# Intra-Regional Trade in Sub-Saharan Africa 

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Economics and Finance Division
Technical Department
Airica Region

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African Development Bank
Association of South East Asiun Nat ions
Central American Common Market
Common External Tariff
East African Commurity
Economic Community of Central African States
European Free Trade Association
Foreign Investment Advisory Service
Foreign Investment Advisory Service
The development fund of こEAO
General Agreement on tariffs and trade
Indian Ocean Commission
Latin American Free Trade Association (Latin
Integration Association)
Letters of Credit
Non Tariff Barrier
Organization of African Unity
Open General Licence
Fublic Enterprise
Preferential Trade Area Federation of
Conmerce and Industry
Quantitative Restriction
Revealed Comparative Advantage
Road Customs Transit Document
Structural Adjustment Credit
Southern Africa Customs Union
Structural Adjustment Loan
sectoral Adjustment Loan
Standard International Trade Classification
Sub Saharan Africa
United Nations Economic Commission for ffrica
United Nations Statistical Office
World Development Report

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## Executive Summary

## Obiectives and Backaround

1. Linke to the Long Term Perspective Study. The recently publioned Bark report Sub-Saharan Africa: From Crisis to Sustainable Growth, A Long Term Perspective study emphasizel the importance of Regional Cooperation and Economic Integration as a key ingredient for the next generation of development policy in Sub-Saharan Africa. This report concentrates on the trade related aspects of this issue. It is thus able to explore in some detail the key issues that need to be addressed in making the proposed strategy of the Long Term Perspective Study operationsl.
2. Objectives. In particular, this report proposes an agenda to overcome the obstacles that have contributed to the gtagnation at a low level of official intra-Sub-Saharan African trade. While it provides considerable statistical information on and comprehensive account of the practical (nentariff) constraints and barriers to intra-Sub-Saharan African trade, its main contribution is to link sustained increases in regional trade to the dismantiing of the barriers that limit cross-border investment and labor flows. The report therefore analyzes the conceptual basia and efficiency implications of African economic integration initiatives. It sets out proposals on what needs to be done to overcome constraincs limiting regional exchange of both products and factors of production. Making these proposals operational will require further analytical work in areae which the repnrt identifies.
3. Background. The fragmentation of Africa has focussed attention on the benefits of economic integration. In practice, however, despite the rhetoric of African leaders and various attempta at market integration, little progresa has been achieved. Thus, official trade among Sub-Saharan African countries has stagnated over the past two decades and amounts to a mere US\$4 billion -- only 6 percent of total African trade. This, dnapite eatimaces that up to a further US $\$ 5$ billion of Africa's imports from the rest of the world could be aupplied by other African countries that are already exporting similar products outside the region $1 /$.
4. 

Various regicnal organizations in Africa have been trying to achieve this potential and seversi have approached the Bank for help. The initial requests correctly focus fon financing regional investment and on strengthening the payments mecharinam amongst regional trading partners.
5.

Increased foreign exchange availability from foreign sources in support of chronic deficits is not e sufficient response and it may, in fact, be dangerous as it will increase the likelihood of default. Instead it is necessary to make the deficits sustainable by strengthening the productive capacity of the deficit countries.
6. The Basic Problem. The lack of progress with regional trade liberalization stems mainly from inappropriate macroeconomic policies -overvalued exchange rates, excessive fiscal deficits, distorted credit allocation, and neavy domestic market protection. These policies have also

1/ If the potential additional intra-regional exporis of $\$ 5$ biliion was achieved this whuld reault in a $\$ 10$ piliion increase in intra-regional trade to $\$ 14$ biliion. Thus, the share of intra-regional trade would tabie from 6 to 18 percent.
had an adverse impact on productive investment and hence economic perforance in general. At the same time they heve purred the growth in Africa'g parallel markets and informal bordar trade. Thus the prospecta for regional integration are closely linked to general economic reform that addresses the macro-economic imbalances.
7. Unfortunately, experience euggentu that the required adjustments will be slow. In particular, African governmente have round it difficult to restrain fiscal and monetary policy sufficiancly to implement an exchange rate policy that keeps the rate at a level which can be sustained without extensive payments restrictions. In turn, the administration of these restrictions seems to be biased agsinst financing cross-border sconomic activity. In parallel, there is no incentive to trade at official relative prices when one currency is relatively over-valued.
8. Benesits. There may, thus, be significant returno from implementing, during the transition period, second best solutions aimed at relaxing administrative barriers againgt increased intra-regional activity. Any such measirea would be implemented in parallel with ongoing national adjustment programs.
9.

African economies are economically small (the whole of Sub-Saharan Africa is no larger than the Netherlands). This implies that attempts to create regional barriers against third parties are doomed to failure. These would make African production even less competitive by encouraging trade diversion (substituting cheap third party imports with expensive regional imports). Instead, the main benefits of regional integration will arise from the restructuring of African economies that is associated with trade creation (the substitution of expensive domestic production with less expensive -官ional imports).

Analyiical issues
10. The report argues that regional initiatives should promote efficient resource allocation and better integration into the world economy. The ultimate objective should be to create conditions which would allow the private sector to freely work, invest and trade across African borders and with relatively low barriers against third parties. Tnus a shift is needed by African governmente and regional organizations from the concentration on selective tariff cuts to measures that promote factor mobility and support the free movement of goods and services.
11. Instead of relying solely on gradual liberalization of trade with the whole world on a unilateral basia, this approach would gtrengthen and extend ongoing adjustment efforts by adding another dimension: the liberalization of regional factor and product markets. To compensate for the narrower scope in terms of partners, mutual (regional) liberalization should be extensive and rapid. This may be politically more demanding than current reform programs and capital mobility would be easier to achieve than labor mobility.
12.

Nevertheless, support for integration initiatives should not aim at saving so far-failed efforts at regional import substitution behind high barriers against third parties, even though that might be politically more attractive. if extensive mutual regional liberalization (i.e, the minimum reform required for greater integration along efficient lines) is not palatable, it woild be preferable to concentrate on national efforts than to get involved with increasing trade discrimination against third parties which would either fai: or be detrimental to efficiency.
13.

The proposed appreach relies on the pressure from a private sector conetituency thet would benefit from the focue on creating conditions conducive to legilizing and enhancing private crose-border conomic activity. This and the voluntary and incrementai mutual liberalization advocated could
contribute to increase political commitment by African Governmente compared to Lhe weak political support they extend to current efforts.
14. The basic premise of the report is that regional trade liberalization ghould be an intermediacy etage towards general liberalization and thie suggests discouraging the formation of Customs Unions 2/. This is secause future reform would be harder if lowering external tariffs required several governments to agree, such as in a Cugtoms Union arrangement. Where a Common External Tariff (CET; already exists, as in UDEAC, its limitations will have to be accepted. Fortunately, the UDEAC CET itself does not appear to extend excessive regional preferences. Thus the promotion of efficient regional integratior could be achieved while leaving the CET in place, provided all other import taxes and chargea are replaced with domestic taxes.
15.

Temporary increasee in regional preferences are acceptable providea this occurs as part of a general and gignificant lowering of external protection with an assurance that this increase in regional preference would indeed be temporary. Such increased regional preferences could also be accepted if the resulting discrimination remained reasonable.
15.

Closer economic links should be based on existing and potential complementarities and trade flows. In this respect, exiating Regional Economic Groupings in SSA, set up for a variety of, sometimes non-economic reasons, are not necessarily optimal. However, given that they exist and given the commitment of the member governments to them, to the extent poseible, any new initiatives should work with and through the existing subregional organizations. Nevertheless, new initiatives should promote factor mobility and the free movement of goode and servicee within the group as well as generalized trade liberalization with the rest of the world; they should not aim at reversing the failure to activate custums unions with high barriers againet non-members including those on the content.
17. Existing undertakings and agreements by the member states should be the starting point for a regional initiative and ahould be interpreted as the minimum commitment of member states. In consequence existing organizations should allow and indeed encourage sub-groups of states to implement more rapid and extensive elimination of trade barriers and obstacles to labor and capital mobility between them, while recognizing that some membere would not want to proceed further than already agreed. To support these efforts, donors could asaist thoes individual member states that are prepared to relax controls on cross-border flows of factors of produrtion and goods and services.
18. The repert estimatea potential trade based on exiating formal trade. This Revealed Comparative Advantage methodology implicitiy assumes efficiency in curzent trading patterns whereas in some instances imported inputs may be contributing to negative value added. Thus while the analygis is useful in indicating some orders of magnitude concerning the potential volume of trade that would occur in a liberalized trading regime, given the

[^0]extensive dietortions, caution is required in judging aperific trading opportunities that might be apparent from the data.
19.

More work could be dune to evaluate areas with actual comparative advantage that would be expected to lead to more regional trade. However, euch an exercise is fraught with difficulty and the important meamage of the analysis is that substantial efficient trade flowe would matsrialize provided distortions to the incentive atructure were eliminated. An example of the difficulty of identifying winners and losers is provided by Mauritius. Within a decade it became the third largest exporter of woollen knitwear without a previous tradition of knitting or weaving, with no doavetic supply of wool and with no prior expertise in a related induetry.
20. In emphasizing the role of private economic agente in bringing about regional incegration, the report advocates a new approach that is in line with the objectives of Bank supported adjustment. By establishing preset conditions for donor assistance, the proposed approach could br implemented in stages. As private interests respond to emerging regions $\downarrow$ business opportunities, they can become a local pressure group for further economic reform.

## Scope of the report

21. The main purpose of the report is to identify barriers to intraregional trade. In undertaking the study, it was realized that sustaining increased intra-regional trade requires extensive intra-regional liberalization of factor as well as product markets. This is why a dibcussion of regional integration is a focal point of the report. Nevertheless, the focus of this discusaion has been kept on those aspects of regional integration that are most relevant to promoting increased intraregional trade. This should not be interpreted as an indication that other aspects of integration or regional cooperation are viewed to be unimportant.

Operational igsues
22. Political uncertainties, the need for further study of gush key isaues as factor mobility and the difficulties in harmonizing poiicies auggest great caution is required before moving ahsad with any actual operation. Harmonization is likely to be particularly problematic since the relevant actions to achieve this -- particularly subaidy policy and the structure of incentives -- tend to be the most contentious issues in most national adjustment programs.
23.

Until the political and other issues are better underatood it would be wise for outside donors such as the Bank to consult closely with regional organizations and key governments in designing assistance to regional integration. Establishing a framework that countries would decide to adhere to at their own pace may also create operational difficulties that would need to be considered carefully. In some instances there mignt be actions that can only be taken at the regional level by the group of countries as a whole. In such casea it might therefore be necessary to insist on joint action.
24.

The report identifies a range of possible actions going from areas for further studies to specific measures African governments can adopt and including forms of direct support by donors such as in risk sharing with commercial banks or financing of external inputs needed for reatructuring of firms in a regional context. It will be helpful to keep this range of options in mind in designing any pcssible operation, and committed african governments and regional organizations could consider some policy reform even without external assistance.

## Noxt ithon

25. Thie report should be seen an a vehicle to help carry forward a dialogue between the Bank, other donorf, African govarnmente and relevant African regional organizations. This proceses shouldfacilitate the emergence of a consensua on how to advance the cause of erficient regional intagration efforts. Indeed, the report itself should be eeen mainly as a vehicle to achieve this objective.
26. Much work will also need tc be undertaken to obtain a better understanding of key imeues and to deal with the various operational questions that need to be resolved before program of amsistance can be designed.
27. It would be wise to encourage all the member States to implement the rapid and extensive liberalization of factor and product markets advocated in the report. This would be fully consistent with provisione of the relevant Treaty to eliminate obstacles to the free intra-regional flow of goods and factore of production. However, given the widerranging and politically difficult implications of the proposals, it is poseible that only a few governments would initially be able to embark on the suggested strategy.
28. Thus, the process of dialogue and further research will be critical in determining the ertent and nature of future Bank responses to the increasing requests from African regional organizations and national Goverments for assistance in this area.

## A. Motivation for thig 日tudy

1.01 The recent economic performance of Sub-Sahbran Africa (SSA) has been unsatisfactory. Over the period 1980-1986, average real per capita GNP has declined by 3 percent annually, partly reflecting an average annual decline in recorded exports of 2 percent compounded by increasing debt burdens. In this environment, the shortage of foreign exchange has forced $z$ contraction of recorded imports from us $\$ 47$ billion in 1980 to an estimated US $\$ 29$ billion in 1986. To achieve sugtained real per capita growth in SSA will require the easing of the foreign exchange constraints. This may involve increaged excernal asaistance, including more imaginative forms of debt relief. Nevertheless, without improved economic performance it is difficult to envisage a significant turnaround.
1.02 This is why, in the course of its ongoing policy dialogue with SSA country authorities, the Bank is supporting reforms that will make SSA economies more flexible. Specifically, the Bank has aupported the adoption of market determined exchange rates, allocation of foreign exchange based on price signals instead of administrative fiat, the liquidation, privatization and/or rehabilitation of inefficient public enterprises, lower implicit and explicit taxation of export oriented activity, the reduction of barriers to trade and easing of price, profit margin and investment controls. For the purposes of this study, it is assumed that the authorities in SSA will increasingly restructure their economies along these lines. Thus the background assumed is one of a generalized trend towards liberalization even though this may not be uniform across countries or even over time. By the end of 1987 , 32 countries in $S S A$ had adopted some form of structural adjustment program with the support of the Bank and 16 countries had accepted the need to liberalize their trade regimes (see Chapter II, Table 3). However, despite these developments and some encouraging progress in countries that have implemented strong reform programs, far more could at:ll be done to improve the out look for SSA.
1.03 This is why emphasis needs to be given to measures that will strengthen ongoing reform efforts to achieve more rapid and extenaive improvemente in efficiency. In practice this requires initiatives in many directions (see Sub-Sabaran Africa: From Crisis to Sustainable Growth (Landeli-Milis, 1989) for details) including the strengthening and deepening of the adjustment process through regional integration and cooperation. While such efforts encompass many areas of activity, trade is a logical atarting point as well as a natural focal point. This provides the broad justifisation for interest in promoting efficient intra-African trade.
1.04 This report investigates the potential gains from dismantling or reducing barriers againat sich trade, while not losing aight of the benefits of greater outward orientation and integration into the world economy.
1.05 In this respect, it is assumed, as argued by Balassa (1979), that the greatest gains require general trade iiberalization since intra-sSA trade is nct in itgelf more valuable than other international trade. Nevertheless, the study will investigate the extent to which, $i$ a context of general liberalization, a greater degree of openness amongst SSA countries may yield gignificant benefits. This arises from the recognition that african countri*e, even under the most far reaching liberalization programs being considered, are unwilling and perhaps unable to reduce trade barriers close to the level in induatrialized countries, let ajone completely dimmantle them.
1.06 This is mainiy because, even in a distortion free environment, shori run costs can $n$ it be reduced to world levels for the bulk of exiating manufacturing activity in sSA. Indeed, trade liberalization may be frustrated in SSA because it wolld accelerate the necessary but politically
difficult restructuring of a large number of non-viable enterpisees, the bulk of which are in the pubilc aector. Liberalization is also inhibited by fear of excessive apecialization in primary commodities and the belief that many of the dynamic gains from trade come froa industrial exports.
1.07 These considerations underlie the apparent de facto consensus, as revealeu in the design of the relevant adjustment operations, that it is reasonable to provide average protection of 40 to 60 percent with tariff rates of 5 to 100 percent, at leant in the short to medium term. Such reform thus affords much greater protection than in induetrial countries. More importantly, this degree of protection is high enough that there may be some scope for further reduction by pursuing a regional strategy that might reault in greater unit cost reductions than achievable at the national level.
1.08 There is aignificart trade potential estimatec at us $\$ 4$ to US\$5 billion among SSA countries, both on primary and industrial exports. This potential is not realized, at least in part because of market and policy failures which discourage businessmen from identifying lower cost African suppliers to replace higher cost traditional partners. While continuation of commodity aid programs and special bi-lateral arrangements may prevent the full potential from being realized, the orders of magnitude involved suggest a large scope for efficient intra-SSA trade expansion.
1.09 At the same time, there may also be scope for increased intraregio al trade because it may be politically more acceptable to improve efficiency by initially exposing domestic firms to import competition from other African producers instead of world imports. This may result in lower priced products from partners that would limit some expensive domestic production, even though it will not give the full benefit of replacing expensive domestic output with the lowest priced goods on the world market.
1.10 such considerations justify the speeding of trade liberalization towards other SSA countries. This would reverse the current trend of more rapid liberalization towarde tride with non-African countries which arises from biases in the allocation of foreign exchange.
1.11 In the long run there must be an opening up to the discipline of the international market and therefore any regional trade preferences should not be excessive and shouid be reduced after a clearly specified adaptation period (say 5-10 years), to prevent significant diversion of efficient trade. This means that the eventual aim is to dismantle all non-tariff barriers against external partners and, where relevant, to reduce external tariffs towards the same low level granted to favored African partners.
1.12 To secure the competition needed for the restructaring of African firms through mergers, acquisitions and joint ventures, emphasis should be on generalized regional liberalization including factor flowa instead of being limited to trade. Such generalized liberalization is also evsential for gustioining increased regional trade by creating opportunities for generating the oifsetting workers' remittances and investment flows to sustain the chronic trade deficits that some countries would face in the short and medium term.
1.13 A regional approach may also be ralid in the current international climate when the free rider problem may limit future progress in the GATT. The emergence of a single European market in 1992, the US-Canada Free Trade Pact and suggestions for a Free Trade Agreement between the US and Pacific rim countries reflect concern that generalized concessions within the GATT may be harder to achieve now and in the future compared to the past. Indeed, the emergence of large blocs may help mitigate the free rider problem and thus facilitate the movement to ever freer international trade. SSA as a whole has the economic size of a small industrialized country (such as the Netherlands) and so the relevance of a SSA bloc ghould not be overemphasized. However, to the extent that internal liberalization within SSA facilitates a lowering of external barriers, this redustion in external protection ahould
provide moral argument for more favorable treatment of African exportu including auch iteme as Konyan cut fiuwers which face penal tariff: in the us which Colombia, for example, is exempt irom.
1.14 Segional liberalization may also be more politically acceptable than unilateral conceseions because of the tradeoff with other countries. Further, "hinding" reforms though an international treaty will make it harder for opponent to challenge than national lagislation.

## B. Scope and coverade

1.15 It im hoped that this atudy will be useful in oharpening attention on key issues in the ongoing dialogue between the Bank, other donors and the relevant country authorities. To achieve thin, the focus will be limited to broad icsuen relevant for SSA as a whole (or the major ty of SSA countriea). Further, apecial circumstancea that are relevant only to particular countrias will tend to be neglected; the expertiee for rackling much ineuee residee with the Country Departments.
1.16 This study does not even attempt to deal with all relevant aspects of trade in SSA. Instead, the study will focus narrowly on the investigation of those tarriers, to increased intra-SSA trade, whose removal would significaitily improve the growth potential of SSA. This means, for example, that the interesting and important issue of unrecorded trade is largely ignored on the grounds that without extensive field work it is impossible to obtain generalized data that reliably eatablish the magnitude of auch flows and the share of unrecorded trade that arises from lack of harmonization of Government policies compared with that which is forced underground by bad policies. Therefore it is not possible to evaluate how changes in Government policy that affect such trade would contribute to growth. Barad (1988) provides an excellent review of what is known about unrecorded trade in SSA and the December $1988 / J a n u a r y ~ 1989$ issue of the Soutiorn African Economint provides interesting illustrations for Southern Africa.
1.17 Suetainable increases in intra-African trade will requiremeasures that allow all economic agents to freely trade, invest and work scross African boundaries. This and various requests by existing ssa groupings for Bank assistance with regional integration efforts suggent the importence of develnping a framework for Bank support in this area. The study therefore elaborates an approach that could build on regional integration to strengthen ongoing adjustment efforts and restore growth in SSA. This framework emphasizes measures that would support sustainable and efficient increases in regional exchange, but is not meant to exclude other worthwhile forme of assistance for specific programs buch as locust control or financing for regional public sector infrastructure.
1.18 The nature of the data, the time frame for conducting the study and the number of countries in SSA have imposed the necessity to adopt a sampling approach relying on the collection of anecdotal evidence and the formulation of broad hypotheses. It will be up to individual country economiats to follow up on the issues raised while ufing their own judgement as to which issues are the most pextinent for a particular country.
1.19 The study identifies the impediments to trade that would be expected on the basia of resource endowments and the current policy environment. This ic done by concentrating on selected product rather than trade a whole to facilitate drawing general and usable policy recommendations. The study implicitly raises quegtions regarding distributional iasues, the politiral austainability and phasing of reforms, fiscal and balance of payments implications of lowering barriers and the required eupportive investnent and price policies that need to complement trade liberalization. While these issues are critical, especially if reforma are to be implemented and sustained, they can not be adequately dealt with in the framework of the current effort and will need aupplementary work, perhaps in the context of follow-up to the current exercise.
1.20

The analysis covers a large number of countries in Sub-Saharan Africa and their recorded trade both with partners in established and active regional arrangements and other SSA countries. The active organizations either consist of the large multinational economic and trade organizations (PTA and ECOWAS --the meaning of the acronyms uaed here and a brief eummary of the activities of these organizations is provided in annex 1 ) or smaller groups (CEAC, CEPGL, IOC and UDEAC). IL also encompasses one multinational arrangement with a narrower agenda for coordination (SADCC) and a mall trade organization and xiver basin development group (MRU). These organizations share a common goal, namely to cooperate for enhancing economic development through trade and inveatment. The orher regional arrangements in SSA, developmertal commissions for river basins or lakes, common services for reaearch and/or techrical services and financial inatitutions or monetary arrangements are not directly relevant for our purposes and are therefore neglected (Berg (1989) provides a comprehensive review). The Southern Africa Customs Union (SACU) is neglected because of its domination by South Africa which is not considered part of SSA and the Economic Community of central African states (acras) is not dealt with since it is only now becoming effective and therefore has no track record.

## C. Outline of the report

1.21 The report jog organized into chapters that can stand alone so that the reader may go directiy to the isaues that are of interest.
2.22 Chapter II explores the rationale for regional integration efforts and proposes an approach consistent with the free trade ideal while taking account of the constraints facing major liberalization efforts. Chapter III gummarizes the economic characteristive and the pattern of recorded trade in SSA. The changes that have occurred in trading patterne over the period 1965 before most groupings were formed) to 1983 are reviewed to provide a bo rground for the ensuing analysis es weli as motivating a discussion of the dynemice rehund the formation of the various regional groupinge and some prelininary otservations bbout the impact of the various regicnal trade arrangemonte in $S S A$. In Crapter IV, the basic trade data in uged to evaluate Revealed comparative Advaritage (FCA) which is then used to select producte which are studjed more exterisively. Chapter $V$ reviews the main barriers against intia-SSA trade for the selected products. This motivates a review, in chapter VI of possible actions tiat might be taken in improve intraregional trade and antegration prosperta.

## 11. THE RATIONALE FOR BANK SUYPORI TO INTEGRATION EFFORTS IN SSA

## A. Doeg Reqional Integration in SSA Make Economic Sense?

2.01 Regional integration jagtified by a variety of reasone that include poiitical consideratione and the search for greater security. While these are valid in their own right and may even domirate other consideratione, here the concern $i g$ over economic benefits.
2.02 Supporting regional integratio in SSA ie a new area of involvement for the Bank and the approach is still being developed. It is often arguta that the benefits from greater intra-African exchange are limited given the similar economic structure based on primary commodity production for export outside the region. However, once the framework is extended to considex the different initial endowmente of land and capital (including human capital) the potential benefits are more apparent. Economic integration may offer a means of realizing these benefite by dismantiling barriers to the free flow of goode and services, labor and, eepecially, capital to promote industrial reatructuring and allow the energence of etrong African firms through

2.03 This would support ongoing national strucural adjustment eftorte with special relevance for liberalization of economic policy and the mobilization of the privata fector 3/. For example, currency convertibility may be re-astabliahed lese paintully through a gradual transition to a more realistic exchange rate if this de done coliectively rather than individually. Similarly, a reform of investment laws would benefit from being carried out at the regional level.
2.04 Achieving these objectives requires significant reduction in external protection together with the free movement of goode and services that characterizes a Free Trade Area combined with the free flow of factor eervices that is a feature of a Common Market. A Common External Tariff (CET), that is characteriatic of Customs Unions and Common Markets, should not be adopted where none exists so as to facilitate the lowering of external protection. A CET requires joint agreement by geveral countrieg for changes and this will needlessly complicate trade liberalization. However, where a CET is already in place, there would be no need to dismatle it unless excessive regional preferences are involved that could significantiy divert trade. (Trade diversion occurs when more expensive union partners substitute for less expensive external trade partners as a result of preferences).
2.05 This is particularly true of existing customs inions euch as UDEAC. 4/ Instead, the objective should be to emphasize factor mobility while limiting regional preferences by getting agreement to lower the CET where relevant. Care would be required, however, to avoid an increase in intra-union preferences by making its CET effective. In summary, with existing Customs Unions the end objective would be a transformation into a common market with lower external protection than initially.
2.06 Previous and curcent atempta to achieve regional integation in SSA identify the need "to adopt a farmeaching regional approach based primarily on collective gejf-reliance" so aa to make Africa ieá dubceptide to "the economac and social crisee suffered by the industivai countries" (Lagos Plan of Action, preamble, article 1). They have therefore emphasized the granting of aelective intra-union tariff preferences as a step to a Customs Union and eventually a Common Market with high protective barriers so as to achieve import substituting industrialization.
2.07 In contrast, experience suggests that maximizing the benefits from integration reguires the emergence of more flexibie economies that are better integrated into the world efonomy. The emphasis should be on increasing competition within SSA by lineralizing factor and goode and services flows acrose Afzican boundaries rathex thar activating so far failed efforte to

3/ Here we are concerned with integration as a meane of ennancimg : A regional exchange. The benefite of coordinating pubile inveetment tia joint intervention to fight locuste anc ruvexbindnese, for exampie ate therefore ignored. Berg (j989) reviewe auch iesuep in depth.

[^1]create custome unions that would grant high external protection againet third partiee 5/.
2.08 The proposed approach to regional integration is consistent with an outward-oriented etrategy that "provides incentives which are neutral between production for the domestic market and exports" (WDR, 1987, page 8). In consequence, the supporters of regional integration in sSA, mutt reevaluate the argument that the failed policiem of import abstitution combined with indupicrial planning reflect problems of small market size rather than wrong policy choices. Experience shows that "the important lesson is that the etrongly inward-oriented economies did badiy." (WDR, 1987, page 8), a lesson whose validity is not affected by the size of the economy. In the short run there may be similarities between the two approaches, parcicularly regarding the diemantiing of internal burriers that reault in regional preferences. But in the approach suggested here, this is only a transitory phenomenon required to achieve broad based general liberalization.
2.09 This is why Customs Unions, with their potential for trade diversion behind a high CET, should not be the primary objective of integration efforts. Inevitably, a regional strategy will give some preference to regional partners, but avoiding Common External tariffe will limit potential trade diversion and emphasize trade creation fhe aubatitution of expensive domestic production by less expensive partner imports). In the absence of a CET, users of high cost regional imports can be expected to pressure their own national Government for a lowering of the national tariff on those items, thus helping to keep down trade diversion. Such pressure for lowering the common tariff of a customs union is likely to be resigted by the country with the high cost product protected by the high tariff. Where a CET already exigts, efforts should be directed to ensure

5/ Mr. Jaycox has made several speeches emphasizing that "successful economic integration will be contingent on the implementation of policies that elicit the correct response from markets and which will boost regional production and demand. To strengthen that respunse, policy and
inatitutional frameworks have to be put in place that facilitate the free flow of goods and factors of production within Sub-Saharan Africm." (Speech to SADCC, January 28, 1988, page 5). In the aame speech he emphasizes that "thy first imperative is for governments of the region to adjust their policy frameworks, to get their economies back on a growth track, make them as efficient and productive as possible, and to liberate the vast entrepreneurial potential of their people... Policy changes such as encouraging realistic exchange rate movementa, liberalizing trade, deaigning price incentives for exporta, improving public sector investment strategies and institutions, and increasing private sector activity must go hand-in-hand with specific investments in physical infrastructure and human resource development." (page 1). He laments that up to now "there has been too little effort to get traders, manufacturers, farmers and business people to participate in the process of cooperation and to establish commercial links among themse ves. The result of all this? Not neariy enough intra-African trade; markets that are too small; inefficient, unofficial cross-border exchanges; costly excess industrial capacity in many countries; growing dependence on non-African sources for food; and increasing unemployment and roverty." (SADCC speech pages 2-3).

In another epeech dealing with economic recovery in SSA, Mr Jaycox notes that "also critical is the harmonization of appropriate policies across national borders. These policies should be aimed at eliciting the correct response from markets and boosting regional production and demand. "ins World Bank, through ite adjuatment lending, is helping to facilitate the adoption of such policies and is keen to support further steps that will lead to enhanced regional cooperation." (Keynote address to Interagency Task Force on UNPAAERD, February 22-23, 1988).
that the resulting intra-union preferences be limited (if necessary by lowering the CFT) to a differential that is not excessive, say no more than 20 percent.
2.10 Given the likely difficulties of later downward movement of the CET, caution is required in activating a CET that actually increases intraunion preferences, even where this i* seen as transitory. Temporary increasea in regional preferences should only occur as part of a general and eignificant lowering of external protection. Further, there should be reasonatle assurance that the regional preference would indeed be reduced to a differential that in not excesesive. It should be recognized that reaching this objective would regri. considerable external trade liberalization, and would uevally involve lower barriers than currently envisaged in uni-lateral national reform programs.
2.11 In 1980 African Heads of State adopted the Lagos Plan of Action that advocated "a far-reaching regional approach based primarily on collective self-reliance" (Preamble, Article 1). In the current climate of adjustment, the objectives of the Lagos Plan need to be interpreted even more broadly: "to achieve the goals of rapid self-reliance and self-sustaining development and economic growth" (Lagos Plan of Action, Preamble, Article 3) requires the emergence of strong African firms able to compete in the world market and this is inconsistent with inefficient activity protected by high barriers. Thus, the spirit of the Lagos plan is fully consistent with the promotion of extensive regional liberalization as the first step to generalized liberalization.
2.12 Economic integration may offer a powerful means for achieving an outward orientation G/ in some $^{\prime}$ SSA countries, given the reluctance to freely admit imports and the automatic de-facto monopolies created by the small size of virtually all SSA economies (except for Nigeria and, perhape, Cameroon). Regional cooperation should result in increased openness (and thus a reduction in protection vis-a vis the rest of the world) on the part of the member countries of the regional union, leading to a reduction in barriers to trade in services and factors of production in addition to trade in goods.
2.13 However, regional liberalization should ke more intensive than world wide liberalization, in partilalar by being extended to factors of production. The two are not incompatible, as demonstrated by the EC, for example. However, regional liberalization should take priority in terms of speed and degree. Such an approach could limit the possibility of increased dependence arising from a uni-lateral liberalization program.
2.14 Thus, the proposed strategy emphasizes extension of the size of all product and factor markets as a means of increasing competition and efficiency, thereby facilitating a lowering of external barriers. This contrasts witn traditional approaches that emphasize the extension of the market for selected products to exploit the economies of scale perceived to be necessary for import substitution behind high barriers.
2.15 The economies of scale argument is worth reviewing since it tends to underpin much of the discussion concerning regional integration in SSA. Such arguments usually overlook that economies of acale tend to be more relevant for heavy industry and are irrelevant for agricultural goods and for services such as marketing and transport where significant increases in economic activity could be expected. Freeing agricultural trade is particularly important, both to support national reforms aiming to shift the

[^2]terms of trade in favor of the agricultural sector and to enhance food eecurity by overcoming regulations, administrative problems and transport difficulties that prevent natural variations in output to be used to exchange temporary eurpluses and deficits acrosessa borders.
2.16 Notwithatanding these criticiams, it has been argued that "for large economies domestic trade may provide scope for adequate apecialization, economies of ecale, and enough competition to keep managere alert." (WDR, 1987, page 3). In that reapect, in Brazil for instance, there is considerable "water in the tariff". However, as also noted by the WDR, "even large economies, if cut off from international trade, would lack stimuli for efficient industrial development." (page 3). This explains why, despite occasional temptation to rely on scale economies for achieving import substituting induetrialization, Brazil has tended to have an outward orientation (WDR, 1987, Figure 5.1, page 83).
2.17 In any case, none of the existing SSA sub-regional groupings are large enough to rely on internal trade as can be gauged from the experience of Nigeria which has a larger economic size than any of the groupings i: SSA; even SSA as a whole would only achieve the aize of Belgium or somewhere in between Indonesia and Korea, all very open and export oriented economies that do not aim at import substitution berind high barriers (see Table 1). Paradoxically, the economies of scale argument would dictate production for the world market, since there is no economic rationale for limiting acale economies to continental borders.

| $\text { Ssh groucinge } \begin{gathered} \text { GDP in } 1988 \\ \text { (USS miliions) } \end{gathered}$ |  | ble conntries |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Indurtrial | LpCs |
| SSA | 149,550 | Belgium | Indonesia/Korea |
| ECOWAS | 62,648 | N. $\mathrm{Z} / \mathrm{Denmark}$ | Yugoslavia |
| Nigeria | 29.370 | Ireland | Hungary |
| ECOWhs without Nige | ia 33,278 | Ireland/Nz | Pakietan |
| CEAO | 21,330 | -- | Moroceo |
| MRU | 4,770 | -- | Conte Rica |
| PTA | 57,709 | N. $2 /$ Denmark | Thailand |
| SADCC | 24,194 | Ireland | Singapore |
| UDEAC | 20,508 | -- | Bangladesh |
| CEPGL | 9,740 | -- | Ecuador |
| IOC | 5,799 | -* | Yemen |
| Memorandum iteme |  |  |  |
| Largest Afstican Economies |  | Largert Non-AEricsn LDCE |  |
| SSA | 149,550 | China | 372,320 |
| Nigeria | 29,370 | Brazil | 323,610 |
| Cameroon | 12,900 | India | 237,930 |
| Sudan | 11,240 | Mexico | 176,700 |
| Cote d'Ivoire | 7,650 | Korea | 171,310 |
| Kenya | 7,380 | Indonesia | 83,220 |
| Angola | 6,759 | Argentina | 79,440 |
| zaire | 6,470 | South Africa | 78,970 |
| Zimbabwe | 5,650 | Poiand | 70,490 |
| Ghana | 5,230 | Turkey | 64,360 |
| Senegal | 4,980 | Venezuela | 63,750 |
| Ethiopia | 4,950 | Yugosiavia | 61.710 |
|  |  | Thailand | 57,950 |
| Incustrial countrieg |  | Algeria | 51,900 |
| US | 4,847,310 | Israel | 44,960 |
| Japan | 2,843,710 | Hong Kong | 44,830 |
| Germany | 1,201,820 | Portugal | 41,700 |
| prance | 949,440 | Greece | 40,900 |
| italy | 828,850 | Philippines | 39,210 |
| UK | 702,370 | colombia | 39,070 |
| Canada | 435,860 | Malayaia | 34,680 |
| Spain | 340,320 | Egypt | 34,330 |
| Australia | 245,950 | pakistan | 34,050 |
| Netherlands | 228,280 | Hungary | 28,000 |
| Switzerland | 184,830 | Peru | 25,670 |
| Sweden | 159,880 | Singapore | 23,880 |
| Belgium | 153.810 | Chile | 22,080 |
| Austria | 127,200 | Morocco | 21,990 |
| Finland | 91,690 | Bangladesh | 19,320 |
| Norway | 91,050 | Syria | 14,950 |
| Denmark | 90,530 | Ecuador | 10,320 |
| New Zealand | 39,800 | Tunisia | 8,750 |
| Ireland | 27,820 | Oman | 8,150 |
| source: 1990 WDR, Table 3, pages 182-183 and staff eatimatea. |  |  |  |

2.18 In or out of economic unions, ssi countries, like all mall countries, will therefore depend for their growth "upon their ability to trade relatively freely with the rest of the world." (WDR, 1987, page 3). Notwithetanding any dynamic or static gains from regional trade, the most important benefite reside in expanding external trade and regional integration should be supported as means of achieving greater eventual outward orientation. This is why the focus should be on creating competition in regional factor and product marketa at atep to external liberalization.

## B. Reconciling Roqional Inteqration with Irade miberalipation

2.19 The need for a regional approach is rooted in the difficulties in puriuing all out liberalization. After oight yeare of etructural adjustment efforts in ssA, progrese with liberalization has been elow and accompanied with reversals. In general, trade regimes in ssi remain more restrictive than liberalized with leas than half having eliminated all quantitative restrictions (import licensing andor foreign exchange allocation eystem) (ate Table 2).

Table 2: Clanaificetion of sse Countries Afcordine to Irade Rentrictions

## fully 1/ Partially 2 Lintted 3/ Linited 4/ Partially 5/ Very $0 /$ Liberolized liberalized biberalization Restrictions Restrictod Bentrifted others 71

Benin If
Botsuma
Burkinit faso
Burund!
Burundi
Gape Verde
Central Africen Republ ic
Chad
Chad
cote dijvoir
Cote dilvoir
Ethioply
Ethioplif
Gebon
Gembia:
Chana
cuinat
kempe 11/
Lesotho
liberfa
Madagnacer
Mal awi
Mal!
Mauritenla
Mauritily
Momibie lilf
ligar
nigeria iv/
nigeria iv
senegal $v /$
semegal $V /$
sierra Lapro
Somelia
Sudan
Ienzenia.
$1090 v i /$
Upanda
zaire
zumbia
zimbebuty vil/
$\mathbf{x}$
$x$
$x$
$x$
$x$
$X$
$x$
$r$
$x$
$x$
$\mathbf{x}$
$x$
X
x
N
$x$


$x$
$x$
$x$
$\underset{X}{K}$
$x$ x
$x$
x
$x$
$x$
$x$
x

[^3]2.20 A ragional approach may offer a new dimension to aupplement the uni-lateral and uncoordinated national efforts of the sorr curxently being engaged in with World sank and IMF support. Its bi- or multi-lateral nature may help make reforms more acceptable and "bind" them againgt reversals by national pressure groups.
2.21

To evaluate this argument it is neceagary to underntand the adjustment problems facing SSA. According to Nellig (1986) and Stael and Evane (1984), African countries have attempted to industrialize by relying on the public sector to aet up operations geared at mall national markete. As a reault, many public enterprises in Africa are not only inefficient and badly managed but are overdimensioned. "The persistence of capacity underutilization... suggests that a temporary ehortage of foreign exchange is not the Eundamental problem. The underlying problems are the dependence of production on imported rather than domestically-produced inputs, and excessive growth of production relative to the growth of import capacity-and in many cases relative to the size of the market" (Steel and Evane, 1984, page 55). Under such circumatances privatization and rehabilitation efforts may offer only limited rellef from overprotection and the resulting excesaive consumption of foreign exchange. Such considerations partiy explain the difficulties encountered by African governments in agreeing on the need for and in implementing trade liberalization.
2.22 Steel and Evans (1984) also note that high effective protection encourages new investment, even with unused capacity. In turn, "Hagh cost operation is an inevitable consequence of these problems of capacity underutilization, inadequate infrastructure, declining productivity, and excessive capital intensity. At the same time, incentives to reduce costs have been blunted by high effective protection, import prohibitions, restricted competition, and administered pricing sybtems that base decisions on actual costs plus a margin. As a result, a large share ot industrial production in Africa takes place at costs that are not competitive in terms of world market prices, and it is not uncommon to find some firms that actualiy use more foreign exchange than they save" (pages 59-60).
2.23

This supporte the view of Nellis (1986) that making firms competitive requires competition. However, he notes that in most African countries internal markets are so amall that at least large manufacturing firms frequently acquire automatically a monopolistic or oligopolistic position," (page 44).
2.24 Thus, at least in the short and medium term, gains will not arise from customs unions that create opportunities to trade in a larger maiket behind continued third party protection; rather Denefi: $\boldsymbol{m}_{\text {would arise }}$ from the opportunities to rationalize production across borders through freer factor flowa. In turn, larger regional markets may facilitate the adjustment and restructuring that African countries need to undertake as they move to an outward orientation.
2.25 In addition, regional approach may be politically more acceptabie, not only by building on the pan-African sentiment of the continent, but also by redusing the cost of adjustment. In the typical unilateral liberalization jrocess, existing firms may need extensive restructuring to compete at world prices (plus some margin of protection). Thus, free importation, may result in short term losses of output and employment, even though over the medium term this will be more than offset Dy the emergence of new firms and the expansion of restructured enterprises.
2.26 The analyeis of Nellis (1986) and Evans and Steel (1984), leads to the expectation that the short term costs of restructuring may be high for the majority of existing firms. If so, thie would explain why, on the one hand, African goverrmente geem to be aiming at average protection of 30 to 40 percent compared with $2 e s e$ than 10 percent in induatrial countriea (WDR, 1987, pags 136), while, on the other hand, it alac explaina the difficulties of getting meaningful implementation of even ach limited
liberalization. For example, in Senegal all yRe have been abolished - except for those that protect entrenched (presumably) inefficient firms! Similarly in Kenya, some items have been moved back and forth across different categories in subsequent trade liberalization episodes. Indeed, the latest trade liberalization initiative, enviaager leos liberalization than planned in the first such reform at the start of the decade. (Kenya, ISAP, May 24. 1988, P-4819-KE).

### 2.27

In contrast, a program that liberalizes faster with regional partners may diminish the costs of adjustment by forcing competition first with firms that are of comparable levels of (in)efficiency before exposition to the most efficient firms ir the world. This allows a reduction of costs, through mergers, acquisitions and takeovers, that may be significant enough to facilitate survival in the world market. The poor financial condition of many African firms may constrain such restructuring, but an opening of factor and product marketa within a program of general liberalization may induce investment that would not be forthcoming in a purely national context. Therefore, restructuring could be facilitated compared to uni-lateral liberalization and, under efficient management possibly from a neighboring country, the restructured firm will have a large enough internal demand to eliminate "wasteful overcapacity". I/ In addition, the more dynamic firms that survive may takeover some of the plane and equipment of the less efficient firms and keep portions of the workforce and sales network in the neighboring countries, something that does not happen when imports from outside replace domestic production. These beneilits will be limited by the tendency of rationalization to lead to a concentration of production at one place, but there may be instances where existing facilıties can be recycled to other usea, possibly through intra-firm specialization.
2.28 Finally, it is worth considering the benefits of a multi-m lateral approach as a means of "binding" any reform effort. It has been widely reported that the main motivation for Mexico to join the GATT was to provide the defense of an international treaty againat powerful domeatic pressure groups that could otherwise have forced a reversal of the liberalization effort. Similariy, it may be politicaliy eaaier to defend trade liberalization proposals as well as reeiet proposals to roll them back if the Government can argue that it is getting some reciprocal benefjts. In some cases the groups that will benefit from concessions from neighbors may act as a counterforce to thoge arguing againet iiberalization. This may be especiaily relevant for countries like kenya (that is again facing difficulties in implementing its latest liberalization program) and $z$ imbabwe (that is timidly conaidering liberalization) that have eatabiaghed firme that could benefit from wider market acceas
2.29

It is noteworthy that a similar approach has been advocated for the Central American Common Market (CACM) that until 1980 was the most successful regional grouping, in terme of generating intramunion trade, in the developing world (see Chapter III. Tabie 4). Thus, it is argued that "even after ali reformb have beer carried out, gome external tariff barriera will still remain, partly to generate Government revenues. Domestic industries would, therefore, still be receiving a certain amount of protection against outside competition, both during the transition, while external trade barriers are being luwered, and afterwards. The removal of intia-regional trade barriere in this context would enable efficiency gaine Morecver, the reduction in intra-regional trade barriers, as recommended here, would be accompanied by lower extra-regional trede barriere this

[^4]wouid also reduce the danger of trade diversion ... These arguments present a case in favor of achieving regional zaintegration in the context of an overall free trade environment, but not as an alternative to external trade liberalization eince Central America, even if fully integrated, would etill be better off by liberalizing trade with the reat of the world." (CODII, LAC \& IDD, PPR (1989), pages iv \& v).

## C. Risks and Limitations of a Reqional Aporoach

2.30

The major risks of this approach are lack of interest by SSA Governmence and Regional organizations or an implementation that reaulte in diverting crade from efficient suppliers because the expected generalized liberalization does not materialize.
2.31 It may be politically difficult for the majority of SSA Governments so implement the exteneive liberalization required even on a regional basis. This is why it is essential to accept that different countries are unlikely to be able and willing to liberalize at the same rate. The failure of existing groups lergely reflects the unrealistic expectation that it if feasible for many countries to simultaneously agree on major and rapid liberalization, especially when many of them do not have common interests or extensive mutual economic relations. provided a few snuri: ries might be willing to accelerate adjuatment through a regional approach, it may be worthwhile co explore this option. The cost of eventual lack of interest is low compared with the alternative of putting financial resources in regional projects that make the situation worse than it would otherwise be, particularly if it retarda ongoing or potential adjustment.
2.32 This is why efforts should be redirected from the activation of customs unions or the granting of tariff prefererices. Enstead, emphasis ghould be put on the dismantling of non-tariff barriers to the free regional movement of factors of production and goods and services. In eliminating non-tariff barriers against regional partners as a first step to their eventual total elimination, government would gimply be adopting a different form of phasing from the current ajproach of distinguishing between types of importa exempied from QRB. However, since tariff reform does not aim at zero tariffs, implementing regional tariff cuts would not be equivalent. It is therefore difficult to envisage how the Bank could aupport African governments in implementing tariff preferences. Bank management could not easily justify to the majority of member govermments, including affected ones in Africa, why it urged a sub-set of African countries to discriminate againgt them in the course of trade liberalization.
2.33 The worst possible scenario would be the activation by existing unions of extensive regional preferences that result in diversion of trade from both African and extra-regional partners to union partners favored by tariff or quota preferences (see chapter III for details on which unions are most likely to divert trade from other SSA countries) The tariff preferences that have been implemented so far have been modest and it seems unlikely that aignificant changes will occur for most of the SSA groupings. Therefore it is unlikely that there is much cause for concern in practice. Nevertheless, it would be advisable for African governments to ensure that regional tariff preferences do not become excessive. In any case, as argued in chapter $V$, tariffa are not a major obatacle to intra-African trade.
2.34 In the case of a grouping that already has a CET, the same approach should be adopted. If, as is often the case, the CET itself is relativeiy low, then attention should be focussed on tax reform involving the replacement of all other import taxes with non-discriminatory sales or value added taxes. Where the CET extends excessive intra-inion preferences, Bank support could be more easily justified if the union were to reduce these.
2.35 From a purely theoretical perspective that lgnores social and political costs, the first beet solution is likely to be rapid and farreaching unilateral liberalization with the commensurate exchange rate
action. This would involve rapid and extenaive rastructuring driven by the competition from imports that would channel factors of production to newly profitable activity, Such an approach would supersede any nood to epecifically encourage regional economic integration.
2.36 Where possible, African governmente hould adopt such an approach. In practice, however, we are far from a first best ituation as can be gauged from Table 3 which eumarizes the objectives and achieveanents of Bank aupported trade ilberalization efforte in SSA. It is noteworthy that even the Bank' $\mathrm{e}^{\text {current objectives do not aim at anything close to induatrial }}$ country level of protection, let alone full liberalization. This ie why the regional approach may have practical relevance.

| COUNTRY | ACTION TAKEN |  | objective of the bank AVER. RAIF OF PROIECTION | REASOWS FOR INCOMPLETE |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | COMPIETE | INCOMPLETE NONE | target and spread e.t.c. | OR 'O ACIIOM |
| Burundi | , | Still ors on importation of glass bottles. pharmaceutical and textiles. Comment: all these are public enterprises. Agreement to eliminate these by 1990. | Obi.: Reduction of effective protection. Elimination of all ars. Comment: partly achieved. Nominal effective protection spread 15-65\%. Yarget: 10-35x. | The analytical underpiming supporting the initial proposal is weak. Work is on-going on a new proposal to lower the average nominal rate of protection and achieve target spread of 10-35\%. |
| Ghana | No known ors on impores and exports (except repatriation requirement. |  | Obj.: Use of FOREX auction rate for customs valuation. Elimination of all QRs. Comment: for most items, the duty rate is 20-25x. Luxury items attract higher rates. |  |
| Guinea | All ors have been eliminated. |  | Obj.: To replace QRs with tariffs not to exceed 100\%. Comment: a uniform tariff rate of about 10x is in place now. only a few luxury items attract a tarift rate of up to 30x. The av. effective rate of protection is only $\mathbf{1 5 \%}$ since there is litete or no distortions due to tariff rates. | lariff reform met all the expectations. |
| Kenya | July 1991 all 0Rs etiminated except those required for pholic health, security and environmental reasons. Automatic licenses for almost all tarift categories. | All imports stilt require licensing. | Obj.: Tariff to reploce all ars and not to exceed $100 x$. Reduction of av. dispersion. Corment: no import items are currently subject to duty rates in excess of $100 \%$. Range: 0-100x av. $=40 x$. Two studies provide two different estimates of ner effective rate of protection. One is 60 x and the other is 30\%. More wark is on-going in this regard. | SAL I and SAL Il targets thought to have been too ambitious, given the short $t$, etable. The recent industrial sector adjustment credit progran. followed by the export development credit, wile retaining similar targets, used a more cautious approach. liberali zation is now being achieved in phases: all aRs will be remeved by suly 1991, dispersion in tarift rates is being reduced. and two rectuctions in the average tariff rate of five percentage each were piamed; one was completed in June 1990 , and the other is due in June 1991. |
| Madagascar | All ORs on imports and exports have been eliminated. |  | Obj.: Reduce max. tariff to 80x and a min. of $10 x$. Rechuce av. nominal protection to $35 \%$ in 4 years with a dispersion around the av. of 1. Comment: tariff range of $10-80 x$ is achieved. lending is continuing. | further work is still required for the reduction of average nominal protection rate, on-going dialogue. |

[^5]| country | heilion takey |  | objective of the bank aver. Rate of provection | reasons for incomplete |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | COMPIEIE INCOMPTETE | NONE | target amo spreao e.t.c. | or no action |
| Malaw: | All ors eiminated with the exception of a small negative list comprisithg lunury, health, or safety goods. |  | Obj.: (1) Eimination of all ati ORs, with the exception of a smalt negative list. (2) Reduction in effective protection, particularly lower iariff spread and elimenation of domestic surtax suspension. Comment: afs eliminated and cationalization of trade tax resime being phased in over severa! years. Current teriff rate is moderate but varied, with an avg eff. protection rate of $36 x$. | Local business interests are resisting reduction in domestic protection. Further analytical work is also required to identify optimat tariff scenario. |
| Maur : t (3s | Ali ars have been eliminated. |  | Obi.: Max. tarift $107 x$ Flimination of all ars. Comment: onty few luxury items attract a tariff rate of 107\%. Host are much lower. Effective protection rate for import substitution industries is in the range of 30-40x. |  |
| Tarsania | Nearly all ORs have been eliminated. Short negative list on OGL (Open General |  | obj.: maximum tarift of 60 percent or less with 4 positive rates. |  |


| COUWTRY | ACTION TAKEM |  |  | objective of the bamk AVER. RATE OF PROIECIION :ARGET AND SPREAD E.T.C. | PEASONS FOR IMCOHPLETE OR NO ACHIOM |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | COMPLETE | INCOMPLETE | MONE |  |  |
| Congo | QRs exist in importation of 8-9 products. Onned mostiy by a powerful industrialist. laporiers must buy 80x of their need of these prochucts before they can import 20x. |  |  | Obj.: Replace import quotas by tariffs. Replace export ard import licensing system. Reduce tariff range from (0-200x) to (40-60x). <br> Comment : ORs removed except in the case of 8.9 products. Expert and Import licensing stili exists. | Membership ir, LDEAC affects abitity to influence individual tariff. <br> Lobbying effort by powerful indusirialist Ministry of Comerce fear revenue loss. |
| Nemibia |  |  |  | larget effective rate of protection will be in 20-30 percent range on MFN besis. | Benk dialogue is recent. Action is envisaged under renegotiation of South Africen Customs Union protocols to be initiated through proposed Regional integratior project. |
| Wiger | All olle have been eliminated except on the importation of petroleum. |  |  | Obj.: Dismentling of import licensing and mport monopolies. Comment: for 1986 SAL, there was no tariff reform requirement. (1) Trade policy and incentives atudy completed 1988. Ho action taken but wilt be inciuded in SAL 11 . (ii) Recomnended trade policy reform to be refined in context of Sahel Irade Policy Study. |  |
| Senegel | All ars are el iminated except for products produced by firns under speciat conventions. (Miniman specific duties were however introduced on $\$ 80$ products from Juiy 1989.) |  |  | Obj.: Completion of tariff reform mith a new tariff law. Marmonization of effective protection through ceriff. Graches elimination of ors. Comment: the new tariff reform is in place. it essentially reduced the effective rate of protection from about 80\% to 40\% Harmonization refers to harmonization of effective protection rate for all members of the CEAO union. the special conventions are being renegatisted and no new ones granted. | Some discrimination still exists in the tariff rates because of social goals. Bank, while dissetisfied, is working to prevent misallocation of products mone the four different tariff bands. <br> Harmonization is difficult because of different effe. cive protection rates among members of CEAO. Morecver, true customs union is not expected to emerge. This issue will be looked at again in the Sahel Trade Palicy Study. |
| Somalia | Free sccess to foreign exchange. <br> , | Partial adjustment in tari"' reduction with most rates below 60\%. | Import licensing formally remained in place but in practice it applies to only limited goods. | Reduce tariff protection below 60\%; free access tc foreign exchange complete elimination of ars. | Macro instability/umer. |

[^6]| cowiter | CATEGOR: 2: MIXED (continued) |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | ACTIO TAKEN |  | objective of the bank aver. rate of protectiow | REASOWS FDR IMCOMPLETE |
|  | COMPLETE | INCOMPIEIE NOWE | target and spread e.t.c. | OR NO ACYIOM |
| rogo |  |  | Fiscal study to raise import duty yietds and streami ine incentives and protection. Creation of export processing rones. |  |
| Uganda | Export licensing elimineted. | QRs still exist for 7 prockects. imports ic stop being :icensed except for those on a small negative list. Max. tariff now $=50 \mathrm{x}$. | Objective of reform is to remove at l QRs and move to a tariff regime with 4 levels of rariffs, the maximem being 50\%. | ORs used for the 7 items because it is clained that customs are ineffective and tariffs are not paid. |
| zaire | In principle, elt QRs have been eliminated (except in one instance for political ressons). |  | obj.: 60x max. tariff. 10x min tariff. Varget NRP=30x in 4 years. comment: target not yet achieved. | Revenue problem has delayed implementation. Moreover, the target apreed of 10.60 x teriff is to be achieved in phases. |

EXPERIENCE AND OBJECTIVES OF BANK SUPPORIEO "RADF LIRERALIZAIION EFFORTS IN SSA
CATEGORY 3: RESTRICTED C

| coumrry | COMPLETE |
| :---: | :---: |
| coie drivoine | Qrs apply to about a third of total imports, especially on consiamer goods (textiles, shoes. fond...) |

Ethiopia

Sudan
zimbabue

Some miltiple exchange rate practices; intio duction of own inarced schemes.
ihere is
process
of trade $1 i$
beralization.

Yo actions taker

There is complete foreign exchange allocation.
:HETVE OF THE baNK SER RATE OF FROIECIION ARIII ANE SPRFAD F I C

Oh, varit reform (accept Ohs i tarit reform (accept
able the Bank). larget able to the Bank). farget
pffective rate of protection. effertive rate of protection;
$40 x$ for incustry and $20 x$ for 40x for industry and $20 x$ for
agr:cuiture across the board. agricuiture across the
firination of all ofs.

Ensure private sector access to fore:gn exchange. Eliminate export/impor: licensing.

Adjusting the exchange rate to a roatistic level: relaxing import regutations; abolishing export ificensing.

Obj.: Prepare 4 year tariff reform aimed at establishing 30\% max. NRP.

## REASOWS FOR INCOMPLEIE

 OR NO ACHIOWars reintroduced in $86 / 87$ after
trade liberal vation in 1985 following a sharp deterioration in term of trade and :mportant devaluations in neighbor countries. Work on gew trade reform is on-gaing.

Adjustatent program was not mreed to che to excessive fiscal deficit and general political instability.

Political instability and failure of talks with the IMF.

A new government progrtm is being implemented. The benk is supporting through a SAL (soon to be through a

[^7]EXPERIENCE AND OBJECTIVES OF BAMK SUPPORIED IRADE LIBERALIZATION EFFORTS IM SSA CATEGORY 4: OTHERS d/

OBJECTIVE OF THE BANK

df lieited informetion.

Neverthelese, the recent atudy of liberalization experiences sumarised by Papageorgiou. Choksi and Michaely (1987) and by Michaely (1988) argues that one-shot liberalization may also be preferable for practical reacons. The etudy finds that expanding sectors grow fast enough to offeet uncmployment in the adjueting aectora when liberalization is imediate, while phasing the procese provides opportunities for contracting ectors to overturn the reform by providing opportunities to generate political resiatance.
2.38

The Papageorgiou review includes no SSA countries, and SSA may not be comparable to other regions concerning the impact of trade liberalization. Thie is because, as discuseed above, in ssi the economic base is so narrow, the dimtortions so extensive and the supply of investment so conetrained, that there may be few sectors or firmis that can provide an offeet to the general contraction induced by the liberalization. In this regard, even in Nigeria, one of the mont diversified and the largest economy in S8A, the experience with liberalization has been that unemployment rises in the short run since the expanding sectore grow from a low base while the contracting eector: involve larger fixme (zanini, 1987 and van Eeghen, 1988) .
2.39

The case of Nigeria is also relevant in emphasizing that eignificant economic benefits cannot arise imply from exteneive economic integration. None of the economic groupings (including sCOWAS without Migeria) has as large and unified market, total factor mobility, harmonized investment and tax codes and common external tariff, to the game extent as Nigeria (viewed as an economic unit). The poor economic performance of Nigeria reinforces earlier arguments concerning the importance of generalized liberalization to eacure major economic benefits. Integration is only a useful means to that end.
2.40

The Papageorgiou findinge notwithstanding, it is unrealistic to expect most SSA Governments to adopt immediate and extensive trade liberalization. It is this view together with the substantial progress etill possible that leads to a pragmatic view that regional liberalization may yidd more lasting and worthwhile results in some cases where extensive uni-isteral liberalization is resisted.
2.41

The Bank emphasis on regional cooperation is designed to etrengthen current adjustment efforte in SSA and therefore should not be formulated an an alternative to programs at the national level. In particular, for the atrategy to be effective, regional efforta will need to offset the smaller number of partners affected with a bolder and faster dimantiling of barriera than envisaged in current national programs. Idesily, it will involve complete liberalization of trade and capital flows as well as full labor mobility with regional partners. At the very least all non-tariff trade barrierg should be removed and firme from any partner country within the group should be treated as domestic firms rather than as foreign firm, with provision for the free flow of inputs and dividends acrose the national boundaries within the group.
2.42

The integration effort must also be nlaced within the framework of a general procese of liberalization to avoid diverting efficient trade with industrialized countries and other developing countries (including those in SSA not in the arrangement) in favor of relatively less efficient regional partners favored mainly by high common external protection. At the ame time, it if important to note that the traditional arguments about trade creation versus trade diversion assume perfect information and competitive markets. The reality in SSA is that because of policy and market failures there may be a potential for efficient trade awitching to leas expensive African expoxters from costiier traditional suppliers (see Chapter $v$ for more detail. In Chapter III this potential is estimated at between US\$4 and US\$5 billion). There is also an unrealized
trade potential in agricultural commodities thet is hindered by national regulations on both the export and import eide.
2.43 The harmonization of policies is also important. A significant share of unofficial trade is the result of differences in Government policies that result in inefficient supplying of certain markets; for example, ciambian emuggling of rice to Senegal arimes from the attempts of the Senegalese to maintain above world market prices while the gambiane have a liberalized trade regime. Similarly, the zambian abaidy on sugar encourages muggling to zaire. Harmonization of policiet to eliminate such slows will also have to be an important element of any integration atrategy.
2.44 It is also worth mphasizing that while economista have alway agreed on the benefits of free trade, in practice no economic development experiment, including that of the NICa has ever involved systematic and extensive free trade. Movement to freer trade is indeed usually follows the attainment of certain level of industrial development. Thus, the issue of the rate and scope of external trade liberalization should be seen in a practical context of movement towarde a system that is more open and less biased against exports.

## D. Achieving Success Where the Regional Groupinag Have Failed

2.45 Berg (1989) argues convincingly that the likelihood of creating successful customs unions is low and that the expected benefite are small. Instead he suggests that a functional approach based on specific objectives (e.g fighting river blindness) would be more fruitful. Both conclusions should be endorsed while noting that his suggested approach is fully consistent with the proposals outlined here that call for small subgroups of countries to mutually agree on extensive liberalization of factor and goods and services movemente $8 /$. The expectation should be that, especially initially, only a minority of countries would be willing to go down this path. However, for that minority it would, unlike the activation of customs unions, provide an additional tool to deepen and strengthen ongoing adjustment efforta.
2.46

Succesaful implementation of the integration etrategy described above requires accepting the exieting broad parameters already agreed by African Governments. At the same time, nothing significant can be achieved by sticking to the current approach based on a consensus system which results in going no faster than the slowest performer. To make matters worse, superimposed on this weak structure is a lack of commitment to implement decisions that are not seen as of immediate benefit. Chapter 6 of an early draft of the Long Term Perspectiven Study and Berg (1989) provide detailed information on the difficulties encountered. For current purposes it auffices to suggest that new approaches are required that will be inepired by the broad strategiea and goals of existing groupingo but have an incentive structure for reform that is more flexible along the lines suggested above. More precise suggeations are made in Chapter VI.

## III. ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS AND PCLICY OF INTEGRATED AREAS

## A. Present gtatur of SSA arcangements

3.01 The seven arrangements covered in this tudy aim at induatrial cooperation and trade liberalization in one form or another. Their objectives are generally consistent. with the endorsement of collective

[^8]self-reliance by the Lagos Plan of Action in April 1980, even though most of them predated it. A list of these organizations and national members as well as the date of their formation is in Annex 1 . Chapter 6 of the subzero draft of the Long Term Perspectives Study provides an excellent account of the history of these unione and why, except for the ceaO (Economic Community of West Africa), they have not achieved their main objectives. Therefore, it will not be productive to repeat the same type of analysis here. Instead, the emphasis in this chapter is placed on describing some of the economic characteristics of the unions and the pattern of recorded tzade within the unions and with other African countries. While much of this chapter is descriptive in nature, the information does provide some insight into some of the elements required for euccessful integration and the appropriateness of various urions in view of existing patterns of recorded trade.
3.02 Although the thaties of m ix of these organizations envisage an acrose-the-board, high level form of integration, none of them have so far achieved this objective. The most ambitious are UDEAC, CEPGL, ECOWAS and CEAO, a sub-region of ECOWAS (Acronyms and membership are detailed in the Annex). Most countrieg lowered some interna; trade barriers, usually some tariffs, but failed to reach consensus on the Common External Tariff or the elimination of most binding non-tariff barriers. Capital and labor mobility have in general not been secured in practice, even wnere there is a formal commitment. The major exception is the CEAO which is the only union to have achieved subatantial labor mobility. Significantly, the ceao is also the most successful grouping in terms of intra-union trade. The MRU is a smaller organization aiming to form a customs urion. A less ambitious organization but a large one is the PTA: a preferential trade area started in 1984. The SADCC, launched in Lusaka in April 1980, gives priority to transport and communications and food security. insofar as it aims at industrial cooperation, it does envisage growing trade on narrow lines of production covered by industrial planning. Recently, however, sADCC has developed an interest in liberalizing internal trade within the group.
3.03 In the description that follows, the analysis in based on recorded trade fiows. Some countries are not included for lack of information for example the SSA membere of the Southern Africa Customs Union (SACU)--Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland) and the trade that is recorded is not always reliable. In addition, the importance of unrecorded trade varies aignifivantiy from country to country. To avoid needless repetition, no reference is made below to the fact that the analyein is based on partial information, a factor that should alwaye be borne in mind.

## B. Economic Characteristics and Performance

3.04 Introduction. To evaluate the performance of the existing groupings in SSA it is useful to consider the experience in other regions of the worla. Table 4 summarizes some basic indicators for the central American Common Market (CACM), the Andean Pact, the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), the Latin America.i free Trade Area (LAFTA), the European Free Trade Area (EFTA) and the European Community (ECG for the initial membership of 6 countries and EC9 for the enlargement to 9 members; information for the current 12 member community was not readily available).
3.05

It is striking that the groupinge in SSA have experienced the greatest degree of opening up of all unions. This is all the more remarkable given the rhetoric of self-reliance and de-linking from the world trading system that underlies much of the official yistification for such
groupinge (see Chapter II). 2/ Both the share of regional trade and intra-union trade creation in 8SA are generally lower than in other regione except for the Andean pact with its ill-fated attempte to take induetrial planning to extremen through proposed sharing out of component induetries.
3.06 It would appear that the opening up of the African groupinge is more a reflection of the fallure to achieve extensive and officient import ubatituting induatrialization than of explicit policy decisions. In turn, this probably reflecte the inappropriateness of such a strategy given the mall market size of all the s8A groupinge (see Chapter II, Table i). It is noteworthy that the CACM achieved large increanea in regional trade, that made it the most euccessful union in the developing world measured in terma of intra-union trade creation, by effectively purauing an import substitution etrategy. However, the gains were based on production of consumer goode at prices exceeding thome on the world market. The inputs for this production were financed by buoyant comodity export receipte.

2/ It hould be noted that the heavy dependence on export comodity production, the incresses of import pricen, especially of fuels, and the increased reilance on food importe have importantiy contributed to this refult. It is also true, that in some cases import subetitution requiree imported inpute to produce output with negative value edded at world prices. Neverthelese, regardiese of such explanetions this increared dependence on the worid economy eerves to emphasize the foliy of autarchic policies for Africa.


Mote: The European comanity is denoted by ECS for she initial membership of six countries EC9, for the enlargment
to nine members and EC12 for the current 12 member commatity.
Sources: Wonacott and Lutz (19e8), COMTRADE (A UwS0 Dat bese) and staff estimetes.

When commodity prices collapsed in the late 1970 and foreign financing became unavailable in the early 1980e, the earlier gains were reveraed (aee CODII, LAC \& IDD, PPR (1989)).
3.07 All the groupinge increased their degree of openness (trade expresed as a percent of GDP) except for LAPTA, with its emphasis on import ubstitution and EFTA that lost important members to the EC. Outside SSA, $a l l$ organizations except for ASEAN and the Andean pact generated more internal than external trade while in SSA the reverse is true. In the case of AsEAN this result is not surprising given the negiigible emphasis placed on intra-union trade liberalization. Despite this, the share of regional trade within ASEAN is relatively high, while ASEAN also displaye the greatest degree of openneas. similarly, the crac is both the most open group in SSA and the one with the largest share of intra-regional trade. This auggeste that regional exchange may be favored by openness ingtead of requiring external berriers (also see paragraph 3.55 (e)).
3.08 This quick comparison suggests that unions in Africa have been less successful than those elsewhere, except for the Andean Pact which failed through overemphasis on industrial planning. Surprisingly, African unions have witnessed more external than internal trade generation and have moved from being relatively closed in the 1960s to about the same degree of openness as unions in other parts of the world. In evaluating the performance of the $3 S A$ unions, it will be useful to remember this background.
3.09

ECOWAS. With 16 members this is the grouping in SSA with the largest GDP ( $\$ 63$ billion). Its population of 190 million leaves it with a per capita income of US\$330 (see Table 5). The organization was established in 1975 and regroups the relatively well integrated economies of the Communaute Economique de l'Afrique de louest (CEAO) with the other countries of West Africa. Despite many revisions in the target date for achieving a single internal market, agreed deciaions to liberalize internal trade and factor flows have not been implemented. As a result intra-ECOWAS trade has stagnated and the overall share of 6 percent mainly reflects the 10 percent intra-regional trade within the cEAO. The protocol on free movement of labor is not implemented in practice. When Nigeria benefitted from its oil boom, there was some degree of labor mobility involving inflows into Nigeria. When recession hit, Nigeria expelled other ECOWAS nationals.
3.10

In an attempt to overcome past inaction, at the 1990 summit, a decision was taken to implement a Monetary Cooperation Program that would lead to Monetary Union. While the three year timetable envisaged is unrealistic, the emphasis on the elimination of cross-border trade and investment barriers as a first step is consistent with the strategy proposed in this report (see Chapter VI) and offers a pragmatic approach that could reverse past inaction. The ECOWAS secretariat has commissioned a study that would propose concrete actions for removing existing obstacles to the free flow of goods, servicas and investment within the ECO*AS region. It is expected that the results would be ready in time for submission to the next ECOWAS summit in mid-1991. This would then set the stage for ECOWAS to implement the measures at the nationai level.
3.11

ECOWAS contains Nigeria, Africa's largest economy (GDP of US\$29 billion as well as several of its smallest, Cape Verde, Gambia and Guinea Bissau (GDP of about US\$0.2 billion). It includes the Sahelian countries which depend heavily on agriculture and some of the more industrialized economies in SSA such as Senegal, Nigeris and Cote d'Ivoire (19, 18 and 16 percent of GDP from manufacturing, respectively). The population varies from one third of a million in Cape verde to 110 million in Nigeria while per capita income ranges from us $\$ 190$ in Guinea bissau to US\$711 in Senegal.

ECOWAS COuntries as a group have registered the worst growth
performance of all the groupings and, ironically, performance was better
before the creation of the union--annual growth decilned from 3.5 percent between 1965 and 1980 to 1.2 percent from 1980 to 1988.
3.13 With market ize comparable to Yugoalavia and somewhat emaller than Denmark (see Chapter II, Table 1), sCOWAS is the only grouping in 8sa where the economies of scale argument might appar fustified (see Chapter I).
3.14 Over the period 1965 to 2983, the degree of openness of ECOWhs increased by 30 percentage pointe (Table 4). The creation of ECONAS does not seem to have led to trade diversion, since all but 2 percentage points of this increase is accounted for by greater trade with non-scowns pertnere. Total trade flowe increaed by nine-fold for ECOWAS as a group. The share of trade with SSA rose almost twice as fast as overall trade over this period, with intra-union trade increasing silghtiy faster than this ( Eee Table 6). Within ecowas, the exchanges between ceno and other Ecowns members rose silghtly less rapidiy than for ECOWAS a whole while trade between the MRU and other ECOWAS members rose twice as fast.. Overall, the creation of ECOWAS seeme to have had a negiigible impact in increasing the share of regional exchange.

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| 21 enome | 5,050 | 9.0 | 1.7 | 0.3 | $\omega$ | 11 | 43 | 31 | 32 | 391 |
| tcans | 4,408 | 3.5 | 1.2 | 107.6 | 530 | 4 | 23 | $\stackrel{ }{*}$ | 65x | 4,184 |
| ctan | 31,30 | 2.9 | 2.6 | 4.1 | 42 | 37 | 21 | 19 | 48\% | 4.444 |
| cmin | 1.790 | 2.1 | 2.4 | 4.0 | 30 | $\omega$ | 13 | * | 37 | 118 |
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| $\cdots$-sor | 2.400 | 0.1 | 4.2 | P. 1 | 58 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 33 | 1, $24 \%$ |
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| -6 bincou | 2,540 | 3.8 | 20 | 3.4 | $4 \%$ | 30 | 12 | 5 | 418 | 246 |
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| conter atricon lat. | 1,000 | 2.4 | 2. | 2.* | 3T: | - | 12 | \% | 3 x | 43 |
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| numan | 2,310 | * $\cdot$ | 2.9 | 0.7 | 4 s | 34 | 22 | 3 | 218 | 20 |
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| mex | 24.100 | 4.2 | 2.4 | 77.6 | 118 | * | 23 | 14 | 4* | - 54 |
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In 1983, Intra-Ecowas trade accounted for 91 percent of the African trade of ECOWAS members and most of the remainder was with UDEAC (see Table 7). Thus ECOWAS treated as whole appears to be a coherent union whose activation into a customs union would divert little African trade from non-membere, although liberalizing trade with the UDEAC countries would be beneficial. For ecowns ae a whole, intra-African trade only accounted for 6 percent of ite total trade. Neverthelese this average masks a wide diepersion ranging at one extreme between less than one percent and 4 percent for Cape Verde, Nigeria and Liberia and at the othes extreme from 23 to 33 percent for Niger, Burkina Faso and Mali. Indeed, the average level of intra-sSA trade is unduly influenced by the low share for Nigeria which has big weight because of its size. Except for the three countries at the bottom of the acale listud above and Gambia, Ghana and Guinea Bissau, the intra-SSA trade of all the 10 other ECOWAS members accounts for at least 10 perzent of the total trade and 7 members have shares of 20 percent or more.
3.16 It would appear that while ECOWAS has not generated much new regional trade, an important part of the trade of many of its members has been with other SSA countries, even though this is masked in the overali numbers hy che dominant position of some of the large economies that have little iegional trade, specifically Nigeria and Ghana. As an illustration, if the median were used instead of the mean, this would give an average ghare of about 11 percent for SSA trade of ECOWAS instead of 6 percent.
3.17 ECOWAS as a whole displays a degree of openness of 45\%, close to the median of $41 \%$. Mauritania is the moet open economy (trade is 87 percent of GDP) and Cape Verde is the most closad (trade is 25 percent of GDP).







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3.18

PTA. The PTA is the counterpart of ECOWAS in the Eastern and Southern part of Africa and has the largest membership (19) and population ( 207 milli ion) of all the SSA groupinge. The PTA was eatablished in 1981 t promote the development of its member states by creating a single internal market, undertaking regional development projects and programs, and encouraging cooperation in all fields of economic activity. Seventeen of twenty initiallyeligible Eastern and Southern African countries have joined (Angola, Burundi, Comoros, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Rwanda, Somalia, Swaziland, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe) at have Namibia and Sudan (not in the initial group of 20). The application of zaire (also not in the initial group of 20 ; is being favorably considered 10/. It is the second largest union with a GDP of US\$33 billion (Bee Table 5), somewhat larger than New zealand and comparable to Thailand (see Chapter 1, Table 1). Thus ita market size is insufficient to provide cope for an efficient import abstitution strategy dependent on economies of ecale.
3.19 The PTA is a Union of contrasts and potential complementarities that auggeats good prospects for aconomic speciailisation. It is the second poorest Union (jusc ahead of the CEPGL) wiih a per capita income of US $\$ 279$, with variations from US $\$ 74$ in Mozambique-the lowest in SSA--to US $\$ 1,455$ in Mauritius-itifth from the top in SSA (Table 5). The population varies from less than $1 / 2$ million in the Comoros to over 47 million in Ethiopia while GDP ranges from less than usso. 2 billion in Comoros to US\$11 billion in Sudan. Together, the top 3 aconomiea account for leas than half the total for the group, so the lear of domination by one country is less pronounced than in the case of eCOWAS. Similarly, the PTA containg the top three manufacturers of SSA as well as the five that depend most on agriculture.
3.20 The growth performance of the PTA countries over the period 1965-80 of 4.2 percent year on average was eignificantly below the 4.8 percent recorded by SSA as a whole, but in contrast, over the period 1980-88 the pra grew by 2 percent year on average while SSA atagnated.
3.21 Over the pariod 1965 to 1983 , before the union waseffective its degree of openness increased by 18 percentage pointa (Table 4) with virtual all the trade gains concentrated outaide the pra. Trade flows for PTA countries taken as a group increased more than chree fold. The ahare of trade with SSA fell over this period with intra-pTA trade rising in line with the growth of trade with SSA as a whoie (see Table 6). In 1983, 86 percent of the African trade of PTA countries taken as group was with PTA partners and therefore, as in the case of ECOWAS, thia suggeata that diversion of trade with non-pTA SSA countries ie likely to be small in cage of effective activation of the Union (Table7).
3.22 Trade with SSA accountefor 8 percent of overall trade of the PTA countries treated as a group, thus inplying thit intra-FTA trade is equivalent to 7 percent of total. trade. However, as in the case of other Unions, this masks country to count: variation. Thus between 1 and 3 percent of the total trade of Somaila. vuritius and Ethiopia is with SSA at one extreme while at the other end, apout 20 percent of the trade of Uganda and Rwanda is with SSA partnere. The median share of SSA trade is 7 percent, slightly lower than the mean. Unlike the case of ECOWAS, the divergences are much lesa marked between countries. Indeed, for all but 5 countriea the variation in the share of SSA trade iz between 5 and 14 percent.

[^9]3.23

The PTA has a degree of openness of 474 and varies from 15 percent in suden--the most closed economy of ssa--to 139 percent in Mauritlus--the most open economy of SSA. Most PTA countries have degree of opennese that is bunched between 30 and 57 percent.
3.24

Like ECOWAS, the PTA has postponed deadilnes for implementing varioun intra-union libaralization decisions and has not achieved eignificant integration. The main focue of internal liberalization hat been tariff preferences and the removal of non-tariff barriers for a limited liat of products. A regional Clearinghouse and a PTA Trade and Development Bank for financing regional projects and trade have been eatablished. The PrA Trade and Development Bank is located in Bujumbura, Burundi, far from the centera of economic and financial activity of the PTA. Recently, it has begun lending, On the trade side, the PTA Bank is trying to find ways of sharing risk with commercial banks to induce a resumption of credit lines and it has secured an arrangement with a Scandinavian Bank and with Citibank for opening letters of credit (LCs) in PTA members where international banke are normaliy reluctant to lend because of sovereign risk. In addition, the agreement with Citibank envieages lending for trade, particularly pre-exprirt financing. Some pre-export financing operatione in Ethiopia are credi ced with an expansion of leather exports. In contrast, the investment portfolio may eventually end up with problems even though up to now such lending has been limited to a few loans in zambia and Uganda. However, there is a danger that political preasure will induce financing of public enterprises engaged in inefficient import substitution.
3.25 The PTA Clearinghouse, operated by the Reserve Bank of zimbabwe in Harare, has also achieved significant progress in increasing the amount of intra-regiona) trade it handled from SDRa 86 million ( 9 percent of intra-pTA trade) in 1984 to SDRs 284 million ( 57 percent of intra-pTA trade) in 1989. Further, the percentage of transactions settled in hard currency has dropped from 88 percent to 48 percent over the same period. However, the level of intra-regional trade over this period has almost halved (from about SDR 1 billion to lees than SDR 0.5 billion), largely reflecting the tightening of NTBs that tend to affect regional trade more Beverely than trade with the rest of the world $11 /$.
3.26

The PTA has, nevertheless, achieved significant progress, particularly in the area of trade facilitation and trade financing. It has undertaken activities for promoting co-operation in the field of trade and customs. These have embraced the eatablishment of the Common list of Comodities to be granted preferential treatment when traded between Member States, the pubiication by the Member States of PTA tariff rates in respect of the commodities in the Comon List, formula for the progressive reduction and eventual elimination of customs duties on goods traded among the Member States, establishment of a time-table for the relaxation and eventual elimination of non-tariff barriere to intra-PTA trade, simplification of trade documents and procedures, removal of non-physical barriers to the free movement of cross-border traffic, establishment of a trade information center, undertaking of demend and supply surveya, holding of buyer/seller meetings and trade fairs and the establishment of a PTA Federation of Chambere of Comerce and Industry.
3.27 The PTA ie making a ubstantial effort to achieve its objectives as reflected in the considerable honesty in discussing difficulties in implementing past decisions and the realiam diaplayed at the latest meeting, in November 1990, towards the initial proposals of the Secretariat for immediate Monetary Union which were turned into a pragmatic

[^10]program to improve economic linke. Other encouraging measures include: (i) a three year program for phasing out import licensing for goods on the commen list atarting on January 1, 1992; (ii) proposals for developing a Monetary Harmonization Program including getting up a Monetary and Financial Cooperation committee (MFCC) composed of technical experte from Central Banks and Minietries of Finance. The MFCC met in February 1991 to prepare a timetable of medium term actions, the first step of which will be to find meana of removing Non-Tariff Barriers (NTBa) and freeing croas-border investment flows (iii) adoption of draft proposals for a legal framework allowing the setting up of Multinational Induetrial Enterpriaes (MIEa) within the PTA -- MIEs can be private, public or mixed enterprises and would be able to operate and invest more freely than foreign enterprises; (iv) understanding on expansion of the PTA Trade Information Network (TINET) and measures to make the private eector more aware of the facility; (v) agreement to implement a Customs Guarantee arrangement for PTA Transit Traffic; and (vi) adoption of suggested improvements to the Yellow Card Scheme (for PTA road transport insurance) and of a framework to expand intra-pta air traffic righte.

28 Nevertheless, the PTA has found it hard to convince ite members to sct decisively to deal witn the intra-regional barriers to trade and factor flows, particularly NTBs 12/. In part this is becauge, when left to itself, the PTA has to reflect the lowest common denominator; this limita the pace of progress and reualts in too much emphusis on interventionism by the State (e.g the proposals to set up multi-national public enterprises while national governments are trying to privatize; or the reluctance to let MIEs operate without government controls). Despite this, there is an increasing realization of the need to rely on private initiative as evidenced by the rejection of a proposal to set up a Commercial Bank, the efforts to increase private sector use of TINET and attempts to facilitate transit and intra-PTA road insurance.
3.29

SADCC. The intra-regional trade performance of SADCC will not be covered aince trade promotion is not one of its m ijor objectives and since ail nine SADCC members except for Botswana have joined the PTA. SADCC was set up to facilitate the coordination, with the help of donors, of measures that would reduce dependence on South Africe.
3.30

With a GDP of $\$ 24$ billion, the group a alightly lirger market size than UDEAC and the CEAO with a GDP of US $\$ 17$ billion but its population of 78 million is 3 times as large as that of the UDEAC and half again as large than that of the CEAO (Table 5). Its per capita income level is therefore US\$312.
3.31 CEAO. The CEAO is the oniy grouping in Sub-Saharan Africa to have achieved a reasonable degree of economic integration as evidenced by both trade creation and share of intra-union trade. This has been facilitated by (1) a (common) convertible currency -- the CFA Franc -- that is used by all the member countries (except for mauritania, which interestingly has the lowest ghare of intra-union trade); (2) substantial intra-union factor mobility (both labor and capital): and (3) a workable compensation agreement -- that supported the initial stagea of integration

[^11]although in current circumetances the compensation mechaniam is starting to act as a brake against further integration 13/.
3.32 The CEAO countries are all members of ECOWAS and the continued existence of the CEAO (and the MRU, discuesed below) has tended to complicate ECOWAS iiberalization, At the ame time, the grouping in a response to the fear of domination by Nigeria which has a GDP one third larger than that of the csao as a whole while its population is twice that Jf the CEAO (Table 5). Except for extremes of Burkina Fano and senegal, with per capita income level of US\$206 and US\$711, reapectively, the per capita income dietribution is bunched between US\$339 and USS685, the amallest variation for any of the large groups (excluding thoes with only three nembers).
3.33

Population distribution aleo tends to be relatively unifarm varying between 7 and 8 i/2 miliion except for the extremes of Mauritania ( 2 million) and cote divoire (ll million) and 4 miliion in Benin.
3.34

The economic performance of the cero countries has been close to the average for SSA as a whole. Over the peried 1965 to 1980 the group didesightiy less well than ECOWAS an a whole but thie wes reversed between 1980 and 1986. Furthermore, while in the initial period only cote divoire put in a performance above the average for SSA, in the later period, all but Niger performed aubstantially better than average.
3.35 Despite the small differences in income, the union is characterized by significant differences in economic apecialization. Thus, it includes the fourth and fifth most induetrialized SSA economies (Senegal and cote divoire, respectively) as well as the sixth most dependent on agriculture (Mali).
3.36 Over the period 1965 to 1983 , trade flowe for the CEAO countries treated as a group increaned by more than 6 timea (Table 6). The bhare of SSA in total trade increased over thia period although intra-ceao trade rose alightiy more siowly than the overall share with SSA. The main beneficiary of this increased trade flow was the non-CEAO component of ECOWAS. In 1983, 51 percent of the Afxican trede of the cEAO countrien was with CEAO partners and 42 percent with non-CEAO ECOWAS partners (Table 7). Further, of its total trade, 18 percent was with SSA countries so that intra-ceao trade azcounted for more than 9 percent of total trade, the highest for all the groupings.
3.37 Despite the high levei of intra-CEAO trade, the important share of trade with non-CEAO ECOWAS partnere auggeste that attempts to erect barriers around the CEAO would risk diverting important levele of trade from African, particularly ECOWAS, countries that are not CEAO members.
3.38 The CEAO countries taken as aroup have a degree of opennese of 578, the highest for all the Unions in SSA. Further, the lowest degree of openness of $37 \%$ is the same level as the average around which most countriee are bunched for other unions.

[^12]3.39

The ceno has achieved a high degree of integretion. Except for Mauritania, al its member: also belong to UMOA (West African Monetary Union) and thus hare a comon central bank and have a common currency, who convertibility is backed by France. Financial capital and labor are generally mobile within the union and there in a mechaniem for compeneating weaker stated through regional projecte funded by Fosidec, the solidarity Fund of the union to which the stronger members, cote d'Ivoire and senegal are net contributors. A selected list of inclustrial products benefite from intra-union preferences while nearly all raw materiais are traded on a duty free basis within the commuity.
3.40
uprac. It is ironical that the two unions that do not face the foreign exchange constraints blamed by many for poor eigional trade performance should be at opposite ends in terme of trade creation and the share of recorded trade flows within the Union. UDEAC, unlike CEAO, has ilmited labor mobility and this may account in large part for the rolative difference in performance. It is not possible to make definitive link between labor mobility and importance of regional trade; neverthelese it is likely that with labor mobility countries with a regional trade deficit would be in a position to finance this through the export of labor. Indeed it is alleged that within the CEAO this happens in the form, for example, of Mali and Burkina Faso exporting labor to cote divoize in exchange for manufacturea.
3.41

The UDEAC has been characterized by diesension on the sharing of benefits which has resulted in the withdrawal of Chad at certain points. In recent years the Union has added Equatorial Guinea as a member. The Union is chasacterized by the most extreme differentiation in wealth of all the Unions. It includes Gabon, the third wealthiest SSA country, at one end with a per capita GDP of US\$J SiL sici Chad at the other end with a per capita income of $\$ 170$, one of the lowest in SSA. (see Table 5).
3.42

With population of 23 million and a GDP of US\$21 tillion,
UDEAC has by far the highest per capita GDP of all the unione, namely us $\$ 890$ (Table 5). It is also, the smallest of the major trade groupinge (exciuding the MRU and the GEPGL which each have only 3 members). Ita economic aize is eimilar to that of Bangladesh and about three quarters the nize of Ireland, the mallest industrialized country (Chapter II, rable i).
3.43 The economies of the union vary in ize from one of the smallest in SSA (Equatorial Guinea with a GDP of about US\$0.1 billion, to the eecond largest (Cameroon with a GDP of US\$13 billion (Table 5).
3.44 The difference in economic size is reflected in the population dietribution acrose the member countries with cameroon accounting for half the total. Similarly, Cameroon ia one of the more heavily induatrialized economiea in SSA while Chad and Equatorial Guinaa have amongst the higheat dependence on agriculture of all the SSA economies. Congo and gabon rely largely on mineral resources for their income.
3.45

Over the period 1965 to 1983 the UDEAC countries treated as
a whole made the largest gaina of all the SSA unions in net trade gains. jespite thif and despite being the only formal Customs Union in SSA, intraunion trade creation was no more than 1 percent (Table 4). Over thie period the members of the union increased their trade flowe by a factior of 10 (Table 6) while their trade with SSA rose between one and a half a d thrae times faster than this rate, except for Longo and Equatorial Guinea for which the increase in African trade volume was only half the overall increase. All the member of UDEAC increased their trade with Cameroon at a considerably faster pace than the overali increaes in trade with SSA countrien an whoie. Except for the trade betwean Gabon and Equatorial Guinea which collapeed, the trade between the other member of the UDEAC either zemained virtually non-existent or mowed increases from baee of zero.
3.46 The above analyis euggeata that the union has been euccessful in increasing the share of intra-union trade as a share of trade with ssA as whole. Further, it aggeste that the biggest gainer was Cameroon. Neverthelese, such increases were from a low base and in 1983 intra-UDeac trade accounted for lese than 44 percent of the total African trade of the Union (Table 7), the lowent for all the major unions. Further, the overall thare of Africen trade was iese than 5 percent of total trade thue implying that intra-union trade accounted for about 2 percent of total trade, by far the lowest for any union in ssa.
3.47

Interestingly, the largeat share of UDEAC trade with Africa was with ECOWAS and this amounted to lmost 50 percent of the total African trade of the union, more than trade within UDEAC. Further, only 40 percent of this was with the Ceno countries that utilize the CFA Franc like the UDEAC members.
3.48

As in other unions, the aggregate picture is distorted by the dominant position of the most important members. Thus, Cameroon and Gabon, which encount fce almost three quarters of the trade of the union, recorded 48 and 22 percent, respectively, of their African trade as being with UDEAC partnere. CAR, Chad and Equatorial Guinea, by virtue of having Cameroon as their major SSA trading partner, achieve intra-UDEAC harea of African trade of about 90 percent or more. Neverthelees, given that there is virtually no exchange except with Cameroon and that ECOWAS accounts for more of the African trade of the ution than the partners in the group, it would seem potentiaily coatiy in cerms of intra-SSA trade to activate the Union. This point is reinforce by noting that:
(a) over 65 percent of the African trade of Gabon is with Nigeria and Ivory Cnast;
(b) Zaire, Senegal and Ivory Coast account for almost half the African trade of Congo; and
(c) Guinea, Ivory Coast and Nigeria account for 45 percent of the African trade of Cameroon.
3.49 Indeed, except for all using the same CFA Franc currency, the logic for the existence of UDEAC in probably the weakest of all the major unions and may explain the ambivalence of many of its members to continued participation in the club. Under the auspices of the UNECA and inepired by the Lagos plan of action, the UDEAC countries are also members of a so far non-functional counterpart to ECOWAS and the PTA (the Economic Community of Central African States, ECCAS). However, the abuve analytis suggeste that given existing trade patterns a more productive arrangement would be the iiberalization of trade between EcOWAS and UDEAC.
3.50 The UDEAC countries display an average degree of openness of 424 when considered as whole (eee Table 5), However, this faile to reflect the relatively closed Cameroon economy which is offset at the union leval by the openness of Congo and Gabon, largely reflecting thair dependence on mineral exports.
3.51 Like the CEAO, the members of UDEAC also benefit from a coumon central bank and the ame convertible currency, the cFA Franc. UDEAC is also the only union in SSA to have established a Common External tariff (CET). However, the effectiveness of the CET is undermined by the abiiity of individual countrien to set different tax rates on producter traded within the union. Financial capital is relatively free of reatrictione within the union but there is very iittle official labor mobility.
3.52 LOC. The $I O C$ is an association of the islande of the Western Indian ocean that was founded in 1982 by Madagescar, Mauritius and seychellen to promote regional cooperation. In 1986 the comoros and France
(Reunion) 24/ foined the group which eet up a mall Secretariat in April 1989. The membership of France makee this the only grouping with both developing and industrialized members and also limits the scope and objectivea of the organization. Its main objective has been to facilitate regional exchange and it has concentrated ite efforts on computerization and harmonization of tariff codras.
3.53 The IOC had been coneldering ateps to multi-lateralize bl-lateral paymenc: and clearing arrangements between Madagaecar and Mauritiue and Mauritius and Reunion. However, the recent changes in excnange rate policy asd trade liberalization in Madagascar have made this unnecessary.
3.54 The short period of existence of the $10 C$ preciudes analysis of changes in intra-regional trade which accounted for only 3 percent of the total trade oi the group in 1983 (see Table 4). The Ioc has emphasized the role of private enterprise in bringing about increased regional economic activity. Thus, in 1988 the IOC set up a Federation of Chambers of Comerce and in November 1989 a meeting of businessmen in food processing industries was organized. The grouping would like to promote industrial cooperation that would center on cross-border investment into Madagascar. It is working on a charter that would automatically grant any regional firm access to the market in any other IOC country. IOC firms would be treated as any national firm; for example a Malagasy firm would be entitled to operate in Mauritius without the need to formally incorporate there and would be treated as any comparable Mauritian firm.
3.55 CEPGL and MRU. These two Unions will be treated together very briefly because neither of them has much economic justification. Both are made up of three countries. The CEPGL consiats of the former Belgian colonies in Central Africa (Zaire, Rwanda and Burundi) and the Mru resulted from the personal relationship between the presidents of sierra Leone and Liberia. Guinea joined recently giving it some extra impetus since the current presidents of the founding members no longer entertain as close a relationship as their predecessors.
3.56 Both unions are very open with large gains in trade concentrated on external partners and only insignificant intra-union trade creation (Table 4). Further, only 5 and 11 percent of the African trade of the CEPGL and MRU, respectively, is with union partners demonstrating clearly the irrelevance of these groups (Table 6). The MRU in fact is part of ECOWAS with which its members undertake three quarters of their African trade. Similarly, 88 percent of the African trade of the CEPGL is with the PTA, of which Burundi and Rwanda are also members in addition to their membership of the CEPGL. It is interesting to note that zaire, which is not a member of any active union except for the CEPGL, has about 45 percent of its African trade with the PTA and 28 percent with the UDEAC, almost all of it with the Congo. This suggests that zaire is a potential big loser if either the PTA or UDEAC would erect significant enough barriers to divert trade to union partners.

## C. General Comments

3.57 The major themes which emerge from this quick overview of the economic characteristics and performance of the existing unions can be sumnarized as follows:
(a) The only relatively successful union, the CEAO, is characterized by currency convertibility and capital mobility, features shared only by UDEAC, which has been one of the least succeasful. The CEAO is also the only union with significant labor mobility. Thue it would appear that currency convertibilty and capitai mobility

14/ Reunion island is an overseas Department of France.
way be necessery for success but are not sufficient. similariy, it would appenr that it may be neceasary to lmplement extensive labor mobility to achieve succeseful integration and enhanced intra-union trade.
(b) The erection of a common external tariff around any of the major union if likely to lead to some diversion of recorded African trade, in addi:ion to diverting trade from the rest of the world (ROW). This is most serious in the case of UDEAC and would aleo be an isaue in the case of the crao.
(c) Except for the CEAO, none of the Unions has been particularly successful in creating intra-union trade or achieving a large overall share of intra-union trade. At the same time it is a myth that recorded intra-African trade is always low. 15/ The global figure tende to be diatorted by the fact that of the top 10 largest economies in SSA, only Cote d'Ivoire and Kenye have ohares of intra-SSA trade above $61 / 2$ percent. Indeed, 17 out of 39 SSA countries for which data was available, had more than 10 percent of their recorded trade with SSA partners. Further, 7 of these countries achieved a share of at least 20 percent. These figures also raise thu interesting question whether most of the unrecorded trade in SSA is connected with the largest economies.
(d) The smallest urions, the MRU and CEPGL have little relevance for the promotion of intra-African trade and unless a compeliing case can be made for other functions, it is unlikely that their continued existence could be justiried.
(e) There may be a positive relationship between degree of openness and the share of intra-regional trade. This would fit in with the observations of ITC based on work in the Caribbean. However, while this appears to be true in comparing the performance of the different Unions, there is an opposite tendency observed at country level as observed in Table 8 . The countries in table 8 are ranked by share of trade with SSA and the degree of openness is calculated for the top, middle and bottom thixd. This suggesta an inverse relationship betwee the degree of openness and the share of SSA. It is possible that his reflects the tendency for the landlocked countries (which tend to be more closed) to register more important ahares of intra-regional trade.
(f) Most of the countries with substantial shares of intra-sSA trade are located in west Airica. (None of the Southern African countries has a share of intra-African trade exceeding 10 percent) and in (East and Central Africa except for Rwanda and Uganda all the countries have less than 15 percent of their trade accounted for by regional partners). It is possible that currency convertibility explains part of these variations since the ten West African nationg with more than a ten percent share of intra-African trade are all members of the Franc zone except for Sierra Leone,

[^13]TABLE 8 : INTRA-REGIONAL TRADE AND DEGREE OF OPENNESS

| Country |  | de with SSA share of 1 trade | Degree of openness | Landlocked | Average degree of openness (13 countries) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| MALI |  | 33.4\% | $40 \%$ | Landlocked | 41\% |
| BURKINA |  | 25.98 | 54\% | Landlocked |  |
| NIGER |  | 22.5\% | 33\% | Landlocked |  |
| RWANDA |  | 20.5\% | $21 \%$ | Landlocked |  |
| SIERRA LEONE |  | 19.9\% | $21 \%$ |  |  |
| togo |  | 19.7\% | 55\% |  |  |
| UGANDA |  | 19.6\% | $21 \%$ | Landlocked |  |
| SENEGAL |  | 18.9\% | 38\% |  |  |
| CONGO |  | 17.6\% | 7 ¢\% |  |  |
| COTE D'IVOIRE |  | 15.8\% | $51 \%$ |  |  |
| CHAD |  | 13.4\% | 56\% | Landlocked |  |
| BURUNDI |  | 12.98 | 30\% | Landlocked |  |
| KENYA |  | $12.6 \%$ | $41 \%$ |  |  |
| MALAWI |  | $12.0 \%$ | 66\% | Landlocked | 49\% |
| BENIN |  | 11.7\% | 378 |  |  |
| MAURITANIA |  | $10.3 \%$ | 87\% |  |  |
| GUINEA. |  | 10.0\% | 41\% |  |  |
| GUIN-BISSAU |  | 9.5\% | 29\% |  |  |
| GAMBIA |  | 9.0\% | 55\% |  |  |
| CENTR.AFRICAN | F | 6.98 | $34 \%$ | Land locked |  |
| ZIMBABWE |  | 6.5\% | 52\% | Landlocked |  |
| MOZAMBIQUE |  | $6.4 \%$ | 74\% |  |  |
| GHANA |  | 6.0\% | 38\% |  |  |
| zAMBIA |  | 5.8\% | 49\% | Landlocked |  |
| CAMEROON |  | 5.4\% | $24 \%$ |  | $50 \%$ |
| tanzania |  | 4.8\% | 57\% |  |  |
| GABON |  | 4.8\% | 66\% |  |  |
| COMOROS |  | 4.5\% | 39\% |  |  |
| -IBERIA |  | 3.6\% | 72\% |  |  |
| EQ.GUINEA |  | $3.2 \%$ | 39\% |  |  |
| ETHIOPIA |  | 3.2\% | 30\% |  |  |
| MAURITIUS |  | 2.5\% | 139\% |  |  |
| NIGERIA |  | 2.1\% | 47\% |  |  |
| ZATRE |  | $1.5 \%$ | $64 \%$ |  |  |
| SUDAN |  | $1.0 \%$ | 15\% |  |  |
| MADAGASCAR |  | $0.9 \%$ | $35 \%$ |  |  |
| CAPE VERDE |  | $0.8 \%$ | 25\% |  |  |
| SOMALIA |  | 0.8\% | 42\% |  |  |

Sources: COMTRADE (A UNSO Database), World Development Report 1988 Data not available for Djibouti, Angola, Sao Tome, Seychelles, iesotho, Botswana and Swaziland.

Mauritania and Guinea. Further, Mauritania and Guinaa have the lowest intra-African trade of this get.
(g) The countries which are landiockec are those with the largent sharea of regional trade (Table 8). of the 11 landlocked countries Eor which data are available, all but three have at least a 12 percent regional trade ohare. While tria ia conaiatent with what might be expected, it is also poesible that re-exports by neighbors might be inappropriately classified as exports from these cauntries and thus artificially inflate the recorded share of regional trade for thene countries. zimbabwe, zambia and the Central African Republic have unueusily low shares of regional trade for landlocked countries, posibibly suggesting large unrecorded trade flowe. This is especialiy true for zambia which has a very open economy.
(h) Since 1965, the SSA countries have strongly increased their openness, coneistent with the development philosophy of the Bank and despite contrary rhetoric regarding the justification for these unions. The progress in this respect should be reinforced and great care ia required in formulating any program of support for these organizations to ensure continued integration in the world economy, especially where customs unions are concerned.

## IV. METHODOLOGY

## A. Description of data

4.01 The data used in this study are taken from COMTRADE, a United Nations Statistical Office (UNSO) trade database. In principle, all trade is recorded as an export by one country and an import by another, so that every commodity is recorded twice (imports are reported at CIF prices and exports at $F O B$ prices). In practice, however, it was found that imports are recorded more extenaively than exports. Very often, a commodity is recorded as an import by one country, but is not recordsa on the export aide at all. Hence, for the purposes of this atudy, exporta have been expressed as the dual of imports. In other words, the imports of Benin from Ghana, for instance, have been expressed as the exports of Ghana to Benin.
4.02 Commodities in COMTRADE are classifiad by the standard International Trade Classification (SITC), available at 5 levela of disaggregation. The highest level of disaggregation ( 5 Digit) is no doubt the moat valuable, but data at this level are very poor. Trade reported at the 2 Digit level is not necessarily deeegregated at the 5 Digit level, with the result that the latter auffers from large gaps. Most of the initial analysis, therefore, has been done with 2 Digit data, with a view to gaining a broad perspective of the situation. Having grasped these orders of magnitude, the analysie is then narrowed down to the 5 Digit level, to identify actual comodities for a few countries where data ia available. It is important to bear in mind, though, that eince 2 Digit categories are very broad, croseflows within a category are not reflected. Consider, for instance, the 2 Digit category, textile yarn and fabrics. A country may impnrt yarn and export fabric, implying that it has a comparative advantage in the latter; however, this fact may not come through in the 2 Digit analyeis.
4.03 The data are far from satisfactory. Many SSA countries report only sporadically and a few not at all. Besides, substantial amounts of African trade go unrecorded. Most available numbers are therefore, an underestimation of actual trade. At the same time, even though re-exports are aupposed to be reported aeparately, this is often not done so that reexports may be included in reported export valuea. In view of these ahortcomings, it is necessary to exercise great caution while interpreting the reaults. Nevertheless, Bome data, if carefuliy ubed, is better than no data and this is the premise adopted here. Berg (1985) discusses comprehensively the limitations and problems with African trade data and
compares COMTRADE with IMF Direction of Trade Statiatica. For our purposes the IMF data generally are not helpful as they only report aggregate flows with no information on the commodity composition of trade.
4.04 The analyaia ia done with export and import data for 41 countries in sub-saharan Africa over the period 1981-85. Trade is measured in USS. Petroleum and related products have been kept out of the analysis.

## B. Reyealed Comparative Advantage

4.05 Ideally, it would have been useful to examine the imports and exporta of every country in SSA at the 5 digit level and determine overlapping producte. However, the deficiencies of the data end the magnitude of this task warranted a process of product selection so that only a relevant subset of commodities need be examined. This was done using a subjective and a more objective method.
4.06 The subjective method involved identifying products which were exported to the Rest of the World (ROW i.e all the countries except for those in SSA) by any African country and rejecting any product that did not account for at least 1 percent of the exports of any one country. 16/ In addition, exports that seemed rather peculiar, like aircraft engines (possibly representing re-exports) were rejected. However, this task had to be performed at the 4-digit level, given the poor quality of data at the 5-digit level and to make the task manageable. To avoid the problems of averaging over such a large initial data set. 1983 was selected as tho latest year for which data were generally available. The selected products were checked to eliminate all those that were not imported by at least one SSA country from the ROW.
4.07 The more objective method used the concept of Revealed Conparative Advantage (RCA). A product displays a Revealed Comparative Advantage if it is more heavily traded than average. Two vereions of Rivealed Comparative Advantage (RCA1 \& RCA2) were calculated.
(a) RCAl, as developed by Balasaa, $1 s$ formulated as follows:

$$
\operatorname{RCA}_{i k}=\left(\Sigma E_{i k}-\Sigma M_{i k} /\left(E_{i k}-M_{i k} / \sum E_{i k}+\Sigma M_{i k}\right) \quad-1\right.
$$

where E : Exporta
M : Importe
$i$ : country
$k$ : product
The expression in parentheses is multiplied by -1 if there is a deficit in the trade balance.

A positive RCA value indicates that country i nas a revealed comparative advantage in trading product $k$. Similarly, a negative RCA value points to a disadvantage. Stated simply, RCAl measures the net trade of a country in a particular product, as a ratio of its total trade.

16/ The aubjective method is oniy aubjective to the extent that the cutoff was arbitrarily choaen. The one percent cutoff may appear too low. However, given the dominance of commodity exports and given that nontraditional exporta, which may have a low base, often have the most growth potential, it seemed worth erring on the low side. This may, however, result in overstating the potential trade. However, the ITc using a similar method of "matching products" reports much larger estimates for potential trade (eee Subregional Trade Potential in Africa South of the Sahara, Roelofsen, 1989).
4.08 RCAI is calculated for three separate groups the trade union, subeaharan africa and the world. At the narrowest level, RCAl (union) indicates that compared to the other countries in the union, country i has the greatest advantage in trading product $k$. RCAI (SSA) helpa determine if a country has a revealed comparative advantage within sub-saharan Africa, and RCA (world) determines the same with respect to the world. In all three groups, the normalization term is common for countries within a trade union so that the RCA valuns are comparable among the countries of anion, but not between uniona.
4.09 In each case, RCA coefficients were calculated first for each country and then aggregated for all countries belonging to a trade union. This indicates whether the union an a whole has a comparative advantage.
(b) RCA2 is based on exports only (unilke RCA1 which is based on net trade). The formulation is as follows :

$$
\operatorname{RCA}_{i \underline{i k}}=\frac{\left(E_{i k} / W_{i k}\right)}{\left(\Sigma E_{i k} / \Sigma W_{i x}\right)}-1
$$

where $E_{i k}$ : Country i's exports of good $k$ to the world.
$W_{i k}$ : Total exports of good $k$ in the world.
As in RCAl, a positive value indicates a revealed comparative advantage. The emphasis here is on efficiency in world markets - a positive value for RCA2 means that country i has an advantage in exporting product $k$ to the world. The focun has shifted from union performance to the performance of an individual country in the world. The argument underlying this view is that if trade among African countries is to increase, they must be competitive in world markets.

RCAl almost always picks up more products than RCA2. Besides, the use of net trade in the definition cancels out the possible effects of reexports. If a country importa a product only for re-export, then it can not be said to have a comparative advantage in that product. However, under the RCA2 definition, the product shows a positive RCA, which gives the wrong signal. The RCAl definition, on the other hand, will correctly rule out the above product, since it involves the measurement of net trade rather than just exports.

Despite these advantages, RCAl seems to auffer from a major weakness. When trade is balanced, or very nearly $s c$, as in the case of sierra Leone, the use of RCAl regulta in inordinately large numbers. Similarly, a very large gurplus or deficit leads to very small numbers as in Zaire. RCA2 was developed chiefly to counter this problem. In addition, RCA2 is more easily computable, a practically relevant factor when considering the immense amount of data to be processed. In general, RCAl seemed preferable for the 2 Digit analjeis, given the importance of eliminating offsetting importsat this broad level of aggregation. In contrast, at the 5 Digit level, RCA2 can be more reliably used, given the lower level of disaggregation and hence lower likelihood of problems with offsetting imports.
4.10 A word of caution about the relevance of RCA for policy : RCA has no direct bearing on determining either potential growth areas or true comparative advantage. Given existing resource endowments, tax and subsidization policy and any other policy induced distortions, it measures items which are more heavily traded than average. Thus, for example, even though the EC is an inefficient gugar producer with a production cost more than twice that of efficient producers such as Brazil, the EC sugar subsidization policy leads tc an RCA in sugar for the Community.

## C. Qther Measures

4.11 A few more measures and i.dices were also developed to analyze other appects of trade in Sub Saharan Africa. Given the shortage of information on intra-African trade this analysig could be useful for country economists and others who want to look at specific aspects of regionai trade. However the apecific data can be neglected without losing the aense of this report. In consequence, the complete analysis and presentation of detailea RCA results hava been reported in a technical annex that is available on request. This includes the categories of producta selected by the two RCA measures at the 2 Digit level for 41 countries of Sub-Saharan Africa and the results of the RCA2 analysis done on 5 dicit data for selected countries. Here we mumarize the major findings.

## D. General Regults

4.12 The RCA results at the 5 digit level were uged ag the basis for selecting products for which barrierg were the most evident and upon which attention couid be focussed in field work to determine the main barriers (as reported in Chapter $V$ ). The more subjective method was used to identify the potential trade between SSA countries. Potential trade is defined as the value of imports currently coming from the ROW and for which at least one SSA country is making significant exports (at least one percent of its exportes) to the ROW.
4.13 The potential trade thus estimated should not be interpreted as the amount of trade that would be realized if all current barriers (as diacussed in chapter $V$ ) were eliminated. There may be problems of supply; fur example, total exports of Palm oil to the Row represent only 8 percent of imports from the ROW and it is not clear that SSA exporters would be able to satiffy total demand (see Table 9). There may also be oroblems of geography or transport, that would make it more economical for the main importers to keep purchasing outaide the region. For example, the fTA is the main exporter of Bovine meat while ECOWAS is the main importer. There may be issuea of differences in quality that can not be determined at the 4-digit level. Thus the Toys and Indoor Games exported by the PTA may be totally different from those imported by ECowas. finally, there may be epecial bi-lateral trading arrangementa which austain exports even when the price may not be competitive with current suppliers outside SSA, as may be the case for augar or rice.
4.14 Nevertheleas the estimated potential of us\$4 to US\$5 billion (16 percent of total exports) is large enough to warrant further exploration of the reasons why this potertial is not exploited (Table 9). The RCA analysis, suggests a lower trade potential of US\$1.6 billion, about 16 percent of the net exports of SSA for these same commodities ( This figure represents the amount of importa from the reat of the world for which some SSA country has an RCA at the 2 Digit level. The estimate ie only one third that given by the subjective method, partiy because the RCA approach has focussed on a narrower subset: those goods that tend to be traded more heavily than average. Even so, the RCA baeed estimate needs to be treated with caution since the analyais has had to be performed at the 2 digit level. It is therefore possible that the African exports to the ROW do not correspond to imports from the ROW within the eame SITC category (e. g textiles may include different types of material, some of which ie imported and others exported).
4.15 Deapite all the qualifications the data belie the typical view that there are few products that could be traded between SSA countries. Further, these results provide some prima faciae evidence for the possibility of efficient trade switching (as opposed to trade diversion). It would be up to the relevant country teame to inveatigate the actual potentiad from the theoretical potential identified here. To help with this, the appendix includes a comprehensive listing by country and by product of all potential exports and imperts at the four digit levei. AFTTF would be abie, it
requested, to refine this analysis at the 5 Digit level for selected countries (subject to the important proviso that the data at the 5 Digit level are adequate for the relevant country). However, given the extencive distortions in SSA, caution is required in assuming that apecific trading opportunities that are identified in the RCA or subjective analysis, would indeed materialize in a dietortion free environment.

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| 0a43 | FISt FIUTTS, ment, OUP | 2 treeres | 3 | 5 | 3 |  |  | - |  |  | 0 |
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| cese |  | 2 Exeerce |  | 2 |  |  | 1 |  |  | 1 | - |
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| 0800 | SHL PISN Man, max | 2 Eneorn | 5 | 124 | 125 | 12 | - | :a |  | * | 4 |
| 0971 | MIE Mreno, mexvo | 1 isperse | 4 | 101 | , | 5 | $\cdots$ | 4 | - | 4 | 10 |
| 0871 |  | 2 Experte | 7 | 104 | 204 |  | 4 |  |  |  | 115 |
| 0483 |  | 12 Imeore | 10 | 2 | 2 |  |  |  | 2 |  | 14 |
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| 0421 | hice dr mex on mexdo | 2 Enomem | 1 |  |  |  |  |  | 1 |  | 1 |
| 040 | MI2E MWIUT0 | 11 Imars | 14 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 22 | 147 |
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| 0873 | Qwun, P-MTTADM, mesh, Der | 2 Exports | 18 | 38 | 36 |  |  | 2 |  |  | r |
| 067 | NTTS EOISCE, MEES, ORIED | 1 Imarts |  | 7 | 8 |  | 2 |  |  | 1 | - |
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| 0723 | cocoa gatter mo maste | 1 Bmorem | , |  | 0 |  |  |  |  | 2 | 2 |
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| a 30 | OMOCOLATE HO mocucts | 2 Enanem |  | 16 | 16 |  |  |  |  |  | 16 |
| 0141 | TEA | 118000 | 5 | 11 | 3 | 1 | - | 1 |  | 35 | 50 |
| 9741 | rea | 2 Enorte | 259 | 2 | , |  |  |  | 4 | 16 | 204 |
| 9751. | - emogr mo imento | 1 Imarte |  | 1 |  |  |  |  |  | , | 2 |
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| 211 r | ranceo not stmimmo i | 1 !morm | 1 | 20 | 10 | 1 | - | - |  | 1 | 28 |
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| 212 9 |  | 1 impare | $\pm$ | 14 | 14 |  | 3 | 1 |  | 1 | 10 |
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| 2230 | OTH MWFACRAE Tosacco : | 1 Imarce | 3 | 2 | 1 |  |  |  | : | 2 | 10 |
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TAOLE MergrtiAl thate of sea lons (cone.d)


Sources: COMTRAD anc statit estimates

$\underline{2}^{\prime}$ The export figure gives some idea of current export supply for those commodities where there is a ootential for exports to other sse countries in replacement of outside suppliers.

| 815C 20 | InPORTS OF 3SA FRM RON (POTENTIAL TRADE) <br> (0S $3 \cdot 0$ |  | SSA: potential AS A 2 OF NET EXPORTS |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 00 LIVE AMDMAS FOR 7000 | 25378 | 220595 | 11.58 |
| 05 VEGETABLIS NDD FROIT | 201537 | 221175 | 91.12 |
| 07 COTFIE, TEA, COCOA, SPICE | 71269 | 4224455 | 1.72 |
| 08 FESDIMC STUFT FOR ATIM | 76647 | 69639 | 110.12 |
| 12 TOMACCO AD MNOTACTUR | 152515 | 217394 | 70.27 |
| 21 HIDES, STIMS, FURS UNDIS | 282 | 158063 | 0.22 |
| 22 OIL SEEDS,OLEAGIMOUS F | 8972 | 577566 | 1.62 |
| 23 LUSEE CRODE, Sx/tiETIC | 54672 | 102341 | 53.42 |
| 24 CORE AND WOOD | 27628 | 820421 | 3.48 |
| 26 TETILE FIARES, MASTES | 236911 | 503075 | 47.12 |
| 27 CLODE PERTL2R,MINRLS M | 170907 | 112838 | 151.58 |
| 28 MITALLIFLROOS ORES, SCR | 182343 | 1152903 | 15.88 |
| 29 ClUdE AMIMAL, VEG MAT M | 45854 | 310956 | 14.78 |
| 61 LRATHER,DRESSED FUR,ET | 30742 | 11888 | 258.68 |
| 63 W000,CONX MaNUFACTPS | 97064 | 14655 | 662.38 |
| 68 HON-TEREOOS METALS | 222416 | 1401687 | 15.92 |
|  | 16051371 | 10119651 | 15.92 |

4.16 Despite the earlier provisions, it would seem reasonable to use the RCA and subjective method ertimaten of trade potential to obtain a range of likely potential trade. If realized potential were ifmited to the US\$ 1.6 billion indicated by the RCA method, this would represent a 6 percentage pointe increase in exporte. If the full potential indicated by the subjective analysis were realized, the ohare of ssA intra-regional exporte would increase from about 5 percent to 20 percent of the total (see Table 11). This would imply a share comparable to that in other parts of the world (see Table 4). Intereetingly, this would also replicate the achievement of the CACM which went from abost 5 percent intra-regional trade, the current level for SSA, to 23 percent.

Table 11: SSA Trade Flowe and the Share of Intra-Recional Trade. 1983
(In billiona of US $\$$ )

Actunis in 1983
Total
Exports

Intra-Regional
Rest of the World

Imports
41
2
39

Trade $1 /$
71
2 2 4

Potential mdditional
Iatra-regional Trade $2 /$
$5 \quad 5$
10
1983 Actuals modified
to reflect potential 2 /
Total
35
Intra-Regional 7
28
41
76
Rest of the World
(In percent of total trade)
Kemor andum items
Actuals in 1983
Intra-Regional
Potential additional
Intra-regional trade $2 /$
75
56
16
12
14
1983 Actuals modified
to reflect potential 2 /
Intra-Regional 20
17
18
Sources: COMTRADE and staff estimates.
1/ Trade = Exporta + Imports
2. Assuming the full potential of the subjective method is realized.
4.17 The other major results can be sumarized as foilows:
(a) As might be expected, most countries of Sub-Saharan Africa show a comparative advantage in commodities, metal ores and other crude producte. The most widely exported producta are coffee, augax, tobacco and wood.
(b) Despite the predominance of comodity exports, some countries do show positive RCA results for manufactures. zaire shows a revealed comparative advantage in exporting cement, Cameroon and Cote d'ivoire reflect an advantage in woven cotton cloth, Congo exports winches, hunting equipment and jewelry. cote d'Ivoire and Nigeria both expert cargo vessels. Nigeria also exports leather, photo film and gas turbines. Some of these results suggent that the RCA results probably reflect re-exporte. The subjective approach also reveals interesting potential not oniy in euch basic manufactures as textiles that might be expected, but also for spectacles and

Frames; Watches, Movements, Cases; and Toye, Indoor Games. There is also potential in treated metals and cement.
(c) Of the five countries examined at the 5 Digit level - Cameroon, Cote d'Ivoire, Congo, Nigeria and Zaire - the producte with an RCA are mainly exported to the industrialized world. Meanwhile, other African countries import the same products from industrialized countries. This result suggests that there is potential for the countries of sub-maharan Africa to increase trade amonget themselves. Indeed, this is the main purpose of the RCA analyais : to find products which one would expect to be traded intra regionally and to find out from traders and producers in SSA, why such trade does not indeed take place. This issue forms the main focus of the next chapter.
(d) Finally, a word about the levele of disaggregation. The 2 Digit analysis was carried out initially to provide certain orders of magnitude, under the assumption that the product selection done at this level would not differ significantly from the 5 Digit analysis. This is indeed borne out by the RCA results for the 5 countries mentioned above at the 5 Digit level.

## V. THE MAJOR CONSTRAINTS ON INTRA-REGIONAL TRADE EXPANSION

## A. Introduction

5.01 Regional trade in SSA is inhibited by a combination of natural barriers (such as distance), market imperfections (for example lack of information) and policy failures. It is useful to categorize the policy failures into bureaucratic weaknesses (like unclear direction to relevant agencies) which require mainly technical solutiong and political obstacles (such as unwillingness to expose domestic activity to partner competition) that require policy decisions which may be harder to get agreement on. Such categorization helps to focus on the type of action that is reguired to overcome the relevant obatacles, even though tne distinction between different types of barriers is not always clear cut and market failures, in particular, often arise from policy intervention.
5.02 Broadly, natural barriers may constitute constraints which have to be accepted (like long distances) but where intervention can reduce costs. Government, with donor support, would undertake infrastructure projects which are justified by traditional cost-benefit analysis (such as building railway ines). In principle, such intervention would be along the lines of ongoing national efforts and the regional dimension mainly involves a difference of scope.
5.03 Market imperfections jus fy Government intervention, unless the capacity to correct the failure so weak that the resulting bureaucratic failure worsens the problem. Often intervention will mean changes in Government policy to create a better enabling environment. External donors probably would have a role in providing technical assistance, advice and financing, for example to cover risk that the private markets may not be willing to bear.
5.04 Bureaucratic failures eseentially require Governments to improve their performance, and again external technical assistance and advice could be useful although the need for financial assistance would be limited. In general, the political obstacles revolve round ahort term costs that block long term benefits and arise from distributional issues concerning the ability of losers to block changes despite the overall positive net benefita.
5.05 It would be desirable to rank the constraints according to how badiy they inhibit SSA trade. Unfortunately ther ia no established
methodology for weh an exerciee and the relevance of different obetacles differs acroas countries. In addition, regional exchange if limited by so many conetraints that different policymaker or asalyste emphasize different probleme. Given the difficulties of such objective aseemment, much neediese argument tends to arlee from a confusing necoscary and aufileient action. For example, intra-trade in the crao and udiac countries is respectively bout 9 and 2 percent, even though neither grouping 8 aces the foreign exchange ehortage that is usually blamed at the major constraint on intra-African trade.
5.06 Thie lliuetrates the tutility of one-dimenional approsches. Indeed, significant increaces in regional trade are unilkely unleas several major conetrainte are imultaneously dealt with, or at minimum tackied in eequence within e hort period of time. In what tollows, no distinction wili, cherefore, be made between necessary and aufficient conditions. Insteaj the discusaion will focus on the relevance of various perceived conecraints and how and by whor these conetrainte could be relexed. Neverthelese, to guide policy action, it ie uaful to indicate the relative importance of major barzierf. In the absence of an established methodology this will inevitably be somewhat erbitrary, but even a mbjective ordering should be helpiul in focuseing poilicy discussion.
5.07 The major constraint consists of restrictive foreign exchange ilcancing and other quantitative rastrictione, that arise alther to apport overvalued exchange rates or to extend protection to uncompetitive industry. The next aet of problems ariees from the high levele of non-commercial rimk and obatacles facing the private sector, particularly certain of ita components that ara less politicaliy acceptabie because of their athnic or racial origin. Foliowing thic is likely to be the cost of information gathering and the rents arising from various rentrictione. The impact of complex rules and regulations would probably not be very merious if action were taken on all other fronts. Infrastructure in often citad as a major problem, but is likely to be conetreining factor only aftar mbatantial increasen in recorded trade occur rather than being an obatacle to initial expansion.
5.08 It is notoworthy that many of the important blockages could be relaxed through chenges in government policy that do not necesearily require external financial upport. This is eapecialily true of the molet important reform: the creation of an conomic onvironment which ween market clearing prices to ignal economic agent how to allocate factori of production and how to organize distribution. This may involve innovetive second best approaches, but without market clearing prices no lasting gaina can bo expected even if all other conetrainte are ilminated. It in aiso impoetant to note that cortain countries are likely to face chronic defielts in intraAfrican trade and this is why trade expansion neade to be linked with more generalized factor moblifty so as to create opportunities for offeetting flow of capital and workere' remittances.

## B. Natural Conntrainti

5.09 Population denalty in africa is low while ita distribution in uneven, thue raising the costs of marketing and distribution of producte. For developing countries an whole, the deneity in 53 per equare kilometer and in induetrial countriee it if 24, while in ssa the density if only 20 per equare kilometer. Further, while in the induatrial countriel 55 percent of the population lives in extien, oniy 42 percent of the population does so in ssA. Finaliy, the income of ssA in the lowest of ail the regions. Ite par cepita level if US $\$ 370$ compared with us $\$ 610$ for all developing countrion and its ODP account for about 7 percent of that of all developing countries and in quivaient to iose than 2 percent of that of the induetrialized countrioe. Thu it han been antimated (by MEDiA, the agency responeible for promoting external trade and investment in Mauritiuf) that it cones aimost 4 times as much to promote sales in ssa than in induytrisilsed markets.
5.10 SSA contains more landlocked countries than any other region and has the largest proportion of emall statem. Infrastructure is often deficient and many internal regions of even coastal countries are inadequately linked to the rest of the country. This is also true for regions within the same country but eeparated by another country (casamance In Senegal and Gambia) or countries within the ame grouping maparated by a non-member (Cote divoire and Bonin, in CEAO). The extensive eaboard provides opportunities for maritime traneportation that are not adequately exploited, partly because of poor harbour facilities that adversely affect the profitability of African shipping lines. These constraints are reflected in the story of Nigerian businesman who epent three months trying to find a ship to traneport aluminum circles from Douala in Cameroon to Lagos, cities separated by a one hour filght. Such probleme can be compounded by Government requiremente to haul a certain amount of shipment using public enterprises.
5.11 It is often alieged that inadequate communications facilitien, especially telephone and telex links, hinder intra-African trade. However, preliminary findings auggest that other inefficiencies are more to blame than the physical facilities.
5.12 In the short run it is not possible to offaet infrastructural problems. However, the Bank and other donors are continuing their support to African governments to improve infrastructure. This will help to reduce the costs of transport and comminication and thus encourage more trade. At the ame time, justifying the coste of some infrastructural projects may require action that will increase the flow of goode and policies that will make users pay for maintenance and project costs. The most atark example of this is provided by one of the few concrete achlevements of the Mano River Union: a bridge over the river which is hardly used because of restrictions on both sides of the borders that the bridge spans. Another example is the TAZARA railway linking zambia with Tanzania which carriea littie traffic while extensive informal trade occurs at market clearing prices using other more expensive channels of tranaport. The message in that expensive infrastructure can not lead trade. further, there is evidence that while recorded intra-SSA trade ia atagnating, unrecorded trade is growing ( Bee Barad (1988)), which euggests that infrastructure is not a binding constraint on official trade expansion.
5.13 It is poseibie that most current efforts are geared mainly to national syatems and that emphasia ia on maintenance rather than expansion and that more neede to be done regionaliy. A better picture should emerge following the completion of geveral ongoing studies. These include: the Sub-Saharan Africa Tranaport Program which is expected to produce research papers, case studies and guidelines for dissemination at workshops/seminars over the period to 1991; the Rural Water Supply and Sanitation Strategy Review to be completed in September 1989 and an evaluation of the Macroeconomic and Regional Implications of Urban-Rural inkages that is expected to be ready in October 2989. The sahel and Great Lakea Corridors Studies which were completed in 1988 have already outlined specific areas for action such as the re-establishment of block traina and studies of ouch issues as funding of maintenance expenditure, load regulations and user charges.

## c. Karket Faidure

5.14 In discussing market failures it will often be apparent that the fallures arise from the policy regime. However the distinction made between market and policy failures ia that the former arise when market incentives, given the policy environment, are insufficient to generate the socialiy dealred level of output and mervicee. In turn, the latter relate more to inefficiencies directiy arising from bad policies. Thus often, the most effective resolution of market failuree will involve changee in policy as opposed to counteracting government intarvention.

## 1. Trude Finance Facilitios

5.15 Comnercial Banks are unwililing to expose themselves to sovereign risk in SSA. Prior to 1986 the major international banks provided revolving credit lines of betheen US $\$ 5$ to US $\$ 40$ million to cover payments against Letters of Credit (LOCs) for periods of up to 1 year. Since then, these facilities have been suspended out of fear that the foreign exchange needed to repay drawings on theae lines would not be releaged by the relevant Central Banks. In any case these facilities tended to be used to finance trade with induetrialized countries and their reingtitution without provision for intra-regional trade cover would not necessarily help increase regional exchange.
5.16 The lack of cover for LOCs requires cash settlement before transactions can be effected and this reduces trade volumes. The provision of trade financing facilities by induatrialized countries to finance imports from their manufacturers worsens this problem by creating a preference for industrialized country exports even where equivalent goods are available at competitive prices from neighboring countries. Indeed it discourages the search for such goods (see C.2). One guch example consists of US cottion exports to zaire despite neighboring countries exporting cotton.
5.17 The shortage of foreign exchange, which appears to be serious and arises essentially from inadequate exchange rates should not be confused with domestic currency credit availability, which in itself is only a problem where Governments crowd out credit (see D.ii.1).
5.18 The first best solution requires pricing foreign exchange at a market clearing price. This has the further advantage that African goods would become more attractive not only in each individual country but also in the region as a whole (and indeed on the world market). Most African Governments have been unwililing to do this and recent signs of fiexibility still do not go far enough, Indeed, in some of the countries (such as Uganda, Zaire and Zambia) that had been willing to move to market based rates, there have been reversala.
5.19 In the absence of wiliingness to adopt maxket clearing exchange rates and with continued ties by donoss between $f$ inancing and exports, there may be a case for providing offsetting lines of credit to finance efficient intra-African trade. The escablished private commercial banks operating in SSA are willing to provide lines of credit provided they do not have to cover the sovereign risk related to the shortage of foreign exchange. There is therefore a potential for the Bank to provide a combination of foreign exchange or guarantee against the non-provision of foreign exchange by Central Banks.
5.20 The most practical scenario would be an agreement to share the risks with the Bank (possibly through MIGA) taking sovereign risk (given its comparative advantage arising from its leverage on national governmentes and commercial banks taking the commercial risk (given their comparative advantage in this area). There is scope for joint action with the African Development Bank (ADB) in this area.

## 2. Intormational Inadequacies

5.21 African importers and exporters often do not know about each other.

In part this reflects the tendency to maintain established relationships, usually with firma in the former colonial metropolis, uniese there are external pressures for change. This bias is reinforced by credat ines $t r o m$ donors (see section C. 1 above) and the readily avallable trade information on export and import sources in industriailzed countries througt the NIMEXE and compass systeme. Is contrast it is difficult to find any centrailzed information on suppiiers or purchasers in SSA. For example, in Cape verde there was no awarenesa that cameroon could substitute for portugal as a source of aluminum discs for making rooking utensils. Similarly, many
bueinesemen in Nigeria have no official trade experience with neighboring countries even though unofficial trade with these countries is widespread.
5.22 The problem arises mainly becaues the cost of gathering information and creating and updating a centralized data base is high while recovery of the cost is complicated by a free rider problem. Further, given the extensive restrictions on SSA trade (discussed in section D.i.3-5 and D.id.2), the risk is high that even after identifying African partners suitable for trade, such transactions will not take place. This tends to discourage the allocation of resources to find alternative suppliers within SSA.
5.23 In this regard it is noteworthy that ITC mponsored buyer/eeller meetings have generated US $\$ 77.4 \mathrm{million}$ of proforma invoices in the course of 4 evente between January 1987 and March 1988; a fifth buyer/seller meeting took place in February 1989 and resulted in business negotiations worth US $\$ 5.5 \mathrm{million}$. At the same time, restrictive import licer.cing seems to have hampered the execution of these contracte. On the anecdotal level, a zimbabwean firm that wanted to import US $\$ 50,000$ of light bulbs from Mauritius was only granted licenses for US $\$ 4,000$; more broadiy, the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe has only set aside 2 im $\$ 60$ million for PTA importa compared to Zim\$1 15 million of ordera by Zimbabwean firms at the March 1988, Harare buyer/seller meeting.

## 3. Absence of Uniform Standarde

5.24 Regional trade is complicated by the absence of uniform atandards and specifications. At the simplest level this includes the failure to univeralily use the metric aystem. More complicated, is the preparation of producte according to accepted specifications. Users and manufacturers in different countries have divergent needs and without concerted action it is difficult to get firms to produce according to norms that are acceptabie to the bulk of econcmic agents.
5.25 Meanwhile, it may be more attractive to purchase from non-African sources where it is easier to verify product apecification. In this regard, the participanta at the 1988 ITC sponsored buyer/seiler meeting in Harare specifically recommended that "the PTA Protocol on standardization and quality Control be implamented as a matter of urgency to ensure minimum quality jeveis of goods moving in intra-PTA trade and to protect PTA markets from gub-standard imports." Views on quality are reinforced by the poor quality of most output in the initial stage of production even if substantial improvements occur with experience. Nigerian manufacturers of construction materiais, cosmetice and textiles ailege that this is a problem in exporting to neighboring countries. It is noteworthy that such fears prevent a Nigerian bicycle firm from exporting directly to neighboring countries. Inatead it exports to the UK which in turn re-exporte to ECOWAS countries.
5.26 Remedying this problem should not be excessively hard if the governments are brought together, possibly by outside donors, and asked to agree on a harmonization program and timetable. To avoid needleas discussions and given the importance of trade links with the EC, there chould be prior agreament that the metric myetem and other EC wide guidelines should be the appropriate objective. At the same time, the use of standards should not be a means of keeping African exports out. For example an Ivorian firm alleges that Senegal uses stricter standarde than in Europe as a means of keeping out Ivorian processed foode.

## 4. Reliability

5.27 African businesemen are often meen by their peers as unceliable and thin perception 1 often justifled. The bureaucretic inefficiencien and physical problems, that make it hard to respect achedules, tend to be accommodated by protected national markets. Howevsr, it diecouragea intra-

African trade. Ia the short run it may be difficult to resolve this problem, although liberalization would be expected to force firms to find means of counteracting the unfavorable production conditions at the risk of losing market share to imports. PTA businesamen meeting at the ITC organized Harare buyer/seller meeting urged that "the business community take the neceseary ateps to improve their practices, particularly in the field of communications, and follow up on business contacts and enquiries... (and) make every effort to deliver according to agreed terms and conditions in order to enhance confidence in the PTA business community." At the same time, unless physical and regulatory problems are solved this will be difficult to achieve.
5.28 There may be a role for technical assistance, perhaps through the Foreign Investment Advisory Service (FIAS) recently get up by IFC and MIGA to advise governmente on how to attract foreign private investment. Further various donors might be induced to finance training seminars andor exchange visits that would provide a more professional approach to eecuring and maincaining international contracta. Regional institutiona such as the Eastern end Southern Africa rade Promotion and Training Centre in Nairobi, Kenya or the Abidjan Trade Centre in cote d'Ivoire could play a constructive role in tiis regard.

## 5. Monopclies

5.29 In SSA, state trading companies are of ten the only alternative to monopolistic private entrepreneurs. Thus the competitive drive to find the least cost supplier is absent. In such a situation, establiahed trade relations, which tend to be with non-SSA firms, continue at the expenae of diversification that might favor more regional exchange. This is compourded by the apprcach of some foreign companies that create monopolistic niches by locating in each country under agreement to be sheltered from imports. This prevents the creation of a larger regional market where imports and other firms can compete with the established supplier. Sometimes ethnir minorities may also act in an uncompetitive manner
5.30 Where monopolies arise out of a narrow base of traders it may be difficuit to remedy this situation without the state intervening by providing competition. Creation of public enterprises for such reasons are rare but the Ghana National Trading Corporation was set up to compete with foreign trading firms and thus break their oligopoiistic power (Ayub and Hegstad, 1986, page 60). In such cases, care needs to be exercised in setting out conditions of operation of the atate enterprise to avoid the excesses that have drained resources into the state sector across sSA. In practice it may be neceasary to envisage reforms of existing controi mechanisms along the lines pursued by the sank in various PE restructuring programs (see IDD, PPR (1989 for details).
5.31 Where monopoliee are sustained by government action there is scope for increasing competition. While it is beyond the brief of this paper to investigate such issues in depth, other ongoing work in the gank suggests that the informal sector provides plenty of opportunities for introducing competition. (See Azam (1988), Mac Gaffey (1938) and the forthcoming Long Term Perspectives study). An issues paper is being prepared by the TD on the Underground Economy and the Urban-Rural linkages study should also be helpful. Meanwhile, Jean Marie Cour of AFTIN has extensive experience in thie area). Indeed, it appeare that unrecorded activity tends to limit the excesses of private monopolists and imposes a heavy burden on inefficient public enterprises.
5.32 Donors couid contribute by encouraging the creation of mechanimma that would provide financing of activity by new entrants, particularly those currentiy in the informal sector. Thi may have to be pursued by cooperation with NGO or other socially based organizatione that have a capacity to marahall resources and impose peer preasure to ersure
repaymente. More information on how to proceed should emerge from the studies referred to above.

## 6. Infrastructure

5.33 Private firms are sometimes in a position to build infrastructure that will facilitate trade but are prevented from doing so because it is difficult to collect user fees. An example of what can be achieved is provided by the experience of Agency Maritime International $Z a m b i a$ Ltd. Upon getting the relevant assurances on cost recovery, the firm built facilities at Mpulungu to resolve problems related to the ahipping of heavy and bulky materials such as cement and steel over Lake Tanganyika between Zambia and Burundi.
5.34 There are also cases where existing facilities can be turned over for maintenance and operation to the private sector. In Guinea, for example in replacement of government operations in Conakry harbor, there now are five stevedoring companzes competing for business; transit, storage and handling functions are being handled by private companies while cleaning and maintenance of port infrastructure is being contracted out. (Guinea: Transport Sector Appraisal Report, May 1987, $\$ 6787$ ). Similarly, the airport is being managed by a joint venture with a foreign partner. Gabon and Togo are making similar arrangements for running their airports. In GuineaBissau the government has sold off its air traffic rights to a foreign airline while in Niger the ailing national carrier is being replaced by a mixel company. In the Kivu region of zaire, there is some evidence that the private sector is contributing to the maintenance of infrastructure, especially roads, in the face of insufficient public apending (Regional Development of Kivu, First Draft of the Report, September 1, 1987, pages 64 to 69).
5.35 These examples notwithatanding, very little has been done in SSA, even in comparison with other regions. Governments, with support from the Bank could investigate ways in which provision of relevant guarantees relating to cost recovery would enable more private involvement in creating and maintaining the relevant infrastructure for facilitating trade flows. So far the Eank has done little formal work in thia area apecifically geared to SSA even though Asif Faiz of PRR has conducted a more general review (see, for example, world Bank (1988) for efforts in the road gector). In the Africa Region, Jean Marie Lantran (AFTIN) has been investigating this issue for some time and it would be useful to ask AFTIN to prepare an issues paper that might make some concrete proposals for Bank intervention in this area.

## 7. Appraisals of Large Projects

5.36 Identification and appraisal for large projects, especialiy in heavy industry, costa a lot. Further, the smaller the market, the greater the risk that appraisal will indicate that the proposed investment is not profitable. This discourages the private sector from undertaking such evaluations. Instead such projects tend to be left to the public sector with a resulting tendency to underestimate commercial risk and emphasis on prestigious ventures.
5.37 IFC and the Bank, working with national governmente, have a possible role in carrying out such appraisala, posibiy financed by sppfs or other appropriate mechanisms. The objective should be to provide a subsidized service to private industry to evaluate, at its request, various projects that depend on large market size. It would also be desirable, as part of this process, to identify sisisting international firms that could participate in the appraisal and eventual project construction and operation. Such appraisals showid concentrate on schemes which are unprofitakie in a emajl national market but where a regional market may reduce unit costs to world pricea. These would provide concrete pressure pointe for pointing out foregone gaine from denying regional partners free
market access. Such schemes may also provide appropriate vehicles for cross-border investment and the emergence of atrong African based multinational enterprise.

## 8. Financing for Trade Fairs

5.38 The experience of ITC in bringing buyers and sellers together is encouraging and would guggest thec the private aector in sSA could be convinced of the positive payoff to contributing to such activities, perhape in the form of a permanent fair location. In practice, such a development is blocked by the free-rider problem as well as the risk that government action will not permit trade to occur even where willing buyer and aeller are identified, as discussed in section C. 2 above.
5.39 The economic benefits of a permanent fair should be appraised on the basis of various options for cost recovery from the private sector. To the extent that there are positive net benefits, consideration could be given to financing such an undertaking. Important issues to be resolved include whether the public or private sector should operate the facilities and if national or supra-national authorities should be given charge. It would also have to be established if a permarent fair is more cost effective than a rotation from site to site.
5.40 ITC has recently initiated project activities, similar to those organized for the PTA, in ECOWAS and in selected countries of ECCAS. Additional funding is required to develop those projects into full-scale and broad based intra-regional trade promotion activities. If permanent facilities are not justified, consideration should be given to increase the financing available to ITC to allow it to organize more contacta between businessmen.
9. Clash between Market incent ives ana Requlatione
5.41 The PTA. ECOWAS and ECCAS have each set up a clearinghouge mechanism to economize on the use of foreign exchange in intra-union trade. (ECCAS is not yet functional but ite Clearinghouse 2 s a succesbur to the zaire-UDEAC one). Yet no attention is paid to providing financial inducements to economic agenta to ure that chamel. Indeed, it is aileged that in the PTA and ECCAS the commercial banke, who finance and channel the bulk of trade tranactions, are given an incentive to discourage their cliente from using the ciearinghouse since they get a lower commiseion for such transactione. Similarly, in countries with export retention schemes and/or export compensation schemes, there ie a financial incentive so generate hard currency as opposed to using ciearinghouse facilities.
5.42 Governments and supra-national institutions responsible for regional trade need to be encouraged to think about incentives that will induce private agente to use facilities designed to promote regional exchange. It is often apparent in discussing with officials that they tend to think as central planners and believe that administrative fiat is sufficient to obtain desired resuits. The Bank in its ongoing dialogue with country authorities needs to persevere in the general message that without the appropriate incentive gtructure, it ie unijkely that private agente will behave as desired by policy makers.

## D. Policy Pailures

## (i) Bureaucratic Weaknegres

## 1. Mut土iphicity of Targete

5.43 The economic groupinge in SSA, have very broad objectives of fostering cooperation and development in all fielda of economic activity. Regional integration involves broad range of activities in the mocial and cuitural fielde as well as the economic. In consequence there has been a tendency for various organizatione to attempt to move on many fronta at the same time. The PTA Treaty, for example, has twalve protocols dealing with mattera ranging from tariff and non-tariff barriers to the cration of infragiructure, the development of agriculture and industry and the etandardization of products. Given the limited resourcem and the difficult tasks these face, best resulte could be expected from narrower focus on key iseues with the greategt multiplier effect on the integration procesm. This would allow concentrstion on the essential but politically tough policy reforms required to create a unified market for goods and factor eervices. In contrast, ECOWAS has got involved, through the ECOWAS Fund, in infrastructure development, has set up various Weat African federations (Universities, Youth Organizations and Trade Unions) and even organized sporting events, all while deadline after deadine for internal liberalization pass without significant action and while some of the gains in labor mobility are occaaionally reversed.
5.44 SADCC is the economic grouping that tends to be most highly praised in SSA, largely becauge it has a mall secretariat, works through national governments and has concrete and imited agenda. The other economic groupinge (and any new efforts at regional integration) should be based on the same principles. It may be more fruitful to discuss and implement one protocol at a time instead of trying to work ineffectively on a dozen fronts, in the case of the trade organizations that are the primary focur of thin paper, they should concentrate their efforts on eliminating the barriers that prevent Africans from working, investing and trading acrose the borders of the continent.

## 2. Complexity of Rules and Regulatione

5.45 The rules and regulations are needlessly complex, raflecting an attempt to eccommodate the epecial interesta of each member country. Fir example, rather than eliminating tariffe (a simple and easily underatood measure) or granting a straight preference (less radical but still imple), the typical approach is to agree on a restricted list of eligible itema. In addition, ven after establiehing that it is dealing with a Comon List item, the firm has to determine which preference category the good gualifies for (varying, in the case of the PTA, for example, from 10 percent to 70 percent within 6 groupa and 10 categories). To complicate matterb even further, a firm needs to demonatrate that it qualifies under the rules of origin for 30 percent, 60 percent or 100 percent preferential treatment depending on ite local equity holding. The rules of origin also create major obstacles within ECOWAS, in particular between the CEAO and Nigeria,
5.46 When combined with their timidity, the costs of obtaining auch preferencea can outweigh the benefits, enpecially since the real obstacles are tne procedures that need to be satiafied rather than tariffs. In contrast, the EC market is accessible with much lese paperwork, clearer reguirements and lower cariffs than in union partners. The benefits are further reduced when the probloms of admiasion are taken into account. It ham been eatimated by the ITC that up to 70 administrative atepw are Involved in legaliy moving goods acroé African borderi. In zalre, Eor example, there are 39 adminietrative etepe neceseary for export and 30 for importa. These mepe include muitiple controle, ignaturea and validationa, licenean and authorizations from various aervicea of different adminibtrations. The use of mercurial values end import murchergen and
other reatrictions on importe further raises the cost of trading acrosa African frontiere even when official tariffe are reduced.
5.47 The Bank, the EC and other donors could provide technical assistance to simplify bureaucratic procedures and introduce more automaticity and recording mainly for statietical rather than control purposes. Ongoing and past support by the Bank for national adjuetmant programs form a useful basif for extending advice to interested Governments.

## 3. Administration of Licencing Arcengemente

5.48 The administration of licencing arrangemants tends to be biased againat intra-xegional trade, partly becauee of an unwritten but prevalent attitude that import: from outgide the region tend to be "essential" while those from SSA can be substituted by home production. This bias is worsened by the provision of lines of credit by foreign donors thet can only be used to import from their country (see section $C .1$ above).
5.49 A dramatic demonstration of this bias is provided by the results of the cancellation in 1984 of the open general import licence agreement between Malawi and zimbabwe when they both adhered to the PTA. zimbabwe imports from Malawi fell by US $\$ 10.5$ million from an average of US $\$ 14$ million over the previous 5 years. In contrast, imports from Botswana, with which a similar agreement was maintained because it did not join the PTA, remained at around $U S \$ 35$ million. So the import licencing regime brought the curious reault that joining a trade enhancing grouping actually eliminated an export market for Malawi. (Also see section c. 2 above).
5.50 It is noteworthy that the Report of the Twelfth Meeting of the PTA Council of Ministers recognizes that "restrictive import licenging seemed to be major problem to intra-PTA trade." (Page 8). The businesamen of the region have alsc identified this as a serious obstacle and called on the governments of the PTA countries for "the liberalization of the licensing policy and practices for imports from PTA countioes be expeditiously implemented in accordance with the articles of the PTA Treaty and the deciaions of the PTA policy organs."
5.51 Since 1987 ITC has asbigted the PTA in the organization of five buyer/seller meetinga (see para 5.23) and two trade fairs. The fairs took place in Nairobi (1986) and Lusaka (1988) and businese worth us $\$ 160$ million and US $\$ 100$ million respectively was negotiated at these events. ITC would be happy to further diseuss with the Bank the ecope for expanding these and other subregional trade promotion activities with the dixect participation of the business community in SSA. To the extent that licencing reflecta a shortage of foreign exchange, resolving the problem lies in finding a more realistic exchange rate and adopting a policy of allocating foreign exchange by relying on market signals. However, even within the current context it shouid be possible to improve the aituation by explicitly favoring partner nations in the allocation of foreign exchange to offset some of the existing biases arising from foreign financed credit linea. zimbabwe has responded to criticism by introducing an allocation specifically for the PTA and has gradually increased the amount from $Z i m s 10 \mathrm{milli}$ ion in 1984 to 2 im 560 milli ion ir. 1988. However, it would appear that such movea do not go far enough when compared to the $\mathrm{zim} \$ 115 \mathrm{million}$ of pro forma invoices to zimbabwe importers ismud at the last buyer/seller meeting in Harare. A more iliberal arrangement for the isguance of import licensea for partner imports could be jugtified if the clearinghouse extended its role to creata a facility to allow private agente to freely trade local currencies (see Goreux (1982) for some euggestions).
5.52 To circumpent the biases in the allocation of import licensee it would be important to try to establish an Open General licence (oGl) ayetem for partner imports. In this respect a good model would be provided by the Open General Import Licence agreement betweon $2 i m b a b w e$ and Botswana
originating in the 1956 agreement between the Federation of Rhodemia and Nyasaland and Bagutoland, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and Swaziland. To the extent that the exchange rate remains significantly overvalued, the OGL could apply until a certain level of foreign exchange had been expended rather than requiring the issuance of licenses for all imports. Purther, the allocation of the freely issued licenses should reflect some elements of market pricing to avoid amall latecomers being excluded from the line. The Liberalized Import Regime adopted by Madagascar in 1986 and currently being considered by Somalia offers one poasible approach.

## 4. Administration of Control Procedures

5.53 There is poor coordination between the government agencies negotiating the reduction of impediments to regional trade and the implementing agencies that have to impiement the deciaiona that are intended to aimplify procedures. Thus the Harare Buyer/Seller meeting asked that the "PTA Secretariat impress upon Governments to introduce without delay, at the operational and administrative levels those measures which have been agreed upon for the facilitation of intra-PTA transit transport like the yellow insurance card and the Road Customs Transit Document (RCTD)" (ITC, Harare Buyer/Seller Meeting, page 4).
5.54 This reflects the experience of sevexal transporters who were faced by puzzled customs officials concerning the use of the RCTD, intended to replace all other documentation for within PTA movement of goods. It has been reported that at some customs posts, the RCTD is now accepted in addition to all the usual documents! The meeting also urged that "Government licencing authorities refrain from insisting on Certificates of Origin at the time applications for import permits are submitted and that certifying authorities, as designated by national Governments are re:n=eted in accordance with the relevant Protocol of the PTN Treaty" (ITC, Garare Buyer/Sellex Meeting, page 5).
5.55 Similariy it is reported that customs officers at the Togo/Ghana border systematically unload and check goods "for security reasons", notwithstanding the agreements for free movement within ECOWAS.
5.56 Governments need to be urged to ensure that decieions taken at higher level are passed on down the ranks, especially to the remote posts far removed from the capital. The secretariata of the exieting regional trade organizations could devote apecial efforts to assist national authorities in disseminating appropriate information "down the ranks" and could be empowered to help in moving relevant information in this manner.

## (ii) Political obstacles

5.57 The following sections will document the various political obstacles without auggesting particular action that could overcome them. This ia because by their nature they are likely to be more problematic to overcome than the other barriers discussed above. Instead. Chapter VI summarizes issues that need to be dealt with to achieve an increase in official regional trade and makes suggeations for posaible intervention by the Bank to facilitate this.

## 1. Inappropriate Macro-economic Policieg

5.58 The most serious obstacles to recorded intra-regional trade ariae from unintended effects of inappropriate macro-economic policies. Overvaluation of exchange rates and inappropriate credit policies are at the core of many problems limiting trade.
5.59 The exchange rate is important both as price signai and because of tho reaultant shortage of foreign exchange when the rate 2 s overvalued. It io impossible to price (at official exchange rates) the exporte from the
country with the greater overvaluation, even though at parallel ratea trade would (and often does) occur.
5.60 As an exampie, consider a situation where the official rates are at parity with the USS but where in country A the parallel rate is 2 units to the US $\$$ and in country $B$ it is 4 units to the USS. Assume that an exporter in country $B$ is prepared to trade for at least 4 units of his domestic currency while the importer in country $A$ is willing to pay up to 2 units of country A currency. At parallel rates, they would fix the price at 1 USS, but at official rates the exporter requires at least 4 USS. In contrast the importer is not willing to pay more than us\$2. So trade can only take place when it is transacted outaide official channels.
5.61 The counterpart of this argument is that imports from country B obtain a larger exchange rate subsidy than the impliait tax on country $A$ exports and therefore overvaluation should encourage trade in the opposite direction i.e imports into the country with the more overvalued rate. In practice, however, with no incentive for official exports from the country with the relatively more overvaluad exchange rate, the necessary foreign exchange to support such activity is unlikely to be available on a sustained basis. Instead importa are reatricted by use of licencing requirementa. Therefore the overvaluation tends to limit overall trade rather than juat expo:ts from the countr:' with the more overvalued exchange rate.
5.62 The general shortage of foreign exchange associated with overvaluation results in the need to ration foreign exchange. This leads to the biases againgt regional imports discussed in section D.i. 3 above and is also illustrated by Zairian and Nigerian exporters preference to sell outside the clearing arrangement so as to receive foreign exchange. It also inhibits investment that is essential to produce the tradeable goods required to pay for imports. In turn, this complicates the sharing of benefits since incentives to induce a shift of economic activity to the weaker economies cannot operate if production and dividends are not realistically priced when converted to the currency of the investor.
5.63 The overvaiuation of the exchange rate is probably the aingie most important inhibition to increased trade. Howrver, asexplained earliar, it is not sufficient to have sensibie exchange xate policies. UDEAC, despite using convertible currency, has much less intra-regional trade than other groupinge where foreign exchange shortages are an important problem.
5.64 Credit policies can be problematic when inefficient aectors absorb an excessuve share and the resulting rationing crowds out productive activity. Unfortunateiy no detailed data are available to show the share of total credit going to finance trade in general and regional trade in particular. On the basis of anecdotal evidence in discussions with businessmen and bankers, however, when credit is tight there appears to be a bias againgt providing credit to finance regional transactions so that these have to be financed using cash resources.

## 2. Unwillingness to Significantly Digmantle Barriers

5.65 The experience of trade groupings in SSA demonstrates the strong resistance against significant reduction of trade barriers. This reflects similar difficulties in other regions. For example, in July 1988 CARICOM failed to agree on the implementation of previously agreed measures that would have virtually eliminated all trade barriers within the region. Similarly, ASEAN has found it difficult to agree on mutual dimantiling of trade barriers and has tended to concentrate on security iseues (Meyanathan, 1988). ASEAN also provides a useful lesson on the dangers of a gradualist item by item negotiation for the reduction of regional trade barriers: in the limited liet of ilberalized itema one finds snow ploughe and nuclear reactorg. This experience neede to be contrasted with that of the CACM which experienced a five fold increase in trade by adopting the opposite approach of liberalizing trade in everything except for a limited liat. The
limited iiberalization approach provides too much time for pressure groups to residet an opening up in the arens where the greatest amount of trade creation could be expected. In consequence the benefite of acting where agreement is reached (on items such as snow ploughe) is so small that there is little incentive for implementation.
5.66 In SSA, ECOWAS has consistentiy failed to implement decisions concerning trade liberalization. No action has followed the 1983 agreement by the ECOWAS heade of tate on a liberalization sheme. Indeed in recent tariff reforms in Nigeria and Ghana, no account was taken of the agreement to initiaily freeze and then lower tariffs to ECOWAS members. Thus the ECOWAS secretariat notes that "despite the impressive number of agreements reached and decisions taken regarding the harmonization of Customs documents, the adoption of common procedures, and the program for deregulating non-manufactured crude goods, traditional handicrafte and induatrial products, the Economic Community of West African States has not made tangjble progress in practjcal terms." (ECOWAS Annual Report, 1985/86, page 14).
5.67 In the UDEAC, "instead of a common external tariff, the Union embodies a muitiplicity of import tariffs... Contrary to the initial sbjective of guaranteeing free movement of products within the Union, the taxe unique as implemerted today amounte to an import duty that provides additional protection to membere and contradicts the principle of free trade within the Union." (Samen, 1998, page 11).
5.68 Similarly, "since 1983 the policy Organs of the pTA have been taking a number of deciaiona aimed at liberalizing and facilitating intraPTA trade. However, the majority of important decisions have not yet been implemented by most of the member states. as a result, five years after the PTA was established, there is virtually no preferential trade in the subregion." (PTA, 88-0184. M8y, 1988. page 1).
5.6e The other groupirge in 55 reflect gimilar reiuctance to open up their economiee to their neighbors. Some Government officials argue that liberalization that doee not lead to equal benefits to all can not be tolerated. This in turn meane that it is difficult to liberalize since the whole purpose is to generate adjustment which by in nature must be expected to have a differential impact. This is eapecially irue in the short run, before the pressure from increased competition can lead to an environment more conducive to econumic growth. There are also strong interest groups that are threatened by liberalization that would expose ineffinient import substitution to foreign competition. "Africa'a domestic private manufacturers are fewer and leag powerful than Latin America's. The real pressures for import aubatitution policiea have come from civil servants, politicians, and military men. These often justify opposition to trade liberalization in the name of nationalism and the need to be modezn and industrialize. But they benefit especialiy from non-tariff barriers guch af import quotas and licenses which allow them to make profits from illegal sales andior to increase their power" (Bienen, 2987 , page 3). Such considerations explain in part why in senegal, for example, chocolate imports from cote d'Ivoire are diacouraged by uaing mercurial prices and tough health standards; there are bans or high taxea on the import of palm oil in Niger, Nigeria and Cote d'ivoire and cotton in Nigeria and why Mali limite the issuance of import licenses for regional imports, all despite their contradiction of the principles ef ECOWAS and the CEAO.

## 3. Barfierp gutgide the Region are Lower than within

5.70 It is well known that African countriee have much higher tariff and non-tariff barriers than industrialized countries. For example, the average tariff facing developing country finished and semifinished manufactures ranges from just under 7 parcent in the EC and Japan to juet under 9 percen in the US (WDR, 1987, page 136) while in SSA the equivalent figure is 18 percent. This figure reflects extensive exemptions that may often require side paymente. The theoretical average tariff is 35 percent. Unfortunately, no data could be obtained for the trade weighted theoretical tariff which is more relevant for determining the extent of exemptions. Given that there are more tarift linea at the low end of the acale, one could expect the etraight average to be downward biased, but there is an cffset arising from the lower level of recorded imports at the high and of the tariff.
5.71 Similarly, according to UNCTAD data, the range of NTBE in SSA is much larger than in industrialized countries where most goods trade freely except for textiles and agricultural products (WTJR, 1987, Chapter 8). NTBs in SSA also tend to be much moxe variable in ecope and extent so that the effective protection fluctuates significantly from year to year. Thia mainly reflects decisions concerning the allocation of import licenses and/or foreign exchange authorizations. The variability is further enhanced by foreign exchange retention and export compensation schemes that partially compenaate for exchange rate overvaluation.
5.72 Higher barriers in SSA than in indugtrialized countries do not in themselves account for low shares of regional trade since all imports into SSA face the same high barriers. However, UNCTAD and ITC argue, on the basis of their experience in the caribbean, that there is a strong relationship between the level of trade and the share of regional trade. This reflects the low marginal costa of finding new markete once oconomic poiicy encourages a more open trading eyfem that oriente domeatic activity to traded gooda. It is plausible to expect that ab trade barriers are reduced, unrealized potential in regional trade would be exploited as part of a general expanaion in trade.

## 4. Baryierg to Crogs-boxder Invegtuent

5.73 SSA countries have extensive restricticne or the capital account as documented by the IMF annual review of exchange and trade reatrictions. Further, haraly any emphaeie is given to a liberalization of capital flows in any of the structural adjustment programs supported by the Bank and the IMF in SSA, on the correct logic that, to avoid unsustainable capital outflows, appropriate economic policies and a liberalization of the current. account are necessary precondition.
5.74 Under current circumatances it is difticulc for trade le lead to investment for production in the importing country. It is also difficult to rationalize production through takeovers, mergers and acquisitions and this sustains high costa that require extensive protection from importa. Foreign firms also often face different regulatory and tax frameworke from those confronted by domestic firms.
5.75 The problem partiy involves reluctance on the part of Central Banks to provide foreign exchange for crose-border inveatment when they are ungure that reverse flow of dividends will follow. For example, there is much potential for rehabilitation of firms in Mozambique that zimbabvean entrepreneurs, for example, are interested in taking over from the Mozambique Government. Yet the few acquisitions that have taken place by zimbabwean lirme have required ubing externally avaidabie foreign exchange given the reluctance of the Reserve Bank of zimbabwe to nuthorize euch transactions.
5.76 Central Banks in SSA seem unwilling to 'lose' capital to other ssA countries, and in the process block the natural evolution from exporte to investment and further trade expansion by denying funds for investment.

## i. Peare of sconomic Domination

5.77 In all Unions in SSA, the fear of economic domination retarde integration. scowas is particularly handicapped by thie aince Nigeria accounts for more than half the population end GLP of the grouping. This is also a problem in udrac with fear of cameroon obtaining most of the benefite reinforced by the pattern of intra-UDEAC trade (see Chapter III). The fear of falling behind is also a constraint, even where there is more balance, as in the PTA where Ethiopia has the largest population, zimbabwe the largest manufacturing sector, Kenya the largest GDP and Mauritius the highast per capita income. The authorities in some countries argue that it is necessary not only to achieve an absolute increase in wealth but that thelr relative income should not deteriorate.
5.78 This approach is incompatible with the adjustment and economic epecialization that joining a Union is geared to achieve and accounts for much of the lack of progress in significantly dismanting barriers. Such problems are worsened when factor mobility is limited. It is significant that the CEAO which has a much higher degree of labor mobility than the UDEAC, also has much more recorded trade.

## 6. Concentration on Fund Raising Rather Than Problem Solving

5.79 Berg (1987) notes that there is little commitment to regional organizations by the governments that set them up. Indeed, the proliferation of such organizations in Africa reflects the view that there is little fiscal cost and that these organizations can mobilize external riseources.
5.80 In SSA, the regional trade organizations are not exempt from theae pressures and the Bank has recently been approached by the PTA, the CEAO and ECOWAS (through the ECOWASFUND) to finance various activities ranging from regional projects to providing trade financing and taking a ahare of capital in some institutions. The ECOWASFUND has also tried to obtain donor support for its headquarters building.
5.81 In Africa skilled labor is scarce and the diversion of attention of officials involved in reducing barriers to fund raising reduces their effectiveness in achieving the primary purpose that the Union is supposed to achieve.

## 7. Compensation of Relative Logers

5.82 Integration has been retarded by the belief that this should lead to balanced growth with an equal share of industry in each member or at a minimum financial compensation to the less successful members. UDEAC has experienced the temporary withdrawal of chad because it felt it was being inadequately compensated. The CEAO seems to have worked better than most Unions partly because cote d'Ivoire and Senegal were willing to shoulder an extra burden. Indeed, CEAO has performed leas well since the recent economic crisis in cote divoire that led to a reduction in its willingness to subsidize the poorer members and search is now underway for new compensation formula.
5.83 In the EC, national income per capita varies from US\$2,250 in Portugal to US $\$ 12,600$ in Denmark while manufacturing accounts from 18 percent of output in the Netherlands to 32 percent in the Federal Republic of Germany. Even amonget the original six members who have had most time to equalize their position, income per capita ranges from $4 S \$ 8,550$ to almost 50 percent more in the richest country.
5.84 Regional and state by state variations in industrialization and income are eignificant even in the US which has a aingle economy. Thus, the share of output arising from manufacturing varies from 3 percent to 26 percent with significant variation between these extremes around a mean for the whole country of 15 percent. More eurprisingly, even after accounting for Federal redistribution, per capita disposable income is wice as large in the wealthiest state compared with the poorest.
5.85 Unlike the groupings in Africa (except perhaps for the CEAO) labor and capital can move relatively freely in the EC and even more eo in the US, but even this is inmufficient to equalize incomes levela. Regione which are more exposed to trade tend to have the highest income levels. In groupinga which are more restrictive, regarding factor mobility, it would be expected that the variation would be even greater.
5.86 Furthermore, the main economic rationale for integration is that it will lead to better resource use and allocation and therefore economic specialization with a concentration of industry and benefits should be e:spected, as is observed even within individual industrialized countries.
5.87 Attempts to redress this "uneven" pattern of development would be expected to result in trading off increases in general welfare for the sake of less inequalitys in the extreme it would suggest limiting industrialization and incomes to the level of the least fortunate country.
5.88 It seems reasonable to conclude that succeasful economic integration will increase the economic specialization of each country compared to the no union case. While it is not clear if an economic union, once in equilibrium, would reduce the initial relative income gap, it is reasonable to hypothesis that substantial income inequality, reflecting differences in regource endowments, will pergiat even in the ateady state. Further, the less factor mobility prevails, the greater the likely income disparities. It is also likely, especially with continued restrictions on factor movements, that in the short run the income disparities would grow for some sub-set of countries, just as income inequality init: el y increases with development.
5.89 One reason for lack of progress in achieving intra-union liberalization is that the reiative "gainers" are unable to compensate the relative "losers" sufficiently unless they give up virtually all their gains. In ary case, as is evident from the consequences of the break up of the East African Community (EAC), the weaker countries do not necessarily improve their relative position outside the union while they do forego some growth when on their own.
5.90 Thus in the heyday of the community, from 1966 to 1973 Kenya was growing $11 / 2$ and $21 / 3$ times as fast as Tanzania and Uganda, respectively. In the period of breakup, from 1976 to 1979 Uganda experienced negative growth while Tanzania could only manage less than half the growth of Kenya. After adjustment to the breakup, in the period 1980 to 1986. Kenya grew almost 4 times as fast as Tanzania and almost 5 times as fast as Uganda. However, the absolute performance of Kenya relative to other African countries seems also to havts suffered from the breakup. Thus from 1966 to 1973 Kenya was growing twice as fast as all SSA countries while from 1976 to 1979 this was reduced to only one and half times the average. Kenya does aem to have recovered, however, since it has achieved a 3.4 percent growth rate from 1980 to 1986 while on average SSA has stagnated.
5.91 Economic performance is the reault of complex interactions and special circumstances other than the breakup of the EAC may explain some of these variations. However, it doee seem that the strongeet economy recovered better from the breakup.
5.92 From an economic perspective, calla for compensation amount te paying the weaker countries to do something that is in their own interest.

Nevertheless, the experience to date show that from a political perapective an effective compenation mechanism may be required to keep intra-union barriers down.

## 8. Unwilifingness to Rely on the Priyate Sector

5.93 The Governments of many SSA countries are unwilling to rely on the private sector to achieve regional cooperation and economic integration. This reflects general attitudes to the private sector that emphasis the role of the public eector. In part thie reflecte the political unacceptability of relative enrichment of the more economically dynamic ethnic and/or tribal groups. Nelils (1986, page 13) noten that most of (the) commercial agricultural and manufacturing base (that) exieted was in the hands of aliens...This created deep resentment: and sparked calls for controls and nationalization. In many countriea acroan the region, one often encountered - and etill encounters - attitudes which cannot be termed expressions of a coherent socialist position, but which nonetheless reveal a strong strain of anti-capitalism, a pronounced mistrust of the market and the profit motive."
5.94 This has ied to the creation of public sector institutiona and a desire to regulate private exchange acrose national borders. For example, rather than working out arrangemente to induce sxisting development and conmercial banks to finance regional profects and regional trade, the PTA chose to set up a PTA Bank. Even where there it legitimate scope for government intervention, as in the case of the pTA clearinghouse, inaufficient attention is pajd to devising incentives that would induce the use f the facilities and excessive efforts are put in devising regulations.
5.95 The PTA appeara to be ready to respond to the private sector. The PTAFCCI (Federation of Chambers of Comerce and Industry) attempte to influence government policy to the PTA through its national members and the exchange of views between Minieters and businesamen is an important part of PTA trade fairs. Neverthelesa, the PTA, ilke ECOWAS, places ownership restrictions on firms that can qualify for preferential trade. This is a major point of contention between CEAO members of ECOWAS, particularly Cote d'Ivoire, and other members of ECOWAS, particularly Nigeria. It is also noteworthy that in the case of ECOWAS the private sector get up a bank (ECOBank) to finance regional trade ingtead of the public sector.
9. Insufficient Widingness to Promote Institutions auch as the Clearinghouse
5.96 There is insufficient effort to designing incentives that would induce the private bector to use official channels for facilitating trade, as mentioned in D.ii.s above. The PTA Clearing House is handing transactions equivalent to about 60 percent of the trade between the countries despite the intention that it should handle not only all the trade but also the service payments. The West Africa Clearinghouse of ECOWAS handled an average of 23 percent of transactions in its first six years but defaulte and payments imbalances have driven this figure down to 9 percent in the most recent five year period. The eccas clearinghouse is also experiencing eimilar problems in attracting transactions.
5.97 Too much reliance is placed on administrative decisions or on collective goodwill without figuring out if desired objectives at the regional and national level coincide with private interest at the transaction level. Again, the pricing of transactions tends to be ignored.
10. Unwlilingoneg to open Up to Non-rolidente and gthnic Minoritien the opportunitile to Trade
5.98 The whole purpose of economic Unions is to make investment, including by foreignera and ethnic minoritiea, more attractive by providing a wider market. Restricting access to the wider market and discouraging investors at a time of net disinvestment by private capital makes no sonse. Businese conildence needs to be rentored if ssA is to reverse current economic decilne. Thit will require encouraging the ethnic minorities to participate more fully as part of process of attracting foreignars. Without this neither regional integration nor integration into the world economy can ucceed. Where there are legitimate concerns regarding uncompetitive practices, these have to be dealt with through effective government intervention and regulation, but this should not be used an a pietext to dimit investment when ssA growth is uffering from a leck of investment.

## VI. THE WAY AHTRAD

## A. What could be dong

6.01 securing an increase in efficient recorded regional trade will require action on several fronte imultaneously. It is likely that come increase in observed regional trade would occur from a combination of measures dealing with the market and bureaucratic failures and easing the impact of the natural conetraints discussed in Chapter $V$. Nevertheiess, thif increase is unlikely to be ignificant without a reaolution of the political problems. Most of the constraints could be dealt with by the national governmente on bi- or multi-lateral basim, within or outaide the framework of oxigting organizations and without donor financial upport. To juntify external support, action on the political barciers will therefore be a pre-condition.
6.02 The experience to date uggeste that ome countries will have chronic trade deficite with thear regional partnere. Financing auch deficits when the exchange rate is at an inappropriate level is not a uetainable policy and indeed contributed to the deriline oi the central American Common Market which had generated tha larget amount of internal trade of all unions in the developing world (see CODII, LAC \& IDD, PPR (1989)). This is why increasing regional trade must be asmociated with the libaralization of capital and labor flow so that trade deficite can be at leaft partiaily offset with investment inflow or worker' remittances. $17 /$
6.03 National and donor resources hould be channelled where they have a direct impact on facilitating auch libaralization instead of providing financing to keep regional organizations active. 18/ National governmente need to concentrate on poilcy actions that will ereate the pre-

[^14]conditions for increased regional exchange identified in Chapter $V$. Donors could support such efforte through technical assistance and by underwriting risk sharing schemes in addition to the continued financing of relevant infrastructure. There may also be case for program lending to finance purchases outside ssa trat may be required to surtein regional activity by private economic agente.
6.04 There is arowing feeling in ssA that current offort at regional integration have not proceeded as rapidly as hoped for. Thus the Organization of African Unity etatea that "Five yeare after the adoption of the Lagos Plan of Action and the Final Act of Lagoe, very little progress has been achieved in the implementation of the Plan and the Act" (OAU, 1985). This if why the regional organizations are increasingly turning to the Bank and other donore for support. Thus the Bank has received specific requente from PTA, ECOWAS, CEAO, UDEAC and SADCC. There it thus a need for African governmente, regional organizations and donors to develop a framework for responding to much requests in a manner supportive of the basic objectives of integration and of national adjustment effort. This framswork should build on the desire of Africans for cooperation and the increaming, though by no meang universal realization in Africa that new approaches are needed.
6.05 Specific detaile and problems have to be resolved in a more concrete context, such as the proposed regional sAL with UDEAC and poseible Bank operations with the CEAO and PTA/SADCC. Nevertheless a general framework is required to ensure that integration contributes to improve growth proapecte in sSA by strengthening and deepening ongoing national adjustment efforts. It is in this context that the followirg suggestions should be seen as a first etep towarda achieving a consensus on the critical elemente.

## B. Main Eiements of a New Approach

6.06 Regional integration should provide an additional means of moving groups of African countries towards overall economic liberalization by improving conditions for a mure active role by private agente acroas the frontiers of Africa. The approach needs to be consistent with and promote liberalization efforts at the national level and not set back programs that any individual country may want to undertake on ite own.
6.07 In view of the strong interests that resist liberalization, it may be difficult, especialiy initially, to find many sSA cnuntries that are willing or able to embark on auch a course. This is especially true if the mtrategy adopted is aimed at etrengthening and deepening the adjustment process by making it possitie to liberalize the economy more rapidly andor more extencively. There might, therefort, be a temptation to focus on the relatively easier issues concerning the rationalization of exieting tariffe and, especiaily, the granting of regional tariff preferencea. Thig would be unfortunate as the main justification for donors to support African requeste would he to provide national authorities with the necessary leverage (aribing from technical expertise and financial resourcen) to overcome political obetacles that would not otherwise be ramoved and which hinder economic progreas.
6.08 Closer economic ilnka should be based on exieting and potential complementerities and trade flows. In this respect, exieting Regional Economic Groupings in SSA, set up for a variety of, sometimen non-aconomic, ressons, are not necessarily optimal. This is empecialiy true of the maller ones (see Chapter IIIj. However, given that they exint and given the commitment of the member governmente to them, it is not useful to quention their existence.
6.09 Instead, to the extent poseible, any new initistives should work with and through the exieting sub-regional organieations, in particular ECOWAS, PTA, UCEAC and SADCC. Any arrangemente for ECOWAS would
automatically cover CEAO and MRU countries which are all members of ECOWAS. In turn, if the eCCAS does become active, it may present a more attractive vehicle for Centrai African countries than UDEAC given the membership of zaire and the bridge to the PTA provided by Burundi and Rwanda. Nevertheless, new initiatives ghould promote factor mobility and the free movement of goods and services within the group as well as generalized trade liberalization with the rest of the world; they should nct aim at revereing the failure to activate customs unions with high barriers against nonmembers including those on the continent.
6.10 This means that apecific provision will have to be made for interunion liberalization and to avoid excluding non-member African trading partnere that may have more liberal trading arrangementa and/or have extensive trade relations with some group members, such as Botswana and zimbabwe in the context of the PTA and zaire and Congo in the case of UDEAC. This is why it is importa. to establish a structure that is open to all SSA countries but where each is . 110 owed to proceed at its own pace. Also it may be preferable (and practijally it will be easier) for a few committed countries to voluntarily agree on rar-reaching mutual liberalization rather than for these countries to wait for action by a large dieparate collection.
6.11 To reconcile these elements, it is proposed that the starting point should be the existing undertakings and agreements by the member states. To date these have generally amounted to little more than declarations of intent to reduce tariffe. It would be desirable to encourage all the member States to implement mutual liberalization rapidly and in unison. However, there may be difficulties for some mombers to proceed faster than already agreed. Therefore, existing organizations should allow and indeed encourage sub-groups of states to implement more rapid and extensive elimination of trade barriers and obstacles to labor and capital mobility between them, while recognizing that some members would not want to proceed further than alraady agreed. To support these efforts, donors could asaiat those individual member States that art prepared to relax controls on cross-torder flows of factors of production and goods and seryices.
6.12 There are many possible options that could be pursued by donors and African governments and regional organizations. Indeed, many of these will not be mutually exclusive and different forms of intervention will be more effective in different circumstances. One approach that would be operationally consistent with the objectives suggested above would be to establish a blueprint defining the various steps that would eventually result in a regional agreement on the free movement of goods and services and factors of production while achieving a generalized lowering of barriers against imports from third parties. This blueprint could be turned into predetermined Articles of Agreement which would be structured so that, following voluntary negotiations between them, sSA Governments could select which the sequence of clauses to adhere to on a reciprocal basis at any given time. $19 /$ Preparing these Articles will require discussions involving key national governments, organization secretariats and interested donors.
6.13 Donors, including the Bank, would have to ensure that the Articies of Agrement are consistent with their objectives if they are to provide financial support to encourage implementation of the varioue liberalization measures to be defined by the Articles. Once this is done, however, any negotiations would involve only SSA governments on a bi-or multi-lateral

[^15]basis to decide which liberalization measures to implement at any given time. Indeed, where genuine mutual eelf-interest is invoived, there may be no need for donor involvement, even though donors can facilitate the procese by providing resources to get the proceme going. The blueprint is already more or less defined by the teps envisaged in the Lagos plan of Action and reflected in the various treaties entting up the existing sub-groupinge.
6.14 No country would be required to agree on any of the measures envisaged in the Articles of Agreement and in exchange the States wanting to proceed only at the pace envisaged in current agreements would agree not to veto more extensive or rapid measures of liberalization amonget othere; for example the liberal trading and investment agreement between Malawi and Zimbakwe could be reactivated under such a cheme.

## C. Cenalatency with the Aime of the Existing Regional Groupinge

6.15 The groupings usualiy acknowledge, as in the case of the PTA, that "unless simultaneousiy with the reduction and eventual elimination of tariffs, non-tariff barriers are also eliminated, the effort of eliminating tariffs can be easily nullified" (PTA 88-017, page 4). Therefore, i. would be consistent with the agreed objectives to concentrate efforts on eliminating non-tariff obstacles to trade.
6.16 Similarly, the proposed emphasis on factor mobility is fully consistent with the broad objectives of the major economic groupings in SSA that see the current agreements "as firat step towards the establishment of a Common Market and eventually of an Economic Community... to promote co-operation and development in all fields of economic activity particularly in the fields of trade, customs, industry, transport, communications, agriculture, natural resources and monetary affairs with the aim of raising the gtandard of living of its peoples, of fostering closer relations among its Member States, and to contribute to the progress and development of the African continent." (PTA rreaty, Chapter 2).
6.17 The major area of divergence concerns the granting of regional preferences. The objective of existing unions is to pureue import substituting industrialization benind high barriers against third partjes, while the Bank would argue dor a lowering of external darriers. Fortunately, in practice regional preferences to date have been few and generally insignificant. Further, given the increasing emphasis on adjustment programs by African governments, it does not seem difficult to envisage a new consensus where the previous objectives of high Common External Protection could be de-emphas:zed.

## D. Consigtency with Ongoing Bank Efforts

6. 18 The Bank is supporting the efforts of SSA countries geared to the elimination of economic distortions and graater integration into the Worid Trading System. Amongat other measures, this involves:
(a) greater reliance on market clearing prices for the allocation of resources, including foreign excharge;
(b) efforte geared at rationalizing and reducing effective protection through tariff reform coupled with the elimination of quantitative reatrictions; and
(c) measures designed to increase private sector economic activity.
6.19 The main elemente required to eneure that regional operation reinforces theee action wili be sumarized here based on the more exteneive dieculeion in Chapter II.
6.20 Any proposed operation should ba formulated to proyide another channel for those that may be unable to move far or fatt on their own and
not be articulated as an alternative to current efforts at the national level. In particular, for the atrategy to be effective, regional efforte will need to offset the emaller number of partners affected with a bolder and faster dismantling of barriers than envisaged in current national programs. Ideally, it will involve complete non-tariff liberalization of trade and capital flows as well as full labor mobility with regional partners.
0.21 At the very least all non-tariff trade barriers should be removed and firms from any partner country within the group should be treated as domestic firms rather than as foreign firms, with provision for the free flow of inpute and dividende acrose the national boundaries within the group. Freer market accese and greater factor mobility is needed to attract the foreign private inverment that is sorely lacking in the region. Therefore, current discrimination in the preferences according to ownership of firms or according to the nature of the traded good or service must end, at least for those countries to benefit from Bank financial asaistance. Where there are legitimate concerns over uncompetitive behavior, this must be dealt with by appropriate regulation without excluding potentially dynamic actors from contributing to incrmaaed regional economic activity.
6.22 Securing trade and investment flows that contribute to lasting growth will involve, amongst other measures, establishing some market clearing price mechanism for regional activity whenever it is not possible to move the exchange rate sufficiently to sustain a non-restrictive payments system. It will therefore be an important pre-requisite to allow free pricing of all transactions by the private sector including the principle uf free trading of regional currencies againgt each other.
6.23 The value of the regional approach liea in its potential to immediately bring competition to firms that would othorwise be sheltered becauge of the extremeiy small market size of all African economies (except for Nigeria and possibly Cameroon). But limited competition from neighbors only makes sence if it is a step on the way to more open competition from the Reat of the Worid.

## E. Some General Modalities

6. 24 It in too eariy to be specific about the tranching of reformb, but the main elementa to be embodied in any Articies of Agreement would involve the following:
(a) the implementation of non-tariff liberalization measures already agruer to by the menber 20/;
(b) recugnition thai not all countries would be able and willing to liberalize at the same rate and therefore allowing those that want to move faster to do so without being subject to the veto of those not wishing to proceed further than existing agreements;
(c) treating any regional currency (of participant in the proposed scheme; as domestic curzency for furposes of exchange control and therefore allowing any such currency to be freely held and disposed of within the participating member states on the underatanding that such funde can not be used to request foreign exchange from any perticipating Central Bank;
(d) the creation of "second window" at the relevant clesringhouse where private agente, acting through their commexcial bank, can

20/ Donor support for tariff discrimination againet non-members would be hard to justify and in any case tariffs are not the major problem in generating official intra-African trade.

## fresly trade the currencies of participating mambers against each other;

(e) abolition of all import and export reatrictions for intre-group trade carried out through the eecond window and therefore not necessitating foreign exchange from the Central Bank;
(f) the abolition of exchange controls for all intra-group investment undertaken through the second window and provision for the free repatriation of dividende through the same mechanimm;
(g) adoption of legislation and regulations that would treat any firm operating in the participating momber states, regardlese of ownership, as a national firm in any participating country that it operates in through the second window. This implies repeal of ownership and other eligibility requirements;
(h) implementing, on a phased basis, mubility for skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled labor;
(i) agreement to limit intra-group preferences to an effective protection differential of no more than, say 20 percent at the end of, say, five years 21/;
(j) extending preferences to all goode and services instead of a restricted common list.

## F. Compensation

6.25 Evidence from the US and the EC suggests that the creation of large, economic units resulte in increased specialization with significant dispersion of per capita income to be expected. An issue for research, ie whether income dispersion is actually increased through integration and if the outcome is dependent on the degree of factor mobility.
6.26 African integration efforts tend to want to go againet this reality: they aim at aharing induetrialization "fairly" and equalizing per capita ircome, Efforte at industrial planning have failed not only in SSA bit also elsewhere, moet spectacularly in the Andean Pact. Other compensation mechanisms have been ungatisfactory, probably reflecting the conflict between these policies and natural economic forces.
6.27 The purpozio of integration ghould be to improve resource allocation and this will raise absolute incomes. Relative incomes of gome pa tnere may diverge and certainly the emergence of a few poles of industrialization should be expected. Any set of countries pursuing regional integration will have to accept this as a starting point.
6.28 This is not to say that there is no room for compensation mechanisme. However, the primary objective of compensation should be to equalize benefits to private aconomic agents rather than to national Governmente. This can best be achieved by extending employment and investment opportunities and opening up goods and services marketa in the more advanced countries to those from the economically weaker ones. Nevertheless, eince successful regional integration will depend on the assent of Governments, there will sleo have to be workable means of transferring compensation between governmente. In implementing any such

[^16]scheme, it will be essentiai to avoid negating the benefits that should accrue to the private sector.
6.29 Compensation schemes chould move away from the existing pattern in SSA with emphasis on the financing of supposedly 'regional' projects in the poorer countriea. In practice, it has been hard to find viable regional projects that could not have been financed by donors such as the World Bank or the ADB. The danger is that funds specifically set aside for regional projects could be spent for political reasons on schemes with a low or even negative rate of return. There is also danger that such funds would finance plant and equipment that would be incompatible with a rational deployment of resources from a regional perspective.
6. 30 A more attractive option would be a direct transfer to the budget of the weaker economies, on the model of the Southern Africa Customs Union (SACU). SACU shares revenues with deliberate over-compensation to the weaker members and this seems to be a useful path to follow. similarly, in the US, economic specialization has not created excessive tensions iargely because it is accepted that solidarity requires the provision of resources to the poorer parts of the nation to allow them to support similar levela of public services as in the wealthier parts of the country.
6.31 SACU shares trade tases. To avoid conflicts between external trade liberalization and fiscal revenue, it may be preferable to share total revenue or gales taxes (on the model of the EC which shares VAT receipts). This also has the advantage of moving from a "mercantilistic" view of compensation for losses of income arising from tariff concesaions to a more broad based view of the benefits of integration and the need to maintain regional solidarity. This is even more relevant in the sort of framework advocated here which emphasizes increased competition and factor mobility instead of tariff concessions to partnere while maintaining high barriers against third parties.
6.32 African governments should avoid reliance on donors to finance compersation schemes to discourage countries from participating mainly to benefit from foreign aid and to ensure that the mechanism sa sustairable. This should not preclude conors from financing regional projects or infrastructure, but such financing should be provided on the merit of the projects and not as a means of providing compensation. With budgets remaining severely constrained for the foreseeable future, the temptation to renege on regional responsibilities may be difficult to resist. This suggesta gome urgency in devising a mechaniam with some automacity in the transfers to weaker states.

## G. The nature of possible Bank intervention

6.33 Intervention along the proposed lines would be a new undertaking for the Bank and raises questions regarding the most practical approach to adopt. The most straightforward way of proceeding would be to make linea of credit available to individual governments as part of a project with a regional grouping, such as the proposed UDEAC SAL. Under the sort of acheme envisaged, there would be no need for providing foreign exchange to finance intra-group trade or investment aince regional currencies could be freely held and exchanged by the private sectior through the proposed "second window". However, in line with achieving the oojective of encouraging factor mobility and achieving the rationalization of industry through mergers, acquisitione and joint ventures, there is room for providing foreign exchange that would be used for inputs and machinery that has to be imported from outside the region by joint ventures or in the context of regional operations of regionally based firms.
6.34 The financing of the regional currency component of such schemes would be through legalizing the second window and the foreign currency component would be by donors auch as the Bank. There would, therefore, be no justification for requiring import iicenses or inhibiting the outflow of
investment funde to other participating regional partners, and so full liberalization of exchange controls could be justified for euch undertakings.
6.35 This approach has the merit that it reinforces the liberalization being undertaken under atructural adjustment programs while not requiring complicated new typee of lending arrangements involving many partners aince each country would be responsible for the drawing down of the line of credit that benefits firme recident within iry borders. It also has the advantage that conditionality would be predetermined and that countries would freely, according to what is politically feasible, decide how far and fast they would want to proceed. This avoids the pitfalls of zequiring joint agrement by everal governments simultaneously which riske either getting bogged down or jüt limiting progress by all to the rate of the slowest. Finally, it solves the problem that some SSA countries qualify for IDA credits while others vould benefit from IBRD loans.
6.36 An alternative ayproach would be to lend to regional financial institutions and the Bank has actually received requests to help activate the government created PTA Bank; to support FOSIDEC (the development fund of CEAO), to finance the ECOWASFUND and to participate, through IFC, in the expansion of the privately owned ECO-Bank serving ECOWAS. The advantages of acceding to euch requests reaide, on the one hand, in the precedents for the Bank to lend to regional development banks and, on the other hand, the iiability would be held by one well identified agent. However there are offsetting disadvantages that suggest that this avenue should be avoided.
6.37 The agrement to set up such financial institutions typically results from pressure by the weaker states to have a mechanism where they could aecure some direct benefits in the form of projects. This raises questions of susceptibility to political pressure to undertake projects that neither the world Bank nor ADB find justified and that other donors will not finance.
E. 38 The most important objection, however, arisee trom questioning if public money should be used to support such institutions. These institutions could, as just outlined, duplicate the role of the Bank and the $A D B$ or might duplicate the role of the comercial banks in financing trade and investment or in the limit would duplicate the roie of national Development Finance Institutione.
6.39 The scrongest case for 3 uch institutions arises from the reluctare of commercial banks to finance crose-border operations that reflects -gel riske that Central Banks may not releabe foreign exchange at the requisite time. Resolving this problem is crucial and should be addressed in the course of either a regional integration project or through other Bank operations. However, unless it can be shown that existing institutions cannot perform the reguired taske, the creation of new institutions should be discouraged.
6.40 It would be more effective and less costly to encourage national Governmente to reform t neir financial sector to allow private commercial banks to compete and to set up an arrangement for the pubilic sector to carry sovereign risk while the commercial banks evaluate and carry commercial risk. Such a partnership in risk sharing would allow financing of trade and investment with limited additional regources requixed from donore.
6.41 In this respect, there is no compeliing case to favor institutions such as the ECO-Bank, just because they want to specialize ir serving a
regional group $22 /$ Instead, efforta should be directed at all the established commercial banks, some of whom have approached the ADB concerning risk shazing.
6.42 Some regional financial institutions in SSA, such as BOAD (West Africa Development Bank) do have a poitive track record and are certainly worth supporting. However, BOAD has been successful because it has operated on mound financial principles and not because of its regional vocation. Thus, for example, lees than 16 percent of its loans have been for regional projects. The experience of BOAD highlights the dangers of directing financial inatitutions to epecifically lend for regional projects. The key meenage is that financial support should be extended where it will improve efficiency and resource allocation and not according to the vocation of the inetitution to serve regional neede. If institutions exist or emerge that appar able to do thie while almo apecializing on regional projecte, they should cartainly be supported by national governments and donore. However, there is no compeliling reason to channel ecarce resources into creating regional public sector financial inetitutions where none exist and where existing private and public entities could be enticed or allowed to served the regional market.

## H. Coordination with other efforts

6.43 The ADB is actively seeking wsys to promote econonic integration in Africa, a mission which is part of its mandate. In this context the ADB hes undertaken or financed regional studies, financed multinational projects and provided lines of credit to regional financial institutions. More recently, the ADB has sought to promote regional integration jy spearheading the creation of Africa wide institutions in the field of housing, insurance and consultancy services and has been considering various options for increasing intra-regional exchange, including the possible creation of an Export-Import Bank. Thus there should be interest and likely areas for cooperation and poseibly co-financing with the Bank.
6.44 The EC under its Lome agreement has made provision for financial support to regional integration efforts in Africa and funds earmarked under Lome III have not been fully used up, partly for lack of suitable projecte. Preliminary informal concacta with the EC suggest room for joint efforts including, possibly, co-financing.
6.45 The ITC has been actively involved in identifying the trade potential in the region and bringing buyers and sellers together. They have helped organize 4 trade fair since 1987 that have generated us $\$ 70$ millior of promorma invoices. Actual trade has been constrained by restrictive impor: licencing and difficulties at the firm level in meeting contracta, altlough no detailed information is available. There is scope for cooperating with ITC, perhaps by participating in the financing or organization of more frequent nontacts between businessmen.
6.46 USAID has been actively seeking to find ways to enhance regional cooperation, especially in Southern Africa. They have abandoned a proposal to set up a regional export revolving fund (of the type operating in Zimbabwe with great success and set up with Bank support), on the grounds that the need for this reflects bad exchange rate policies whose continuance would not allow the fund to revolve. Unlike national schemea such as the one in 2 imbabwe, a regional fund would earn non-convertible currencies while supplying convertible foreign currency. It ie therefore likely that USAID could be induced to support a regional operation that i well conceived and obtains dignificant policy reforms that allow private agents to invest and

[^17]trade freely. This if even more likely if the discrimination against foreign ownership is ended.
6.47 It may be possible to convince donors supportive of such efforts to make apecial provisions to grant, in the context of international bids, a certain cost preference to ragional undertakinge based in participating countries. Further, donors and the Bank could also undertake, in parallel with the changea proposed earlier, to provide technical assistance and other aid to enable regional groupings to formulate sectoral strategies dependent on a regional approach. This may be most relevant for food mecurity and infrastructure but could also be based on production and distribution of specific goods and services, such as fertilizer and transport services, for example.
6.48 The Foreign Investment Advisory Service (FIAS) set up by IfC and MIGA, hat been trying to find way to make SSA more attractive to foreign investment. Its efforts have tended to be focussed on the PTA/SADCC countries and in this context Martin Hartigan has formulated a SPURT proposal that has been informally circulated. SPURT diverges from the current proposals mainly in its view that liquidity is required to allow trade and investment by covering deficit positions, at least in the short term. Adoption of the second window eliminates the need for financing since it shifts the liabilities onto private agenta who can sell these off at a market clearing price. Nevertheless there seems to be plenty of scope for coordinating these efforts with the proposed Bank approach.

## 1. Next 8tepe

6.49 The most important task ahead is to evaluate potential interest and benefit from current thinking in SSA concerning new approaches to achieve efficient economic integration. Donor intereat in developing and su; porting such initiatives would also need to be more carefully assessed. To the extent that sufficient interest exists to juatify an eventual Bank operation, it will become critical to undertake further research of severa? key issuea raised by this report.
(a) Understanding of the restraints to factor mobility and how harmonization of non-tariff barriers would impact on trade floe is crucial, given their importance in the scenario outlined by the report.
(b) Regional preferences could only be justified as intermediate geps to generalized liberalization. It will, therefore, be necessary to devise mechanisma that ensure any Bank support to regional integration does lead to generalized liberalization.
(c) Compensation may be a key issue for the political feasibility of any regional effort. It will be important to study how various compensation mechanisms have been implemented and their strong and weak points.
(d) Underatanding unrecorded trade better could be heipful in designing an eventual Bank operation. Given the high costs involved, it may be most productive to concentrate on specific countries and sectors that would be chosen on the basis of possible Bank intervention.
(e) The institutional, as well as the practical, aspects of the payments arrangementa needed to sustain interregional liberalization seem to require further exploration. In particular, it may be neceseary tc ger the support of the IMF whose "primary responsibility" in this area has just been reaffirmed.
(f) It needa to be determined whether there ie any evidence that comercial banks are not providing adequate pre- and post-export
credit for African exporters. If this in the case, there may be large benefits from repairing the market failuren and it would be ueeful to investigate the possibility of aponsoring the refinancing of comarcial banks' export pre-financing and lines of supplier and buyer credit or the ineurance thereof.

## Annex 1

## Active Regional Integration Organizationg in Africa

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ECONAS - Economic Community of West African States (16 members - 15 initial
but Cape Verde split from Guinea-Bissau). (Also known as CEDEAO -.
Communautsi Economique des Etats de l'Afrique de l'ouent).
Founded: 1975
Benir, Buxkina, Capa Verde, Cote d'Ivoire, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-
Biseau, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra-Leone and
rogo. (Integrates the CEAO membere and MRU membere and Cape Verde, Gambia,
Ghana, Guinna-Bimsau, Nigeria, Togo).
PTA - Preferential Trade Area (16).
Formed: 1982. Started 1984 (July 1)
Burundi, Comoros, Djjbuuti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritiua,
Mozambique, Rwanda, Somalia, Sudan, Swaziland, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia and
Zimbabwe
CEAO - Communaute Economique de l'Afrique de l'Ouest (7)
Founded: 2972. Established: 1.974
Benin, Burkina, Cote d'Ivoire, Mali, Mauritania, Niger and Senegal
IOC - Indian Ocean Commission (5)
Founded: 1964. Established: 196E
Cameruon, Central African Republic, Congo, Gabon, Chad and Equatorial
Guinea.
UDEAC - Union DOuaniere et Economique de l'Afrique Centrale (4)
Founded: 1964. Establishti: }196
Cameroon, Central African Republic, Congo, Gabon, Chad and Equatorial Guinea
CEPGL - Communaute Economique des Pays des Grancs Lacs (3).
Founded: 1976
Burundi, Rwanda and Zaize
MRU - Mano River Union (also known as Union du Fleuve Mano) (3).
Founded: 1973. Established 1974
Guinea, Liberia and Sierra-Leone
Guinea only joined in 2980
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| 9 amers | 2 |  | - |  | 018 |  | * |  |  |  | - |  | 42 | - | - |  | 16 |  | 420 |  | 109 | - |
| Emueria | ${ }^{8}$ |  | 1748 |  | cifit |  |  |  | 293 |  | tise |  | 30 |  | 0 |  | 4 | 17 | 101 |  | $\oplus$ |  |
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| meven | $\cdots$ |  | 114 |  | 3085 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 131 |  | 160 |  | 20 |  | 310 |  | 118 |  |
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| 2 melt | 50 |  | 265 |  |  |  | ${ }^{3}$ | +004 |  |  |  | 109\% | 5 |  | $\bullet$ |  | 13 |  | 41 |  | 41 |  |
| Imenem |  |  |  |  |  |  | 31 |  |  |  | 1636 |  | 34 | 108 |  |  | 6 | 128 | 3038 | 3 | 11 | 348 |
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| minam | 21 |  | *) |  | 310 |  | 1 |  |  |  |  |  | 240 |  | 4 |  | 0 |  | 180 |  | $\bullet 1$ |  |
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| samem. | 31 |  | 3204 |  | 641 |  | 10 |  | - |  | 01 |  | 330 | $\bullet$ | - |  | ${ }^{3}$ |  | 80 |  | 172 | 2 |
| 0 | 20 |  | 127 |  | 304 |  |  | * |  |  | - |  | 80 | $\cdots$ | - | - | 30 | 0 | m | 3 | ! | 3 |
| acmes | 42 |  | 4 |  | 341 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | ${ }^{*}$ |  | - |  | 5 |  | 31 |  | 21 |  |
| crama | 24 |  | 4 |  | seep |  |  | , |  |  | 1 |  | 181 | - | to | - | $\pm$ | $\omega$ | 238 | 3 | 4 | 3 |
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| 02243 | mix sey Even in st Fat | 12 | 0043 | 05444 | Hap eanes wo Lumutin | R2 | 0.23 |
| 02248 | mixciex ont mando．Swet | 12 | 0044 | 03488 | veg madets nes mresw．onv | 12 | 0124 |
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| 0210 | nuTter | $\underline{6}$ | 0046 | 0541 | vie onisp exe lieuminous | $\underline{ } 2$ | 0.28 |
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| 025 | E－as intes fersm onshvo | 02 | Cost | 0sc4it | FAOIDCA SACO．ETE | 22 | 0129 |
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| 0343 |  | H2 | cose | 05711 | enamers，presm on onite | 12 | 0.36 |
| 0344 |  | 12 | 0087 | 089 712 | T Mantimine ETC．FRSM．ORY | 易 | 0.37 |
| 035 |  | 12 | Coy | 0372 | hemars expeplous | 4 | 0138 |
| 0380 |  | 12 | 008 | 08721 | Linons bimes，Phtsw onyso | R2 | 0138 |
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| 03502 | COOMNT IM FILGETSionite | 既 | $0 \times 1$ | 05728 | cifmus mes．phesm．onice | \％ 2 | 0141 |
| 03103 |  | 12 | 0042 | 0873 |  | W | 0142 |
| 03504 | FISH SHoxte | 12 | 0012 | 0874 |  | 12 | 0143 |
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| 0391 |  | 02 | 004 | 0578 | －1E3．FIESH On Onicy | 12 | 0．47 |
| 0372 |  | $\underline{12}$ | 0048 | 0597 |  |  | 0148 |
| 04. | GEREALS AMO RIPPAMATSONS | $\underline{12}$ | 0089 | 08771 | Cocenurs pinsw on orise | W2 | 0148 |
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| 0612 | OTHER WEAT ETC UNEILLEO | 12 | 0042 | 09774 | hmomos minesm on onite |  | 0.52 |
| 0421 | MiEt in musk on muskeo | 12 | 0072 | 05779 | WAZEMATS PRESM OE DRIEC | 28 | 0.53 |
| 04219 | （1）in mbx on muskeo | 12 | 0075 | 0974 | NuFs EDisle finsm ont mes | 退 | $0 \cdot 34$ |
| 04212 | TSE Muske | $\underline{.12}$ | 00\％ | 05782 | pinas ouinces puesm | R2 | 0.55 0.94 |
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| 04222 | \％：68 Bmoxem | 82 | 0078 | 09798 | －INENOLES．PEESM gegeo | －2 | e． 59 |
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| 0185 | 08193 | EEET－OUL BAEASSE ETC | 22 | 0245 |
| 0186 | 04194 | VINE LEES ARECL | 2 | 0246 |
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| 0188 | 01 | MSSE gas bet pacoutis | 92 | 0244 |
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| 0178 | 09801 | monneyme egumasite poog | R2 | 0256 |
| 017\％ | 08802 | PEA ETE EXTRACT，ISSEMES | 22 | $025{ }^{\circ}$ |
| 0178 | 08803 | mustano magpo on Plour | 22 | 0251 |
| 0178 | 08104 | Sauces mixeo seasonimas | 22 | 02fs |
| 0180 | 0ssos | soups mo ingths | 12 | 028 |
| 0181 | 0885 | yeasts，maxime fowoers | 82 | 02．1 |
| 0182 | 031807 | VIMEEM MO SUEST：TUTES | 12 | 0282 |
| 0185 | 04308 | EDIELE MIM Peogets NES | $\cdots 2$ | 0283 |
| n9t | 05809 | Wisc foog pnepmatons nes | 22 | 0254 |
| 0188 | 9 | EEVEXNats wo polaces | 12 | 9285 |
| $0 \cdot 81$ | 19 | feverages | 82 | 0288 |
| 0149 | 19 | MON－ALCOML EEVERAEES Nis | 22 | 028＊ |
| 0188 | 1190 | MON－AL | R 1 | 0283 |
| $0: 8$ | 1191 | WATEDS．IEE MO SNOW | 12 | 0269 |
| 0190 | 11902 | Plavorev baters mon－abo | 12 | 0270 |
| 0191 | 112 | alcomolic erveraces | 12 | $02 \%$ |
| 0132 | 1121 | Winc of messm crapes Ete | 12 | 52－7 |
| 2193 | 19：9 | GRaPE must | 82 | 02＊3 |
| 014 | 11212 | －IME of intsm crases | 12 | 02＂4 |
| 0is | 1：2：3 | VERmovtics ETE | 42 | 02－5 |
| 0196 | 1122 | cioch，pepry，meat gie | 12 | 02－8 |
| 0187 | 1123 | UER ME STOUT，OORTER | 12 | O2＊＊ |
| 0.84 | 1124 | 0：STitse abeonolic Eevs | 12 | 02＊8 |
| 0188 | 19241 | WWISEY | R2 | 2249 |
| 0200 | 11242 | OISTILLO WNE GRaPE Manc | 02 | 0280 |
| 0201 | 11246 | OTH ALENCLE IEVS OMMOS | 82 | －33＇ |
| 0202 | 12 | FOBneco mo manylmctumes | 12 | 0282 |
| 0203 | 129 | POEACOO Un＋NPCTMO．REFUSE | 12 | 0283 |
| 0204 | 12：1 | Tosact mot sTi IPped | 82 | 023＊ |
| 0208 | 12：11 | －Vinar type fute Cureo | 動 | 0285 |
| 0208 | ¢2：9 | －OTHER TYPES | 92 | 0238 |
| 0207 | 1212 | Potaceo sterpoed on onf | 4 | 大き5＊ |
| 0208 | 13121 |  | 12 | c2ss |
| 0208 | 12，29 | －atrer proes | 12 | 0289 |
| 0210 | － 293 | cianceo hefuse | \％ 2 | 0290 |
| 02.1 | 122 | －asaced manpactineo | 12 | 029. |
| 0242 | － 229 | C：CARS OHRROCTS ETC | 02 | 0292 |
| 0213 | 1222 | C：GNETTES |  | 0293 |
| 0274 | 1223 | OTH MMUPACTURES POEACEO | $\underline{2}$ | 0294 |
| $02+5$ | 2 | ERUQE MATERLS．EXE PUELS | 42 | 0295 |
| 0215 | 2. | mioes Skins Fues ungnssu | 22 | 0295 |
| $02: 7$ | 2．1 | MIOES．SKins ExC FUkS．RAW | 12 | C294 |
| 0218 | 2，17 | COVINE，EUINE MIDES MAW | 12 | 0298 |
| 0218 | $2 \cdot 12$ | CALP AO KIP skins Ray | ${ }^{2}$ | 0291 |
| 0220 | 2114 | GOAT ANO KIE SKINS．RAF | 12 | 0300 |
| 0221 | 2918 | SWEEN SKiN Commen wivool | E2 | 030 |
| 0322 | 2119 | SHEEP SKIN MITHOUT WOCL | 02 | 0302 |
| 0223 | 2；19 | SK：N MES WASTE．USED LTH | R2 | 0303 |
| 0224 | 29184 | WASTE ANO USE0 LEATMER | 22 | 2304 |
| 0225 | 2918 | HIOES ANO SXINS NES MAW | R2 | 0305 |
| 022 E | 2，2 | －Unsxins Raw | 22 | 2306 |
| 0227 | 2：20 | FIMSKINS．RAW | R2 | 0320 |
| 0228 | 21201 | MINK SXINS（Ay | 22 | c30\％ |
| 0228 | 2， 200 | Ofmer rurskins rav | $\underline{0}$ | 2709 |
| 0220 | 22 | Oil szecs olsagimgus fir | 22 | 0310 |
| A） 31 | 222 | seses mon Scpf fixeo 0ib | $\underline{12}$ | 051. |
| 0232 | 2221 | GMCUMONUTS OMEEN | 82 | 0917 |
| 0233 | 2223 | SCYA Itans | 82 | $03: 3$ |
| 0234 | 2227 | cotton sesios | 12 | 3＇＊ |
| 0235 | 2224 | SUNP LOVER SEEES | 2 | こ3．5 |
| 0236 | 2225 | SESAME SEEOS | 42 | －5 |
| 0717 | 2228 | rape mo miza seEss | 92 | 22． |
| 2238 | 272 | seevs pow grimeixee $\begin{gathered}\text { ans }\end{gathered}$ | ＊ 2 | ：3\％ |
| 0.38 | 233． | cepra | 92 | $\because 8$ |
| $\bigcirc$ | 2232 |  | $0 \cdot$ |  |


| 2234 | GINSEES |
| :---: | :---: |
| 2238 | caster oil seecs |
| 2238 | Oil stess mo rauts mes |
| 2298 | crb sere ploun amo meal |
| 33 | munser cuos stntuetic |
| 232 | matural mugke cums |
| 2320 | Maturat mutaer．Cums |
| 23301 | matual museer tapex |
| 23302 | otuer matural musee |
| 23203 | galapa cutai－otfora．ouns |
| 233 | muesm simmric neclaimo |
| 2331 | muate shnthetie matex |
| 23311 | molymuthot－strngme leatex |
| 23312 | OTH mullek symurc．Latex |
| 23313 |  |
| 23314 |  |
| 23318 | OCLYOUTAOIENE－STYRAISIR |
| 23318 | EMTY Runcerisin |
| 23319 | OTM SYMTM musen FACTICE |
| 2332 |  |
| 2332, | RECMAIMED RUABER |
| 23332 | sete unandened muacer |
| 24 | Cone MO W000 |
| 244 | CORK MATJRAL，RAW WASTE |
| 2440 | CODK MATURAL MAY WASTE |
| 2440 ， | Crex unumate waste |
| 24402 | case s：mply worxio |
| 245 | FUEL Doog no gharcial |
| 2450 | PLEL Wodo amo ouncoal |
| 24501 | MUE WOOS IN LOES．ET |
| 24502 | W000 charcial |
| 244 | Putpmoco orypg moccwasit |
| 2400 | Putpmeco 3ips mocovastz |
| 24001 | Ouproog meuer ot 5plit |
| 24802 | MLPm000 CXIPS MATICLES |
| 24803 | Woco vastelimel samoust） |
| 247 | OTH wooc meuch seuneto |
| 2671 | SAE－VENER－LIAS CNIFER |
| 24911 | －－in the rove |
| 24712 | －－mohy of maly sonmery |
| 2472 | SAW－，VENEER－LOGS NON－CEN |
| 2472， | －－in tur nowe |
| 24722 | －rochr er malf soundeg |
| 2478 | PTMENS POLES．IL：ME．ETC |
| 248 | 6000 smate sigeptes |
| 2481 | Raibuay shempers pies |
| 2482 | Lumer shapeo conifer |
| 24829 | Lumer saum ite exnipla |
| 24822 | Lumer Plawey etc Cowrfi |
| 2483 | Lumat smaved mon－Cowifr |
| 24831 | bimath Samm ETC MOM－CEN |
| 24832 | Lumer planed ete moncok |
| 25 | OL AMC WASTE PAPER |
| 251 | OLP WO WASt Paner |
| 2319 | WASTE EAFER，PERECAED CTE |
| 2512 | MECAMICAL Noco |
| 2518 |  |
| 28.7 | Scoa．sucmute woce mup |
| 25179 | －－unalcee |
| 25172 |  |
| 2518 | SuLmite |
| 25189 | －－unviruoted |
| 25182 | ．－blenctio monoissolvan |
| 23.1 | OTmer CELULLES：C mups |
| 25191 | SEMI－OAEMICAL Coco mul |
| 25192 | muly otim phan woco puly |
| 28 | TEXTELE FIBRE3．WASTES OF |
| 21. | 5：1．x |
| 3173 | May Silx NOT THOM |
| 2414 | Silu worn cocoows wastz |
| 20141 | s：ux werm cocoms |
| 28142 | sibx cociom waste．ETE |
| 283 | CTTOM |
| 383 | RAW EOTTON EXC L INTERS |
| 3132 | COTEN Linters |
| 183 | CotTon maste uncomme |
| 384 | CitTon Gluoge or come |
| 264 | UTE OTm tex bast－senes |
| $2{ }^{310} 0$ | UuTE OTM PEx gast righes |
| 215 | prame exc： $0^{\text {atw }}$ |


| 2 | 0321 | 24］ | CLEM，MAMIE YOw wo vaste |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $R$ | 0322 | 26519 | PL．Ram on RETTEO |
| 12 | 0323 | 28812 | Phax seaken seutorid ETC |
| 02 | 0324 | 28313 | －Lax Pow maste ete |
| 22 | 0323 | 20814 | RAMIE NOILS WASTE ETC |
| 12 | 0328 | 2892 | toue memo tow waste cre |
| 12 | 0329 | $2{ }^{23} 5$ | S：SAL ACAVE PIBAES WASTE |
| 02 | 0328 | 2855 | mamimarisk fow waste |
| R2 | 0321 | 2859 | veg itx rient vaste mes |
| 0 | 0330 | 2859 ！ | Co：R FIMR |
| 12 | 0331 | 21898 | OTm vec iext figat waste |
| 12 | 0332 | 384 | SYMTHETES PIERES TO SPIM |
| 0 | 0333 | 2845 | Oiscy shmm Pirne wome |
| 2 | 0334 | 2485！ | molrmide |
| 12 | －338 | 24082 | －－molyester |
| 0 | 033 | 28483 | －－nctrbic |
| 02 | 0337 | 2485 | －－otwer |
| 12 | 0338 |  | Contin filmur fou sym |
| 02 | 0335 |  | －．of motamyde pianis |
| 12 | 0310 |  | －－of molytster piancs |
| 2 | 0341 |  | －－of hetylic pieres |
| R2 | ¢342 |  | －－Of OTA SYMTMTE FiSRES |
| 12 | 0343 |  | OISCON SMMTM FiPRE Emio |
| $R 2$ | 0344 | 20097 | －．moly midide |
| 02 | 0345 | 26972 | －－molyester |
| $\underline{2}$ | 0346 | 28473 | meryb： |
| 2 | 0349 | 20178 | －－वTHE！ |
| $R 2$ | 0348 | 287 | Cther max－mage priges |
| 22 | 0348 | 2891 | regmerato piarc to spin |
| R2 | 0350 | 28711 | eisor keacm piske lnome |
| 12 | 035 | 21712 | ENT：M Pi－Mwt toy regen |
| 12 | 0353 | 25917 | O：Scon Recin Pishe ouno |
| 12 | 2353 | 2472 | waste of man－mat fisres |
| 12 | 0354 | 28721 | －SYNTHETE |
| $R 2$ | 03s5 | 21822 | －－rgemerateo |
| ＊ | ass | 214 | W00L mo mirmal mair |
| 12 | 0397 | 218！ | WOOL EREASY FEEECE－WSNED |
| 12 | 0358 | 2882 | wool decasasto unconge |
| 12 | 0358 | 2183 | －ime mimal mais uncoveo |
| 0 | 0380 | 2818 | conese matr uncometo |
| 12 | 0341 | 2383： | morsemain umicmate waste |
| 2 | 03.2 | 28185 | conese main mes uncomuto |
| 12 | 0315 | 2016 | WASTE OF WOCL．MAIR MES |
| 2.2 | 0344 | 2036 ${ }^{\text {a }}$ | －－mot Mulic on camertio |
| 22 | CJ4 | 21462 | －－Mutelo on cuenetted |
| $\underline{2}$ | 0304 | 2887 | NOCL on mair commeo etc |
| 2 | 0397 | 338 | Waste of pextile pankies |
| 2 | 0388 | 2880 | waste of texpile pankics |
| R2 | 0346 | 2880 | UuLK TEXT WSTE OLS ELTHO |
| 2 | 0370 | 21802 | Racs WASTE Emeneme ETC |
| 2 | 0971 | 27 | genot fertize minals mes |
| 12 | 0372 | 279 |  |
| 12 | 0373 | 2719 | mimal vea Pertizk eruce |
| 12 | 0374 | 2712 | MATHRAL SODILI MITRATE |
| 12 | 0371 | 2713 | MAT CALG mosmates ETE |
| 12 | 0379 | 27134 | unemine |
| 12 | 0379 | 27132 | －－atame |
| a | 0378 | 2714 | NTRG MOTASEIE SALPE CNOE |
| a | 0378 | 273 | STONE Smo Mo crayel |
| 2 | 0380 | 2731 |  |
| 2 | 0381 | 27314 | slati mavamy warexo |
| 2 | 0312 | 27312 | makle tre sloo stowe |
| 22 | 0313 | 27313 | GRand TE Smostowe．ETC |
| 2 | 03ta | 2932 | emehareus stone |
| 2 | 03E5 | 27322 | Calcantous stene nes |
| 2 | 0385 | 27323 | crosum wo merrem：te |
| 2 | 0389 | 27324 | Cateined grosum plasters |
| 12 | 0384 | 2733 | SAMO．EXCE METAL－EEAR，MG |
| 2 | 0318 | 2934 | gravel enumet stome．ETE |
| 2 | －03se | 394 | SULPMA UNSTO TRM PYATE |
| 2 | 0391 | 2741 | SUGPate Ex sulim in 522 IS |
| 12 | 0392 | 2742 | tROM DYRITES UMEOASTED |
| 12 | 0383 | 277 | matural alrasives nes |
| 2 | 0384 | 2791 | INOUSTIAL JIAMgros |
| 2 | 0381 | 29－72 | matural matsives nes |
| 2 | 0394 | 27521 | Oust Mo mawner of enms |
| 2 | 038 | 2 －622 | etmek mat meras：ves wes |
| 2 | 0398 | 24t | OTMER ORLICE mimerals |
| 2 | 039＊ | 2482 | EETACTOEY MINERALS NES |
| 2 | 0400 | 27829 | cint ete |


| 12 | 040： |
| :---: | :---: |
| 12 | 0402 |
| 12 | 0401 |
| 12 | oucs |
| 12 | oscs |
| 42 | cace |
| 12 | 040\％ |
| 42 | 0404 |
| 22 | cecs |
| 02 | 04.0 |
| 18 | 0411 |
| 12 | 0412 |
| $R 2$ | 0413 |
| 82 | C414 |
| 㩆 | 0415 |
| 12 | 0418 |
| 42 | 0417 |
| 02 | 0415 |
| 12 | 0415 |
| 12 | 0420 |
| 02 | 0421 |
| $\underline{ } 1$ | 0422 |
|  | 0423 |
| 12 | 0424 |
| R2 | 0425 |
| $\mathrm{S}_{2}$ | 0428 |
| 12 | 047\％ |
| 12 | 0428 |
| 12 | 0435 |
| $R 2$ | 0430 |
| 22 | 043 ： |
|  | 0432 |
| 12 | 0431 |
| 12 | 0434 |
| 㤽 | 0435 |
| 12 | 0436 |
| ${ }^{1} 2$ | 0437 |
| R2 | 0434 |
| ¢ 2 | 043\％ |
| R2 | 0440 |
| 12 | 0441 |
| ， 2 | 0442 |
| 22 | 0447 |
| 12 | 0444 |
| 22 | 0445 |
| 0 | 0446 |
| R2 | 0447 |
| 虽 | 0446 |
| 62 | 044 |
| R2 | 0450 |
| R2 | 0451 |
| 22 | 0432 |
| R2 | 0481 |
| R2 | 0434 |
| R2 | 0453 |
| 题 | 0454 |
| 12 | 0487 |
| 敋 | 0438 |
| 12 | 0439 |
|  | 0480 |
| 0 | 041 |
| 12 | 0482 |
| N2 | 043 |
| $\underline{12}$ | 0484 |
| 12 | 0485 |
| 12 | Q48t |
| 22 | 0467 |
| 12 | $04{ }^{\text {c }}$ |
| ． 2 | 0488 |
| 42 | 04\％ |
| me | 04\％ 1 |
| 12 | 04.2 |
| 4 | 94＊3 |
| 17 | O6－4 |
| 02 | －4：3 |
| R2 | 04＊ |
| 12 | 04－9 |
| 12 | 04：8 |
| $\underline{ } 1$ | $04-8$ 0.46 |


| 2 | matural |
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| 27123 | colomit |
| 27124 | me |
| 2989 | comion sma |
| 2714 | asarstos cace smply vake |
| 2785 | CuAnTz msCa meispar EjE |
| 27851 | MATUAL |
| 27818 | miea mict mast |
| 27893 | ERYJLTE OHIOL |
| 27854 | FELSPAR LCCuRspan |
| 2710 | Slatg. Scatimgs |
| 2780 | SLAC ETC FRM :RO |
| 27882 | slat asm. Mesit |
| 2719 | minerals |
| 27189 | OMA |
| 2710 | mat marium |
| 27893 | TALE MATURAL STEAT: |
| 27894 | couor matural corates |
| 27895 | sibiezous |
| 27890 | matural aspmalt sit Tmen |
| 2718 | minerab suestmices nes |
| $28$ | metallirenous ores ser |
| 28. | IROM OHE COMCENTRATES |
| 2814 | ROASTED :RON PYRITES |
| 2815 | trom ore not aca |
| 281 | IROM ORE AGGLOMERA |
| 282 | :ROM M S StEEL |
| 2820 | LRON NOC STEEL SERAD |
| 2820 , | -- of pic or cast :rich |
| 2820: | -- of Alloy stest |
| 28209 | -- of othr irom or stel |
| 28. | URAWIUM THORILM ORE CONC |
| 286 | JRANIUM THCRIUM ORE ONC |
| 57 | base metal oris conc nes |
| 289 | CPR ORE ETC INE EEMNT CP |
| 28 | expoer ones exc |
| 87 | enper matre egment |
| 2872 | NICXEL ORES EnCENTRATES |
| 28721 | N:CXEL ORES EXE: MATT |
| 21722 | N:CXEL MATEESINTERS.ETC |
| 2973 | ALUMENIUM ORES ALIM:MA |
| 1731 | -LUMINIUM GRE CNOCTRATE |
| 28:32 | ALIMIMAIALUMIN:UM OxioE |
| 2874 | -ic ones emcentuates |
| 17 | zinc ores emweemtrates |
| 287 | in ores Conct |
| 2877 | manculse one |
| 2179 | OTM MONFER QRE COMONTETE |
| 21781 | Otomium ore concrntrate |
| 28792 | TUMGSTEN ORE COMCENTRATE |
| 21713 | vamagium motrio ETE ones |
| 21798 | OTM MONFER ORE CNC NES |
| 284 | NON-FERROLS MEPAL SCRN |
| 2814 | METALIFERCUS MOAFER WSTE |
| 2812 | CTA NOMFER WTL SORN NT |
| 2882. | COPAER WASTE ANO SCRN |
| 28182 | MICXEI. WASTE ANO sed |
| 28823 | ALJMENIUM WSTE Mic se |
| 28824 | LEAO Waste me scrap |
| 28825 | Z:NC YASTE ANC SCA |
| 21328 | TIM WASTE MO SC |
| 218 | PREE MTAL ORES WASTE NES |
| 2190 | DREC MTAL ORES WASTE NES |
| 28801 | prec:ous metal ores come |
| 28902 | prec:cus MTh SCRPS wSTES |
| 29 | cruot animal vec mat nes |
| 291 | CRUDE AMEMAL MTRIALS |
| 2911 | sones ivort manes etc |
| 2811. | CONE MORN-cIRE ANO VASTE |
| 281:9 | CORAL SHELE ANO WASTE |
| 29116 | iVORY, TORTO:SE-ghelic efs |
| 2919 | gtm nnimal materials nes |
| 29191 | MUMAN HAIR UMWORKEO ETE |
| 29192 | BRUSM-maKinc mair ETC |
| 29193 | OUT ELADOERS ETE MONFIS |
| 29.94 | FSSm \#nste |
| 28193 | Giros Sxins meatmers |
| 29197 | natural sponces |
| 29188 | amatraris civet miex |
| 281 | AN |


| R2 | 0481 | 292 | couce vic matyplals nes | 2 | $6^{\circ}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 12 | 0482 | 2122 | mat aus resins tacs erc | 2 | -¢s: |
| 12 | 0413 | 2823 | veg laitimg maperials | 22 | -5d |
| $R 2$ | 0484 | 2126 | veg uste in manmact itc | 2 | -sad |
| R2 | 0488 | 2925 | seEOS ETE FOR LINT:MC | 22 | csas |
| 12 | 0.88 | 2128 | Live mants eulas tie | 22 | ¢ 536 |
| R2 | 0489 | 29201 | Eulas ruatns comme itc | 22 | Esd |
| $R 2$ | 0488 | 21268 | bive mants nes | 12 | : 58 |
| 12 | 0481 | 2927 | Cut Plowers Polinal | 12 | こse\% |
| 22 | 0480 | 29291 | Cut flowers | 22 | - 0 |
| 12 | 041 | 29272 | eut foliact | R2 | -s* |
| 12 | 0492 | 2929 | otw enuot veg materials | 12 | $05^{-1}$ |
| 12 | 0483 | 29251 | VEGETMLE SNES IXTRACTS | R2 | cs? |
| 12 | 0484 | 28212 | VEGET HOOSME MATERIALS | 12 | 65:6 |
| 12 | 0488 | 20285 | vRe beusm cmoom matrais | 12 | cs's |
| 12 | 0486 | 38288 | OTm eno vie martelal mes | 12 | 0576 |
| 12 | 0497 | 3 | WINERAL UELS ETE | 12 | 05*- |
| 22 | 0498 | 32 | COAL.COKE NO OAINETTES | 12 | 0578 |
| 82 | 0489 | 322 | COAL. LIENITE MO PEAT | ${ }_{2} 2$ | 0579 |
| 0 | 0890 | 3221 |  | 12 | 0580 |
| 12 | 0501 | 3222 | OTH COAL NOT MCELOMEATO | $R 2$ | 051 |
| 12 | 0302 | 3223 | LSENTE NOT MCGLOMRATEO | $R 2$ | 0582 |
| 2 | -9503 | 3224 | -EAT Mot mougmirateo | R2 | 0513 |
| 12 | 0504 | 323 | BRINETE Coxz SEmy Coxt | R2 | 0584 |
| 12 | esos | 3231 | eniouttes ovoses ETC | ${ }^{1} 2$ | 03as |
| 22 | 0503 | 32311 | Eniouettes of coal | 12 | - 0 ¢ 18 |
| 22 | 0507 | 32312 | LIONSTE Acolomeratio | 12 | 0517 |
| 22 | 0598 | 32519 | - Eat noglomirated | 22 | 0538 |
| R2 | usos | 3232 | COKE SEMI-COK2.RTRY CREN | 22 | 0539 |
| 12 | 0810 | 32321 | cokt of coal. Ritont gren | 12 | 0590 |
| 12 | 0511 | 32322 | COKE OF LJCNITE, PEAT | R2 | 0581 |
| 22 | $05^{12}$ | 33 | petmoleum no meoructs | 12 | 0592 |
| 22 | 0513 | 333 | ELUEE PETROLEM | R2 | 0593 |
| 2 | 0514 | 3330 | CRUDE PETEOLEUM | 12 | 9396 |
| 2 | $0{ }^{0} 15$ | 334 |  | R2 | 0595 |
| 22 | os 16 | 3341 | CASOLINE OTM LIONT OILS | R2 | 0596 |
| 12 | 0517 | 33414 | motor aviation spirit | R2 | 059? |
| 碞 | 0318 | 33412 | SpIRAT TYPE JET PUEL | 12 | 0384 |
| 12 | $00^{18}$ | 33418 | OTM LIaNT PETROLELI O:LS | 12 | 0508 |
| 12 | 0520 | 3362 | KEMOSENE.OTM megiva oils | R2 | 0600 |
| 12 | 0521 | 33421 | KEROSENE INCL JET PUEL | 2 | 00 Cl |
| $R 2$ | OS32 | 33429 | OTM megum permolelm OLb | R2 | 0802 |
| 12 | 0523 | 3363 | ans ofts | R2 | 0603 |
| 12 | 0524 | 3344 | Fuel oiks nes | 12 | 0604 |
| 22 | 0525 | 3345 | hues petroleum oils mes | 12 | 0605 |
| 12 | 0528 | 33491 | LUES :HICH TMLM EONTNT: | 12 | 0606 |
| 22 | 0.23 | 33452 | LUES LLEW PETRLM ONTNT | ${ }^{12}$ | $060{ }^{\circ}$ |
| $R 2$ | 0321 | 335 | RES:DLAL PETRLM Prod nes | $R 2$ | 0608 |
| 12 | 0329 | 3351 | PETMLM JeL-r mineral vax | R2 | 0809 |
| 2 | 0350 | 33519 | - etmolatjom | R2 | 0810 |
| 12 | 0334 | 33512 | mineral maxes | 12 | $0{ }^{1 .}$ |
| 12 | 0332 | 3352 | mineral pans ano mgoocts | 12 | C 12 |
| 2 | 0835 | 33521 | mineral tan | R2 | 0613 |
| 12 | 0834 | 33522 | ermzole | 12 | 0814 |
| $R 2$ | 0s31 | 33533 | Palyole | 12 | 0015 |
| 2 | 0534 | 33524 | xYLOLE | 42 | 0815 |
| 12 | 0539 | 33525 | oils orn pmoucty nes | 12 | 0619 |
| 12 | 0538 | 3353 | min Tar Pipor ition eoxl | 12 | 0614 |
| 12 | 0839 | 33831 | OITEA FROM mintral tans | n2 | 0615 |
| 12 | 0140 | 33532 | - STON Coke | 12 | 0820 |
| 2 | 0541 | 3354 | PETROL EITMMEN.COKE MES | 12 | Q 21 |
| 2 | 0542 | 33541 | Pitmolelin bitumen | 12 | 0622 |
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| 22 | 0544 | 33543 | E:TMMINOUS mixtures ETE | 12 | 0624 |
| 12 | 0545 | 34 | cas. Matural ano manufeto | 12 | 0625 |
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| 2 | 0947 | 3413 | PETROLM GASES G:OUEPIED | R2 | $082^{*}$ |
| $R 2$ | 0548 | 34139 | b:OULIESD Propane nutane | 12 | 0624 |
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| 12 | 0394 | ${ }^{14}$ | mimal oils mo pats | 22 | 0837 |
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[^0]:    2/ This is not to deny that Regional Integration has benefits that make it worthwhile to pursue as an objective ir itself. Lachler (1989) argues that while size is not a substitute for openness, being big and open yielde better growth performance than being small and open. This is because economic integration provides more room for internal competition through larger internal market than could be achieved by uni-lateral liberalization. More important $l y$, labor and capital mobilit; within this larger market enhance the prospects of increased productive capacity and efficient use of factor resourcee. Further, there are $\quad$ so politicsl imperntiven that may make integration desixable. The puint here ia simply that regional trade ilberalization should be seen a part of a wider procesa of lowering barivers againet oll thich parties to avoid contly trade divereios.

[^1]:    4/ In any case the preferences accorded by the CET tend to be undermined by other measures.

[^2]:    6/ Outward orientation simply means not creating anti-export bias and many countries have achieved this by offsetting some of the anti-export bias of import barriers rather than by totally dismanting such barriers (see WDR, 1987, page 81).

[^3]:    I/ Bentn would be classified as pertially libersilized except tor import licensing requirements on faports from non-franc zone, non-Acp end non-EEC countries; these are expected to be removed by end- 1991 .
    if Kempe would be classified as "pertisily ilbersilized" after July 1991 se ore will be linited to pulic health, public security and ervironment related controls and the average tariff would be lese than $70 \%$
    iif limited information.
    iv! Commodities such ws rice, wheat, vegetable oil. textifes, beer and soft drinks bre banned from importation, otherwise Migeria would be classified as pertially liberalized.
    */ Senegal would be claszified as partially liberalixed except for ons granted under epecial comventiona.
    vif logo moutd be clasified as fully litheralized as of April 1 , 1989 , except for ope that mere imposed on a short list of goods.
    wif In the procest of eliminating trade restrictions
    
    if Pulty liberalized: absence of ars (import icensing andfor 30 - 70 m
    3f lisited liberalization: Absence of ars and average tarif4 of over $70 x$ or substantial exceptions with high tartffe.
    4 LIafted restrictions: lifeited ars.
    Limited restrictions: limited als.
    Partialiy restricted: substantial ans.
    Partially restr
    Extensive Cas.
    Extmersive Insufficient information or not fitting into above eategories.

[^4]:    I/ This is not an argument in favor of import gubstitution in a large internal market. Given exieting widespread underutijuzation of capacily a puly of regional liberalization will lead to fewer plants at greate levers of capacity utilization but the should proide the bagis fox externs trade liberalization rather than used on a ynt fluetion for contimued third party protection.

[^5]:    fulty or partialty liberalized, per rable 2.

[^6]:    b/ Limited liberaliaation or limited restriction, per Table 2.

[^7]:    ef Fulty or partially restricted, per table 2.

[^8]:    8/ The emphasia here is on measures relevant to increasing trade and facilitating greater outward orientation. This is not inconsistent with support for specific regional projects or initiatives along the lines suggested by Berg.

[^9]:    10/ Mozambique joined in 1989 and Angoia, Namibia and Suden in 2590 . The trade anajyif in this section, based on data before that time, is therefore ilmited to the other 15 members.

[^10]:    11/ In part, this is because bi-lateral donors tend to provide lines of credit that favor imports from their country. In addition, officials administering import controle tend to favor imports from outside the region which are regarded as more emsential (see Chapter $V$, paragrapha 5.48-5.52).

[^11]:    12/ Except for granting tariff preferences on a limited range of products. Thase preferences re in turn nullified by the maintenance of NrBe.

[^12]:    13/ Since there is a widespread view that the main obstacle to integration is currency inconvertibility (hence the adoption of Monetary Cooperation programs by both ECOWAS and PTA), it is useful to note that the UDEAC countries also ahare the CFA Franc as theix currency but have the lowest intra-union trade creation and share of intra-union trade of ali the major SSA economic groupinge (see below). Thit suggests that convertibility ia not in itself the source of the good performance of the group. In addition to convertibility, the CEAO is also the only union with gignificant labor motility and has the most effective compensation mechanism. It is likely that it is the combination of these three elemente that accounte for the succens of the Union.

[^13]:    15/ This ie not to deny that in general intra-African trade is lower than in Asia or Latin America. However, notwithetending the powaible dintortion from re-exporte to landlocked countries, one third of SSA countrien achieve recorded trade with their neighbor: that is not out of inne with experience in other parte of the developing world.

[^14]:    17/ A Eull offeet or, more unefully, a sutainable regional deficit will require exchange rate adjustment. Regional trade which will cemesn amall part of total trade need not be in balance provided the overall balance of paymente situation if etrong enough to support regional deficite. Neverthelese, liberalizing non-trade current account and capital flow will contribute to make any given deficit level more eustainable.

    18/ Ae arguad by Berg (2989), donors thould also encourage cooperation in bpecific armas meh aif tighting river bindneme. Here, we ignore meh imsues and concentrate on actione that are most relevant to increased regional exchange. Aloo, it im not being auggeated that tinancing be withheld from existing regional organizationa. Rather, the point coneerne the use of additional remources.

[^15]:    19/ To avoid the danger of establishing a "crazy quilt" of preferences, the proposed Articles will have to envisage a clear sequence of steps leading to the free flow of factors and products amonget participating colitries. It ahould also be envisaged that the agreements wili gradually be multi-lateralized, as the number of bi-lateral deale achieving a given leval of liberalization increases.

[^16]:    21/ Any tariff preferences should be reasonable, and no particular Eignificance should de attached to the suggested 20 percent. The main point is that tariff differentiala have to be limited, preferably by lowering the external tariff rates.

[^17]:    22/ The initiative by private businessmen to set up the ECO-Bank should be welcomed. But there is no compeliing reason to single it out just because it intende to serve all of ECOWAS.

