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Thematic Section

***FOOD SECURITY IN WEST AFRICA: PROMOTING SUB-
REGIONAL PARTNERSHIP TO BOOST AGRICULTURAL
PRODUCTION***

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Acronyms and abbreviations

CAADP = Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme November 2002
CEPA = Center for Policy Analysis
CILSS = Permanent Interstate Committee for Drought Control in the Sahel (CILSS)
ECA/SRO-WA= Economic Commission for Africa/Sub-regional Office for West Africa
ECOWAS = Economic Community of West African States
ECOWAP = Agricultural Policy of the Economic Community of West African States
FAOSTAT = Food and Agricultural Organization Statistics
GDP = Gross Domestic Product
IRAM = Institute for Research and the Application of Development Methods
LDC= Least Developed Countries
Kg/pers. = Kilogramme per capita
OECD = Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
SAO = Sahel and West Africa
SWAC = Sahel and West Africa Club
WCRS = Wealth Creation and Retention Strategy

Executive Summary

This report analyses food security in West Africa and is the thematic section of the 2009 Economic Report on West Africa prepared by the ECA Subregional Office for West Africa. It is coming at the right time given the food crisis experienced in 2008, caused by the steep rise in food prices aggravated by the added effects of climate change, the global increase in consumption, changes in modes of consumption and decline in global stocks, and exacerbated by the soaring oil prices and the global financial crisis.

Confronted to the crisis and its economic and social effects in West Africa and the continent as a whole, Governments reacted with several measures aiming mostly at fiscal cuts (deducting custom taxes and declining the value added taxes) and use of their preserves (for those having some) to mitigate the impact of soaring oil prices on households. But these measures are proving to be unsustainable in the long-term. Analysts believe that the lasting solution calls for sub-regional resources to be harnessed to intensify domestic production and reduce the harmful effects of overdependence on imports and the attendant hazards. The study paints a picture of the general situation with regard to productions, imports and potential. More importantly, however, it focuses on the deep causes of the inadequacies that continue to condemn the sub-region to food insecurity and the ways and means to intensify production and rectify the situation.

It's thus noted that growth rates for the major food sectors remain low for the most of them and are generally below levels that can be expected to meet an ever growing demand. This is a logical result of choices of agricultural policies since the early years of independence and which often, and especially in the case of structural adjustment, resulted from an inadequate assessment of government policy. However, following the voluntarist policies of the past few years, cereal production in ECOWAS is in a phase of steady progress. Nevertheless in spite of these promising results in the sub-region, and of the importance attached to food security in the ECOWAS agricultural policy (ECOWAP), West Africa remains a net importer of cereals (cf. Table n°3).

A study of determining factors for food insecurity highlighted that the causes are as many as they are varied. The causes relating to erratic variation of agricultural production have been found to be tied to be either natural reasons (adverse weather and soil degradation) ; socio-economic (removal of farm subsidies and machinery, sudden liberalisation of marketing channels and paralysis of extension services and credit) and policy reasons (conflicts in certain member countries, low investment and technological innovations). On the import-side, it's noted the weakness of management policies for trade imports, which could have guaranteed stability and accessibility.

The strategic orientations identified in the analysis will aim to ensure, in the short and medium term, that the supply of food staples is constant and stable; and that in the long term, a reasonable level of food self-sufficiency will be attained and maintained while ensuring good management of natural resources.

Among possible solutions to explore in the quest to boost production and achieve food security in West Africa, the study proposes the "agricultural co-entrepreneurship" (CF. § 4.3), WCRS, a strategy which has the potential to help improve availability of food staples, on the one hand while helping to increase competitiveness of the agri-food sectors on the other hand; its specific advantage is that it offers investment opportunities that can provide a way to overcome the constraints related to financing and the technology gap in countries of the

Western African sub-region. Five priority programmes have been chosen for applying and implementing this strategy.

I. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Context and Justification

1. The soaring prices of agricultural products which, in 2008, culminated in a global food crisis that had serious impacts in Africa in general and West Africa in particular, once again brought the problem of food security in the sub-region to the fore. The situation, worrisome in more ways than one, reopened the debate about food security among the authorities, States and civil society, the latter having massively protested about the high cost of living. Confronted to social unrests governments have tried divers measures, aiming mostly at fiscal cuts (deducting custom taxes and declining the value-added taxes) and use of their preserves(for those having some) to mitigate the impact of soaring oil prices on households.

2. Literature analysing this crisis point out the fact that while it may be tied to the economic downturn in certain regions of the world, in Africa and in the sub-region especially, the causes are rather structural. The United Nations Secretary-General, Mr. Ban Ki-moon, speaking to the International Herald Tribune in May 2008, declared that the crisis can be resolved because, according to him, "We can deal with this crisis. We have the resources. We know what to do. We should consider this not only as a problem, but as an opportunity." For the West African subregion, seizing the opportunity probably means calling its agricultural policies into question, making them more operational and allocating more resources to food crop farming so as to achieve definitive and sustainable food security for the people.

3. From all indications, if the food crisis has affected the West African sub-region – and this was not the first time – is it because it could not ensure its food security based on optimal self-sufficiency, because of too much dependency on imports (cereals, milk products, etc.); Is it because the numerous agricultural development programmes elaborated at continental, sub-regional or national levels are not effectively applied; Is it because the programmes did not adequately reflect the importance of food or because their implementation failed to yield the results expected? Whatever the case, the fact remains that Africa, in general, and West Africa, in particular, are reeling from the impact of a dysfunctional world food commodity market, exacerbated by a combination of other factors, including the prices of petroleum products, which remain high and fluctuating, and the financial crisis of the end of 2008 that entailed a global economic crisis.

4. Food security is then far from being ensured in West Africa and, for as long as the subregion is unable to provide enough to feed its populations, it will remain dependent on food imports and the attendant risks. Yet, West Africa has abundant natural resources of land, water and labour that it could harness to develop its food crop agriculture and achieve a satisfactory degree of food crop self-sufficiency, which is the first step towards lasting food security. What are the missing links in the policies that have been applied for decades, and how can we make regionalisation a factor for boosting West African agricultural potential? These are the two questions to which the analysis in this report attempts to find some answers.

1.2 Problematics of food security

5. The ECOWAS Agricultural Policy (ECOWAP) framework identifies West Africa as one of the regions that suffer most from food insecurity (ECOWAS, 2004). Some 48 million people, about 17% of the population, dwelled in food insecurity in 2008 and an even greater number of people could be affected in the event of an economic crisis. And we all know that climatic shocks, political crises, conflicts and displacement are the main factors that aggravate food insecurity in an economic crisis. In addition, in certain areas within the subregion, getting agricultural products to market comes up against other problems that increase prices. These include: inexistence or poor quality of road infrastructure, lack of appropriate storage facilities, lack of organisation of producers and those involved in marketing, difficult access to information on markets and credit, etc.

6. Year on year, to satisfy their food needs, countries rely mostly on domestic production and on imports from within the sub-region and, but also on overseas imports. In fact; imported food products account for some 19% of all imports into ECOWAS, and food aid represents about 6% of the subregion's total cereal imports, although the volume has been falling over the past ten years or so. Overall, the subregion is facing a difficult food situation and relies heavily on imports from outside the continent. Ultimately, if vigorous measures are not taken to intensify domestic production, given the growing trend towards a disconnect between availability and needs, the food deficit currently blamed, rightly or wrongly, will become even more acute and increasingly untenable, politically and economically.

7. The food crisis mentioned earlier has underscored more strongly that, now more than ever, sustainable food security depends primarily on solid domestic production which should only be complemented by imports. No doubt that it is based on this assertion that Mr. Jacques Diouf, FAO Director General, declared on 12 October 2009 before the Synod on Africa, Roma, Vatican, that "it's impossible to overcome hunger and poverty in Africa without improving agricultural productivity".

1.3 Study purpose and structure

8. The study seeks to explore solutions that can help West Africa to achieve its food self-sufficiency, a stage that can't be ignored when ensuring food security, by intensifying its food crop production and by seizing all opportunities offered by regionalisation. The ultimate aim is to find the ways and means of harnessing African investment opportunities for a better exploitation of the continent's natural resources and markets. Given that food security is a vast issue, this study will be focussed only on the "availability of foods" dimension (cf. §1.4.2 below), and food production improvement through "Agricultural co-entrepreneurship" (cf. § 4.3).

9. This study report is structured in five chapters, including the introduction which gives the context, the justification and the structure of the analysis. The second chapter describes the situation with regard to production and marketing of food products in West Africa. The chapter three analyses the determining factors for food security and underlines the causes of the insufficiencies noted. Chapter four advocates the promotion of subregional partnership to help improving food crop production, and proposes a way for attracting more investment in agriculture. The fifth and last chapter sets out the conclusion of the study.

1.4 Concepts and terminology

10. Since the wave of independences in the 1960s, African States, and especially those in the Western Africa subregion, have consistently sought ways and means to ensure food for their populations. Over the years, their quest has been built around three main concepts: food-sufficiency, food security and food sovereignty. Other concepts such as food insecurity, vulnerability, availability and food accessibility are usually used.

1.4.1 Food self-sufficiency

11. National food self-sufficiency was the mantra of the post-independence era, in the phase of national construction and under the momentum generated by the affirmation of regained self-determination. The new leaders of these fledgling states and African peoples faced the problem of how to build viable nation-states underpinned by strong national economies. With regard to food, this political vision would play out around the concept of national food self-sufficiency, considered to be an integral part of national sovereignty. In practice, however, government efforts would be directed more at agricultural production for export. This concept had a hint of auto-centrism and self-centredness. Very few questions were raised as to the legitimacy of government interventions and market management or control.

1.4.2 Food security

12. Adopted in the aftermath of the global food crisis of the 70s, the concept of food security was based on the following vision that: A country's food security can be guaranteed if global grain stocks are more abundant and if fluctuations in international cereal prices can be kept within reasonable limits. Accordingly, the strategy, recommended by the World Food Conference in 1974 and specified in the international commitment on world food security, laid particular emphasis on maintaining stability of supplies so as to guarantee material availability of staple foods in the event of generalised poor harvests and, especially, to maintain consumption levels in the most vulnerable countries. This Commitment called for international coordination of stocks that countries keep to support food aid and the global food trade.

13. With the macroeconomic and financial adjustments of the 1980s, which did not spare the agriculture and food sectors, the self-sufficiency advocated by the nation-states gave way for good to the concept of food security. Emphasis shifted to reforming and liberalising economies, including agricultural economies. The concept highlighted four dimensions: (i) availability of foods, (ii) accessibility to food of households and individuals, (iii) functioning and stability of markets, and (iv) utilisation of food (the nutritional and health dimension). The issue of knowing who produced the food to feed the population becomes secondary. This new concept, less political and more technical, fell within the context of external liberalisation (removal of protection at borders) and internal liberalisation (State withdrawal from production and from management of markets) of economies. Since the 1996 World Food Summit in Rome, Italy, the FAO recognises that food security exists « when all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life » (FAO, 1996).

1.4.3 Food sovereignty

14. Food sovereignty, a concept that was in vogue after being introduced into the debate by the peasant organisation «La Via Campesina» at the World Food Summit of 1996, refers to « People', Countries' or State Unions' right to define their agricultural and food policy, without any dumping vis-à-vis third countries». The notion of food sovereignty was thus an element that public leaders and professional organisations could use to reassert their leadership in the definition and orientation of policies in the domain, to fight back conditions of food aid donors and WTO rules. This notion has often been put forward by peasant movements and NGOs to contest the growing liberalisation of agricultural trade and dependence on food imports, as well as the constraints to food aid. They also find a certain convergence between food sovereignty and the right to food.

15. On this subject, Jean Ziegler, the Special Rapporteur on the right to food of the Commission on Human Rights, seems to support them when he declares that: « the right to food is the right to have regular, permanent and free access to food, either directly or by way of monetary purchases, to safe, nutritious food in sufficient quantity and quality, corresponding to the cultural traditions of the people who consume the food, and which allows them to lead a satisfactory psychical and physical individual and collective life, without worry and with dignity ». It appears that these conditions can only be fulfilled in a context of effective food sovereignty.

1.4.4 Other concepts used

16. Other concepts usually in use are the following: **(i) Food insecurity**, describes the situation of people who are below the threshold required to feed themselves from what they produce and/ or from their annual income and who are obliged to use up their savings, and sometimes sell their means of production or resort to others for solidarity; **(ii) Food vulnerability**, refers to the set of factors that place people at risk of experiencing food insecurity, including those that affect their capacity to face difficulties that they encounter; **(iii) Food availability**, is the total quantity of food produced in a given year added to the volume of stocks available at the start of the trading year and the quantities acquired through incomes or imports and; **(iv) Accessibility of the population** to food resources that refers to a combination between food production, trade and social mechanisms.

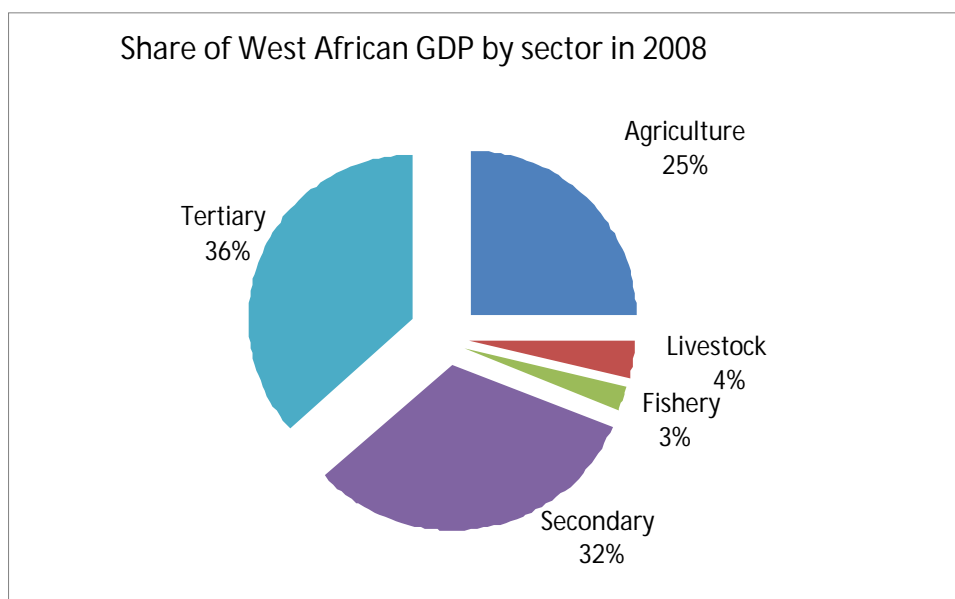
II. PRODUCTION AND MARKETING OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS IN WEST AFRICA

2.1 Place of agricultural sector in West Africa economy

17. The agricultural sector is an essential component of the economies of West African countries in terms of GDP formation, economic growth, earnings, and also in terms of jobs created. Agriculture contributes up to 25% to DGP formation and provides 52 % of income

from non-oil exports. It is also the biggest source of income and subsistence for nearly 70 % of the working population.

Graph 1 : Shares of different economic sectors in sub-regional GDP in 2008



Source : ECOWAS, WAEMU and country data

18. For the majority of countries in the sub-region, the agricultural sector contributes toward debt servicing and provides funding for import of consumer goods, capital expenditure or intermediate goods for industry. The first challenge in the agricultural sector is how to continue to play this economic role more efficiently by increasing the productivity of all factors and by providing raw materials for handicraft, agriculture and the agri-food industry. This is a major stake in enabling the sub-region to address its food dependence vis-à-vis the rest of the world and improve the unfavourable terms of trade for its member countries by processing products and value-addition.

19. Another important feature that should be noted is that West African agriculture depends mainly on small farms, which account for 90% of production and control 85% of planted land. Farming here is also largely oriented toward self-consumption and satisfying the food needs of households through domestic markets. However, in spite of this apparent specialisation, it is still quite well connected to the international market through some export crops like cotton, coffee, cocoa, and many other crops such as banana, pineapple, green beans, cashew etc.....

2.2 Agro-pastoral potential of the sub-region

20. West Africa abounds with immense agricultural potential most of which is not being exploited at present. According to FAO statistics, the region has around 236 million hectares of arable land of which only 23.4% (55 million hectares) were under cultivation in 2005 (cf. Table n°1). Added to this, there are over 120 million hectares of pastureland that can be developed for extensive pastoral farming as currently carried on. This potential is most present in the Sahel and Sahelo Sudan zones and promises to be a considerable resource for livestock.

Table N°1 : Land availability in West Africa

Country	Arable land (ha)	Planted area (ha)	% of Arable land planted in 2005	Pasture (1000 ha)	Forests (1000 ha)
Benin	2 710 000	1 900 000	70	550	N/A
Burkina Faso	7 487 000	3 487 000	36,7	6 000	7 668
Cape Verde	67 000	42 000	62,6	25	1
Côte d'Ivoire	20 350 000	2 950 000	14,4	13 000	N/A
Gambia	378 000	185 000	49	134	53
Ghana	13 950 000	3 600 000	26	8 350	N/A
Guinea	12 185 000	885 000	72,6	1 070	N/A
Guinea Bissau	1 424 000	344 000	24	1 080	594
Liberia	2 595 000	380 000	14,6	2 000	N/A
Mali	33 275 000	3 341 000	10	3 000	6 601
Mauritania	39 714 000	464 000	11,6	39 250	2 453
Niger	15 714 000	464 000	28	11 160	1 396
Nigeria	70 000 000	28 200 000	40	39 200	N/A
Senegal	8 002 000	2 314 000	29	5 688	4 184
Sierra Leone	2 740 000	484 000	17,6	2 200	N/A
Togo	3 630 000	2 510 000	69	1 000	N/A
ECOWAS zone+ Mauritania	236 036 000	55 454 000	23,4	119 987	N/A

Source : FAO/AQUASTAT (Blein Roger et al, 2008)

21. The FAO estimates the region's irrigable land potential at almost 8.9 million hectares, less than 10 % of which is being used (920 000 ha) mostly for rice, sugar cane and vegetables (cf. Table n°2). A recent evaluation by ECOWAS estimates this potential at 10 million hectares; the potential is greatest in Nigeria with the Niger Delta (over 4 million ha) situated in the humid zone, while Mali is in second position with over 2.2 million hectares, almost 1.8 million of which lies in the Niger river valley alone (ECOWAS, 2009).

Table N°2 : Irrigation potential of the ECOWAS sub-region in thousand ha

Country	Surface (1 000 ha)	Share of region potential (%)
Benin	322	4
Burkina Faso	165	2
Cap-Verde	3,11	0
Côte d'Ivoire	475	5
Gambia	80	1
Ghana	1 900	21
Guinea Bissau	281	3
Liberia	600	7
Mali	566	6
Niger	270	3
Nigeria	2 331	26
Senegal	409	5
Sierra Leone	807	9
Togo	180	2
ECOWAS zone	8 909	100
Humid and semi- humid zones	7 496	84
Dry to arid zones	1 413	16

Source : FAO/AQUASTAT according to Blein Roger et al, 2008

22. With regard to water resources, it is accepted that, apart from Cape Verde and Burkina Faso, all countries in the sub-region have resources of renewable freshwater above the international rarity norms. Out of a potential renewable surface water potential estimated at 1 057. 5 billion cubic metres (FAO, 2001), only 19.6 billion cubic metres (less than 2%) are drained for agriculture. In the case of groundwater, estimated resources are almost 316.7 billion cubic metres. In addition, it is estimated that, on average, 3 765 billion cubic metres of water falls each year in West Africa ; 77% of these are concentrated in sub-equatorial and semi-humid zones. The wetlands, potentially 2 to 5 % of surface water reserves in West Africa (Blein et al, 2008), are ideal for the development of agriculture, especially rice-growing.

23. These potentially irrigable lands can be found in three main agro-ecological zones. Despite having diverse systems of production, these areas provide a major possibility of trading in goods based on complementarity, a fact which augurs well for sub-regional integration (cf. Annex 3). They are :

- ✓ The coastal sub-equatorial, more humid zones where roots, tubers, plantain, rice and maize production is predominant ; in addition to production of cash crops such as plantations of timber, oil palm, pineapple, hevea, coconut, cocoa, coffee, and kola nut trees ; it is a zone where veritable agro-industrial plants are in operation ;
- ✓ The semi-humid central zone characterised by a wide variety of production : yam, cassava, maize, rice, sorghum, millet, beans, legumes, as well as plantations of mango, citrus, cocoa, coffee, cashew and natural species like the shea tree and Néré ; this is also the zone with the largest land area covering $\frac{3}{4}$ of the member States, an area of massive cotton cropping;
- ✓ And, lastly, the dry zone corresponding roughly to the Sahel and sub-Sahel zone ; it is primarily a cereal production zone (sorghum, millet, cow pea, rice, groundnut,..) with a few irrigated crops (rice, wheat, onion, tomato,...) ; it is also the biggest livestock rearing region in ECOWAS.

24. Finally, the area could potentially be a major source of natural resources that can be used to produce phosphate fertiliser for agriculture. West Africa has several natural reserves of phosphate thought to be potentially as much as 2.23 billion tonnes. The largest reserves that are being currently exploited are in Benin (Mekrou), Burkina Faso (Kodjari), Mali (Tilemsi), Nigeria (Abeokuta), Senegal (Taïba) and Togo (Hahotoe-Kpogame) (ECOWAS, 2009). This is a sector where agricultural co-enterprise could thrive and expand.

2.3 Brief overview of food requirements in the subregion

25. Despite being a massive importer of food products, the West Africa region does not really depend on external sources to satisfy its food requirements for certain products. It is self-sufficient in tubers, fruits and vegetables, but does not produce enough meat, dairy products and cereals. The region imports 56% of its rice consumption, 53% of milk and dairy products, 15% of its meat and 10% of other cereals, mainly wheat and wheat flour (cf. Table n°3).

Table N°3 : Food supply in the sub-region in 2005

Products	Average imports 2002-04		Net Production 2005		Availability in 2005= Needs/inhab.	Demand coverage rate
	Tonne	Kg/pers.	Tonne	Kg/pers.	Kg/pers.	%
Cereals and derivatives	3 735 981	14.9	32 062 033	128	143	90
Rice and derivatives	6 761 148	27	5 381 860	22	49	44
Total cereals	10 497 128	42	37 443 898	150	192	78
Meat and by-products	395 532	1.6	2 301 409	9	11	85
Milk and dairy products	2 221 261	8.9	2 001 502	8	17	47
Vegetables	158 069	0.6	2 631 844	11	11	94
Roots, tubers and by-products	117 722	0.5	77 337 754	309	310	100
Legumes	0	0	9 220 843	37	37	100
Fruits	0	0	11 715 688	47	47	100

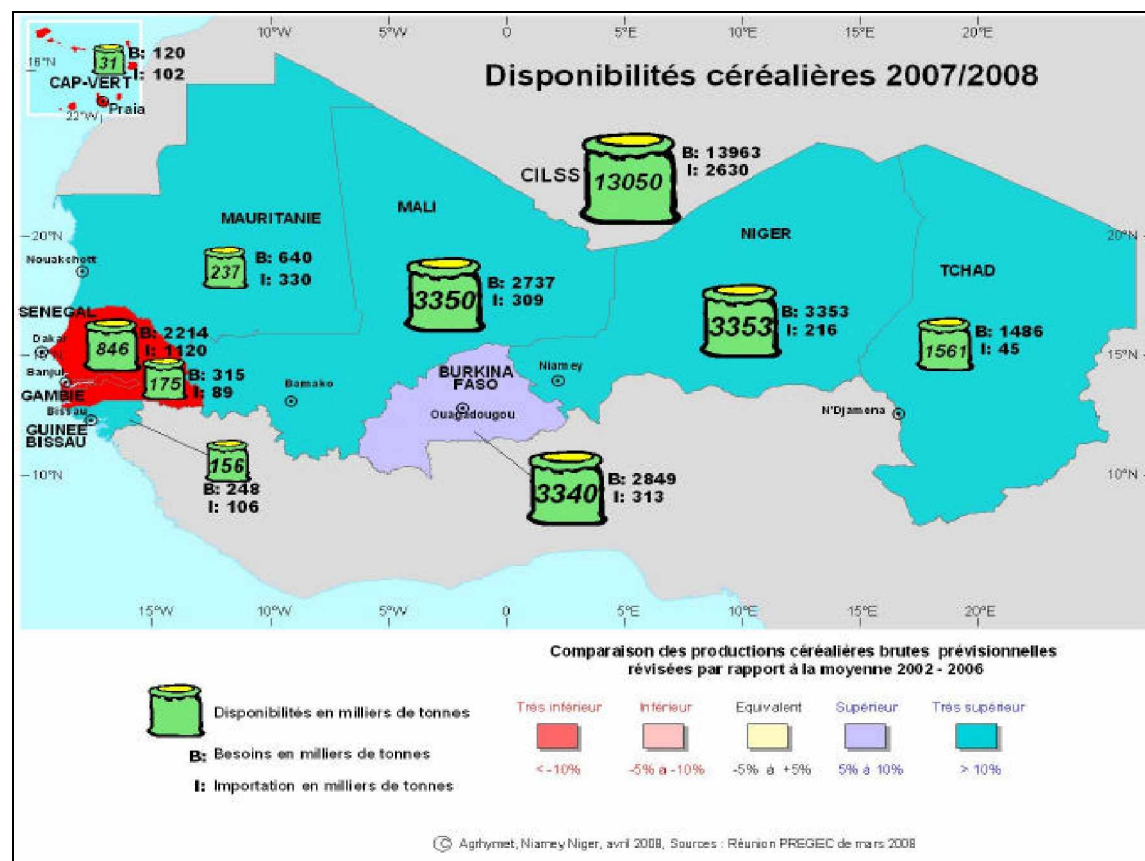
Source : Blein Roger et al, 2008

2.4 Dynamics of food supply and general trend

2.4.1 Plant production

26. Although the impression is that domestic supply is inadequate, there has in fact been a steady increase in the plant production in West Africa since 1980. According to an analysis of agricultural potential in West Africa (Blein et al., 2008), production of the main crops has risen markedly over the last 30 years but overall, remains low for cereals compared to population growth. In the 1980-2006 period, the average annual progression noted for cereals was: maize 4.5%; sorghum 1.6 %; millet 1.8%; and rice (paddy) 1.8. Progression rates are more striking in the case of roots and tubers where production volumes increased almost five-fold in the same period, from 27 million in 1980 to 124 million in 2006. A similar trend is observed in the production of fruits and vegetables: banana and pineapple production rose from 1.3 to 2.1 million tonnes, and onion from 0.7 tonne to 1.3 million tonnes. The rapid development of fruit and vegetable production satisfies, in part, the ever-increasing urban demand and helps to diversify food patterns. It has been observed that, for two years now, the global grain situation of CILSS member countries (13050 T produced against 13963 T required) is tending to even out (Figure N° 1 below), though this cannot mask the fact that production declined in some member countries during the 2007-2008 planting season (cf. Box N°1) as a result of erratic changes in domestic availability that is typical of the sub-region.

Figure 1 : Cereal availability 2007/2008



Source : CILSS, 2008. Bulletin mensuel N° M01/08, January - February - March 2008.

Box N°1 : Revised projected cereal production of Western African countries for the 2007-2008 agricultural season

The revised cereal production outlook (2007-2008 cropping season) for Sahel and West African countries, except Liberia, is 47.2 million tonnes, including 26.9 million for Nigeria. This is a 5% decline compared to the 2006-2007 season. Significant declines were recorded in Cape-Verde (-31%), Senegal (-25%), Sierra Leone (-21%) and Ghana (-17%)...

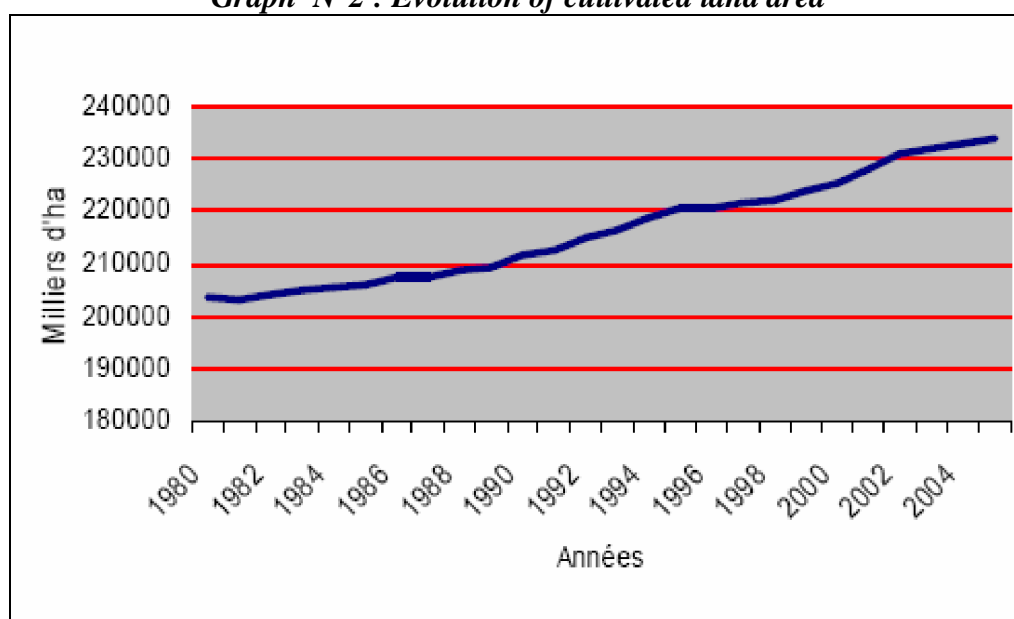
Cereal prices have increased significantly in the eastern part of the region, especially in the north of Nigeria, and in Niger, Benin and Chad. By contrast, increases have been moderate in the West and central parts of the region. In the January-March 2008 period, the desert locust situation was calm in West Africa in general and in the Sahel in particular. Because of security concerns, there has been no prospection in Mali and Niger for several months.

Vegetation behaviour, illustrated by NDVI values obtained in the first decade of January and second decade of March 2008, shows a balanced natural environment in the Sahel zone ...

Source : CILSS, 2008. Bulletin mensuel N° M01/08, January- February - March 2008.

27. On the whole, the analysis of Graph N°2 and Table N°4 below, viewed against the poor yields observed, suggests that the increased production observed is mainly due to an expansion of the land areas under cultivation.

Graph N°2 : Evolution of cultivated land area



Source : based on FAOSTAT data. <http://faostat.fao.org/>

Table N°4 : Trends in yields of main productions

Group of products	Yield		
	1990	2005	Growth (%)
Consumer products for consumption			
Dry grains	830	1 084	131
Rice	1 672	1 619	97
Roots and tubers	9 202	10 118	110
Vegetables	5 222	6 200	119
Fruits	5 169	5 761	111
Legumes			117
Sugar cane	46 773	36 690	78
Tobacco	466	569	122
Sub-total	2 141	2 979	139
Products for export outside West Africa			
Coffee, cocoa, tea	396	517	131
Cotton	917	991	108
Oil palm	790	731	93
Palms	3 342	3 358	100
Groundnut	998	1 209	121
Pineapple-banana	8 505	9 311	109
Nuts	662	888	134
Sub-total	1 417	1 511	107
Total	1 993	2 648	133

Source : experts' calculations(Blein Roger et al, 2008)

2.4.2 Animal products

28. In contrast to crop production, animal production has increased less rapidly over the past twenty-five years and this is true as much for livestock as for dairy and meat products. The Sahel countries are at the forefront here being the major producers of cattle, sheep and goats of which they are net exporters to the coastal countries.

29. As shown in Table N°5, total livestock numbers in the subregion was estimated in 2006 at 39 million head of cattle, 63 million head of sheep and goats, 346 million head of poultry. Meat production amounted to 2 million tonnes and production of meat and eggs was respectively 2 million and 729 390 tonnes.

Table N°5 : Growth in animal and meat production

	1980	2006	Cumulated growth rate
Cattle (headcount)	31 310 056	39 419 736	26%
Sheep (headcount)	28 115 221	57 949 656	106%
Goat (headcount)	34 894 893	6 116 734	75%
Pigs (headcount)	3 271 901	11 228 756	243%
Poultry (headcount)	176 254 000	346 597 000	97%
Meat Production (tonnes)	1 357 957	2 353 794	73%
Milk Production (tonnes)	1 253 668	2 050 512	64%
Egg Production (tonnes)	272 850	729 390	167%

Source : FAOSTAT. <http://faostat.fao.org/>

30. Nowadays, livestock sector contributes between 7 and 20% to GDP, and as high as 44% in some countries. Demand has grown by around 4%, while supply in the same period has registered only a 2% increase per year. Paradoxically, meat imports rose steadily between 1985 and 2006, from 40,000 t to 205,000 t, while the cost of milk imports grew from 238 to 741 million US dollars. The margin of progression for local production, expected to be at least 80% of demand, is still quite considerable and necessary investment must be made, including forging agricultural partnerships.

2.4.3 Recent developments

31. In the last five years, most countries in West Africa have made food crop intensification a major focus of attention. Admittedly, the results so far are well below expectations and the countries still depend on imports of some commodities, however, it cannot be denied that their domestic production of food products is increasing steadily, especially rice and other local cereals, vegetables, legumes and fruits. This encouraging result is due to several factors : (i) an intensified effort is being made to implement regional agricultural development plans (the AU/NEPAD's CPAAD), sub-regional plans like ECOWAP

(ECOWAS) and the PAU (WAEMU) and national plans (SDRP and sectoral plans), not forgetting the CILSS strategic framework for food security (CSSA) in its member countries; (ii) the combined effects of the food and oil crises in 2008, which led to violent protests against the high cost of living in Africa, and is being exacerbated by the financial crisis that began in the latter part of 2008, and paved the way of the ongoing economic crisis.

32. A number of countries are seen to be making efforts to mainstream the regional dimension in the country agricultural strategies. Mali and Senegal's agricultural orientation laws make clear references to the PAU of WAEMU and ECOWAP of ECOWAS, and they take account of the complementarity of sub-regional markets. These are laudable examples which, understood by all as regards production and trade in agricultural and food products could help achieving subregion-wide food security.

33. Thus we may say concerning West Africa, as stated by FAO in a document entitled "Le défi alimentaire de l'Afrique", that recent progress made by agriculture mark a change with the past and show an improvement of trends in the sector; but nevertheless, concerted and steady political actions are still needed to keep momentum.

2.4.4 Trends

34. Trends in food demand, estimated on the basis of current practices indicate that, if the conditions of land development are maintained as they are currently, by 2030 the West African sub-region will record surplus production of legumes, roots, tubers, fruits and vegetables; however, it will have a deficit production of milk and dairy products, cereals and meats. It will therefore import 57% of its rice consumption, 48% of milk and dairy products, 15% of other cereals, mainly wheat and wheat flour; and 13 % of meat (cf. Table N°6).

Table N°6 : Food availability in 2030 in the ECOWAS zone

Product	Benchmark situation			Projection 2030	
	Production available in 2005	Availability in 2005 = Needs/per cap.	Rate of demand coverage	Net production	Demand coverage
	Kg/pers.	Kg/pers.	%	Kg/pers.	%
Cereals and by-products	128	143	90	142	99
Rice and by-products	22	49	44	21	43
Total cereals	150	192	78	163	85
Meats and by-products	9	11	85	9	87
Milk and dairy products	8	17	47	9	52
Legumes	11	11	94	18	163
Roots, tubers and by-products	309	310	100	729	235
Legumes	37	37	100	51	139
Fruits	47	47	100	57	121

Source : Blein Roger et al, 2008

III. DETERMINANTS OF FOOD INSECURITY IN WEST AFRICA : CAUSES OF INADEQUACIES NOTED

35. Whether West Africa succeeds in achieving sustainable food security will depend on bringing convergence and coherence to a whole set of factors, namely : agricultural policies, including those that relate to processing, land use policies, investments in agricultural and agri-food economics, gender mainstreaming into agricultural policies and programmes, and managing the interrelationship between the evolution of demographics and food demand.

3.1 Inadequate agricultural policies

36. While governments and institutions alike have consistently made satisfying the population's food needs an objective in their agricultural policies, such policies have been applied in a way that has made this goal an elusive one for decades. In the immediate 60s post-independence era, West African States were quick to proclaim their intention to make agriculture the engine of the economy, but instead, they focused attention on export crops and neglected food crops. However, in the 1970s, the focus shifted to developing both food crops and export crops. The aim was to produce food crops in sufficient quantity to ensure that the countries depended as little as possible on the outside world. Food self-sufficiency was the buzzword, because as the saying went : « food dependence is the worst kind of dependence; it alienates the newly-acquired political independence ».

37. Some new external factors appeared later that derailed West African economies. First, there was the second oil shock at the end of the 1970s. Then, beginning from the early 80s, there were new drought events, more extensive than in the past and at least as pronounced. It was in response to this that, on the informed advice of the FAO, the food security strategy replaced the concept of food self-sufficiency in the government policies of West African States. In spite of this, however, food insecurity persisted. The food crisis experienced by the Sahel countries (Niger, Burkina Faso and Mali), showed, in many respects, the inability of past agricultural policies to satisfy the people's food needs and the dysfunctional nature of existing community arrangements.

38. The early 2000s saw States take on new political commitments to support agriculture at regional, sub-regional and national levels. The Comprehensive African Agriculture Development Programme (CAADP) adopted by Heads of State and Government of the African Union in Maputo, Mozambique, in July 2003, and the adoption, in the same breath of the so-called Maputo Declaration on Agriculture and Food Security in Africa, constituted the first step toward strengthening investment in regional agriculture. On that occasion, African leaders undertook a commitment to make a 10% budget allocation over five years (2003-2008) for agriculture, a significant increase compared to the earlier figures of 4% to 5% . In the West African sub-region, the ECOWAS Agricultural Policy (ECOWAP), the WAEMU Agricultural Policy (PAU) and the CILSS Food Security Strategic Framework are helping to buttress implementation of the programme.

39. Individual States have also taken several measures to develop agriculture. Senegal, for instance, has taken agricultural development measures over the past few years, and these include : The Agro-Sylvo-Pastorale Orientation Law (LOASP), the REVA (Retour Vers

l'Agriculture), Plan the National Agricultural Development Programme (PNDA) and the Sector Medium-Term Expenditure Framework (CDS-MT 2008-2010), which aims to optimise investments through result-based management. These measures yielded remarkable results for certain products. Senegal recorded an unprecedented production of 51 200 T of white rice during the 2008 dry season rice cropping in the Senegal valley compared to 14 810 T for the same period in 2007 (cf Table 7).

Table N° 7 : Situation of dry season rice cropping 2008 in Senegal

Delegations	Planted area (ha)	Expected paddy yield (T)	Expected production of white rice (T)
Diagana	9653	57918	38226
Podor	3145	18870	12454
Total ssc 2008	12930	77580	51203
	9190	55140	36393

Source : Rice Information Bulletin N°5, 9-15 September 2008. SAED/JICA

40. Most other ECOWAS Member States have taken similar measures and the results have been encouraging as illustrated in Box N° 2 below on Burkina Faso.

Box N° 2 : Result of dry cropping season 2007-2008 in Burkina Faso

The results for the 2007-2008 dry cropping season can be summed up as follows: development of 1021.5 ha of small irrigation schemes ; development of 842 ha of wetlands and construction of 151 orchard wells, 2 dams and 2 pulleys. On the operations side, and consistent with the implementation of the Strategy for the Sustainable Development of Irrigated Farming, these hydro-agricultural infrastructure will help to consolidate the agricultural intensification policy through good water management. For the 2007-2008 dry cropping season, farm output for all crops combined on small irrigated sites are estimated at 817 023.55 tonnes, (consisting of 34739.32 tonnes of cereals, 40 267.59 tonnes of tubers, 92 168.73 tonnes of fruits, 635 684.67 tonnes of vegetables and 14 163.24 tonnes of legumes), over a total land area of 48160.765 ha sown on 1667 sites. This is an increase of 54.34 % over the 2006-2007 season. Support measures include the provision of 18 498 manure pits for production of 81 262.5 tonnes of organic manure and supply of inputs to farmers (3726 kg of maize and cow pea seeds, 202 150 kg of NPK and 218 800 kg of urea) and farm machinery (177 mechanised pumps and 1 336 pedal pumps). Also worthy of note is the fact that 158 irrigation farmers committees were established in the 13 regions. Training was provided for 16 748 producers, (25.78 % of them women) and 353 managerial officers, further confirmation of efforts being made to structure peasant organisations and develop capacity.

Source : Hebdomadaire Sécurité Alimentaire N°015 July, August-September 2008

41. However, for the most part, national policies on agriculture have sought to address the concerns of individual countries and have not adequately integrated the sub-regional and regional dimension. Such policies have been designed within a country-specific framework and it is not clear how the national economy fits in with regional orientations, for which a study of complementarities of production basins and consumer needs would be needed. This complementarity would then be used as a basis to create specialisations based on comparative advantage and would lead to a true agricultural common market in the sub-

region. The temptation to turn inward and the reflex to close borders, especially when facing food crisis, tend to take precedence over sub-regional solidarity.

3.2 Low investment in agricultural and food economics

42. Both NEPAD and the African Union advocate scaling up investments in African agriculture to boost its development, a priority that is expressed in the Comprehensive African Agricultural Development Programme (CAADP), the ECOWAS agricultural programme (ECOWAP) and the WAEMU agricultural programme (PAU). However, although agricultural development appears again and again in the development plans of countries in the sub-region and in their political discourse, agriculture in West Africa has never been a priority focus in the allocation of public and private investments. One of the bottlenecks is the fact that capital mobilisation in production is both poor and inefficient.

43. Loans granted to small farmers, who account for over 90% of production, are insignificant and difficult to access. Under the structural adjustment programmes, agricultural development banks were closed down thus depriving the agriculture sector in West Africa of suitable financing instruments and mechanisms. Agricultural producers are left with no choice but to resort to microfinance systems, which not only provide small amounts but charge exorbitant interests. Apart from those in cash crop farming, very few producers use improved seeds, fertilisers, pesticides and modern farm equipment.

44. Structural adjustment programmes also led to the removal of subsidies on agricultural inputs and equipment and the liberalisation of marketing circuits; agricultural extension, research and agricultural credit services were paralysed, abruptly blocking any meaningful technological change in the agriculture sector. The increased output that has been observed is because larger land areas are being farmed and not because yields have improved. The low level of investment and technological innovation continue to put a dampener on productivity of land and labour keeping the vast majority of the population in poverty. Agribusiness has not been adequately promoted therefore food crop production has not attained the production levels that can make up the shortfall in food products.

3.3 Gender in agricultural policies and programmes

45. Women in West Africa make up nearly 48% of the working population and are a major force in the agricultural sector. They are private entrepreneurs and are especially active in the informal sector in rural areas, where their activities span the production, conservation, processing, packaging and distribution of agro-pastoral products. However, they play very little part, or no part at all, in the design or implementation of agricultural policies and programmes. They also face socio-cultural constraints and impediments that affect their potential to overcome the food security challenge in the sub-region. Women face discrimination when in regard to property rights; they don't benefit enough from targeted institutional support they have little access to technologies, advisory services, credit, inputs and equipment and; They have limited access to education and training and very little say in decision-making.

46. Thus, in the sub-region, as virtually everywhere else in Africa, women have benefited little from agricultural loan policies and agricultural extension programmes. Similarly, they have derived little advantage from the introduction of technology because such policies are more geared toward cash crop production, virtually the sole preserve of men (ECA, 2000).

By sidelining women, who are the pillars of food crop production, these inadequate agricultural policies have contributed to food insecurity, land degradation and depletion of environmental resources and have helped to entrench gender inequality in the sub-region.

47. Given the vital roles that women play in the three aspects of food security, (availability, access to food products, and nutrition security), systematic gender mainstreaming appears to be an imperative in any food security-enhancing strategy in West Africa, and in Africa as a whole.

3.4 Land tenure policies

48. There is a great complexity of rules of modern and customary laws governing land tenure in West Africa. Land rights are not clearly spelt out and the appearance of new methods of development and direct ownership that take no account of local realities leads to disputes and situations that are inimical to agricultural and pastoral development. Land recuperation, new land development and population resettlement are at the heart of land issues.

49. In the area of land policy also, there is a great diversity of situations. Countries like Côte d'Ivoire have made headway with land reform and, as a result, have been able to adopt a rural land use plan, which encourages better investment in the agricultural sector because it provides security for producers.. Reform is under way in Benin, Burkina Faso and Mali. Niger, as many other countries, has already started its reform All these reforms are complex in that they must recognise elements of both customary and modern laws and rights. At the end of these reforms, the countries are able to issue land titles and bring security to economic activities and, in general, they also have tools for settling disputes over property or land use. Since its 1980 Green Revolution, Nigeria has encouraged the setting up of large privately-owned highly mechanised farms (in the country's middle belt and northern regions), through a process of disguised expropriation where small property owners are paid compensation that is more or less acceptable.

50. With all these different situations to wade through, the essential thing to bear in mind is that a land use policy is, by definition, a fundamental tool for effectively managing natural resources. It is meant to ensure that people have equitable access to natural resources, and should provide a lasting solution to disputes and affirm and protect the rights of producers to see their investments thrive and yield profit. Hopes for a harmonisation of these different policies and laws may lie in the efforts currently being made under the auspices of the African Union and involving the RECs. All these measures impact directly on food security.

3.5 Demographics and food demand

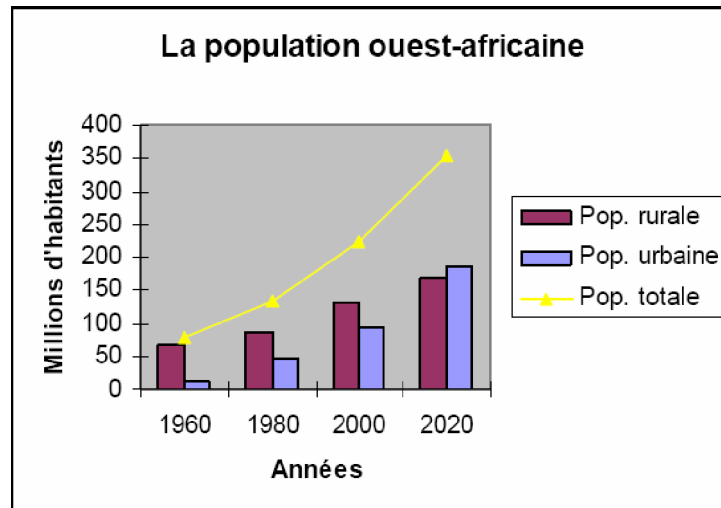
51. From the point of view of demographics, two types of development have taken place in the West African sub-region (cf. Graph N°3). On current trends, what may happen is that :

- On the one hand, population will grow on average at 2.6 % per year ; this means that from 265 million in 2005, West Africa will have a population of 353 million by 2020 and 455 million by 2030 (SWAC-OECD, 2007 and OECD/FAO, 2007) ;

- On the other hand, there will be a reversal of trends observed so far and the percentage of city dwellers, 14% in 1960 and 42% in 2000, will grow to 60% by 2030.

52. This double mutation will not only bring a significant rise in food demand but will shift the focus of demand to processed foods to reflect the growing preferences of the urban population.

Graph N°3 : Evolution of the West African population



Source : SWAC-OCED, 2007

53. Furthermore, because of the land farming model that aims to increase land area farmed, this rapid population growth will lead to a saturation of planted areas, bringing environmental degradation, all manner of conflict between different users, and loss of biodiversity and soil fertility; All these affecting food security.

3.6 Intra-regional trade

54. Trade in agro-pastoral products is an important part of trade in the sub-region. It is a vital link in the food security chain because of its capacity to provide the link between zones where these products are abundant and areas where they are needed, and for this reason, they deserve more attention from countries. Generally following a North-South direction (between the Sahel countries and the coastal countries), the intra-regional trade in agricultural products is still minimal, about 10 to 15 % (ECOWAS, 2004). Among the multitudes of reasons that can be advanced for this situation are:

- ✓ The informal character of trade and the attendant lack of information systems at borders ;
- ✓ Harassment on highways, which impedes free movement of persons and goods;
- ✓ Insufficient sub-regional integration evident in the practice whereby some countries ban exports in order to maintain an adequate level of national supply when there is a deficit in the neighbouring States ;
- ✓ Disparities in currencies and monetary policies ;

- ✓ Poor infrastructure, which increases transaction costs and, as a result, causes serious fluctuations in commodity prices on the market;
- ✓ Supply structures performing poorly, making locally-produced products less competitive than those from other regions ;
- ✓ Marketers of agricultural products have very little funds of their own and are not organised ; most of them use funds obtained from family and/or acquaintances;
- ✓ Export subsidies on farm surpluses in the Northern countries seriously curtail development of local productions and emergence of agri-food industries that generate rural and urban jobs and income.

55. Evaluating (with figures) the sub-regional trade in agricultural products is a difficult task on account of the cross-border nature of the trade and the absence of reliable statistics for trade that is mostly informal. In general, even though it has remained minimal, trade that draws on the complementarity between production systems and consumption structures between countries tends to progress. Conversely, as a result of a certain rapprochement of trade policies at borders, trade based on opportunities created by disparities in protection levels is tending to decline.

3.7 Food processing

56. The policies that have been applied to the processing of food products for almost a half-century have failed to lay a genuine basis for the sub-sector to develop in West Africa. Local export productions undergo little or no processing that confers part of the value-added to the chain of production or satisfies the changing food requirements of a growing and rapidly urbanising population. The wealth thus created is transferred to the countries of the North which have the appropriate structures for processing.

57. Because of the failure to adapt the sectors to reflect the deep sociological and economic changes occurring in West African societies, there truly is a disconnect between supply and demand, and it is aggravating the current situation where food habits are veering towards the consumption of finished products imported from outside the sub-region and which must be bought with earnings from the sale of cash crops ; such earnings being subject to the constraints and upheavals on the international market.

58. For certain crops like rice, the production programme absolutely must include a processing component to avoid a repeat of what happened recently in some countries in the sub-region, despite the measures they took concerning rice, in response to the food crisis in 2008. Although people had heeded the call to grow paddy rice and astounding results had been obtained, the processing capacity of the factories for paddy rice was too low for the volume of rice harvested. Stores were overflowing with paddy rice while people did not always find any edible rice on the market. In future, efforts to ensure food security and satisfy needs on the sub-regional market, and indeed to conquer international markets, must concentrate on developing processing, conservation, storage and packaging.

59. Yet, problems abound in the processing sector such as: ensuring consistent quality and availability of agricultural raw materials; availability of suitable technology and equipment for the limited volumes; knowledge of processing; availability of industrial inputs (packaging and labelling) ; inadequate staff training and lack of advisory services ; absence of appropriate financing arrangements ; and consumers who are not inclined to pay for quality products, etc. Developing and/or transferring agro-food technologies for processing locally produced commodities into products that are stable, long-lasting and compliant with

manufacturing standards is a pressing necessity in order to satisfy the needs of a growing population and the demands of rapid urbanisation. In addition to these obstacles, there are other problems related to a lack of quality infrastructure, especially transport and electricity.

60. Briefly put, it would not be far-fetched to conclude that since the policies that have been applied to agriculture for close to a half-century failed to lay the basis for the development of food crops and for the processing of such crops in West Africa, the quest for food security should require that we look at other options.

IV. PROMOTING SUB-REGIONAL PARTNERSHIP FOR INTENSIFICATION OF FOOD CROP PRODUCTION

61. The above analyses show that, despite its vast agricultural resources, West Africa is still finding it difficult to feed its populations, as evidenced by the food riots that broke out in several Member states in 2008. For decades, most countries in the sub-region oriented their agricultural policies towards promoting a limited number of agricultural products, such as cocoa, coffee, rubber, pineapple, banana, and vegetable oils, which they exported in their raw state, thus with little value-added. The preferential trade arrangements under the EU-ACP agreements further established these specialisations and condemned these countries to being eternal exporters of slightly processed or unprocessed agricultural raw materials and depriving them of value addition and jobs in the downstream production sectors.

62. For a long time, these export crops were the only ones that benefited from support in terms of new technology, research, inputs of various types and a marketing system, in contrast to food crops only a few of which received paltry support. In such circumstances, most small farmers are, first and foremost, subsistence farmers and only take the surpluses from their food stocks to urban markets. This situation does not bode well for sustainable food security.

63. Leaders tend to blame the lack of adequate support for agriculture, especially food crops, on lack of funding, which also seems to be the reason for the inadequate technological supervision as countries do not have the means to acquire the technologies they need. These difficulties can be partly overcome by promoting public-private-partnerships in agriculture in the form of agricultural co-entrepreneurship (CF. §4.3 below). Its aim is to ensure that supply of basic food staples remains constant and stable in the medium and long terms, and its other goal is to achieve and maintain a reasonable level of food self-sufficiency (around 80%), while respecting the rules of good natural resources management.

4.1 Principle of building a sub-regional partnership

64. Building a sub-regional partnership for promoting Public-Private-Partnership in agriculture may be inspired by the Wealth Creation and Retention Strategy (WCRS). This strategy aims at strengthening national and regional wealth accumulation capacity, based on a shared vision of Africa as a « Union of Nations » (Abdoulaye Niang, 2007). The guiding principle is to use investment opportunities to ensure better utilisation of sub-regional resources and markets. This development model aspires to develop an innovative scheme

that could make States, citizens and the African continent participants in the globalisation of economies.

65. In particular, it seeks to institute a strategic partnership with foreign investors in order to increase the involvement and engagement of African promoters in value-addition activities on the exploitation of mining and agricultural natural resources, as well as markets on the African continent.

66. According to this strategy, the rules that proposed for the sharing of a globalized capital of a co-enterprise are presented in table 8 below.

Table N°8 : Rules for formation of globalised capital of a co-enterprise

Designation	Shares for the globalized capital of a co-enterprise			
	Mineral resources	Consumption goods market	Industrial goods markets	Goods distribution
African transnational corporation	40+	60+	60+	60+
Multinational/ strategic partner	30-	30-	30-	30-
Pool of multinational corporations	30-	10+	10+	10+
Co-enterprise	100	100	100	100

Source : Data of Abdoulaye Niang, 2007.

67. This table shows the objectives in figures (percentages of the capital), which could guide negotiations between partners when creating a co-enterprise; the + and – signs indicate in which direction the variations should tend.

4.2 Domains of application of the sub-regional partnership for food security in West Africa

68. In terms of its contribution to a sustainable food security in West Africa, as set out in the ECOWAS Agricultural Policy (ECOWAP), any strategy should aim at , on the one hand, scaling up investment in production and improving availability and access to food staples, and on the other hand, to increase the competitiveness of agri-food sectors in the current context of liberalisation of trade.

69. For the people to have access to sufficient quantity and quality of food requires not only that agricultural production and productivity be scaled up, but also an that improvement in food processing and packaging be addressed. Processing, packaging and conservation are relatively marginal activities in the sub-region. Nevertheless, packaging of agricultural products is beginning to develop in response to rapid urbanisation but it is still below demand. Moreover, quality and hygiene issues will compromise this sector which many still consider to be an artisanal activity.

70. In order to achieve sustainable intensification of food production and processing in the drive toward sustainable food security, the WCRS could be applied to create co-enterprises in the framework of the five following programmes:

- ✓ **Programme for the Supply of Inputs and Farm Machinery:** to develop national and sub-regional capacity to produce agro-zootechnical inputs and farm machinery to improve agricultural production and productivity; in the case of farm inputs, it will be necessary to develop the abundant but-as-yet unexploited phosphate reserves in the sub-region, especially in Togo and Niger;
- ✓ **Integrated Irrigable Land Development Programme:** based on the premise that large scale irrigation is out of reach of the ordinary peasant farmer, this programme aims at handing over water and land resources that have remained undeveloped until now to co-enterprises; priority will be given to large scale production of food staples of which the subregion is a net importer. This is true of cereals in general and, in particular, for rice, wheat and possibly maize and sorghum ; the most ideal basins would be the Atlantic coast, from Guinea to Liberia, the Niger River basin and other waterways (CF. Annexes 2 and 3) ; also, emphasis will be specially on fodder crops to help alleviate the problem of chronic deficit that pastoral farmers face ;
- ✓ **Rural Funding and Research-Development Programme:** aimed at improving agricultural credit, promoting micro finance and reactivating research-development, to foster and/or transform production systems in order to improve upstream and downstream production activities (improved seeds, various inputs, equipment, processing and conservation techniques, etc); this programme will also involve sub-regional and national financial institutions and will buttress other programmes by providing the co-enterprises that will be created with the funds they need to pursue their objectives ; the programme will also have an « incubator » segment to promote young farmers and extension of research findings ;
- ✓ **Programme for the Processing, Conservation and Storage of Agricultural Products :** the programme seeks to bring value-added through processing of local staple foods while adapting food supply to reflect consumption patterns and complying with sanitary standards ; the programme will cover all productions, both plant and animal (wheat, rice, sorghum, millet, milk, meats, etc.) ;
- ✓ **Programme for Management and Diversification of Export Sectors :** to improve the quality and standards of food products exports, enhance their competitiveness in international trade but, especially, to involve national and sub-regional investors in export sectors ; this programme will stimulate development of intra-regional trade by helping to disseminate agricultural information and constituting a regional food security stock.

71. While continuing to provide peasant farmers with the necessary support (inputs, trainings, credits...) and encouraging their organisations, it is time for West Africa to promote agribusiness more robustly, both as regards the production, processing and marketing of agricultural products, so as to offset the serious deficit in food products it has been facing for years and that made the region a net importer of food products. We should not forget that agribusiness is one of the pillars of African agricultural development. This is clearly stated in AU/NEPAD's Comprehensive African Agricultural Development (CAADP), in the ECOWAS Agricultural Policy (ECOWAP) and in WAEMU's PAU. Agricultural co-entrepreneurship can potentially provide a basis on which to build a flourishing agribusiness.

4.3 Agricultural co-enterprise, a form of Public-Private-Partnership

72. Co-enterprise is a form of Public-Private-Partnership (PPP) adapted to African conditions, inspired by the WCRS. The PPP principle consists in bringing the public authorities and a private operator together to design, finance, construct, manage or preserve a public interest project; it is a way of raising needed private finance for the public sector and; it enables the State to successfully carry out an ambitious investment programme without swelling the national debt. In addition, PPPs can be adapted to the specific financial conditions of each project and the socio-economic priorities of each country. However, implementation of PPPs requires a solid organisation at State level to manage the process from end to end.

73. In contrast to the classic PPP, co-enterprise seeks to take optimum advantage of regionalisation and globalisation by involving the State (the depository of the natural resources to be exploited), and three partners:

- ✓ A strategic partner with the necessary technological packet, financing and know-how to run the co-enterprise;
- ✓ A group of national and regional investors ready to invest in the co-enterprise, including the peasants living on the land to be developed;
- ✓ A pool of other non-African investors wishing to take out shares in the co-enterprise.

74. The State and these three partners create a co-enterprise, of which they are the associates, to work a land area conceded by the State, under the law governing PPPs in the agricultural sector, and in accordance with predefined terms of reference: it is this association of mutually beneficial interests that underpins the notion of co-entrepreneurship.

4.3.1 Setting up an agricultural co-enterprise

4.3.1.1 Initial provisions

75. The process of setting up a co-enterprise starts with one major precondition: the political will and collective determination on the part of regional integration institutions, leaders of the Member States, as well as the active workforce in each country (political parties, private sector, traditional authorities, civil society, the media, etc.), to make co-enterprise one of their development tools. In line with this, each State should concretise its political will by taking political, legal and institutional measures that are compliant with common policies adopted at sub-regional and regional levels, especially:

- ✓ A law instituting co-enterprise and governing all aspects that can promote its development (legal, fiscal and financial, ...);
- ✓ Adaptation of the land use code to reflect the needs of co-entrepreneurs;
- ✓ Holistic involvement of the various ministerial departments concerned (agriculture, environment, water and forestry, Finances, ...), as well as the municipalities and local communities in the project area;
- ✓ Improvement in governance and the business environment;
- ✓ Creation of a Management Body for co-enterprises.

4.3.1.2 Management Body of e agricultural co-enterprises

76. The Managerial Body is the lynchpin of the system. All the countries that have successfully established a dynamic PPP system have had to set up a Managerial Body. In

the United Kingdom, Private Finance Initiatives (PFI), the original form of PPP, established in 1992, are managed by the Partnerships UK, the Public Private Partnerships Programme (4Ps) and other bodies. In the United States and Canada, Public-Private Partnerships are managed by the National Council for Public-Private Partnerships and the Canadian Council for Public-Private Partnerships, respectively. In France partnership contracts (CDP) are managed by the “Mission d’Appui à la Réalisation des Contrats de Partenariat” (MAPPP). Like these developed countries, West African countries that are planning to promote co-enterprise (a form of PPP suited to development) should strive to keep within the logic that demands that they entrust its management to a specific body that is familiar with PPP principles and practices.

77. Once the Managerial Body of agricultural co-enterprises is created, its duty will be to: (i) identify and design a cartography the zones and types of crops to be grown under agricultural co-enterprises; (ii) carry out feasibility studies and select viable projects; (iii) prepare bidding documents for partners; (iv) prepare and carry out an advertising plan on available business projects; (v) launch consultations with potential strategic partners and choose the best offers; (vi) make business arrangements to constitute the two other groups of partners associated with the State; (vii) assist the groups of private national and regional investors to secure financing for their shares in the capital of the co-enterprise, and; help to facilitate the management, collection and marketing of the products of the co-enterprises that could be created.

4.3.1.3 Possible funding sources

78. The WCRS sets out a few possibilities for funding the shares of the State and its nationals in agricultural co-enterprises. The State’s share in the capital of the co-enterprise can be paid out of the levies from leases of land concessions to the co-enterprise, supplemented, when necessary, by a loan from international donors with the strategic partner as surety. Farmers living on concessional land could become partners (small hare holders) in the co-enterprise, and could pay for their shares in the capital using a fraction of what they can expect to receive per hectare of undeveloped land allocated to the co-enterprise. The other national, regional or international partners should concretise their commitment by making their contributions available.

4.3.2 Decision aid for the launch of an agricultural co-enterprise

79. It is more practical to give an example to illustrate the complex mechanism of creating an agricultural co-enterprise. Let us assume that a State S with undeveloped and irrigable land along the banks of the Niger river, decides to allot an area of 10, 000 hectares, at a concessional price of 2 million/hectare , to an agricultural co-enterprise to be created based on WCRS principles and rules. We will assume that the co-enterprise will need an estimated 5 billion FCFA for its operation.

80. Negotiations for the constitution of the co-enterprise will be carried out at three levels as follows:

- At country level, the partners in the co-enterprise will be : (i) the State S, (ii) the local authorities (city councils, districts,...), the population of the project beneficiary region as well as the country private sector, and, (iii) the other country regions ; these three « national partners » are, by their very nature, vital for the social stability of the co-enterprise and will receive 60%, 30% et 10%

respectively of income derived from land concession. They will constitute the National Group;

- At regional level, the partners in the co-enterprise will be : (i) the above National Group, (ii) partners from the countries through which the River Niger flows, and (iii) other African partners ; Each of these three « regional partners » of the co-enterprise will receive 40%, 30% and 30% respectively of the African fraction of the co-enterprise's equity capital. They will constitute the African Group ;
- At global level (since WCRS aims to be a new form of globalisation that is mutually beneficial to economies), partners in the co-enterprise will be : (i) The African Group (see above), (ii) the Strategic Partner chosen after world-wide open consultation, and (iii) a pool of any other non-African investors who wish to take out shares in the co-enterprise; these three « global partners» of the co-enterprise will get 60%, 30% and 10% respectively of its equity capital . They will constitute the Statutory Associates of the co-enterprise.

81. A sample of Calculation of the composition of the co-enterprise's equity capital with the Decision Aid (cf. Annex 1) is shown in the table 9 below, which sets out the shares and percentages of all the partners. For instance: according to this division, the share of a peasant farmer who has 3ha of land conceded to the co-enterprise will be FCFA 675 000, and every year, the co-enterprise will pay him the corresponding dividends. Its worth noting that African groups own 60% of the co-enterprise in this sample.

Table N°9 : Example of globalised capital of a co-enterprise

(Million FCFA)

Partners	% of Capital	Total share	Type of payment	Cash for the co- enterprise	Cash for the State E
Local authorities (city councils, districts,...) in the project region	11.16%	2 790	income from land		
State E	22.32%	5 580	//	5000	-5000
Other regions in the country	3.72%	930	//		
National partners or partners from countries traversed by the Niger River	17.36%	4 340	Cash		4 340
Other African partners	7.44%	1 860	Cash		1 860
Strategic Partner at world level	30.00%	7 500	Cash		7 500
Pool of other investors	8.00%	2 000	Cash		2 000
Capital of the co-enterprise	100.00%	25 000	-	5 000	10 700

Source : author's calculations

4.3.3 Advantages and drawbacks of agricultural co-enterprise

4.3.3.1 Advantages

82. Agricultural co –enterprise has several advantages:

- ✓ Increased agricultural production, especially of food crops to address the food crisis;
- ✓ Development of agricultural land that has remained unexploited for decades;
- ✓ Reduction in imports of food products;
- ✓ Introduction of new farming techniques;
- ✓ Improvement of the national trade balance;
- ✓ Creation of rural and urban jobs;

- ✓ Control of rural exodus;
- ✓ Value-addition and improvement of GDP;
- ✓ Insertion of the sub-region in globalisation, etc.

4.3.3.2 *Some drawbacks s and risks*

83. Drawbacks and risks inherent in agricultural co-enterprises are mainly the following:

- ✓ The process is complex and requires plenty of dynamism on the part of the Management Body of the co-enterprise;
- ✓ The local populations in the areas concerned may not buy into co-enterprises;
- ✓ Lack of a strategic partner, especially because of the business environment in the countries of the sub-region (cf. World Bank Doing Business 2009) ;
- ✓ Lack of participation and /or financing from national and/or regional partners.

84. However, these drawback/risks should not constitute an obstacle to the development of agricultural co-enterprises because one of the roles of the Management Body is to find ways and means of surmounting such problems. all in all, co-enterprise could be a solution of choice to stimulate in general and food production in particular, and to finally find a way out of food crisis in West Africa by augmenting domestic supply; to do this, however, requires a hefty dose of political will and collective determination, at the level of both the State and regional integration institutions.

85. In any event, if provisions are not made upstream for a rational management of land and water resources, there is a real risk of uncontrolled development in the context of the rush for African lands (see Box N°3 below).

Box N°3 : Threads of the rush for the best African lands

International investors are setting their sights on agricultural lands – the best and the most irrigated. Yet, these lands are the means of subsistence for the local population, a fact which seems to be of little importance to governments.

For the first time, experts from the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED) are analysing this phenomenon in eight African countries, in conjunction with two UN institutions, the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) and the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO).

Entitled "Rush for Land or Development Opportunity ?", their report, published on Monday 25 May, calls for rural folk to be consulted and their interests taken into account in these transactions. It highlights a consistent lack of transparency in the decision process and within investment circuits. Alarm bells are sounding as to the possibility of corruption or transactions that may not be in the people's best interest.

... Should one condemn these acquisitions – or rather concessions, since they hardly ever involve outright sale ? IIEED, IFAD and FAO are not so categorical. "The phenomenon exists and on a massive scale. We just need to make sure that the effects are positive and the damage minimal", says Paul Mathieu, a FAO land use expert. " According to Lorenzo Cotula (IIED), one of the co-authors, "It all depends on the terms of the negotiation, and all stakeholders - not investors or countries alone – must be involved."

Source : Lemonde, 25.05.09

V. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

86. The agricultural sector, with a potential that is largely unexplored, constitutes a determinant component for the future of economies of West Africa. Already the engine driving the economies of the sub-region, agriculture is a sector with enormous potential : a wide diversity of ecosystems and, thus, a potential source for a diversified production mix; almost 236 million hectares of arable land, of which nearly 10 million ha are irrigable but only 23% (55 million ha) are planted; considerable water resources that can be used to irrigate vast expanses of land areas ; a wide expanse of pastoral zones estimated at 120 million hectares and suitable for rearing cattle, sheep, goats, camels and pigs, etc. (Table 1); a major sub-regional market of nearly a quarter of a billion consumers ; a mix of actors made up of peasant organisations, economic operators, women associations and young entrepreneurs that are becoming increasingly more organised across the sub-region; and an active agricultural workforce of nearly 65 % of the population.

87. West African agriculture yet remains unproductive and undiversified, 17% of the population suffer from food insecurity, food imports make up 19% of all imports, and cereals like rice, a food staple in many countries, accounts for 50%. The ECOWAS zone also shows a very strongly heterogeneous array of country situations, and this is both an asset and a constraint in efforts to promote a viable sub-regional agriculture. It is an asset because being able to draw on the complementarities of different ecosystems or agro-ecological zones for agricultural production particularly of foodstuffs is an advantage; the constraint lies in the natural and human factors.

88. However, in spite of the progress during the last five years, current regional, sub-regional and national agricultural policies are yet to yield the expected results. From all indications, the system is not working smoothly; a few vital link are missing. One of these seems to be the fact that there is insufficient sub-regional integration and complementarity: to create a true agricultural common market and to be able to act jointly to address the persistent food insecurity, Member States need to revise their individual country policies. They need to target the same goals as community programmes so as to take advantage of the complementarities of production basins and consumer needs within the sub-region by creating specialisations based on their comparative advantage.

89. This situation, and the analysis made throughout this report, give every reason to believe that, while continuing to support peasant farmers with inputs, training, credit, etc., and encouraging their organisations, West Africa should be able to more actively promote agri-business, which is one of the pillars of agricultural development set out in NEPAD's Comprehensive Programme for African Agricultural Development (CPAAD), in the ECOWAS Agricultural Policy (ECOWAP) and in the WAEMU Agricultural Policy (PAU). Against the background of the ongoing economic crisis and virtually generalised recession in the developed countries that are also main aid donors, West Africa with $\frac{3}{4}$ of its countries among the LDCs, must act now, more than ever, to ensure its own food security in an endogenous manner so that it can stop depending on aid, which is certain to dry up gradually.

90. Given the available agro pastoral potential, and the fact that country policies applied thus far have failed to offset the serious food crop deficit that has plagued the sub-region for years and made it a major net importer of cereals and other foodstuffs, finding more innovative solutions is now an imperative. History has shown that the most life-changing

innovations appear in times of tough crisis. The African continent and West Africa in particular, can emerge from these multiform crises (food, financial and economic) to become an agricultural powerhouse, quite simply by adopting a new strategy for developing its vast expanses of land, which others do not have but covet.

91. Still within the same realm of thinking, agricultural co-enterprise can be adopted as a new strategy and has the potential to facilitate development of agribusiness to create new wealth and new jobs, to resolve the problem of food security through food crop intensification, realign the trade balance of the member States by reducing imports of foodstuffs, and re-place Africa on a more enviable position on the world stage. Similarly, it is only when food production is sufficiently developed that a sub-regional security stock of local products can be constituted to help stabilise prices, and create a regional agricultural commodity exchange market for better integration of the sector.

92. Developing agricultural co-enterprises appears to offer a prime opportunity that ECOWAS and its Member States and, indeed, all African countries should seize as they pursue their legitimate aspiration to ensure sustainable food security and a decent quality of life for their people in view of definitively free them from poverty. This is the main recommendation of this study.

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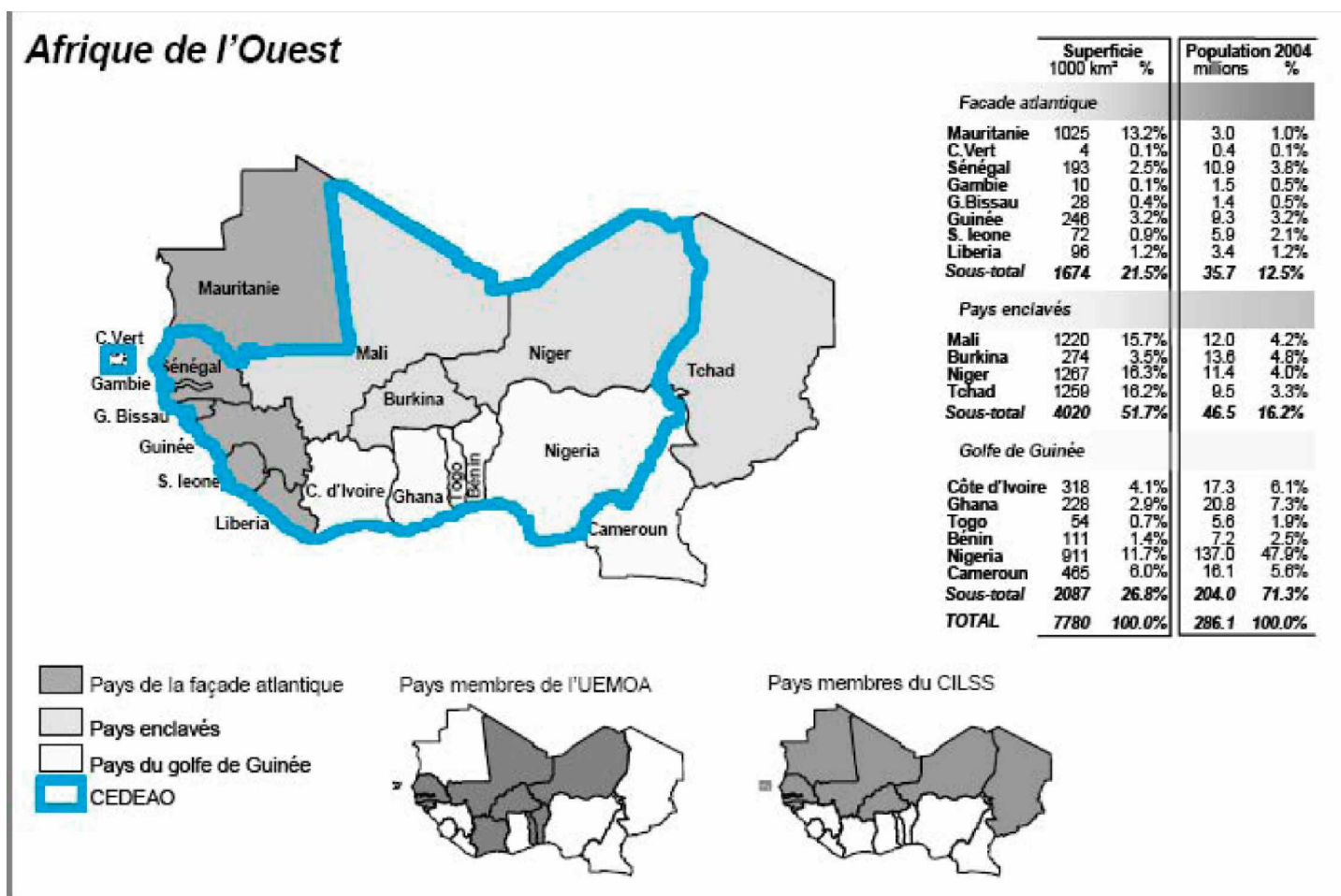
ANNEXES

Annex 1- Example of setting up the capital of an agricultural co-Enterprise

Tableau 1 - Données initiales						
	Superficie (ha)	Prix/ha (million)	Total (million)	CAPITAL DE LA CO-ENTREPRISE		
Terres	10 000	2	20 000	25 000		
Apport en numéraire	0,5	5 000				
Capital of the co-entreprise			25 000			
Tableau 2 - Règles pour les négociations d'affaires						
Niveau de négociation	Pourcentages			Total=100%	Parts	Groupes de Partenaires
Niveau National	60%	30%	10%	100%	7 500	Group National
Niveau Regional	50%	30%	20%	100%	15 000	Group Regional
Niveau Global	60%	30%	10%	100%	25 000	Co-entreprise
Tableau 3 - Parts et pourcentages des partenaires dans le capital de la co-entreprise						
Partenaires	% au Capital	Part Totale	Type de paiement	Cash pour co-entrep.	Cash pour l'Etat E	
Collectivités territoriales (mairies, préfecture,...) de la région du projet	9,00%	2 250	revenus des terres			
ETAT	18,00%	4 500	//	5000	-5000	
Autres régions du pays	3,00%	750	//			
Partenaires issus des pays riverains du fleuve Niger	18,00%	4 500	Cash		4 500	
Autres partenaires africains	12,00%	3 000	Cash		3 000	
Partenaire Stratégique choisi au niveau mondial	30,00%	7 500	Cash		7 500	
Pool d'autres éventuels investisseurs	10,00%	2 500	Cash		2 500	
Capital de la co-entreprise	100,00%	25 000	-	5 000	12 500	
Remarque:						
Part d'un pays an disposant de 3 ha des terres concédées à la co-entreprise:				0,675		

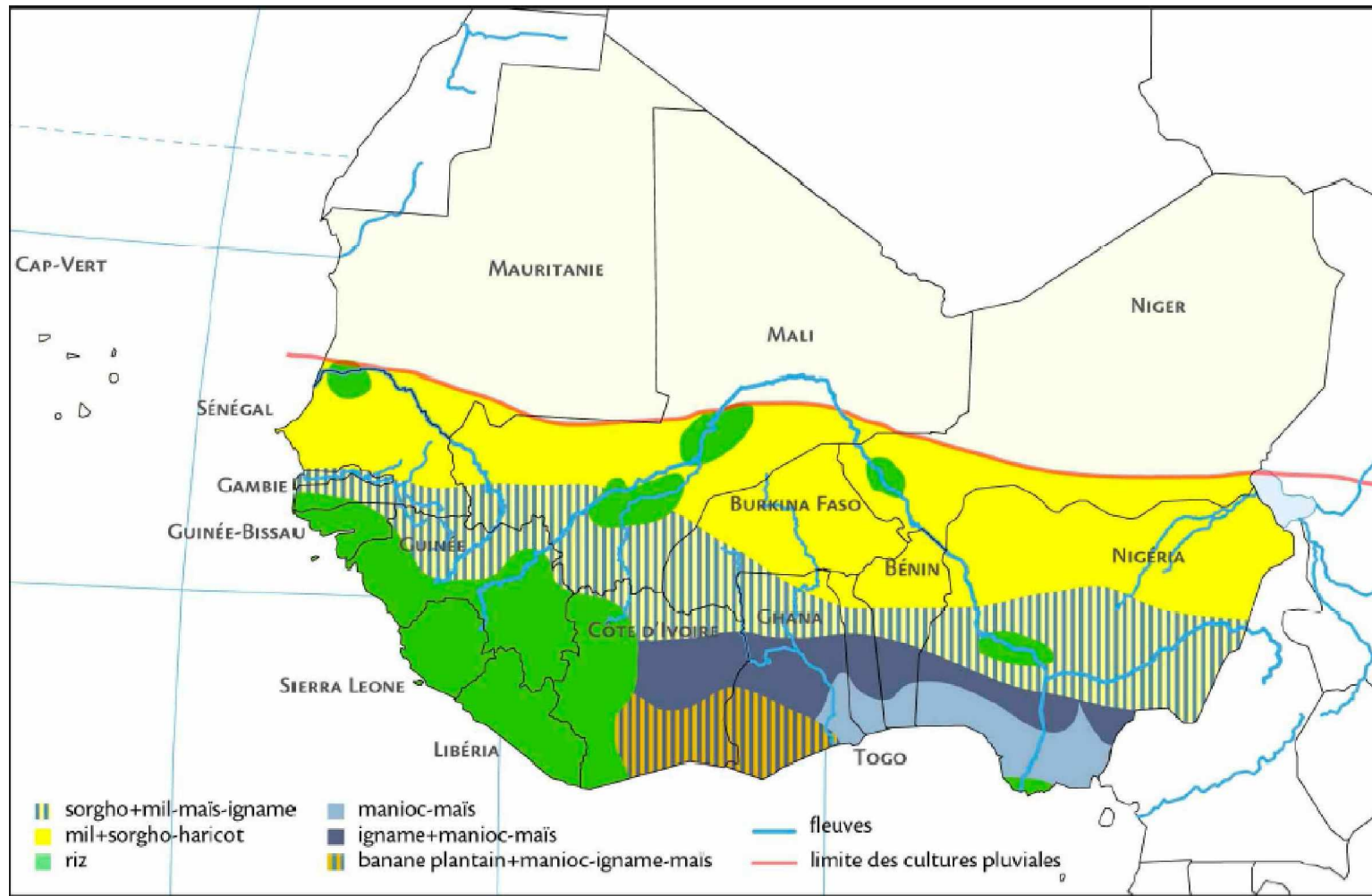
Source : Automatic calculation developed by the author on Excel

Annex 2 – West Africa



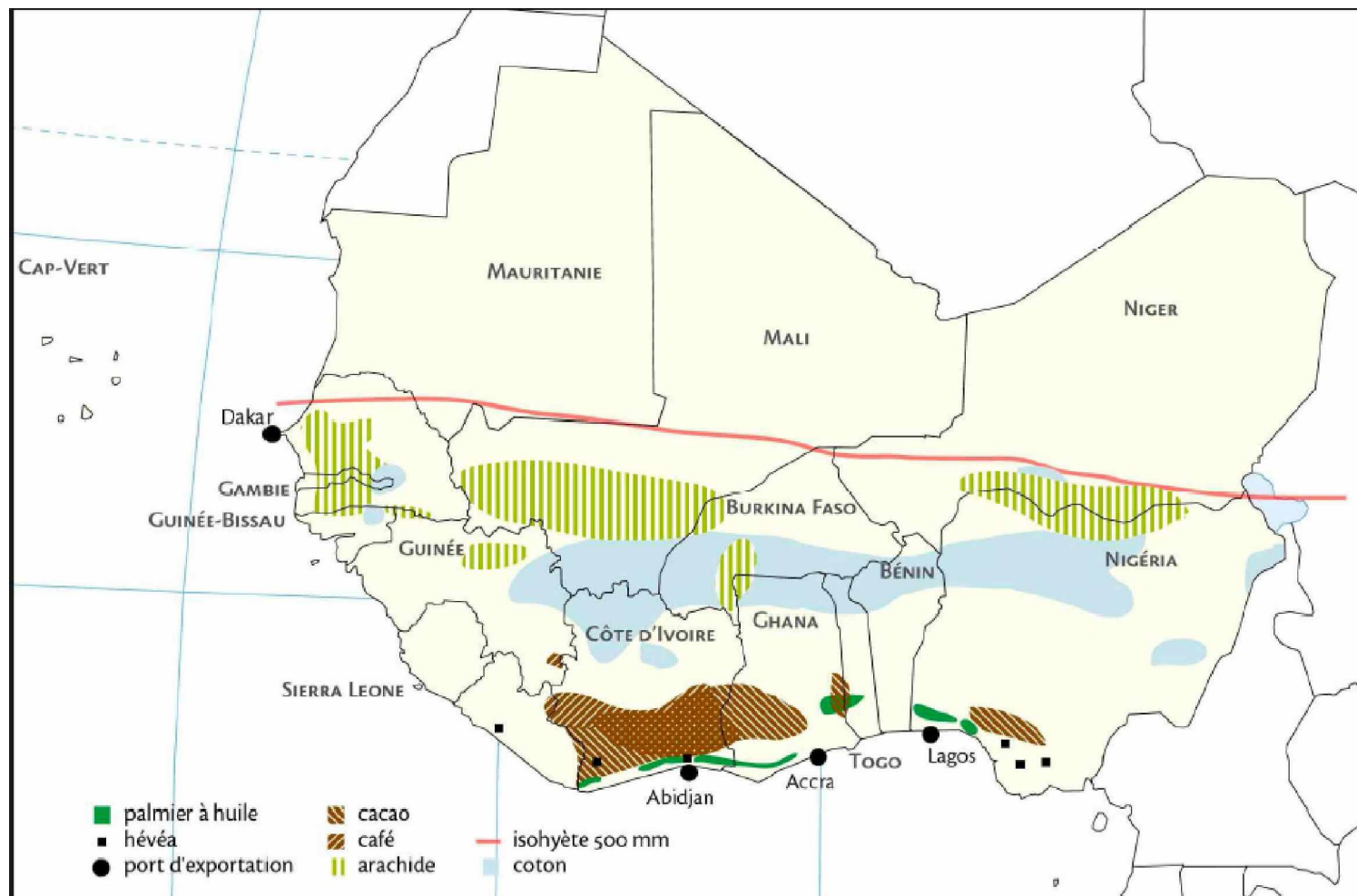
Source : SWAC, 2008

Annex 3 - Localisation of the main food crop production basins



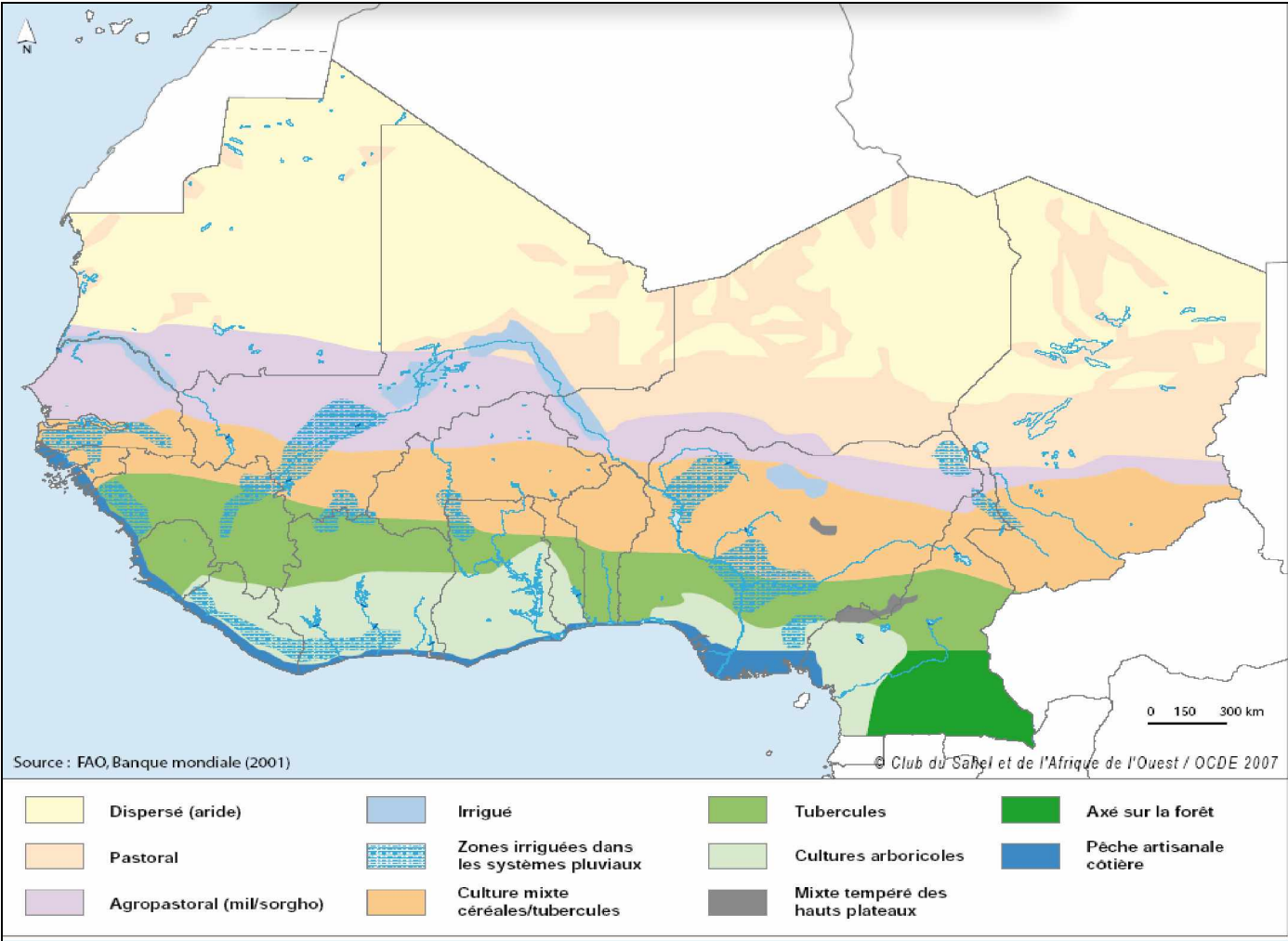
Source : FARM, 2008

Annex 4 - Localisation of main cash crop production basins



Source : FARM, 2008

Annex 5 – Major production systems in West Africa



Source : FAO, World Bank, 2001