance.

As from the end of the 1980s, Sahel countries adopted a food security policy with three components: availability, accessibility and stability.

Under this policy, available supplies can be provided by domestic production and imports. Accessibility and stability can also be achieved by improving domestic productivity and foreign trade.

Consequently, within the framework of this food security policy and for other economic reasons, governments resolutely embarked on a policy of liberalisation, with the determination to organise markets at the regional level by creating regional economic groups such as the WAEMU and ECOWAS.

The possibilities of supply and selling regional products therefore increased for consumers and producers in the region.

The market today is of interest to consumers and producers, in view of the prices and guarantee of supply and selling of products.

Consequently, trade liberalisation today provides economic operators with a key role in the food security issue.

It has even been suggested that it can more certainly solve food deficit problems, and therefore guarantee supplies at least, so long as there is solid demand.

Liberalisation of regional market forces can improve food and nutritional balances by developing countries' comparative advantages.

This is all the more plausible because West Africa has coastal countries which offer several food products (cereals and tubers, in particular), and Sahel countries which are more competitive in livestock, market gardening and vegetables.

Nevertheless, while the sound operation of the market (total transparency, absence of monopolies) develops supply and demand, and should move towards balance in trade through price adjustments, the objective of traders remains profits.

Sound operation is an ideal situation, but each trader logically tries to take advantage of any situation or information. The admin-

nistration, which acts as the referee and guarantees respect for each person's interests (producers, traders and consumers) can and should reinstate the conditions of a free and balanced market.

Understanding how the trade network operates is therefore a prerequisite for the development of a balanced market. Administrations should thus seek fair conditions for market access (transparency of markets, conditions of access to market).

However, despite everything, trade flows will depend on price opportunities, which are determined by demand. In some cases, such trade flows can also cause food insecurity, as was the case in Niger in 2005, following the appreciation of the Nigerian Naira and an increase in demand in this country.

It is therefore necessary to, first of all, know how the trade network operates and what its impact is.

Furthermore, it will be important to define the conditions and, if necessary, limits of the operation of the trade network. Consequently, cross-border issues are important today.

How do the different mechanisms of the United Nations coordinate their actions in this strip of the Sahel?

Before now, the UNDP has been coordinating all United Nations interventions in the countries. Under its supervision and that of the FAO (for food security), national technical background and policy documents are prepared and validated by the States and partners.

These documents are used as operating guidelines for all. Currently, the World Bank defines the background and policy documents taking into account the overall macro-economic framework of the country.

What is generally deplorable in this process is that the regional dimension is somehow overshadowed, and the countries are considered individually.

However, most of the institutions work together on:

- The basis of common and shared information;
- Joint evaluation, particularly in food situations;
- The joint opinions of decision-makers.

CILSS, FEWS NET and WFP are carrying out strategic thinking on the establishment of a mechanism for monitoring cross-border flows and markets: how can the local level contribute to better management of food crises?

The local level can contribute to better management of food crises by ensuring better transparency of the local market.

It can provide and disseminate all necessary information (if it is more current at this level than any other) to help operators in their choices, and enable them to be better organised to respond to the market's supply and demand.



It can also contribute to eliminating local barriers that often do not conform to regional trade rules, facilitation of flows, development of trade infrastructure to manage local comparative advantages, reliable information on needs, production and stocks levels, and training of local actors (producers, traders, transporters, etc.) to better ensure the movement of foodstuffs.

Specifically, it can contribute through:

- Support for knowledge of local potentials and strategies of local actors by facilitating understanding of supply and demand networks, organisation of markets at the local level and any change that takes place;
- Publication of new texts from the national, regional or local level (laws, decrees, acts, etc.) which can modify ongoing regulations.
- Adjustment of the legal framework for the market, and harmonisation of trade rules between border countries (taxes, customs duties, and import/export regulations). It can contribute to the definition of quality

and health standards, and establish an operational classification within the zone considered.

- Dissemination of information on markets (prices, movements) and publication of calls for tender to bid concerning the constitution of food security stocks at the level of authorities in charge of food security.

- Transparency provides commercial actors, from the producer to the consumer, with the same level of information (from the national to the local level) by opening up information used locally by speculators and unscrupulous traders.

- Specific identification of border passages which should record data and contribute to describing and regularly recording the various entries and exits between the countries.

Question on the cereal and cattle market response mechanisms: What are the internal and external factors of the region that influence these mechanisms?

The factors mainly concern the poor distribution of food resources, inadequate capital to purchase surpluses and properly distribute them to deficit areas, poor circulation of information, valence of supply locally such that a small increase in demand will generally lead to higher prices, the state of roads, etc.

On the whole, the most significant factors are either internal or external, as mentioned by Mr. Cissé in his interview:

Internal Factors

- variations in local supplies;
- prices;
- the state of communication infrastructure;
- the levels of local and regional supply and demand;
- the cost of transport and fuel;
- taxes and road checks;
- the state of reception and/or commercial facilities: hotels, restaurants, banks, and storage facilities;
- security.

External Factors

- the agricultural policies of developed countries (dumping);

FOOD SECURITY

- the exchange rate of the dollar and CFA franc or any other monetary parity;
- opportunities of industrial or international demand for products for processing or for other sectors (beer or animal feed for cereals, and demand for biologically sound products for meat, etc.);
- improper interventions by public authorities and partners (food aid, price fixing, sale at moderate prices, large local purchases, etc).

Does your institution provide funds for food security dynamics only at the national or multilateral level?

FEWS NET is the USAID early warning system. It contributes mainly through its analyses, methodological support, training, etc. and through partnership with national, regional and international institutions for monitoring food security in the region.

Apart from these areas and its own operation, FEWS NET does not directly provide funds in the field at the local and multilateral levels.

However, thanks to the relevance of its several donor analyses, USAID can provide funds at the national and multilateral levels for the implementation of recommendations relating to food security.

What do you think are the structural responses to food crises in the zone?

Several attempts have been made with the support of partners in the region to respond structurally to food crises.

However, they are not often adequately structured and coordinated. Their impact and effectiveness have never been assessed.

Several actions are possible in the zone to provide a structural response to food crises.

They can be classified in several groups:
At the institutional level

- Improvement of the coordination of food security actions at the national and regional levels by strengthening the structures for coordinating and monitoring-evaluating actions;
- Implementation of the conclusions of retrospective and prospective assessments of the food situation in the countries and at the regional level by the CILSS (Sahel 21) through agro-pastoral zoning, the increase

in credits for the development of comparative advantages of each agro-ecological and food zone and the application of policies defined in national and regional outline documents, in particular:

- national and regional agricultural and food security documents by the CILSS, the WAEMU, ECOWAS and governments;
- complete or special food security programmes;
- the European Union's multi-annual food security programme.

- Accelerate decentralization and promotion of private initiative in the agro-pastoral sector through credits and promotion of a new race of producers geared more towards agro-business.

At the demand level

- Needs control programme through that of demographic growth;
- Orientation of consumption towards other less cereal-based products with nutritional additives or for which the region has a strong comparative advantage: formulation and dissemination of IEC programmes on food consumption at the regional level.

At the supply level

- Support agricultural development through the integration of markets with the liberali-

sation of productive investments and trade, and the development of cross-border potentials;

- Promotion of trade, with promotion of export projects like those initiated by the World Bank in the zone;
- Organisation of production, marketing and financial actors to set up private enterprises for the production and marketing of products: strengthening, at the local level, of initiatives such as MISTOWA of ECOWAS, CILSS, IFDC and financially supported by USAID/WA;
- Promotion of private minor irrigation;
- Strengthening and improving productivity of family farms with technical and management training, and strengthening the role of youth and women on farms.

At the infrastructure level

- Strengthening ECOWAS' road network and rural roads;
- Strengthening the storage function at all levels as a tool for managing supply and demand, and support agricultural development through development of comparative advantages.●

Reading like seeing...

CROSS BORDER DIARIES

Available on the site: www.westafricclub.org

The bulletin report
that opens borders to you

Receive the last **Cross-Border Diaries** issue at home, just return this order to us:

To subscribe or order **Cross-Border Diaries**, contact or return this order to:

Marie Trémolières, Sahel and West Africa Club (SWAC) - OECD
Le Seine St Germain, 4 Bd des Îles, Bât A 92130 Issy-les-Moulineaux / France
Tél. + 33 (0) 1 45 24 89 68 Fax : + 33 (0) 1 45 24 90 31
E-mail : marie.tremolieres@oecd.org .

Surname : First name :

Profession :

Institution :

Adress :

N° : PO Box : Zip code :

Locality : Country :

Phone : Fax :

E-mail :