

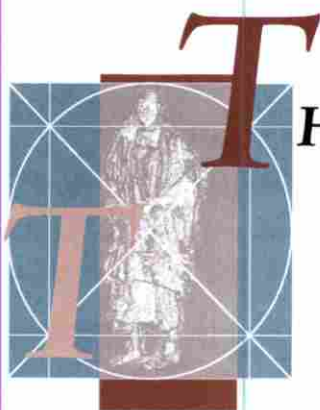
SAHEL 21:  
*No to poverty,  
opting for sustainable development*

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PERMANENT INTER-STATES COMMITTEE  
FOR DROUGHT CONTROL IN THE SAHEL





# THE TIME HAS COME FOR US TO FULFILL OUR COMMITMENTS

<sup>1</sup> Declaration of Copenhagen on social development and action program of the world summit for social development; United Nations

<sup>2</sup> Declaration of the forum of Sahelian societies and memorandum of Banjul, CILSS/Sahel 21

<sup>3</sup> Declaration of the millennium adopted by United Nations General Assembly in New York, September 2000

<sup>4</sup> Monterrey Consensus on the financing of development; United Nations, March 2002

1995: The International Community recognises that "Social development is at the heart of the needs and aspirations of individuals throughout the World and constitutes a crucial responsibility for governments and all sectors of the civil society"<sup>1</sup>.

1997: Invited by CILSS to take the floor, the Sahelians shape their vision of the Sahel vowing to turn their backs on Poverty and under-development?

2000: The International Community enters into specific commitments to "Make the right to Development a reality for all and to keep the whole of humanity protected from want"<sup>2</sup>.

2000, Mali welcomes the actors of the Sahelian societies, the Heads of State and Government of CILSS member Countries whereas half of the 56 million Sahelians are living with less than one dollar a day and a third of them are suffering from hunger and malnutrition. On the eve of the third Millennium, they place food Security at the heart of the battle against Poverty and for economic development.

2002: The International Community is committed to promoting economic systems based on the principles of justice, equity, democracy, participation, transparency, accountability and openness<sup>4</sup>.

2015: The Sahel will have nearly 90 million inhabitants! Nearly half of them will be less than 15 years of age! Nearly one out of two Sahelians will be living in towns.

The Sahel is therefore on the eve of new changes to unprecedented heights. We must have a foresight for them, direct and accompany them in order to make the Sahel a peaceful and Secure place, a place for prosperity and growth for each of the children, a region that plays its role in the World.

2015, it is tomorrow! Nevertheless, debt remains a burden for the majority of our Countries which devote resources that would otherwise be more useful to health, education or agriculture.

2015, it is tomorrow! And yet, the rules governing international trade are still dictated by the interests of the Western countries and companies.

2015, it is tomorrow! And nevertheless we still cannot reverse the curves of human poverty!

This huge challenge is within reach of the Sahelians who already have had in the Past to push the fatality road-roller. But, slogans alone will not reduce Poverty. All efforts must be put together: civil society, governments and International communities for it is shared responsibility. To assume this responsibility is to engage a determined action in all instances, everywhere where there is the process of social, political and economic exclusion in order to ensure the dignity of all citizens of the Sahel.

That is the essence of this paper which shares the choices and priorities of the populations in order to trigger a debate on all of the concrete options destined to make sense out of the strategies for sustainable growth and poverty reduction and to avoid that the priorities of the Sahelians are not lost in bureaucratic red tape.

There is no more time to waste in order to construct a federated, democratic and peaceful Sahel, in good physical and moral health, productive and competitive, whilst respecting its values, open to Africa and the rest of the world.

The time has come for us to fulfill our commitments!

Alpha Oumar KONARÉ

President of the Republic of Mali  
Current Chairman of CILSS



Foreword      The time has come to fulfill our commitments!

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## ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ACP	African, Caribbean and Pacific Group
ADB	African Development Bank
CEMAC	Central African Economic and Monetary Community
CERPOD	Centre for Studies and Research on Population and Development
CET	Common External Tariff
CILSS	Permanent Interstate Committee for Drought Control in the Sahel
DAC	Development Assistance Committee (OECD)
DC	Developing Countries
DFI	Direct Foreign Investment
ECA	Economic Commission for Africa
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EDF	European Development Fund
EPA	Economic Partnership Agreement
EU	European Union
FAO	United Nations Organisation for Food and Agriculture
G8	Group of the 7 richest industrial countries plus Russia
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNP	Gross national Product
HDI	Human Development Index
HIPC	Heavily Indebted Poor Country
ILO	International Labour Office
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INSAH	Sahel Institute
LDC	Least Developed Country
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
NGOLC/EU	Non Governmental Organisations Liaison Committee with the European Union
NGOTG	Non Governmental Organisations Technical Group to the World bank
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
PPP	Purchasing Power Parity
PR	Poverty Reduction
PRSF	Poverty Reduction Strategy Framework
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
REFESA	Sahelian Women's Network
ROPFA	Network of West African Farmers and Agricultural Producer Organisations
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
UMA	Arab Maghreb Union
UN	United Nations
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference of Trade and Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNO	United Nations Organisation
WAEMU	West African Economic and Monetary Union
WHO	World Health Organisation
WTO	World Trade Organisation

# Poverty in the Sahel



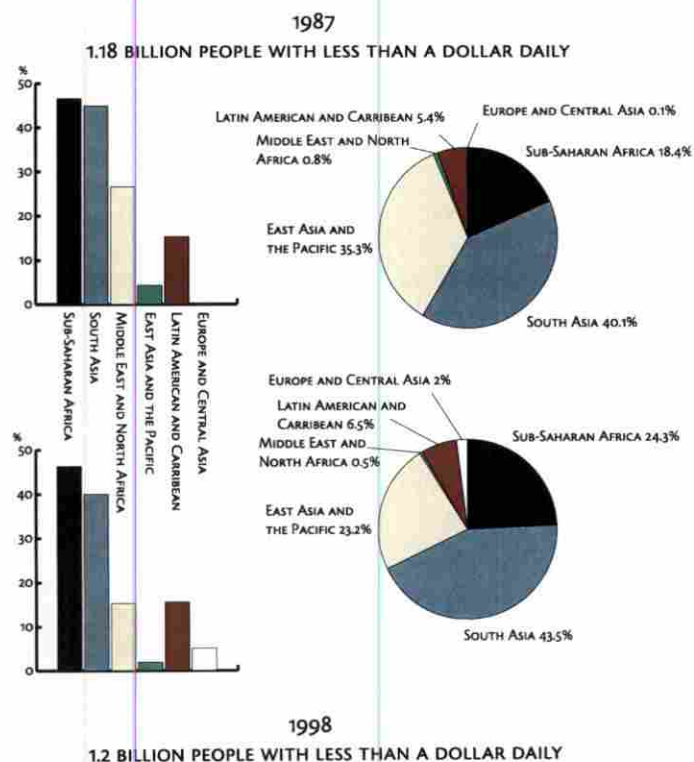
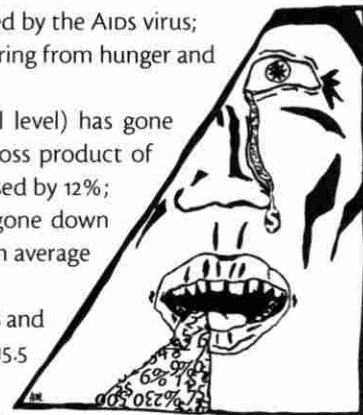
2002: half of the Sahelians still live in poverty! Victim of a fragile economic environment and an international context that marginalizes it, the region has not yet succeeded in finding its own avenue to development. Nevertheless, behind the often catastrophic figures, ways and means are being carved and the Sahelian actors could well change their lives.

The Sahel is one of the regions of the world —if not the region— most affected by the phenomenon of poverty. It does not escape the general dynamics that Sub-Saharan Africa is exposed to: between 1987 and 1998, the number of people living with less than a dollar a day has increased from 217.2 million to 291 million now. The proportion of the poor to the total population has remained stable but at a very high level, over 46%, which places Africa on top of the list of the poorest. But in the region of Eastern Europe and Central Asia where poverty obviously developed following the collapse of the Soviet system, Africa is the only region where demographic growth has resulted in an equivalent increase in poverty. Meanwhile, exclusions and poverty strike Western countries as well. At the level of the richest countries more than 100 million people (12%) are living in poverty with an income less than 50% of the average income.

In Sahelian Africa, available figures reveal the size of the phenomenon and its disturbing evolution on the eve of the 21st Century. Thus in the course of the last decade:

- The population grew by 35% evolving from 41.6 to 56 million inhabitants;
- More than one out of two Sahelians have less than a dollar daily to survive;

- 800,000 adults are infected by the AIDS virus;
- 17 million people are suffering from hunger and malnutrition;
- The GDP (at the regional level) has gone down by 5% when the gross product of Sub-Saharan Africa increased by 12%;
- The GDP per capita has gone down by 30% and levels out at an average of 284 dollars;
- Debt has increased by 26% and amounts henceforth to 15.5 billion dollars;
- Debt servicing has slightly gone down but still covers a volume of 657 million dollars representing 11% of export earnings, corresponding to a repayment of 11.7 dollars per capita yearly;
- Trade balance deficit increased by 5% and amounts henceforth to over 1.7 billion dollars that is to say \$31 per capita yearly;
- Official development aid has been divided into two, falling from \$70 in 1990 to \$37 in 1998.



## FIGURES THAT REVEAL A LOT

### POVERTY IN THE WORLD

- 2.8 billion people (out of 6) live with less than two dollars daily;
- 1.3 billion people are surviving with less than a dollar a day;
- 840 million people suffer from hunger and malnutrition;
- 1 billion people are illiterate;
- 9% of boys and 14% of girls of school-going age are uneducated;
- 6% of children die before the age of 1 and 8% before age 5.

### INEQUALITIES IN THE WORLD

- The net fortune of the ten richest billionaires of the world equals to 1.5 times the revenues of 49 least developed countries;
- The richest 1% have an accumulated revenue equal to that of the poorest 57%;
- The revenue of 10% of the poorest people only represent in 1993 1.6% of the revenue of the richest 10%;
- 25% of the people on the planet share 75% of the world revenue;
- The richest 25 million Americans have an income equivalent to that of the poorest 2 billion people of the world.

### GROWTH... OF INEQUALITIES

- 20% of the poorest individuals share 1.1% of world revenue in 1997 as against 1.4% in 1991 and 2.3 in 1960;
- The revenue of the richest 20% represent 30 times the revenue of 20% of the poorest in 1960, 61 times in 1991 and 78 times in 1994.

SOURCES : PNUD and WORLD BANK



plagued by this epidemic, and this intensity varies according to the agro-climatic zones.

Malnutrition hampers future capacity building of the Sahel, particularly in the course of children (a child of three to five years of age suffers from insufficient weight and a growth gap) thus reducing the physical and intellectual capacities and reinforcing a vulnerability to illnesses. Moreover, under-nourishment or mal-nutrition affects to productivity of adults and therefore their capacity to procure for themselves the sufficient resources in order to satisfy their household needs.

It is on the question of access to basic social services that the approach in terms of human development has more or less triggered the traditional approach to poverty centred on the gross national product. Sahelian countries have devoted their main resources to the development of economic infrastructures and have singularly neglected the social dimension of human development: equitable access to health care, education and housing...

This malaise provoked by the brutal lay-off of a large number of jobs in the civil service and the suppression of certain sectors of activity deemed uncompetitive is grossly amplified by the suppression of security nets and the fall of investment in the social infrastructures. To this should be added constraints specific to the Sahel: the weak density of the population on average —10 inhabitants per km<sup>2</sup>— the land-lockedness and isolation in particular in the driest zones North of the Sahelian countries result in high costs for the creation and maintenance of infrastructure (roads, tracks, schools, health centres, energy, etc).

#### *69% of illiteracy*

Population growth constitutes a permanent handicap with regard to the provision of services to the people. Despite this handicap, the Sahelian region has managed to improve several key indicators. In the education sector, the situation has improved some fifteen years ago. The level of literacy remains weak but the overall trend is improving with regard to the constraints. Adult (15 years of age and above) literacy rate is 31% for the region but the proportion of literate adults has risen to 60% since 1985. More significantly, 46% of young adults are now literate and this proportion has increased by 72% in 15 years. However, there are still a large number of disparities with regard to access to education, between the countries on the one hand and between rural and urban areas on the other hand. Finally, the percentage of children in full-time education seems to have dropped once again, another major fact being the situation of the women who are dragging behind compared to the men.

#### *Less than one of out of three girls attend school*

Whilst 40% of the adult males are literate, the females represent only 22%. Yet, it is acknowledged that providing school education for the females is a powerful lever for alleviating poverty. Not only is education decisive when it comes to fertility control, but also it is an essential ingredient in the areas of nutrition, health... Finally, the dynamics of change (the diversification of the sources of income, management of savings and credit, the proper organisation of trade...) rest very often on the willingness and determination of the women. From this perspective, the available data on education do not seem to be very encouraging. For the whole of the Sahel the gross total for combined education reveals that access to education is marking time: Only 22% of the women and 34% of the men are provided school educa-

tion presently. Finally only 32% of the girls are attending primary school!

#### *6 out of 10 Sahelians are denied access to health*

Poverty can also be largely traced in the health sector. Two figures illustrate the gravity of the situation:

- One out of five children dies before the age of 5 years;
- Life expectancy does not go beyond 48 years.

This situation results from precarious health conditions in which the majority of the population lives, the absence of medical care or the insufficiency of appropriate treatments in case of illnesses, the persistence of epidemics, etc. Nonetheless, these two indicators have been improved upon in the past 30 years. In 1970, according to UNDP data, the mortality rate for children of less than five years of age was higher than 30% and life expectancy seven years lower than what it is today.

Moreover, in the area of infrastructures linked to hygiene and health conditions the situations differ drastically. But in the whole of the Sahel, the possibilities of meeting the essential needs of the populations remain limited:

- 58% of Sahelians don't have access to health facilities;
- 39% have no access to essential medicines and vaccines;
- 39% have no access to potable water;
- 51% have no access to developed watering points.

Furthermore, we are witnessing to a large extent a form of privatisation of health services, which is conducive to distinguishing clearly families which have sufficient resources to take care of themselves and thus meet the costs of quality health care as opposed to the vast majority of poor families. They cannot meet the real costs of medicines and are therefore excluded from the health care system, obliged to let the patients pay for their treatment costs.

#### *Participation in public life*

Poverty in the Sahel is not limited —like everywhere else— only to the material dimension. It is also to be found in its most extreme forms such as exclusion from the social group or the Community as a whole. But before this extreme, which hits rather less on the Sahelian countries than the so called "developed" societies insofar as there still exist in the Sahel other forms of very active community-based solidarity, poverty results in a series of "shortages" which do not allow the individual to live like a decent citizen, part and parcel of a community as a whole. These needs include: access to information and the media, access to means of communication such as telephone, access to means of movement and transport and access to equitable justice, etc. Although the majority of the countries are now democracies some of which being very popular, the exercise of full citizenship goes through a reduction of inequalities and an improvement of the social situation of the people. A lot of effort has been deployed in order to make the poor participate in the decisions that concern them. The logic of decentralisation of the management of public affairs with the emergence of local communities and the election of local officers can be seen in this light. But, there seems to be still a long way to go before the poor can become truly recognised as citizens by the whole gamut of actors and operators intervening in development orientations and options. Political rights are not in any way less important than economic and social rights!



# A single region, but a diversity of situations



**S**AHELIAN COUNTRIES have become accustomed to tackling their common problems together. The narrowness of their economies and national markets, the agro-climatic constraints, the relations of interdependence that they maintain amongst themselves and with the rest of West and Central Africa, the feeling of the people to belong to the same communal destiny are at the heart of this logic for sub-region cooperation. Yet, beyond the numerous common features, the Sahel region is characterized by diversity.

The nine countries of the CILSS zone cover an area of 5,343,545 km<sup>2</sup> in the most western part of West Africa. The zone bears a long oceanic frontage, which confers to the five coastal countries some important fish resources. The diversity of the agro-climatic zones is a determining factor for the potentialities of agricultural development:

- The arid zone of the North, characterised by a Saharan climate (rainfall level inferior to 200 mm yearly) covers a strip of land formed by vast parts of Chad, Niger, Mali and the major part of Mauritania;
- The Sahelian zone receives an average annual rainfall level of between 200 and 700 mm. The Harmattan winds blow there for months. The irregularity of the rains is a major factor for the vulnerability of the populations;
- The Sudanian zone covers the stretch situated between isohyets 800 and 1,200 mm encompassing parts of Burkina Faso, Mali, Niger, Senegal as well as the northern part of the Gambia;
- The Guinean zone which is endowed with a rain water level between 1,400 and 1,800 mm concerns the major part of Guinea-Bissau;

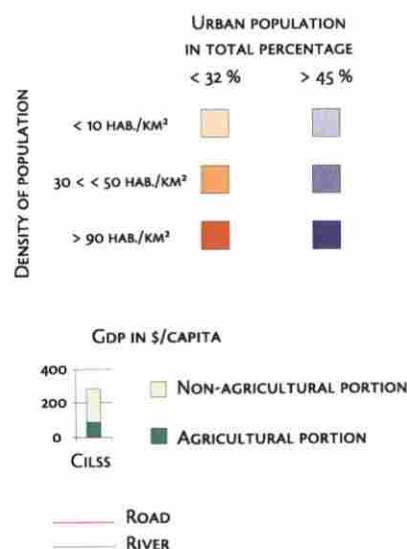
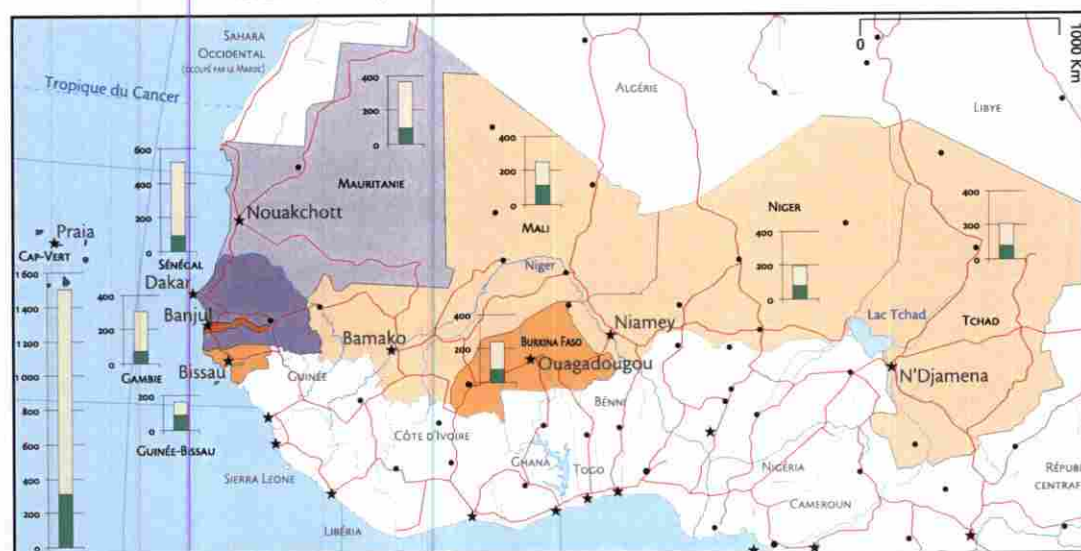
- The littoral zone formed by the coastal parts of Senegal, Mauritania, the Gambia, Guinea-Bissau and by the Islands of Cape Verde is strongly marked by a maritime influence.

Over the last thirty years the isohyets shifted some 200 to 300 km southwards provoking some big changes in farming methods and encouraging the migration of the people towards the Sudanian zones, the coastal and western countries. Since 1985, the Sahel has not been familiar to chronic drought though it poses a permanent threat.

Climatic zoning and the irrigation possibilities are two determining factors for the settlement of the rural populations and the agricultural production dynamics.

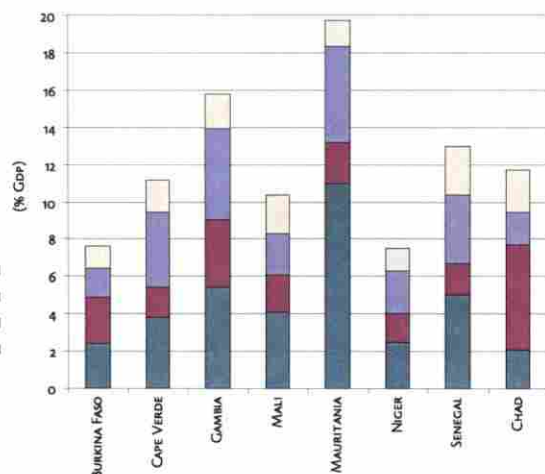
Whereas 84% of the "CILSS Zone" receives less than 600 mm yearly, only 48% of the rural population lives in it. The 14% of the area most endowed with rain concentrate the two-thirds of the value added on cultivation. In this regard, disparities between the countries are highly pronounced since the quasi-total of space and of the rural population of Mauritania, Cape Verde, and of Niger are below the 600 mm threshold.

URBANISATION, POPULATION DENSITY AND AVERAGE INCOME





## BUDGET PRIORITIES



## A PRECARIOUS FOOD SITUATION

It is estimated that 30% of Sahelian men and women, i.e., 17 million people, experience the pangs of hunger. Chronic under-nourishment affects more than 20% of the population and the most vulnerable groups: infants, women... and more generally the populations living in precarious ecological zones.

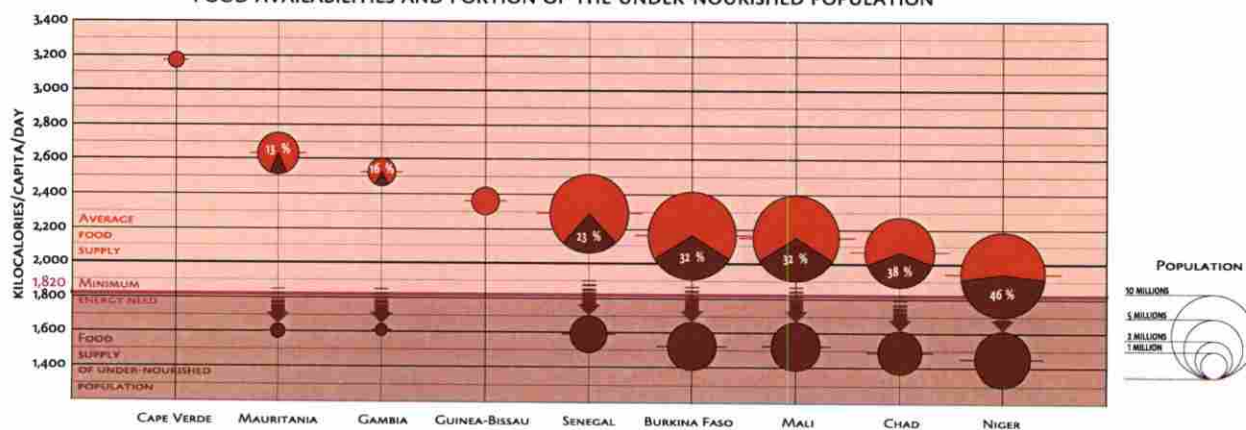
In the past, food crises in the Sahel were primarily caused by drought which provoked a very serious decline in cereal harvests thus resulting in famine in the affected rural zones. Since that time, the food and agricultural policies adopted by the countries have been drastically reformed. Deemed both inefficient and budget consuming, the food policies administered via the marketing boards have been substituted by market and price liberalisation policies. The withdrawal of the State has permitted the private operators to exercise a much more important role in the functioning of the markets, to develop trade within the Sahel and with neighbouring countries thereby putting in play the principle of complementary among the agricultural zones. With support from CILSS, the countries have set up systems for crop estimation and early warning. These information systems have improved on crisis prevention and thus reduce their impact on the populations.

A more favourable atmosphere coupled with a more enabling political and economic environment has accompanied a profound transformation of the Sahelian agriculture. In 10 years, cereal production grew to the tune of 20%. Producers have diversified their crops particularly in those areas well connected to the urban markets and where water control is possible.

This diversification has been directed primarily towards market gardening and fruit products and also towards the development of short season livestock breeding (poultry, ovine). In the pastoral zones the reformation of the grazing lands has made it possible to re-capitalise the herds and thus develop the exportation of livestock towards the coastal countries. In the agro-pastoral zones a better integration of agriculture and livestock breeding has been conducive to the improvement of soil productivity and fertility.

Despite this remarkable progress, which illustrates the capacities of the producers to cope with changing situations, regional agriculture remains largely characterised by traditional farming systems. The essence of this growth of cereal production comes from an increase in cultivated land and, except for maize and rice, not from agricultural intensification. This continuous development of the farmland often takes place to the detriment of the fallow system and favours land degradation and a reduction of its fertility. Demographic growth is conducive to the consumption of more and more natural resources thereby jeopardising their replenishment and accelerating the phenomena of desertification not to mention the proliferation of conflicts between farmers and pastoralists. This attitude of the producers is often rational for in the case of the rain-fed crops the rainfall level is the principal factor that determines production. As a result, it is difficult to invest in inputs (fertilizers, seeds, treatment products...) whilst the drought, even where it is of short duration, can compromise productions. And all the more so because the producers have small financial resources and access to credit is marginal especially in food-producing areas where there is virtually no cash crops. Poverty in the rural areas directly fuels the degradation of natural resources and this in turn breeds poverty. It is a vicious cycle and agriculture will never succeed in developing along the rate of the population growth. Thus, if on the whole the production of cereals has increased, it has in actual fact reduced per capita. The improvement of the average availabilities of cereals per capita, quite significant in the majority of the countries, is made possible by a big boost in importations, which is costly for the balance of payments. Taking into account the big size of the population which draws its resources from agriculture, food crises were up to now much more serious in the rural areas. But the Sahel is urbanising at a fast pace. In the cities, access to food depends almost exclusively on a recourse to the market. Food Security of these households is therefore directly linked to financial resources. There, also, the access to economic activities, employment and to income are the pillars to food security.

## FOOD AVAILABILITIES AND PORTION OF THE UNDER-NOURISHED POPULATION





# How to finance development?



THIS QUESTION which preoccupies all of the developing countries is even more acute in the Sahel: debt burden, almost inexistent inflow of private capital, stagnation of exports, drop in the flow of development aid, facing huge needs in order to fulfil the "development objectives of the millennium" as fixed by the international community at large. The "Monterrey Consensus" lays down the terms and principles of a new North/South partnership but no commitment has been entered into as regards development aid or free access to the markets of countries of the North.

Now that the International Community is ever more divided on all of the big issues —the impact of globalisation on the fragile economies, debt, development aid, fight against global warming etc.— it wanted to show an air of unity at the Monterrey conference held in Mexico in March 2002, by adopting a consensual declaration on the Financing of development. But for the Sahelian countries, just like the majority of the poor countries, it will be really difficult to wage the war against poverty without a noticeable improvement in the international environment. In fact, despite the determination of the Sahelian countries, the bulk of the serious obstacles which are the developed countries' responsibility have not been taken into account.

## DEBT OPPOSITE DEVELOPMENT

The majority of the Sahelian countries remain strongly indebted. Although, they are not among the most indebted ones, the CILSS countries, with the exception of Cape Verde, have an indebtedness level deemed "unviable" by international Financial Institutions. Consequently, they are eligible to a fresh initiative on debt reduction worked out for highly indebted poor countries.

A very significant part of the budget of the States is reserved for the repayment of debt. When related to exports of goods and services, the debt servicing of five out of the nine countries of the CILSS zone is higher than the average of Subsaharan Africa (14.3%). They are: Burkina Faso, Guinea-Bissau, Mauritania, Niger and Senegal. The case of Mauritania is particularly serious with a debt servicing equivalent to more than 28% of export earnings. On average for the CILSS zone, the repayment of debt each year represents a third of development aid received, or the equivalent of 18% of exports.

By evidence, these resources devoted to the repayment of debt, contracted sometimes for the financing of doubtful infrastructures decided upon by previous governments are all resources that could be injected in the economic development and strategies for alleviating poverty. For the eight countries of the CILSS zone, except Cape Verde, debt servicing rose to 802 million dollars in 1999 whilst social spending devoted to the education and health sectors was 890 million dollars. In the case of Guinea-Bissau, Mali, Mauritania, Niger and Senegal, debt servicing in 1999 was higher than public spending on education and health. Still for the whole of the CILSS zone, debt repayment rep-

resents 30% of public revenue. This figure jumps to 60% in Niger and 100% in Guinea Bissau! The reinforced HIPC initiative makes way for a big reduction of debt servicing but the relief only bears on a fraction of the whole of public debt. In fact the mechanism less aims at releasing resources for human development than reducing debt servicing in order to make it tolerable by the countries and to allow for effective repayment. The adoption of a poverty reduction strategy and the commitment of governments towards this objective is a condition so that the countries could benefit from restructuring measures and debt reduction, a form of conditionality. However, it is not the financial needs necessary for implementing this strategy which determine the size of the reduction. The resources released by the reduction of debt servicing must be allocated for poverty reduction, well thought-out within the framework of a strategy defined in principle on a participatory basis, in which the government plays a leadership role and recorded in the poverty reduction strategy paper (PRSP). Meanwhile, the debt reductions are calculated in such a way that the countries fulfil once again the three criteria of "sustainability" (see table below). Thus, the total amount of reductions on debt servicing for the eight eligible countries rises to 266 million dollars yearly.

## THE CRITERIA FOR THE DEBT SUSTAINABILITY (REINFORCED HIPC INITIATIVE)

STOCK OF DEBT (CNV) / EXPORTS	< 150%
DEBT SERVICING / EXPORTS	< 15%
STOCK OF DEBT (CNV) / BUDGETARY INCOME	< 250%
CNV : CURRENT NET VALUE	

When related to debt servicing payable in 1999, this reduction represents a third of the average amount payable. But the eight countries have effectively in 1999 only repaid 63% of the 802 million that they had to pay. Consequently, for the whole of the CILSS zone, debt servicing after reduction amounts to 508 million dollars whilst the countries had not repaid in 1999 not more than 536 million. This reality shows all the limitations of the HIPC initiative and its actual range. However, the situation is effectively very different from country to country. In the case of Burkina Faso, which honoured her debt servicing to a tune of 50 million dollars,

<sup>1</sup> computations were done by Anne-Sophie BOUGOUIN and Marc RAFFINOT with data from the World Bank and the IMF: in *Les nouvelles stratégies internationales de lutte contre la pauvreté*, DIAL/Economica 2002.



The working party which prepared the Monterrey Conference admits that figures for the "Millennium development objectives" were difficult to obtain and that it had to resort to a country by country analysis. It projects the figure of 50 billion dollars yearly as supplementary aid. On its part, the World Bank emphasises that such a volume is necessary but insists that the developing countries reform their institutions and their policies in order to enhance the efficacy of aid. It evaluates the supplementary needs at 39 and 54 billion dollars yearly. The high value rests on the hypothesis that the least performing countries sufficiently reform their policies in order to be able to enhance the increased aid. The generalisation of primary education from now to the year 2015 requires a supplement of 10 to 15 billion dollars yearly. The objectives relating to health would, in their case, cost some 20 to 25 billion supplementary dollars yearly.

The Bank also evaluates the impact of a reduction, by 50%, of the protection of world markets. This would result in a gain of 200 billion

dollars by the year 2015 for the developing countries as a whole. However, it presupposes that Sub-Saharan Africa would benefit little from it, for "Countries with small revenues are too poor to fully profit from multilateral liberalisation of trade".

International Institutions therefore agreed on the necessity of doubling development aid. The OECD has just indicated that the members of the DAC have provided, in the year 2000, some 53.7 billion of public aid, thus bringing down their contribution to 0.22% of the GNP (it was at 0.32% in 1992). Only five countries, especially from Northern Europe, respect the international commitment to devote 0.7% of the GNP to development aid, taken in 1970 and reminded endlessly ever since. However, the United States have just decided to increase their aid to 5 billion dollars in three years taking it to 0.15% of the GNP. On its part, the European Union which provides nearly half of the world ODA has decided to increase, from now to 2006, its contribution from 0.32 to 0.39% of the GNP.

#### THE "MONTERREY CONSENSUS"

The Heads of State and Government, meeting in Monterrey (Mexico) on the 21 and 22 of March 2002 adopted unanimously a declaration devoted to the financing of development. This Conference was convened to mobilise resources for the attainment of commitments taken by the International Community in its millennium declaration for the elimination of Poverty, improvement of the social condition and raising of the standard of living and also environmental protection. (Cf. Index B). Below are some extracts of the final declaration.

#### Objective

"... To eliminate Poverty, attain a sustained economic growth and promote sustainable development as we progress towards a global economic system that is truly open to all and equitable".

#### Method

"... The attainment of development objectives [...] calls for a new partnership between developed and developing countries. We undertake to apply rational policies, introduce good governance at all levels and to ensure the primacy of law. We also undertake to mobilise national resources, attract international capital flow, promote international trade as the driving force for development, intensify international financial and technical cooperation for development purposes, the viable financing of debt and the reduction of external debt and to reinforce the coherence of international monetary, financial and trade systems [...]. National development efforts should hinge on an enabling international economic environment [...]. Globalisation should be equitably profitable to all [...]. Considering that peace and development mutually reinforce one another, [...]. We undertake to promote, on the national and world scale, economic systems based on the principles of justice, equity, democracy, participation, transparency, accountability and openness".

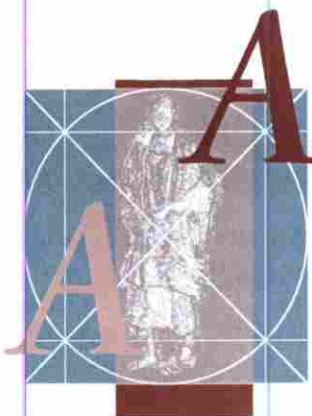
#### Means

- *To mobilise national financial resources:* The mobilisation of public and private savings to finance productive investments and human development requires good macro-economic policies, solid democratic institutions that meet the needs of the populations, legal frameworks favourable to the private sector, to the increase in and equitable redistribution of income, the fight against corruption at all levels, financial transparency, etc. The investment in the basic economic and social infrastructures, as well as access to micro-financing, in particular for the women and the rural area, are an essential element for poverty reduction;
- *To mobilise international resources:* direct foreign investments and other private financial flows. In addition to their contribution to the financing of growth, DFIs call for the transfer of knowledge and technology, create jobs, stimulate competitiveness, etc. The growth of capital flows necessitates good macro-economic policies, a transparent, stable and foreseeable framework, etc.;
- *International trade, the driving force of growth and development.* Trade liberalisation is a fundamental element of the development strategy. It is important to open many more markets for exports by the developing countries. The latter should also reduce the barriers among them. The necessary support should be made available so that the Developing Countries may better take advantage of the opportunities offered by trade;
- *Reinforcement of international financial and technical cooperation.* The ODA plays a vital role in complementing the other sources of financing. A big increase in ODA will be a must. Improving policies and development strategies will allow to increase the effectiveness of aid: harmonisation of procedures, abandonment of tied aid, budgetary support mechanisms, etc.;
- *External debt.* Rapid implementation of the reinforced HIPC initiative, and flexibility of the eligibility criteria, continuation of effort aimed at reducing the debt level, etc.;
- *Coherence of international monetary, financial and trade systems in support of development.* Improving the governance of the global economy, strengthening the role of the United Nations to promote development, reform of the international financial structure, coordination of the macro-economic policies of developed countries, etc.





# Consensus and controversies



**A** FASHIONABLE CONCEPT or a real break with the past? Today, poverty reduction seems to bring together an array of institutions and actors confronted by what was called so far development issues. Nevertheless, the opposition to this view has never been so structured between the supporters of economic globalisation and the coalition, say, of "anti globalisation".

Is there, in this consensus, a real awareness and a common will to respect the dignity, political, economic and social rights of all human beings? Or, should we, on the contrary simply see in it a new fashion aimed only at accompanying the globalisation movement towards economic and financial ends and the development of disparities between nations themselves in order to alleviate the social impact of poverty? The reality is without doubt less simple for it reflects a complex combination of motivations and approaches.

Since the sixties, certain trends of thought have maintained their distance with a development vision of newly independent States that is uniquely centred on the materialistic and strictly economic approach to development. They already tackle the question of development in its multidimensional form and challenge the indicators currently used —like the GNP— in order to assess the wealth of a nation, a community or an individual. It is the same philosophy which has, moreover, presided over the creation of certain international organisations like the UNCTAD —which in the beginning was strongly influenced by the international market organisation objective and by the so called group of "non-aligned" countries— UNICEF, the ILO etc. A new momentum has emerged from the work initiated by the UNDP at the end of the eighties on human development with the introduction of much more complex indicators but which allows for taking into account the many facets of poverty and human development.

## THE FAILURE OF DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES

The rise in strength of the problem of poverty in national and international preoccupations can be explained by at least two concomitant phenomena:

- The failure of development policies set up in the post-independence era, as sanctioned by the economic and financial adjustment phase of the 80s. Having been more and more criticised for the role they played in the liberal reform of public policies (internal and external liberalisation, endless privatisation, challenge on the redistributive functions of the State...), the international financial institutions and more especially the donor community began a second examination of their conscience: on the one hand on the orientation and rate of the reforms on the macro-economic level, and the exercise of conditionalities preceding the granting of aid judged ineffective and "disempowering";

- The international structuring of the NGO movement, the emergence of organised civil society —including in Africa— and its interference in the debate about development policies, international financial and economic regulation, trade organisation, the stakes relating to the common goods of humanity (the preservation of the environment, the quality of food, peace, security, etc.). The economic liberalisation and political democratisation of many developing countries have, with the end of the cold war, led social movements and the NGOs to go beyond their usual scope of intervention (small development projects at the local level in particular), to raise questions that only the States had authority to treat. Progressively, various movements endowed with charismatic personalities heralding preoccupations which met the support of the citizens succeeded in weaving a global network with the efficient support of the Internet.

For all that, if the international organisations and the non-governmental movements developed the habit of dialogue —particularly within the framework of the many international Summits organised on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations— the consensus is still far from being realised.

## DIVERGENCE OVER THE ORIGIN AND CAUSES POVERTY

According to the NGO Working Group established at the World Bank (NGOWG) *"The poor make up the majority of the world population and poverty is neither an exception nor a distortion, but a characteristics of the world social economy"*. On its side, the NGO Liaison Committee with the European Union declares that *"the extension of poverty is owing to the action and interaction of complex political and economic forces from the North to the South. Inequality, the oppression and non-respect for human rights and democracy persist in many societies in the South where the elites maintain their political and economic domination. Meanwhile, the concentration of wealth in developed countries and in the hands of the elites of developing countries finds its foundation and continuity in a commercial system distorted by the North, debt and structural adjustment policies promoted by the developed countries as well as in the degradation of the environment and an exhaustion of natural resources"*.

On its part, the UNDP underlines at regular intervals the growing concentration of wealth (Cf. Index A) so much on the world level as within the developed countries themselves which deprives the poor of a large part of the positive effects expected from the economic growth. On their side, the international



"Socio-cultural obstacles", "impedimenta" are often pushed forward to explain the African societies' inability to "become modern" and "to develop themselves". Doesn't poverty reduction—presented as a universal struggle—refer to a Western and materialistic vision of "happiness" which is standing out everywhere, in the same way as the economic and financial globalisation move? Doesn't it correspond to a new form of imperialism, a new way of imposing a single vision of the world and of "development"? These questions need to be raised at a time when managing the complexity of the world seems to indicate more a logic of standardization than a concern for managing the diversity of cultures and ways of life? Points of views.

*"One should have experienced the slow meditation that taps out the silent and somnolent steps of a dromedary through the white death of the sands, to really understand what will be snatched from man, after the death of the last nomad. Should a people die before one realises that it exists?"*

Mano DAYAK, Paroles de Touaregs.

*"Indeed, poverty consists neither of a small quantity of goods, nor simply in a relationship between ends and means; it is first of all a relationship between human beings, a social status. As such, it is an invention of civilization. It has developed at the same time as an odious class distinction, and especially as a relationship of exploitation"*

Marshall SAHLINS

*"The objectives of State projects and programs are laudable, because they aim at improving the living conditions of the populations by promising them water, drugs, food, decent housing, in quality and quantity, but they do not solve the equally important problems of civic pride. Civic pride is something which gives life a meaning. Esteem, human dignity cannot be bought nor sold. Integrity remains a basic component of human dignity and it confers on the citizens their entire reason for living. The civic pride of the peasants finds expression in terms of solidarity, intellectual probity, moral, psychological and material security. It does not accumulate materially but capitalizes in goods of collective interest and in living together in harmony. [...] The state programs are limited to slogans such as, 20 litres of water per day/capita by year 2000, health for all in year 2000, etc. These programs based on so-called development objectives take into account material concerns which exclude other ambitions, such as living, thinking and acting in sympathy with the other citizens of the world".*

Roago Antoine SAWADOGO, L'État africain face à la décentralisation.

*"Doesn't the true human wealth consist of—instead of a frenzied individual or collective accumulation of money and material goods— a constant capacity to acquire and share knowledge, wisdom, sciences, intelligence, imagination, beauty, poetic power, a high conscience of the other?"*

Jean Michel BRUYÈRE and Issa SAMB, La guerre aux pauvres.

*"...not having any more eyes to see itself, a word to say to itself, an arm to act, the hurt society adopts the look of the other, speaks to itself with the word of the other, acts on itself with the arms of the other. Its world is well disillusioned. What remains to it when its gods are dead, when its myths are described as fables, and when its exploits are impotent and useless? The Non Western society cannot but any longer discover itself in insane nudity, as the West has ordered it to be: miserable. Doomed to infant mortality, a derisory life expectancy, eaten up by parasites of all kinds, it possesses only archaic and ridiculous techniques, which give it a negligible GNP per capita. It sees in its rites only monstrous protuberances, bred by the delirium of destitution and obscurantism. Besieged by batteries of criteria laid down by the United Nations Organisation, it is defeated, it acknowledges defeat. It even clamours to be ranked among the least developed societies. It is no longer good but for international begging [...] underdevelopment is, essentially, this look, this word of the West, this opinion on the other, declared as miserable before it becomes so, and becoming so because it has been judged so, irrevocably. Underdevelopment is a Western naming".*

Serge LATOUCHE, La planète uniforme.

*"Thus in the absence of a deep rooting of the myths, beliefs and values which give a meaning to our conception of the vital minimum, the study of the United Nations' set of criteria for survival thresholds represents a form of ethnocentrism".*

Serge LATOUCHE, L'autre Afrique.

*"For an individual, poverty is first seen as a deterioration of the bonds that tie him/her to a community of life. Impoverishment is first of all an exclusion from the modes of access to resources that produce incomes and social ties such as education, information, credit, land, capital, the status which is recognized to you as a member of a society. Impoverishment is a disaffiliation [...] poverty cannot be standardised, it is not only a lack of money or economic resources, it results from precariousness and instabilities which make you lose your daily reference marks".*

Gérard WINTER, L'impatience des pauvres.

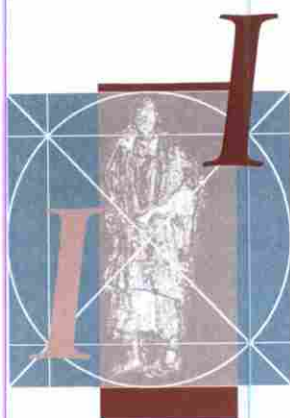


#### POOR

The etymology of the word (poor, *pauvre* in French) always indicates a lack. It derives from the form *povre* (1050) from the Latin word *pauper*, -eris, "needy", that can be probably analysed as stemming from "*pau-per-os*" which produces little", initially referred to the land and animals. The Germanic word *arm* implies, by the identity of the words, that the poor are those who have but their arms alone. Even in African vernacular languages where the meaning can be different (in bambara, poverty is said *faantanya* i.e., "without strength, powerless", the serer word *rafle* means in fact orphan), it remains the word of the destitute people.



# Sahel 21 and the poverty reduction strategies



**I**N ORDER FOR IT TO BEAR FRUITS, a strategy must respond to the social expectations, take its direction from the ambitions of societies and develop their dynamism and capacity for innovation. Leaning on these principles, Sahel 21 is today culminating in an action framework that makes it possible for Sahelians to take up the challenge to achieving sustainable growth and to turn their backs on poverty.

The main thrusts of the strategy for achieving sustainable growth and reducing poverty presented in this part of the dossier are the translation of the process of decentralised debate involving the different actors of Sahelian societies. On the basis of a vision formulated by all Sahelians in Banjul in 1997, the national committees of Sahel 21 sought to translate their priorities into strategies and programmes which necessitate coherent and complementary investments between the national and regional levels.

## A VISION...

A federated, democratic and peaceful Sahel, in good physical and moral health, productive and competitive whilst respecting its values:

- The Sahelians unanimously wish that their peoples be considered as the primary resource and their potential be improved upon and increased through a reinforcement of their skills and the promotion of human resources;
- They long for a green Sahel, rich in the diversity of its rural productions based on a sound management of its natural resources but also less dependent on the whims of nature, thanks particularly to increased water control and soil fertility but also to a Sahel whose economy is not only developing but diversifying also;
- Sahelians wish to live in a harmonised social, political and economic environment whilst at the same time having consideration for the interests of each individual country. They wish to generate and maintain a Sahelian economy and culture and reconcile their values by adapting to current and future transformations;
- In particular, they reaffirm their attachment to the essential values which make up the Sahelian society: attachment to the family and the community; the respect for and assistance to parents and grand parents; collective responsibility in child and adolescent education; collective responsibility and care for community property; the protection of the poor and the weak, respect and kindness to strangers; tolerance, dialogue and consultation as channels to problem-solving; the spirit of share, solidarity and mutual assistance;
- Sahelians should be fond of living in societies and environments where the foundations would be consolidated and the day to day running conform to their expectations, they who are the men and women animating them. It is in this way that the Sahel can develop its collective identity. This would give to the CILSS countries increased weight on the regional and international

scene. It would also justify the redefinition of their relations for cooperation and trade with the rest of the world;

- United around a common project for the future generation and stimulated by the joining of active forces of the countries which form it, the Sahel will be less dependent on aid and will be in a position to renegotiate with its partners the content and modalities of the partnership which will give it the place and role that its sons and daughters yearn for in the coming generation.

## PRIORITIES

Five priorities have been defined in order to implement the vision that the Sahelians have for their future. These priorities are elaborated in the following thematic dossiers:

- To base the development of the Sahel on a determined policy for the promotion of human resources (Index B1);
- To develop institutional capacities at all levels (Index B2);
- To strive for rapid and sustainable development of agricultural productions as well as that of animal, forestry and fish productions (Index B3);
- To ensure economic growth and diversification in order to profit from regional markets and thus occupy a place in the globalisation of trade (Index B4);
- To put the Sahelian economy into a perspective of regional integration and growing insertion into the global economy (Index B5).

## A STRATEGY

The vision of the future which came out of the consultations between the actors of the Sahelian societies and the priorities which emanated from them represent a true societal project. Formulated by the Sahelian men and women, this project aims to bend the heavy trends, to refuse the fatality of a growing marginalisation and an impoverishment which affects, day-in day-out, a little more people in the Sahel.

To take shape, such a project of society is based on a strategy which rests on three pillars:

- Its legitimacy is constantly drawn from the dynamics of the populations and their organisations, it taps their initiatives and places them at the centre of the social, economic and political transformation process;
- It inspires and influences each of the national policies and its priorities must lead the whole reform process, be they of macroeconomic, sector-based or institutional orders;



- It places and positions the Sahelian project in the many integration zones which will permit it to take the right direction: Western Africa, Central Africa, North Africa on the one hand, continental Africa on the other hand and finally the world at large.

To reverse or re-orientate the heavy trends now at work in the Sahel is an immense challenge which implies a triple movement:

- The necessity to put each of the decisions in a temporal perspective: the investments today must be thought out and calibrated to be able to respond to tomorrow's needs, whereas the policies hardly go beyond the short term horizon, dictated by daily concerns. The aim is to prolong the Sahel 21 process, to get its participatory principles impregnate each of the governance scales in the Sahel: the local communities, the state, the organisations of regional cooperation and integration and even beyond, the international negotiation frameworks;
- The need to be strict in budget trade-offs and choices of allocation of resources all the more so since these resources are limited and that they should be raised as a matter of priority at the local level so that the Sahelians themselves would assume the leadership in the utilisation of these resources;
- The necessity for the international community and all of the external partners to respect the will of the Sahelian populations and move from a relation of mistrust and suspicion to a partnership based on confidence, respect and autonomy of the partners. That implies the allocation of resources on the basis of Sahelian priorities and to entrust to the Sahelians the supervision of development processes, programmes and projects whilst respecting the elementary principles of good management, transparency and evaluation (Cf. opposite box).

The implementation of the strategy for sustainable growth and poverty reduction implies the coherent mobilisation of multiple public and private actors at the local, national and sub-regional level. On its part, with regard to its mandate and its specificities, CILSS will concentrate its contribution on the following areas:

- The implementation of the sustainable food security strategy framework for poverty reduction in the Sahel. This regional framework integrates the national strategies on food security complemented by a regional strategy that makes it possible to cover the regional problems and promote cooperation between the countries and the actors.
- The support to the actors of civil society and their regional networks in order to strengthen the capacities of dialogue and of intervention over the priority questions on poverty reduction, economic development and the development of human resources, etc.;
- The mobilisation of the international community around the big Sahelian stakes;
- The supervision of the implementation of sustainable growth and poverty reduction strategies and in certain areas, the coordination of interventions and programmes;
- The organisation of the dialogue between the regional organisations and in particular, the organisations of economic integration now in the Sahel zone: UMA, WAEMU, ECOWAS and CEMAC.

#### THE SUSTAINABLE FOOD SECURITY STRATEGY PAPER FOR POVERTY REDUCTION IN THE SAHEL

The 2nd Forum of Sahelian societies and the 13th Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the nine CILSS member countries adopted in November 2000 this strategy paper whose aim is to take up the challenge of food security for all the Sahelians. Acknowledging the fact that hunger and malnutrition are still a day to day reality in the Sahel because of the smallness of the resources of households, the agricultural and ecological crisis and the deficiencies of the food product market, the FSSP aims at creating the conditions for a structural food security that is based in priority on the systematic and sustainable mobilisation of the sub-region's food resources and developing capacities for the prevention and management of cyclic food crises. Therefore, it defined five objectives that are in line with the Sahel 21 priorities:

- Promotion of a productive, diversified, sustainable and regionally integrated agriculture;
- Development, free flow and sub-regional integration of national markets;
- Improvement, on a long term basis, of conditions of access to food and basic social services for the vulnerable groups;
- Improvement of mechanisms for the prevention and management of cyclic food crises, consistent with the need to build a structural food security;
- Capacity-building of actors and promotion of a good governance of food security.

Its implementation is based on 10 guiding principles to be used for a good governance of food security, including: differentiation according to local situations, complementarity and subsidiarity, decentralisation, participation of all the stakeholders at the different levels, multi-stakeholder and inter-institutional partnership, equity, shared responsibility, transparency and coherence, Sahelian coordination and leadership.

As the single reference frame for the guidance and coordination of actions of all the stakeholders involved in food security issues (Governments, civil societies, operators, IGOS, and external partners), the FSSP must put food security back at the centre of the preoccupations of the decision-makers and actors, and occupy a large place in the poverty reduction strategies, macro-economic reforms and regional integration strategies.

#### A NEW CONTRACT OF GENERATION BETWEEN THE SAHEL AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

The "Sahel 21" debate process was accompanied by an evaluation of international cooperation with the Sahel. This exercise, known as "Cooperation 21", has mobilised all the aid agencies of OECD member countries which are active in the region and gathered within the Club du Sahel/OECD as a platform for consultations and perspective thinking. It assessed the contribution of the cooperation to the transformations that have taken place in the Sahel over the last decades, questioned the practice of aid actors and outlined a "second generational contract" meant to accompany the transformations at work within the Sahelian societies.

##### PRINCIPLES

- Cooperation with the Sahel is governed by principles of equity and by well understood interests in terms of collective security, economic growth and environmental management;
- Aid-based cooperation should be progressively replaced by a partnership that is based on exchange: exchange of information, goods and services, movement of ideas and people;
- Such partnership should help the Sahel to further play its role within West Africa and the rest of the world and find its place in the globalisation process;
- This new cooperation must engage all of the partner —societies, the citizens, the associations and socio-economic organisations, the enterprises and local communities— alongside the governments;
- The external partners will have to adapt cooperation mechanisms and practices to make them more respectful of the options and pace of the Sahelians.

##### COMMITMENTS

Basing on these principles, the members of the OECD's Development Assistance Committee promised:

- To gear their methods to the needs of their Sahelian partners, by showing some imagination in their approaches, so as to develop their partners' capacities to manage the aid;
- To put their cooperation programmes in the same regional logic as their Sahelian partners;
- To develop synergies between the aid policies and policies implemented in other areas which have some impact on the countries of the Sahel, in particular, the trade policies;
- To support the countries of the Sahel in implementing the commitments entered into under the international conventions on biodiversity, climate change and to combat desertification;
- To develop a number of operational principles that will be used as a guide for implementing cooperation with the Sahel; all aid actors would draw inspiration from such principles.



# Human resources: the main wealth of the Sahel



**P**OVERTY is, first of all, women, children and men whose dignity is deeply affected as human beings. To meet the basic requirements, to harness the huge cultural values and to get the entire population involved in public life is also to acknowledge that human resources represent the ferment on which sustainable development initiatives and dynamics can germinate.

## IS DEMOGRAPHIC GROWTH A CONSTRAINT OR AN OPPORTUNITY?

The Sahel is still the region where demographic growth is most dynamic, with 3.1% increase on average per year. Despite its generally admitted limited resources, the Sahel has to support an increasingly large population. With a majority of the population still living in the rural areas, this population growth is of course a serious handicap for the Sahelian economies. The natural resource base tends to weather under the effect of the dry climate whereas the pressure is increasing on that same resource base. It is the combination of these natural and anthropogenic phenomena which is often put forward as an explanation for the desertification process. The amount of resources used is well above the capacity of the same resource to regenerate. This development model is not sustainable when a static approach is used. But, such an approach simply scorns the dynamics of the societies and their capacity to cope with a changing environment. There are many observers who think that, demographic growth is, on the contrary, the engine of social and technical change. Between these optimistic and pessimistic options, there is room for a more pragmatic and determined approach. Indeed, when it comes to population the die is already cast for the generation to come. The population policies that are implemented in the region are intended to curb the demographic trends on a longer term basis. But, it is almost impossible to influence, significantly, the population growth by year 2015 or 2025. However, and this is the main point, the fate to be reserved in the years to come for all the children who are born today will determine future developments, to a large extent: young girls' education, for instance, is a decisive factor for fertility control just like a decrease in the infant mortality rate reduces the need to give birth to many children in order to ensure the economic survival of the family unit. If urbanization is not synonymous with a development of "shanty towns", it is also an opportunity to bring about behavioural changes.

## PROVIDING EDUCATION FOR ALL

Education is generally regarded as the cornerstone and the investment made necessary for laying the foundations of development. Education is indeed a decisive factor in all aspects related to human development; it thus helps each and everyone to find his/her place and to play his/her role in society. Providing education for all the children being born in the Sahel is an immense challenge, taking into account the low school enrolment rates and

a demographic growth which produces, mechanically, increased needs. Such needs require material investment (building schools in the rural and urban areas and providing resources for them to be operational), human investment (providing the schools with teachers and supervisory staff by offering acceptable working conditions) and institutional investment, particularly through an educational policy that is geared to the current and future needs of the Sahel. But, beyond this investment which necessitates a clear political will and considerable financial resources, a massive school education of all the children also commands that some social, cultural and economic obstacles be overcome. More particularly, the importance of providing education to the young girls is not always self-evident in the rural areas. In the poor families, the contribution of the children to the economic survival (agricultural or household work, petty trade, craft industry, etc.) often clashes with school attendance. In such circumstances, it is almost impossible to provide school education at a large scale for the children unless parents and traditional or elected authorities are duly sensitised, and without any regard for obstacles facing the family in the educational strategy: choice of the periods for school education, support to school canteens, linkage with the health strategy, etc., so as to ensure that school education for the children is directly perceived as something which is beneficial for the family as a whole. It should be also noted that providing education for the children should take long time enough for it to be profitable. Many children stay at school for less than four or five years, the minimum duration for delivering an adequate literacy program. Finally, taking into account the richness of the Sahelian cultures and the importance of vernacular languages in knowledge and cultural transmission, it is necessary that providing education for the children just like functional literacy programs be carried out simultaneously in the official language and the local languages.

## A NEED-DRIVEN TRAINING STRATEGY

Beyond basic education, the Sahel needs to significantly increase the level of education of its population as a whole: secondary education, vocational and university training. With regard to secondary education, the objective is to consolidate general training for the youth and to develop their initiative and adaptation capacities. As for the vocational training, the strategy should make it possible to prepare the young people to have a profession, with skills that are immediately operational in the market oriented sectors: agriculture, agro-food, computer science, civil



engineering, building trade, health professions, etc. This necessitates considerable effort to determine the size of the needs of the young graduates in the years to come and to mobilise the financial resources necessary to meet such requirements. As concerns university education, there exists an important potential for implementing a true regional strategy enabling to develop training centres that not only combine research with training, but also encourage "inter-mixing" of nationalities, thus contributing to promote regional identity and cooperation.

#### HEALTH FOR ALL: THE SECOND PILLAR OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

Education plays an important role in improving the health of the populations, particularly through hygiene, reproductive health, HIV prevention, food health, etc.

But improving the health situation of the populations commands progress to be made in several domains:

- An improvement of the living environment which implies the development of public services: potable water, drainage, processing of waste water, collection and treatment of rubbish;
- Promotion of an expanded health policy that makes it possible for all Sahelian men and women to benefit from a medical follow-up and treatment. This implies that health services be actually available across the country to provide for basic health care. The availability of these basic services must be supplemented by specialised treatment facilities in the urban centres and the big rural communities.

Beyond these general principles, the Sahelian countries must intensify their efforts as regards the health policy in three areas:

- The promotion of population policies aimed at controlling the fertility rate in order to achieve better adequacy between the demographic growth and the economic resources available in the Sahel in order to guarantee a future for its children (family planning, contraception, reproductive health);
- AIDS control by preserving the gains acquired in those countries which have early paid due attention to this problem and have succeeded in containing the explosion of the epidemic, and by drastically intensifying the efforts in the countries where the contagion is most remarkable. The mobility of the Sahelians represents an important factor for a propagation of the disease

and therefore calls for awareness-raising programs targeted on the migrant populations;

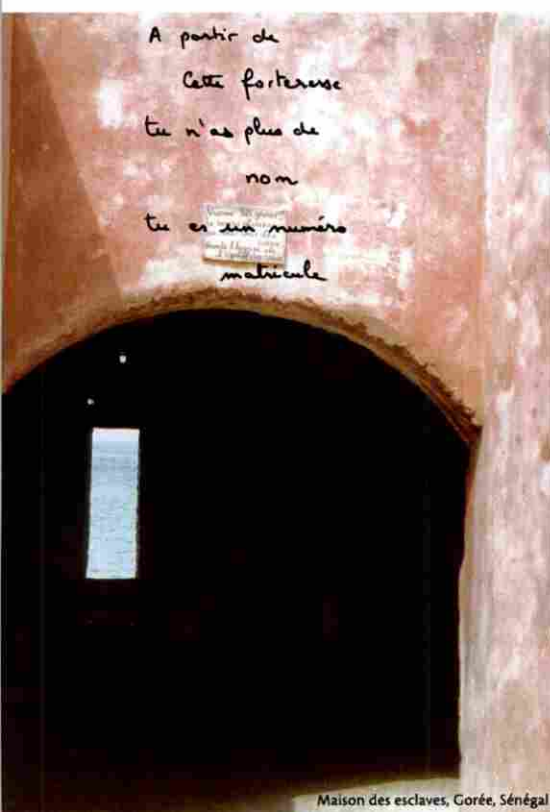
- The immunisation cover which is still inadequate in several countries of the region and represents a decisive element in the decrease in infant mortality.

Taking into account the resources available and the immense capital the traditional knowledge represents in the health sector, special attention should be paid to the use of traditional pharmacopoeia and techniques.

Education and health are generally regarded as priority areas in the poverty reduction strategy papers. However, it would be proper to see to it that the rural set-up benefits, as a matter of priority, from the effort exerted taking into account the growing inequalities that exist between the towns and the countryside. Finally, all these efforts centred on social development should make the women prominent actors and, by way of consequence, the first beneficiaries of the actions undertaken. It is a matter of both equity and efficacy of the investment allowed, given the place women occupy within the family and at the economic and social level as well.

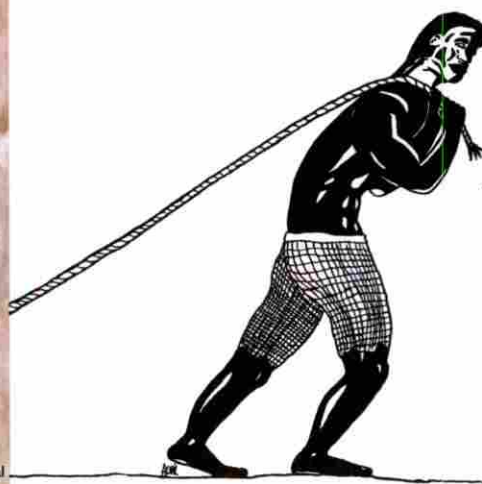
#### CULTURE: THE LINK BETWEEN TRADITION AND MODERNITY

If a strategy of human resource promotion has to get a society prepared to face up the challenges posed to it and should therefore give priority to the "fundamentals" of human development (education and health), it cannot be limited to those aspects alone. Sahelian men and women are very committed not to destroy their culture in the name of what looks modern but which they consider as being too materialistic. More particularly, they want the development strategies to be based on the values of the Sahelian societies, especially, the values of solidarity, protection of the weakest, hospitality and respect, tolerance and dialogue, etc. These values must be at the centre of any development options and inspire the interventions of development partners. But, the promotion of the Sahelian culture is also a strategy for valorising its cultural goods (crafts, music, cinema, etc.), promoting an appropriate tourism that is respectful of the ways of life of the Sahelians and enables them to make good use of them.



"The pride of man makes him love to domineer, and nothing mortifies him so much as to be obliged to condescend to persuade his inferiors. Wherever the law allows it, and the nature of the work can afford it, therefore, he will generally prefer the service of slaves to that of freemen."

ADAM SMITH, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, 1776.



"Is it all that, climate, area, space,  
which creates the clan, the tribe, the nation,  
the skin and the gods,  
our inexorable difference?  
And the mine  
and the factory  
the harvest snatched from our hunger  
our common indignity  
our bondage under all invariable skies?"

JACQUES ROUMAIN, *Pourtant*, 1944



# Solid institutions, well managed and transparent



**I**MPROVING the performance of the institutions, combating corruption and promoting good governance are acknowledged by the Sahelian Societies as crucial issues for achieving growth and reducing poverty. Reforms are needed for national public institutions, local communities and regional cooperation and integration systems. But this calls into question the possibility for the poor people to organize themselves and uphold their interests and act as an anti-establishment force and develop initiatives that better meet the expectations of the populations.

For the last twenty years or so, the Sahel has been undertaking successive institutional reforms all aimed at "reducing the perimeter of the State" and promoting decentralisation of powers. These reforms were outlined at a time when the donor distrust vis-à-vis the public authorities was at peak. Official development assistance was more and more implemented via channels "outside the Government circles" whereas the number of projects carried out by national or international Ncos and many other cooperation actors increased. Today, one has to deal with a series of projects, action plans, programs, strategies etc. whose coherence is far from being well established, thus contributing to a dissipation of efforts, proliferation of institutional conflicts, dilution of the sense of accountability, a major difficulty to assess the impact of actions and finally, a calling into question of the effectiveness and efficiency of the aid provided.

## GOOD GOVERNANCE

The majority of Sahelian countries are now proclaimed democratic states. It is therefore essential that the elected officials, either at the government or local community level, should be made to actually play their role and shoulder, consequently, their responsibilities. What is the real meaning of free and democratic elections in a context of political pluralism, if the government, the parliament, the mayors and councillors do not have any control over the public policies on the territories they are in charge of administering or governing. Such a control implies that public resources, either from local (taxation) or international (ODA) origins, are allocated and managed by the elected decision-makers who will be made accountable for the utilization of such resources. This is an important aspect to take into account should the process of democratisation have its full meaning. However, having control over the resources is not enough per se to ensure that public policies are really geared to meet the needs of the populations and more particularly the poorest. There are several other key conditions including:

- The full participation of actors of the civil society in the definition of public policies, development and poverty reduc-

tion program priorities through effective, open and pluralistic mechanisms at all levels where all the decisions likely to affect the future of the Sahelian populations and their living conditions are made. In this regard, decentralisation is fundamental as it brings the decision-making centres closer to the local communities and facilitates the process of dialogue involving the populations;

- The regular operation of the executive, judicial and legislative powers; as well as of institutions charged with checking the legal nature of the laws and controlling the use of public funds (Audit Office);
- The definition of rules of the game that are respected by all the actors on a given territory, so as to ensure consistency and complementarity among all the actions carried out. This is a condition sine qua non to achieve tangible and sustainable results;
- Transparency and accountability: this is an essential aspect in combating populism and corruption and therefore a decisive element for allocating judiciously and efficiently the resources to meet the needs of the poor;
- Development of anti-establishment forces: the existence of free medias capable of leading investigations, processing and disseminating information; a civil society that is well structured within organisations that are run on democratic and transparent bases, provided with adequate resources to fulfil their mandate are all key tools for a smooth running of the Rule of the Law and the development of the democratic culture;
- Establishment of procedures for the monitoring-evaluation of strategies, policies, programs and projects. Such procedures should allow all the stakeholders, and more particularly the recipients, to really take ownership of the development actions, to see to a good implementation of decisions and finally, to quickly re-orient or make the necessary corrections in order to help achieve the objectives and results pursued.

These matters of good governance are all the more important because poverty reduction is a matter for concern for all public and private stakeholders and each administration; it must be addressed day-in day-out through a multi-sector vision and concern all the institutions.



National policies are essential in a poverty reduction strategy, be it economic policy, social and educational policies, environmental policies or sector policies. For all that, the countries of the Sahel are marked by deep geographical disparities, at times accompanied by social disparities. Having regard to the problems and their complex nature, to effectively involve the populations in the development process implies an organisation of public authorities to get them as close as possible to the situations in the field and the citizens. The on-going decentralisation process and promotion of local level development initiatives is worth supporting and encouraging in this respect. Indeed, many obstacles to development can be removed at the local level. For instance, it is often at the local level that efficient land tenure management rules can be defined, between the modern and the customary land tenure law. It is also at these scales that can be managed disputes over the use of natural resources within the context of a participatory management of the land and a strategy for the preservation of resources. It is still at these same levels that can be promoted many services and infrastructures: rural roads, schools, health centres, school canteens, drinking water access points, literacy or nutritional education programs, promotion of cultural initiatives, etc. Finally, at the border areas, the local communities are in a better position to develop partnerships with their counterparts of neighbouring countries so as to establish and promote development strategies that take account of the cross-border initiatives of the populations and which allow to manage resources shared in common by several countries. However, there are two important issues that are worth underscoring. The first problem is related to the financial resources and human and institutional capacities of the decentralised communities. For the moment, the States tend to let the communities assume many responsibilities without accepting to de-concentrate the budgets. The second problem, which is linked to the first one, is related to the unequal treatment of the citizens according to their residential communes. By basing more and more the running of the communities on the local tax efficiency and on the capacity of these communities to mobilise external financial contributions, there exists a significant risk of amplifying inequalities even more on the national territory, if forms of equalisation between the "most endowed" and the poorer areas are not implemented.

The Sahel is strongly committed to regional integration initiatives (cf. Index B5). Cooperation and regional integration are meant to strengthen national economies and carry weight on economic globalisation process on the one hand and to address issues common to several countries and manage trans-boundary resources on the other hand. The countries have set up a number of sub-regional organisations having each its geographical or thematic specificity. The Sahelian societies want these organisations to be streamlined so as to limit duplications and the related misuse of resources, to improve complementarity and coherence of their programs and encourage cooperation among them. The Sahelians also want their regional institutions, following the example of the "Sahel 21" process, to be closer to their aspirations and expectations. To that end, they wish that they set up consultative mechanisms with the private actors and the organisations of the civil society. The need for transparency within local and national institutions is also required for the sub-regional institutions.

#### A WELL-STRUCTURED AND RECOGNISED CIVIL SOCIETY

If it is necessary to set up strong institutions with a focus on public service, it is also absolutely fundamental to have an organised civil society capable of pressing on the collective options and implementing activities that meet the needs of their members. The capacity-building of social organisations is of general interest insofar as these organisations fulfil functions that are essential for the society that neither the State nor the other public communities can perform. The needs of the organisations are focused on the training of their members, access to information and new communication technologies, access to spaces of dialogue and negotiation, access to financial resources to develop programs of activities centred on the needs of the community. Beyond the local level from which the social organisations derive their legitimacy, the latter are faced with many difficulties in organising themselves at the national scale and developing relationship at the sub-regional and even international level. Special attention should be paid to this problem and particularly to the women and youth organisations which are centres for dynamism and important change in the Sahel of the 21st century.





# Agriculture: the base of social and economic progress



THE DEVELOPMENT of natural resources will remain one of the key development issues for the countries of the Sahel. Very large segments of the population are engaged in primary activities. These are both a support for improving the incomes of the poor families, a land use planning issue and a challenge in terms of renewable resource preservation.

Despite a strong urbanisation, the Sahelian countries are rural in their majority. On average, 70% of the 56 million inhabitants live in the rural areas, drawing whole or only part of their resources from the primary sector activities, be it food or industrial farming, livestock or forest exploitation. This main characteristic of the Sahelian economies is even quite remarkable in the land-locked countries (Mali, Niger, Chad, Burkina Faso) while the economic base of the coastal countries is directed more towards fishery, service and industrial activities, with an urban population in majority.

## AGRICULTURE, LIVESTOCK BREEDING AND FISHERIES AT THE CENTRE OF POVERTY REDUCTION

The majority of the poor people live in rural areas. A significant improvement of agricultural incomes is therefore a very important way of reducing poverty. The Sahelian peasant farmers' organisations always point out that it is around the model of household agriculture that they are planning to modernise and intensify their agricultural system because it enables, to their views, to ensure equitable distribution of incomes derived from the growth of the primary sector.

The goals of agriculture, and the farming systems on which it is based, are many and multifarious. Therefore the agricultural strategies should impel a collective move while following at best the diversity of local situations, using the potential of the various production basins, and endeavouring to reduce the specific constraints that are met there.

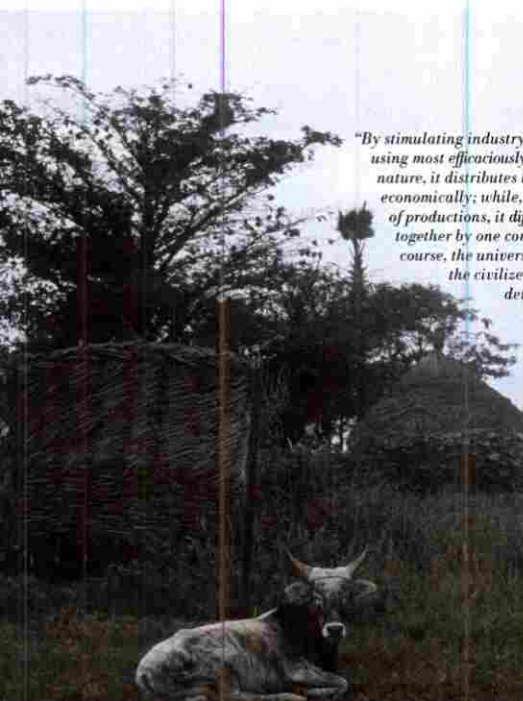
## MANY AND DIFFERENT OBJECTIVES THAT NEED TO BE MADE COHERENT WITH EACH OTHER

Even if urbanisation is amplifying, the population who tomorrow will be relying on rural activities for their livelihood will continue to increase. The agricultural strategies that are designed today all fit within the perspective of a rural population whose number will be approximately 50 million people by years 2020-2025, whereas the rural people are "but only" 38 million today. At the same time, the Sahel and the West Africa region as a whole will have consumers whose number will be twice the current number. These two regional zones are assuredly the first outlets for Sahelian producers, from the perspective of the integration of national and regional markets. It is this historical opportunity, this potential regional market of more than 430 million people including 270 million city dwellers that the Sahelian producers want to seize. But, if this is the background for the issue, the other objectives of a rapid and sustainable development of agriculture, livestock, forestry and fisheries are not less important, far from it:

- To ensure the food security of the rural households, of the Sahelian and West African population by relying primarily on local resources: to diversify productions and develop agro-food processing in order to meet the diversity of food systems, the trend of the urban demand. This adaptation is necessary to guarantee a preference of urban consumers for local products rather than for imported ones.
- To diversify and increase exportations of agricultural products on international markets, in such a way as to increase incomes, make the export earnings necessary to finance imports more secure. This implies that the regional supply should be geared at regular intervals to match the change in quality standards required by the foreign markets. Diversification enables to reduce the vulnerability that is linked with global price fluctuations. It must also make it possible to increase the value added;
- To exploit natural resources on the basis of technical systems which guarantee their sustainability. According to the areas, the pressure on the resource is more or less strong. But, on the whole, the farming systems must be intensified, more productive in order to limit the extension of cultivated areas, restore soil fertility, and check the desertification process.

*"By stimulating industry, by regarding ingenuity, and by using most efficaciously the peculiar powers bestowed by nature, it distributes labour most effectively and most economically; while, by increasing the general mass of productions, it diffuses general benefit, and binds together by one common tie of interest and intercourse, the universal society of nations throughout the civilized world. It is this principle which determines that wine shall be made in France and Portugal, that corn shall be grown in America and Poland, and that hardware and other goods shall be manufactured in England."*

David RICARDO, *On The Principles of Political Economy and Taxation*, 1817.





Achieving these objectives is a formidable challenge for the Sahel to take up. An agricultural strategy must fit within an overall approach to development issues in the Sahel and the whole of West Africa. Considerable investment should be made for the agriculture to be one of the mainsprings for the modernisation and growth of the Sahelian economies. In a first stance, it is fundamental that regional integration initiatives be strengthened within the ECOWAS and CEMAC grouping and be made coherent with the construction of regional comparative advantages. Giving Sahelian productions one more chance will imply a very strong attitude by the regional decision-makers vis-à-vis the conditions of import of extra-African food products, in particular the problem of export subsidies granted by the Western countries. Secondly, it is fundamental that the public investment made in the sectors of education, health, communication and transport infrastructures, etc. should prioritise the rural areas. The goal of this non-sector approach is to reduce the imbalance between the towns and the countryside, to improve access to health and education services the lack of which prevents any form of investment strategy at the family and community level. Finally, the aim is also to facilitate the connection between the production areas and the consumption basins by limiting transaction costs. Therefore, even though the poverty reduction strategy frameworks concentrate the financial resources on the health and education sectors, the resource allocation should be regarded very closely by those actors concerned with agricultural and rural development issues. Thirdly, it is necessary to have true rural and agricultural policies that are harmonised at the regional level around a three-fold approach: the territories, the production sub-sectors and the producer environment.

#### *Territories and farming systems*

The competitiveness of the Sahelian agriculture is due, to a large extent, to its capacity to develop natural resources. These agricultural, pastoral and fish production systems have therefore a very strong relation with their natural surroundings. A sound and sustainable use of these surroundings requires adequate farming systems based on crop combinations, relevant methods of agriculture/livestock and forestry association, etc. The development of the production basins and, in particular, the investment options as regards water control, water and soil conservation, land management should therefore fit within a territorial approach. This approach is in line with the role increasingly played by the territorial communities for natural resource management, arbitration of disputes over the use of resources among the various users, adaptation of the land tenure systems and arbitration of conflicts, community investments (rural roads, storehouses...). The insecure production conditions are the main factor of vulnerability of the Sahelian agriculture. Thus, no agricultural development and intensification will be possible without significant investment in the sector of water control, because water control is the main factor of security for the producers. It is therefore at the local level that should be met the conditions for a sustainable intensification of production systems.

#### *Productions and markets*

These territorial approaches the primary objective of which is to ensure a sound management of natural resources should be prolonged, as far as the main products are concerned, by an organisation of the sub-sectors downstream of the production. Even though it is different according to their destination towards local, sub-regional or international markets, it must reduce costs and improve the remuneration of the producers, while cutting down consumer prices. The aim is to improve the marketing of products through a better organisation of the producers, to facilitate transport while improving the infrastructures and removing obstacles to a free market (informal trade barriers), to encourage investment in the sector of agricultural produce processing in order to meet the demand of consumers, etc. In a context of liberalised economies, it is first of all the private operators and producer organisations who are concerned by investments in the sector downstream of the production. However, the public authorities have a key role to play in putting in place a clear and simplified legal environment, harmonising trade policies at the external borders of West Africa, developing reliable information systems that are adapted to the investment needs and cash position of the actors, etc.

#### *Producer services and strengthening of farmers' organisations*

With the exception of productions bound for export and which are well supervised, the Sahelian producers are sorely lacking access to credit and agricultural inputs. In the absence of guarantee and, faced with extremely fluctuating incomes at the mercy of external shocks, the credit institutions are reluctant to actively engage themselves in the financing of the agricultural sector. The decentralised financial systems, associating saving and credit transactions and based on a guarantee binding on all parties, have developed; however, they hardly cover the vulnerable zones where the risk is much higher. Those producers with little cash to intensify their production have given preference there to farming systems that minimise risks. Access to credit is a key element for the transformation of the Sahelian agriculture, and because of this lack of credit, the producers are often obliged to borrow money from the tradesmen at usurious rates, thus maintaining the mechanisms of impoverishment. In the same vein, access to inputs remains difficult (seeds, fertilisers for crop protection...) because of both their costs and the marketing networks. Finally, the very weakened agricultural research and extension systems cannot satisfy the demand of producers. It is advisable to take action on this set of producer services and accompany the changes the Sahel needs in its farming systems to achieve the objectives of productive and sustainable agriculture. Providing support to farmers' organisations which work in aid to the producers and defend their interests, while respecting their autonomy is henceforth a matter for general interest.





# A strong and sustainable economic growth



**I**F THE ECONOMIC GROWTH is not enough per se to minimise poverty, it is nonetheless indispensable to achieving this goal. No improvement in incomes without economic development. The Sahel should reap a growth of more than 7% yearly in order to be able to check poverty. A strategy for sustainable development must hinge on the diversification of the Sahelian productive base, improved competitiveness of the traditional sectors and growth of the value added of export products.

The weakness of the Sahelian economies is manifested by very poor and highly fluctuating growth rates to absorb the demographic growth and ensure a noticeable improvement in the incomes of the individuals. This weakness is linked to a very small diversification on the supply side. Exports are mainly composed of a small number of products, essentially from the primary sector —agricultural products, fisheries or mining products— little or not transformed at all. The value added on the export products on the international markets is weak and the export earnings are therefore strongly influenced by prices on the world markets and the regular fall in prices of raw materials. The terms of trade of the Sahel have been deteriorating over a long period of time. It is still necessary for the Sahel to export more to be able to finance imports. The importance of the agricultural sector in Sahelian economies reinforces this vulnerability inasmuch as the volumes produced, be it for the domestic or external markets, remain narrowly correlated to the climatic configuration of the agricultural campaign. Thus, the rainfall pattern alone is going to explain more or less the several growth points.

The strategy of agricultural development presented in the preceding index aims precisely to reduce the vulnerability of agricultural economies in seeking to reduce the climatic risk thanks to some considerable investments in water and irrigation control and in improving the environment of the farmers in a manner that encourages them to invest. But the Sahel would not content herself with one agricultural development strategy. Instead, one of the conditions for this strategy to succeed resides precisely in the increase in the incomes of the urban consumers in such a way as to stimulate the solvent demand for agricultural produce. To increase the incomes of the urban areas consists of opting for a development of the secondary and tertiary sectors.

## TO IMPROVE THE COMPETITIVENESS OF PRODUCTION SECTORS

One of the foremost objectives of a strategy for sustainable growth is to maintain and improve the competitiveness of the sectors and sub-sectors on which the Sahelian economies are already sufficiently solid. The competition on the world markets is getting harsher everyday and the demand requirements increasingly hard to satisfy. Constant efforts are indispensable for adaptation, reduction of costs, improvement of the quality and of the regularity of the products in order to “be still in the running”. Above all it is the role of the enterprises to exert these efforts towards adaptation, but it is also the responsibility of the states to contribute to it and also to help them. Its role can take two forms:

- On the one hand, to create conditions for exercising economic activity which may be nearest to those that their competitors are familiar with: the legal environment (business law) tax incentives, investments in communal infrastructures (communication, roads, railways, etc.) in a manner as to reduce transaction costs, in developing services appropriate to the needs of the enterprises in particular in the area of financing and of access to information and eliminating all the obstacles to the competitiveness of the enterprises: formal and informal barriers to free trade in the sub-region, complex administrative procedures, etc.
- On the other hand, to see to the “loyalty” of the competitors: the aim, in particular, is to actively take part in the definition of international trade rules and to resolutely defend the interests of the Sahelian enterprises. The objective is also to ensure that the competitors observe these rules so as not to distort the rules of the competition.

Considering the weight of the Sahelian economies, only a collective action at the regional level can be allowed to weigh in the negotiations and to build a legal expertise at a high level capable of developing procedures and using the various WTO forums where disputes are settled.

This strategy concerns both the agricultural sub-sectors and mining products. In both cases, when the capital is in the hands of foreign companies, it is essential to ensure that the profits drawn from the economic activity are first of all allocated to the benefit of the Sahel and the Sahelians, without going as far as challenging the interest of the foreign firms to invest in the country.





The diversification of the product and export base is the central element of a reduction of the vulnerability of the region. What is wanted is first of all to meet the evolving domestic or regional demand. Numerous needs are emerging in the region, opening the way to big markets that the Sahelians must seek to satisfy firstly. At the same time, it is an element of growth of the Sahelian enterprises, of reduction of imports and of re-equilibrium of the trade balance. For example, markets generated by the development of public (water conveyance, drainage, electrification, roads, construction of schools and health centres, etc) and private (construction of housing facilities, furniture, etc) infrastructures. There are, in these areas, a big potential for the Sahelian companies to recover the domestic markets. The same holds true for a large number of equipments for which the Sahel can presently develop a strategy of at least partial substitution for their imports. This concerns mainly all the sectors of agricultural facilities destined to rapidly develop in the coming years. It is an important sector for the small and medium sized enterprises (SMSE) but which implies some effort by the public authorities, particularly in the areas of training and financing.

Then what is at stake is to spot out, on the international markets, the sectors the demand for which is buoyant and the Sahel well placed to respond to such demand. With regard to the agricultural products, a good part of the diversification strategy can now be hooked on to the demand of western consumers for labelled products guaranteeing environment-friendly production conditions. The Sahel is rather well positioned to respond to this "ethical" demand. But even there, the competitors are more and more numerous and the development of such networks imposes a lot of discipline and rigour. Beyond agricultural products, it is convenient to analyse, sector by sector, the possibilities offered: in the area of textiles and clothing, tourism, development of sites and natural parks and craft products, etc.

#### TO IMPROVE THE ENVIRONMENT OF THE ENTERPRISES

Whatever the production and export sector, the dynamics of the enterprises rests to a large extent on the environment. The efforts exerted in the area of human resources, like on the institutional field —topics developed in the preceding indices— are of a crucial importance for competitiveness. The macroeconomic framework is another key area: monetary stability, control of inflation, budgetary equilibrium, moderation of tax policy, etc. Finally, political stability, war on corruption and the development of a Sahelian environment of peace and security are evidently a decisive factor for private investment and the development of



economic and trade activities. The persistence of conflicts in several countries or at their frontiers is today a considerable obstacle for the emergence of an environment of growth and economic development. The resolution of these conflicts participates fully in the efforts that it is essential to implement in order to rediscover the roads to growth. Beyond these overcosts which strain the operating account of the enterprises, corruption fuels a climate where unpredictability dominates, as is insecurity and the non-observance of the rules. So many discouraging elements for the entrepreneurs and contrary to the rule of law so indispensable to democratic and impartial functioning of a society. The majority of the countries are committed to some courageous moves with regard to war on corruption. These efforts must be encouraged and perpetuated.

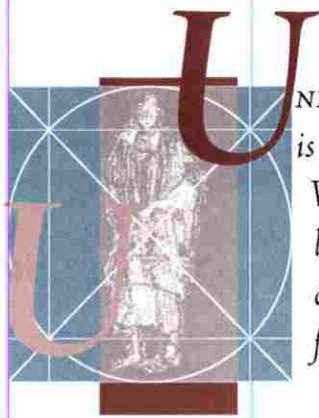
#### TO BETTER SHARE THE FRUITS OF GROWTH

All countries are faced with this difficult question and available data on the Sahel show to what point the inequalities keep on growing. To share the fruits of growth, to reduce the inequalities are, in the long run, the best guarantors of social and political stability for the countries of the sub-region and preconditions for economic development. That implies, on the one hand to concentrate efforts on the economic sectors that create the most jobs, and to allocate the investments within the perspective of reduction of geographical and social inequalities. In particular, the efforts exerted in the area of diversification of economic activities and sources of income must be to target first of all the most vulnerable zones where the poorest live. On the other hand, it implies the implementation of tax and social policies, which contribute to a more equitable redistribution of resources.





# A Sahel open to the region and the rest of the world



UNITED BY GEOGRAPHY, the Sahelians want to create a strong zone which is integrated to the rest of Africa. Being a zone linking North, Central and West Africa, the Sahel is seen as a bridge for integration, a zone for dialogue between the Arab world and black Africa. Refusing to adopt a withdrawn attitude, the Sahelians opt for a regional citizenship and militate in favour of a region open to the rest of the world.

For the Sahel, African and world integration is an old and deep-rooted reality. The famous Dakar broken rice draws its origin from the triangular colonial trade. The Soninke people of Mali did not wait for the drought of the 70's to run helter-skelter around the world. A sizeable segment of the population of the Gulf of Guinea is of Sahelian origin and the powerful stock rearing sector of Central Africa is made up of the migration of pastoralists from Chad and other Sahelian countries who left in the search for more fertile fields! "To leave so as to live better", for migrations were one of the major securities for which the Sahelians are endowed with to challenge the adversity of the climate and manage their rare resources. Since the nationalist withdrawal in certain coastal countries, the closing of the Western frontiers questions these survival strategies but did not alter the pugnacity and the certitude of the Sahelians: the Sahel, Africa and the world are part of an only and same village and need one another.

It is this feeling of interdependence which is today inciting the Sahel to devote its energies to the process of regional integration and to question, in renewed terms, its relationship with the international community.

## TO ARTICULATE COMPLEMENTARY INTEGRATION PROJECTS

For the Sahelians, integration is above all, the means to reconcile with history, to transcend the frontiers inherited from colonial partitioning. The latter has compartmentalised the area and shaped institutions at odds with the dynamics of the populations. The many organisations of cooperation and of regional integration which have been set up did not succeed to respond to the "desire for integration" of the people because they have preferred a "statutory" integration, faraway from the preoccupations of the populations and the economic actors. At the same time, the latter suffered from many kinds of harassment, abuse of power from the Police and customs officers, barriers to trade and the free movement of people, transboundary conflicts, etc. An integrated environment for the Sahelians is above all an environment of peace and security, a basis of liberty and an indispensable condition for development. Within this context, the entanglement of regional institutions —covering different geographical areas and different cooperation issues— is an expression of a complexity which is claimed and assumed by the Sahelians. The ethnic groups, the languages, the ecological constraints, the areas of solidarity, the currencies... transcend national frontiers and the institutional configurations: it is thus necessary to adapt the institutions according to the expectations of the men and not the other way round, under the guise of "real-

ism". It is within this frame of mind that the Sahelians opt for the "United States of the Sahel" as a long term perspective.

In practice, four topics predominate in the hopes the Sahelians place into the integration process in order to overcome the narrowness of their national economies:

- *The building of a peaceful environment* in a region that turns its back on war and political instability as a way of settling disputes over the use of resources or exercise of power. In that vein, the Sahel fully adheres to the efforts deployed by Ecowas and the international community in preventing conflicts and encouraging the emergence of a political climate (regional parliament, regional passport, promotion of good governance and respect for individual liberties ...);
- *The establishment of a common currency*: once more, the Sahel fully supports the project of creating a single currency within the framework of Ecowas from now to 2005, and encourages all countries to participate in it. This implies intensifying the harmonisation of policies and compliance with the budget and macro-economic convergence criteria by drawing from the experiences of the WAEMU zone. Taking into consideration the situation of the different countries with regard to the currency issue, the Sahelians opt for a pragmatic and progressive approach and encourage the countries to come together and harmonise their policies in order to avoid the distortions, whether or not they share the same currency;
- *The creation of a common market* coherent with the functioning of economies and developing the complementarities among the various production basins. For the Sahelians, this common market must integrate all of the countries with which the Sahel actively trades and whose market can draw Sahelian growth towards the top whether or not they belong to the CFA zone. From this perspective, the Sahelian countries, while they support the WAEMU initiatives, are in favour of a single market which integrates the whole of West Africa and takes into account the reality of trade between the Sahel and the countries of the other economic zones particularly, the Union of the Arab Maghreb (UAM) and the Central African Economic and Monetary Community (CAEMU) in order to avoid that the common external tariff (CET) set up at the frontiers of the economic and monetary union does not amount to a new obstacle to inter-African trade. This is a pragmatic approach towards building the continental market promoted by the African Union and restated in the objectives of NEPAD;
- *The development of infrastructures* (roads, railways, telecommunications, ...) that make it possible to open up the production basins, to reduce the costs of production and transport and to improve the functioning of the markets. This component is



one of the major objectives today forwarded by NEPAD and supported as such by the countries of the Sahel.

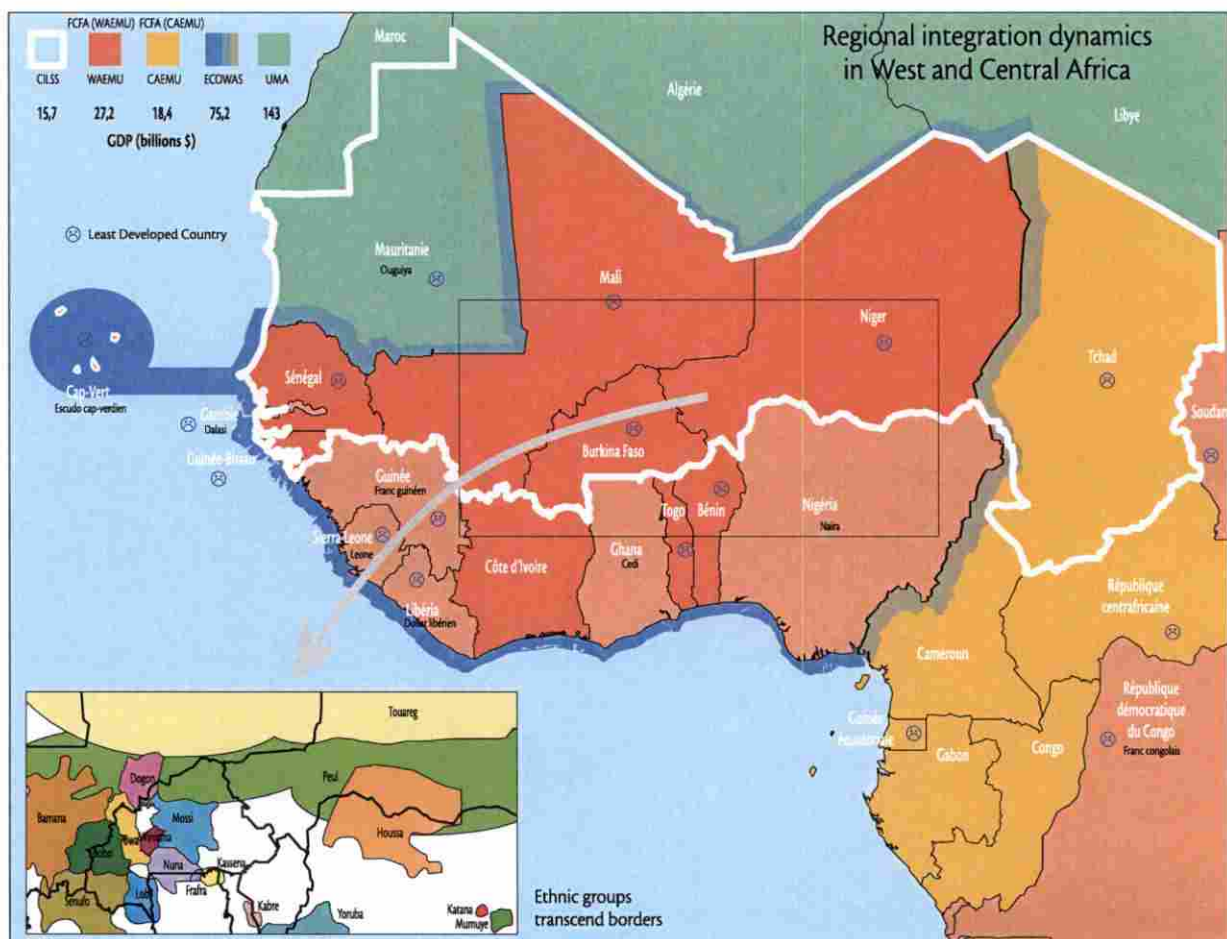
#### A CONTROLLED GLOBAL INTEGRATION

Agriculture is a specific activity which cannot be assimilated to an industrial product. Like the majority of the world's agricultures that of the Sahel cannot face up global competition under any circumstances. Nevertheless, today the Sahelian agricultures are more open to external trade more so than the bulk of agricultures considered to be more performing in particular, that of the United States or the European Union. Because the conditions of production are particularly difficult here in the Sahel, the producers need a buoyant economic and trade environment, relatively stable and offering prices sufficiently remunerative. On export, the Sahel is confronted with ruthless, African, Latino-American or Mediterranean competitors. Despite the trade concessions that the Sahel enjoys through the Eu/ACP Agreement, it proves to be more and more difficult to penetrate the European market mainly because of air freight fares on fresh products and the drastic change in quality standards (residues of phytosanitary products, packaging...). In some cases, like groundnut, the losses of market shares correspond to an evolution of consumer demand and a fierce competition with other oils.

On importation, the competition bears essentially on products that the Sahel grows but loses from them and is therefore forced to import them including in the form of food aid (case of Japanese rice). It is chiefly the case of cereals, potatoes, concentrated tomatoes, etc. The trade conflict bears also on the conditions of supply of the markets of the coastal countries of which the Sahel is a traditional supplier. This is the case of meats. In all cases, the Sahelian producers are confronted with subsidies on export granted by the exporting countries. This unfair competition imperils the local products even when the Sahel is rather

very competitive as in the case of the cattle and meat sub-sectors.

Hitherto, Sahelian and African countries in general have very little influence in international trade negotiations. The external liberalisation of their economies is carried out unilaterally within the framework of negotiations with international financial institutions and without any compensation from their trading partners. Since the resumption of negotiations at the WTO, Sahelian countries have been consulting each other in order to define a common bargaining position and have also been forming alliances with other developing countries confronted with the same constraints: unfair competition in their own markets and the restrictions of access to Western markets for their exports. In particular, Sahelian countries wish that the strategic products for security and rural development must benefit from specific trade rules in order to avoid that such essential issues be left out at the mercy of instable international markets. As for the exports, the Sahelian countries support the initiatives aiming at opening up Western markets to exports from LDCs. However, they notice that the suppression of customs duties is often accompanied by other forms of protectionist measures in the guise of stringent quality standards. They wish therefore to be involved in the negotiation of international standards and get the means to adapt their export products to comply with these changing standards. Finally, under the new Cotonou Agreement that links the ACP and the Eu countries, the Sahelian countries subscribe to the project on the regional economic partnership agreement (EPA) which may be coherent with their regional integrative project: this agreement must therefore cover the whole of West Africa. This project of free trade area with the European Union must give a special treatment to those products which are very sensitive for the Sahel, particularly, agricultural and food products for which the European Union is an important competitor.







## VARIABLE

### POPULATION

YEAR	BURKINA FASO	CAPE VERDE	GAMBIA	GUINEA-BISSAU	MALI	MAURITANIA	NIGER	SENEGAL	CHAD	CILSS	SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA	SOURCE
1999	11.2	0.4	1.3	1.2	11.0	2.6	10.5	9.2	7.6	55.0		Unep
1990	8.7	0.3	0.9	1.0	8.2	2.0	7.7	7.3	5.5	41.6		Oico
1999	2.0	0.2	0.4	0.3	3.2	1.5	2.1	4.3	1.8	15.8		Unep
1990	2.5	0.1	0.4	0.3	1.8	0.8	1.2	3.1	1.3	11.5		Oico
1998	6.3	3.4	5.0	5.5	6.3	5.3	6.5	5.3	5.8	5.5		Aon
1998	2.7	2.5	2.2	2.1	3.1	2.7	3.1	2.7	2.6			Aon

### ECONOMY AND TRADE

YEAR	BURKINA FASO	CAPE VERDE	GAMBIA	GUINEA-BISSAU	MALI	MAURITANIA	NIGER	SENEGAL	CHAD	CILSS	SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA	SOURCE
1999	2,643	600	400	200	2,714	959	2,067	4,791	1,574	15,948	332,744	Wb
1999	32	21	24	52	47	25	40	18	38	31	18	Wb
1999	27	31	14	5	17	29	17	25	14	22	32	Wb
1999	41	49	63	43	37	46	43	57	48	47	50	Wb
1975-1990	3.2	*	3.3	2.5	2.1	2.0	1.5	2.4	1.6			Unep
1990-1998	4.1	4.7	3.6	-1.2	3.7	4.1	2.4	3.2	3.1			Unep
1975-1990	1.0	2.9	-0.3	0.3	-0.7	-0.2	-2.2	-0.3	*		-1.0	Unep
1990-1999	1.4	3.2	-0.6	-1.9	1.1	1.3	-1.0	0.6	-0.9		0.4	Unep
1990	26	44	72	37	34	61	22	30	29		26	Unep
1999	29	50	67	44	36	49	22	39	30		31	Unep
1990	13	13	60	10	17	46	15	25	13		27	Unep
1999	11	23	51	26	25	39	16	33	17		29	Unep

### FINANCING

YEAR	BURKINA FASO	CAPE VERDE	GAMBIA	GUINEA-BISSAU	MALI	MAURITANIA	NIGER	SENEGAL	CHAD	CILSS	SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA	SOURCE
1999	1,399	244	477	964	3,202	2,589	1,659	3,861	1,091	15,485	230,132	Unep
1999	2.4	3.8	5.4	4.4	4.1	11	2.5	5	2.1			Unep
1999	36	319	27	44	33	84	18	58	25		18	Unep
1998	14	15	14	8	30	6	1	20	35	143	5,432	Unep



HUMAN DEVELOPMENT													
VARIABLE	YEAR	BURKINA FASO	CAPE VERDE	GAMBIA	GUINEA-BISSAU	MALI	MAURITANIA	NIGER	SENEGAL	CHAD	CILSS	SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA	SOURCE
GDP/capita (\$)	1999	236	1,500	307	167	247	368	197	521	207	284		UNDP
GDP/capita (PPP)	1999	965	4,490	1,580	678	753	1,609	753	1,419	850		1,640	UNDP
Population below monetary poverty line at 1 \$ daily in PPP of 1993 (%)	1983-1999	61	*	54	*	73	29	61	26	*			UNDP
Rural population below national poverty line (%)	1990-1998	51	46	66	70	69	68	66	86	67			UNDP
Urban population below national poverty line (%)	1990-1998	17	17	33	24	49	27	52	41	63			UNDP
Population below national poverty line (%)	1990-1998	45	30	64	49	69	57	63	65	64			UNDP
Adult literacy rate (% of population above 15 years)	1999	23	74	36	38	40	42	15	36	41		60.5	UNDP
Young adult literacy rate (% of population between 15 and 24 years of age)	1999	34	88	56	56	65	51	22	50	65		76.9	UNDP
Adult literacy rate – Women (% of population above 15 years)	1999	13	65	29	18	33	31	8	27	32			UNDP
Adult literacy rate – Men (% of population above 15 years)	1999	33	85	43	58	47	52	23	46	50			UNDP
Combined gross rate of school education (primary to higher) – Women (%)	1999	18	76	37	27	22	37	12	31	20			UNDP
Combined gross rate of school education (primary to higher) – Men (%)	1999	28	79	53	47	34	44	20	40	42			UNDP
Net percentage of children in Primary education (%)	1995-1997	33	*	65	*	31	61	25	60	52			UNDP
Net percentage of children in Secondary education (%)	1995-1997	*	48	*	*	*	*	5	*	7			UNDP
Population deprived of access to potable water (%)	1990-1998	58	35	31	57	34	63	39	19	32	39		UNDP
Population having access to developed watering points (%)	1999	20	74	62	49	65	37	59	78	27	49		UNDP
Population having access to medicines and vaccines (%)	1999	60	80	90	44	60	66	66	66	46	61		UNDP
Population deprived of access to health services (%)	1981-1993	30	18	*	36	80	70	70	60	0	50		UNDP
Human Development Index	1999	0.32	0.708	0.398	0.339	0.378	0.437	0.274	0.423	0.359			UNDP
World Rank HDI (out of 162)	1999	159	91	149	156	153	139	161	145	155			UNDP

#### AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

Cultivated area per capita (ha)	0.4	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.4	0.1	0.1	1.1	0.2	0.2	0.46		CIAT
Share of cereals in cultivated area (%)	84	50	61	*	75	80	80	68	56	73	73		CIAT
Agricultural area (1000 ha)	9,487	67	378	1,424	33,275	39,714	39,714	15,529	8,002	4,843	156,306		CIAT
Cultivable area (1000 ha)	3,487	42	185	344	3,341	464	464	4,368	2,314	3,430	17,975		CIAT
Grazing area (1000 ha)	6,000	25	194	1,080	30,000	39,250	39,250	11,160	5,688	45,000	138,397		CIAT
Forest area (1000 ha)	7,668	1	53	594	6,601	2,453	2,453	1,396	4,184	18,006	40,956		CIAT
Irrigation area (ha)	16,250	2,780	2,650	*	138,000	28,500	28,500	65,000	46,750	18,500	318,430		CIAT
Irrigation area (ha)	20,800	2,780	3,000	17,000	234,500	50,000	50,000	80,000	51,400	21,000	480,480		CIAT





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SAHEL 21:  
NO TO POVERTY, OPTING FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

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