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ص. ب. ٣٢٤٣

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AFRICAIN**

CM/1106 (XXXVI) Secretariat
B. P. 3243

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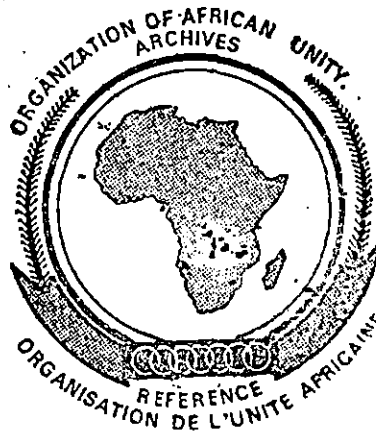
Thirty-Sixth Ordinary Session Addis Ababa * ادیس ابابا

23 February - 1 March 1981

Addis Ababa

FAMINE IN AFRICA

PREPARED JOINTLY BY THE ORGANISATION OF AFRICAN
UNITY (OAU) AND FOOD AND AGRICULTURAL ORGANISA-
TION (FAO)



CM-1106

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(i)

FAMINE IN AFRICAINTRODUCTION

The Lagos Plan of Action envisages a set of measures intended to bring about a fundamental restructuring of the economic base of Africa. The implementation of the Plan requires the full weight of the commitment made by African Heads of State when they declared themselves "...conscious of the tremendous effort which will be required of us individually and collectively to attain the goals we have set for ourselves in these documents 1/" and confident in their determination to overcome the obstacles that may be in their path.

2. FAO has been pleased to join with the Secretariat of the OAU in preparing the present paper on the most urgent problem for Africa today - the permanent spectre of Famine - in recognition of the determination of Africa, the international community as well as the relevant international organisations, to contribute to this restructuring of Africa's economic base. In making this joint effort both organisations fully realise that a permanent solution to the problem of famine in Africa lies in the rigorous implementation of the Lagos Plan of Action, which would be a major contribution to the "new international food order" called for by the Director-General of FAO.

1/Lagos Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Monrovia Strategy for the Economic Development of Africa.

FAMINE IN AFRICA

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I. THE PROBLEMA. The Nature of the Food Crisis in Africa

Two inter-related aspects of the food crisis that Africa is facing need to be considered.

2. First, there is the ever-widening margin by which food production in Africa has failed to match population growth in the Region over the last two decades or so. The annual rate of decrease in average food production per head of population during the sixties (-0.7%) actually worsened during the seventies (-1.6%). Preliminary estimates for 1980 point to a further deterioration. Despite the massive consequent rise in food imports, the average person in Africa today has considerably less access to food than was the case ten years ago, and average dietary standards in the Region have fallen below nutritional requirements.

3. The second aspect of the food crisis relates to the frequent and wide variations that characterize African food production over the short term. Super-imposed over the deteriorating trend in the food balance, drastic decreases in food production have often led to situations of extreme shortages of food in which a substantial proportion of the population of particular areas of the Region has experienced acute suffering or death from starvation.

4. It is to these latter situations that the term "famine" is normally applied. In the African context, however, it is important to stress that the probability of famines and the degree of their intensity are enhanced by the frailty resulting from the underlying trend of decreasing access to food. The starvation and other extreme human suffering associated with famine differ only in degree from the chronic malnourishment and hunger that afflict increasing numbers of the population of

the Region every year including years of good harvests. The twin characteristics of the food situation in Africa are inadequacy and insecurity.

5. The human casualties and the deleterious effects on the general health status of the population are the most vivid and appalling consequences of the food crisis in Africa. There are, however, other grave implications that provide added justification for the top priority concern that this problem demands. Among these, mention may be made of the large-scale diversion of scarce foreign exchange resources away from development to food imports, as African countries seek (often in vain) to make good the perennial shortfalls in domestic food production; the political and social instability generated by the current famine and quasi-famine conditions; the inevitable jeopardy to the national political independence of those countries heavily dependent on food donations (and even purchases) from outside the continent; the adverse impact of prolonged food shortages or deficiencies on the morale, motivation and productivity of the population; the accentuation of social inequalities, and large-scale human and animal migrations or, entailing, among other things, the possible spread of famine risk.

6. Any realistic approach to the phenomena of famine, hunger and malnutrition in Africa must be based on a clear appreciation of their intimate relationship with the broader problem of poverty. The high exposure of African populations to the scourges of famine, hunger and malnutrition is, in the final analysis, largely a reflection of the poverty of these populations. Poverty is the main cause of chronic dietary deficiencies. It is only poor societies, poor social groups and poor households that experience famine and hunger.

7. As will be evident from later sections of this paper, many (though not all) of the direct and indirect causes of severe food shortages in Africa are themselves to be explained in terms of inadequacy of resources to produce more food and distribute it efficiently, to take protective or precautionary action, or to respond effectively to emergencies. Moreover, poverty also inhibits the institution of effective measures to mitigate the severity of the consequences of food shortage.

8. Effective food strategies and policies must therefore be conceived and implemented as integral element of an overall effort to eliminate poverty - that is, to bring about a significant and permanent rise in income and a marked improvement in its distribution. In the absence of such an effort, the recommendations made in the present paper would not constitute an adequate strategy against famine and hunger in Africa.

B. Extent of the Threat of Famine in Africa

9. The inadequacy of average dietary standards in Africa has been mentioned. The true number of people in the Region who suffer ill health or are incapable of leading fully active lives as a result of dietary deficiencies is not known with certainty. However, there is ample evidence that large areas of Africa are famine-prone, and that in practically all countries of the Region hunger and recurrent food shortages are endemic.

10. The threat and incidence of famine and hunger vary considerably from one part of Africa to another. Risk is highest in the arid and semi-arid zones of the Region - zones with limited and erratic rainfall, small and highly localized surface water resources, and scanty vegetation. Half of Africa's nations have part or all of their territories in arid or semi-arid zones. The arid lands of Africa fall into three broad geographic sub-regions:

- (i) The North African sub-region, comprising some 46 million hectares of arid lands between the isohyet of 100 and 400 mm and deserts covering 385 million hectares and receiving less than 100 mm of average precipitation. Arid and desert lands occupy, respectively, 10 and 80 per cent of the total territory of Algeria, Libya, Morocco and Tunisia and are inhabited by some 10 million people.
- (ii) The west African sub-region, which occupies an area of some 140 million hectares located between the isohyet of 200 and 600 mm and deserts of some 300 million hectares receiving less than 200 mm of average precipitation. Arid and desert lands occupy 45 to 66 per cent of the total territory of Mauritania, Senegal, Mali, Upper Volta, Niger, Chad, Cameroon and Nigeria.
- (iii) The arid lands of the East and Southern African sub-region occupy an area of 223.4 million hectares located between the isohyet of 200 to 600 mm, while the deserts cover some 155 million hectares in the area receiving less than 200 mm of average precipitation. Arid and desert lands occupy, respectively, 39 and 21 per cent of the total territory of Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan, Tanzania and Madagascar, and of most southern African countries.

11. The intrinsically low productivity of the natural resource base, the large annual variation in precipitation and the excessive fragility of the ecosystems imply that the population of these zones face hunger and famine as a permanent threat.

12. The humid equatorial zones of Africa also suffer from chronic hunger and malnutrition, they have good and bad harvests, and they experience their own "hungry months" before the harvest. But, although famines do indeed occur in these zones, they are not the almost predictable disaster that they are in the arid and semi-arid zones. In very general terms, therefore, the precariousness of the food supply tends to increase as one goes from the humid to the arid zones of Africa.

13. Just as different parts of Africa face food shortages in differing degrees, so do different regions and social groups in any particular country. The poor (small farmers, rural landless, urban unemployed, and other marginalized groups), nomadic groups, and inhabitants of rain-scarce or inaccessible areas are affected more seriously than others. For this reason, pockets of hunger or famine often exist even in countries that produce enough food in total for the entire population.

14. It is an important fact, however, that, although the urban poor suffer from continual hunger, famine, in the sense of a collective calamity affecting large numbers of the population at the same time, does not develop in big cities or metropolitan areas in peace time. This is partly because sources of livelihood or the urban poor are less susceptible to sudden variations, partly because urban dwellers are normally the first to benefit from relief measures in times of emergencies, and partly because they have the political means to resist food shortages. Nearness to trade channels, access to modern storage facilities, and more effective price control all combine to assure the urban population a degree of protection usually unavailable to the rural poor.

C. The causes of Famine and Hunger in Africa

15. The fundamental role of poverty in explaining the precarious food situation in Africa has been noted. In the present section, attention is confined to the closely inter-related

phenomena that more directly cause the growing imbalance between the demand for and supply of food in Africa and the recurrence of calamitous scarcities in the Region.

16. No attempt is made to distinguish formally between factors affecting long-term trends, on the one hand, and those that explain short-term variations, on the other. This is in recognition of the fact that the two sets of factors are mutually reinforcing and that famine is rarely a sudden emergency. Famine is usually the culmination of a tragic drama that starts with general unreliability and restrictions in supply, and proceeds to scarcity and, finally, acute dearth and total unavailability of food.

17. Similarly, the common distinction between "natural" and "man-made" causes of famine and hunger has not been adopted here, for the reason that the more important of the so-called "natural" causes are themselves known to be, at least in part, often the result of action or lack of action by man. An effective fight against famine and hunger in Africa must be anchored on the premise that no category of causes is "natural" in the sense of being independent of or beyond human action.

18. In very general terms, it may be said that the food crisis in Africa reflects a gradual breakdown of the delicate balance between the physical environment, population, technology, and social structures and systems. This breakdown is by itself sufficient to explain not only the long-term deterioration in the food situation but also most of the periodic catastrophic food shortages. Extraneous factors, such as political strife and ill-conceived government policies, aggravate the effects of the collapse of the balance. The cause of food deficiencies and famines in Africa is systematic in nature and should strictly be analysed in those terms. The classification employed in the sub-sections below is a simplification for purposes of exposition, and should not detract attention from the critical issue - namely the complex interaction among the various factors and groups of factors listed.

(i) The Environment

19. Acute food shortages in Africa have most commonly been triggered off by droughts. The droughts that struck the Sahel during the late 1960s and early 1970s received world-wide attention, but the Sahel has been subjected to more than 20 other major droughts since the sixteenth century. Similar droughts, resulting in famine or near-famine conditions, are known to have occurred in the history of other parts of Africa. Eastern Africa, for example, is currently experiencing its latest of a series of serious droughts in just two decades. Countries in Southern Africa went through a major drought in 1978/79. It is generally believed that droughts occur somewhere in Africa every year, that two or more droughts affecting large areas of the continent come about every decade, and that extremely protracted and wide-spread droughts occur about once every 30 years. There is thus every likelihood that, for a long time to come, various parts of Africa will continue to be subjected to droughts of similar intensity, and far-sighted action must be taken now to mitigate their detrimental impact.

20. In many parts of Africa rainfall is not only generally insufficient but also highly erratic in pattern. In some areas, effective rainfall is further decreased by high rates of evapotranspiration. In these conditions, droughts frequently start gradually with below-normal rainfall during one or two years. This, followed by even a single year without rain in the right season, is usually enough for famine to set in, as food reserves get exhausted without new crops being grown. Climatic factors are therefore important causes of drought and, as such, they do contribute to the threat or occurrence of famine over a large part of Africa. In this connection, it should further be noted that droughts affect the production not only of food crops but of cash crops also. In periods of drought, therefore, just when communities and individual households cannot produce enough food for themselves, that is precisely also the time when they can least afford to purchase food from elsewhere.

21. But, in two respects, climatic variations are not an adequate explanation of the recurrence of droughts and, even less, famine. First, it is necessary to emphasize that climatic problems by themselves would not have resulted in tragedies of the proportions witnessed in Africa recently if they had not been reinforced by man's damaging action on other aspects of the ecosystems in question. Secondly, account must be taken of the manner in which climate in Africa has itself been and continues to be affected by man to his own detriment. These considerations are specified further in some of the sub-sections immediately following. First, however, mention needs to be made of other aspects of the physical environment that have inhibited faster growth in food production and, in some cases, provided the occasion for the onset of famine or acute food shortage: floods and human, livestock and crop pests and diseases, such as: malaria, bilharzia, sleeping sickness; animal trypanosomiasis, rinderpest, contagious pleuropneumonia, foot and mouth disease; locusts, army worms, quelea birds and rodents.

ii) Population

22. The rapid growth of population in Africa and the structural transformations accompanying this growth have had several important and complex implications for the food situation in the Region.

23. Population increases close to 3 per cent every year and urbanization gluts ill-equipped townships at a yearly rate approaching 10 per cent sapping the rural areas of their youth and essential manpower. But food production creeps on at less than 2 per cent per annum and registers negative increases in per caput terms.

24. The sheer increase in numbers to be fed; sets progressively bigger challenges to available resources, technology, social systems, and management structures for food production. In Africa, the population of some countries or zones of other countries has grown to a stage where the country or zone concerned simply no longer has the potential to produce enough

food. Population growth has led to the settlement of areas of marginal agricultural potential, thus exposing larger and larger numbers of people to the risk of famine. In all parts of the Region, the futile struggle by fast expanding populations to extract an adequate livelihood from a given natural resource base without the necessary supportive advances in appropriate technology is leading to degradation of the resources, and to the disintegration of social systems that traditionally protected communities against drought and famine.

25. Large-scale destruction of tree cover and other woody vegetation both to satisfy the increasing demand for fuel and to expand crop areas, and the degeneration of farming practices (for example, reduction of bush fallow, overcropping and overgrazing) have led to extensive desertification in Africa. It is estimated that about 50 per cent of the area of the African continent at present consists of deserts or areas that have undergone desertification to some degree or other. The Sahara is expanding southwards at an alarming rate every year. This degradation of ecosystems not only renders droughts more destructive when they strike, but also increases the likelihood of the droughts.

26. Concomitant with the rapid growth of total population in Africa, rural-urban migration has created an expanding urban population to be fed by an agriculture that remains predominantly subsistence oriented. This, together with the non-traditional food consumption habits acquired by the emerging urban population, in large part explains the growing dependence of African countries on food imports. Moreover, in some cases, rapid urbanization has itself adversely affected food production due to the labour shortages it creates in rural areas during peak seasons. The factors that have led to the high rate of migration to urban areas must, therefore, figure in an explanation of the food crisis in Africa.

(iii) Technology

27. One of the root causes of the tight and unstable food situation in Africa is the inadequate spread of improved and adapted technology for food production. Backward husbandry practices prevail, modern inputs are unavailable to all but a tiny proportion of the farmers, and implements used remain of the crudest type. Africa has the world's lowest average yields for all major food crops except roots and tubers, and these have not improved noticeably over the last decade. Moreover, poor handling after harvest results in losses of about 10 per cent of cereals, 20 to 30 per cent of roots and tubers, and even higher proportions of fruits and vegetables. Even where soil and climate are favourable, such a low level of technology necessarily implies inadequate and unreliable food supplies for a fast increasing and urbanizing population; and, confronted with a mishap of any magnitude in the environment, it virtually guarantees hunger for sections of the population.

28. The common deficiencies in Africa in marketing structures and institutions, in storage capacity, and in transport systems may also be considered as an aspect of the technological handicap besetting food production and supply in the Region. In normal times, these deficiencies greatly complicate the supply of food to urban areas and of agricultural inputs to farmers and the building up and management of food reserves. In emergencies, they constitute major obstacles in bringing relief to affected or threatened areas. The under-development of the distribution systems of most African countries largely explains the common occurrence of acute localized food shortages in countries not experiencing food deficits at a national level.

(iv) Social Systems and Structures

29. The growth of population and the progressive commercialization and individualization of agriculture have everywhere in Africa weakened the traditional forms of security against food

emergencies, without new security systems being set up in replacement. Communal land ownership is giving way to private ownership, with consequent alienation of ever-increasing numbers of rural dwellers from the security inherent in access to land. Traditional systems of communal granaries are disappearing and community solidarity in general is tending to break down.

30. In general, there has been failure to understand and improve, with the active participation of rural communities, traditional farming systems which are ecologically sound and which could become more productive and satisfy the food and other socio-economic and cultural needs of small farmers.

31. On the other hand, it needs to be recognized that aspects of the traditional agricultural system in some parts of the Region (such as shifting cultivation, and mixed cropping), while providing some degree of security against famine in the short-run in some ecological contexts, may have long-term detrimental effects on natural resources and food production.

(v) Political Factors

32. The numerous political disturbances (sometimes culminating in armed conflicts) that Africa has experienced in recent years have also occasionally resulted in abnormal food shortages for large numbers of the population. Such disturbances have not only disrupted food production and distribution, but they also have led to a refugee problem of unprecedented proportions. The refugees, currently estimated to number over 4 million in the whole continent, generate additional pressure on the food resources of host countries.

(vi) Official Policies and Attitudes

33. The long-run disequilibrium in the food situation and increasing threat of famine in Africa are also, in part, attributable to government policies and development strategies

that have put an excessive premium on the production of cash crops mainly for export as opposed to food for domestic consumption. The best land is thus devoted to cash crops which also are usually the main beneficiaries of official research, extension, credit, input supplies, marketing services and various other incentives. Money income from cash crop production has not normally provided adequate security to small farmers in vulnerable areas since cash crops also fail in the event of famine. In a situation of overconcentration on cash crops, a relatively minor short-fall in production can lead to acute food shortage if it coincides with a sharp drop in the price of the cash crops (perhaps arising from developments in world markets) which diminishes the ability of affected farmers to purchase food from elsewhere.

34. Inappropriate price policies regarding food crops have often frustrated not only the supply of adequate food to urban populations but also the setting up of sufficient food reserves for use in emergencies.

35. From the positive correlation between poverty and famine exposure, it follows that government development strategies and policies that deliberately or otherwise promote income inequalities or that are indifferent in this regard do generate or intensify famine risk for those social groups that become marginalized. These latter may be rural dwellers in general, inhabitants of particular regions, or members of certain social classes. There is little doubt that recent famines in at least some parts of Africa have been facilitated and exacerbated by inadequate government concern for more egalitarian income distribution. It may also be added that the rapid urbanization that is taking place in Africa and the food problems associated with it stem, in large measure, from the relative neglect of rural areas in government development efforts.

II. ACTION PROPOSALS

36. The preceding section of the present paper described, or rather hinted broadly at the real cause of the threat of famine in Africa. It attempted at satisfying a real requirement for reflection on the gravity of the food situation in a continent that nature has in many ways endowed most generously.

37. Considerable human effort, technology, financial resources, but above all political will, are obviously required to restore African economies (and societies) from the ravages of man, climate and history, and develop them into self-sustaining systems. It is essential to adopt new development ideas which are better adapted to African realities. New ideas, but also new policies for development, since many of Africa's problems are merely a culmination of the gradual decline of the situation of agriculture over many years.

38. The ever present threat of famine; the near certainty that food imports will become more, rather than less, costly and burdensome on the precarious balance of payments of a growing number of African countries; the limited capacity (growing scarcity) of food aid to respond adequately to food shortages on any massive scale; and the constant threat posed by food crisis to political stability and, indeed, to the very survival of too many African countries are amongst the great concerns to which OAU/FAO Member States must address themselves.

39. Food self-sufficiency, as the final goal of the Lagos Plan of Action, is vitally urgent, and fortunately possible in Africa. The well-being and dignity of all Africans the development and security of African Nations demand it.

40. For a permanent solution to the food situation in Africa, the fundamental requisite, as the Lagos Plan of Action states, is a strong political commitment to channel a greatly increased volume of resources to agriculture and to execute resolutely essential reorientations of social systems, to apply policies

that will induce small farmers to achieve higher levels of productivity and to set up effective systems and organisations for the formulation, implementation and monitoring of relevant programmes.

41. In the next five to ten years, the objective should be to bring about significant improvement in the food situation and lay the foundations for the achievement of self-sufficiency in cereals and in livestock and fish products. Priority action should be directed at securing a substantial reduction in food wastage, attaining a markedly higher degree of food security, and bringing about a large and sustained increase in the production of food, especially of tropical cereals.

42. The Chapter on Agriculture in the Lagos Plan of Action provides a guideline for the action on resolving the problems in the development of agriculture in Africa. Here the more specific action to fight the real threat of famine and to safeguard African populations against their damage and their recurrence are outlined.

43. Section A Towards Food Self-Sufficiency discusses the actions which would contribute to the solution of famine problems by bringing growth in production to balance with demand growth. In reality, this area encompasses all action which brings about higher food production and overall agricultural development and per force its treatment here only highlights the most urgent measures.

44. The second Section on Safeguards Against Famine presents the measures which would reduce the danger of famine by orientating agricultural production towards patterns and systems which can reduce yearly variability. Proposals are also provided for measures to enable countries to prepare themselves for the unavoidable shortages of food, and to minimize their impact and consequences.

45. Section C on Relief Measures deals with specific measures of relief organizations in those countries in Africa currently facing the threat of massive famine. In the last Section, D, resource requirements are indicated.

A. Towards Food Self-sufficiency

46. Great opportunities exist in Africa to attain food self-sufficiency and to enjoy to the full the economic and social benefits to be derived from better management of its vast human and natural resources in land, water, fisheries, forestry and ecosystems before the end of the century.

47. To achieve this goal, however, the highest development priority must be food and agriculture as a foundation for the elimination of pervasive hunger and malnutrition, and for the development of agro-based industry and other sectors.

48. The priority for food and agriculture must be reflected in national and regional economic planning, programming and budgeting, in the policies for investment of domestic savings and external aid, and in political and social organisation directed towards structural change in favour of the inequitably treated rural poor.

49. In this connection, mention should be made of the World Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development (WCARRD). The Declaration of Principles and the Programme of Action of this Conference show the way of rescuing the small farmer, the peasant shifting cultivator, the artisanal fisherman, the nomad livestock herder, the women and youth of rural areas and making them the agents as well as beneficiaries of development, instead of the victims of further impoverishment and famine. The close relationship and complementarity between the Lagos Plan of Action and the WCARRD Programme of Action is obvious.

(i) Food Crops

50. The Land Resource Base of Africa - Cultivated lands of Africa amount to 195 million hectares, or 26% of the potentially arable area. Of these, only 108 million hectares are harvested yearly. Present day yields in Africa are between a third and a fourth of those that can be obtained under high inputs, and only 2% of the cultivated lands south of the Sahara are irrigated. These data show the considerable scope for intensification and expansion of agriculture existing in Africa. In Latin America, Asia and Far East, and Near East the percentages of the potentially arable land under cultivation amount to 15.84 and 110 per cent respectively.

51. Land Development - Most crops in the region are grown on non-irrigated land, and most of the increase in production will likely come more from area expansion than yield increase. Rainfed agriculture, therefore, deserves priority attention. The target should be to bring 1.7 million ha under cultivation during the coming five years, about 5 per cent of available land currently unutilized.

52. Soil and Water Conservation - Due to the danger of degrading land and shortage of soil moisture for plant growth in many countries of the Continent, soil and water conservation programmes are essential for the development and maintenance of agriculture in these areas. It is proposed that for the Continent as a whole, the area under effective conservation be increased by about five per cent between 1980 and 1985.

53. Irrigation Schemes - A big share of the existing irrigation schemes in Africa is for growing export crops. At present cereals cover about 4.6 million ha of irrigated land. Due to vagaries of climate and frequent droughts in many parts of the Continent, there is need for better utilization of water for irrigated cereals. The following targets are consequently proposed:

- improvement of an area of one million ha under irrigated cereal cultivation in schemes that are now only partly equipped;

- expansion of newly irrigated areas under cereals by 155 000 ha.

54. Flood Control Drainage - There are relatively few activities in this field in Africa. At present, probably less than ten per cent of naturally flooded arable land has been provided with protection against flood hazards and submergence. It is estimated that an additional 56 000 ha of flood-affected arable land could be provided with simple flood protection and drainage works by 1985.

55. Mechanization - With the exception of Northern Africa, adoption of mechanization has not been widespread in the Continent. The situation is, however, improving. In North Africa mechanization is rapidly replacing draught animals, but the policies for the rest of the Continent need to be different. Since the widescale use of tractors by average African farmers in most countries South of the Sahara is a very long-term prospect, it is recommended that the increased use of draught animals be intensified as an interim measure in those countries. To implement this programme the number of draught animals should be increased by about 200 000 units, and training programmes for this purpose should be increased. The importance of affective trypanosomiasis control cannot be overemphasized in this connection.

56. Plant Protection - Food production in most of the countries of the Region will make no headway without the mobilization of considerable additional efforts to eliminate the pests and diseases that plague crops.

57. At the national level, required action consists principally in an overall improvement in husbandry practices, generally. This will involve, in part, judicious application of pest and insect killers in a manner consonant with the overriding ecological exigences. In addition to the strengthening of existing services, effective plant protection will necessitate the organisation of farmer education campaigns. Governments should also accord priority to the establishment of appropriate pest and disease surveillance systems so that early defence measures can always be instituted against threatening or incipient outbreaks.

58. Plant protection is an area where tremendous benefits can be reaped through permanent mechanisms for inter-country co-operation. Indeed only action organized this way can prevent widespread outbreaks of some of the major crop pests and diseases. There are several intergovernmental organisations active in this field in Africa (OICMA, OCLALAV, DLCO/EA, IRLCO, etc.)*. They need to be strengthened, giving added emphasis to the integrated approach to pest management already being initiated in some parts of the Region.

59. Physical Infrastructure - In support of the priorities identified above, various types of physical infrastructure are indispensable. Some of the infrastructure could be built through labour-intensive self-help programmes. This would require a strong sense of devotion and duty and clear-cut recognition of potential benefits on the part of the people who will be expected to voluntarily participate in the building of small bridges, dams, access and feeder roads, and in improving education, health and other social facilities.

*OICMA: Organisation Internationale Contre le Criquet Migrateur Africain.

OCLALAV: Organisation Commune de Lutte Antiacridienne et de Lutte Antiaviaire.

DLCO/EA: Desert Locust Control Organisation/East Africa.

IRLCO: Integrated Red Locust Control Organisation.

(ii) Livestock

60. The priority areas to which support should be channelled in the immediate future are training and infrastructure building. Of primary importance also are controlled grazing through better range management and the use of crop residues and agro-industrial by-products for the production of animal feedstuffs.

61. There is also a great need to improve laboratory services, disease surveillance systems, vaccination centres, training institutions, and the capability of countries to handle animal health problems. It is estimated that the improvement of animal health systems will require an increase in the number of veterinarians and veterinary assistants of at least 30 per cent during the 1980-1985 period.

62. Further support for the control of trypanosomiasis should include the establishment of specialized control units, and the improvement of the productivity of those breeds of cattle which have been determined to be trypanotolerant. In addition, many countries need to set up land use plans for the integrated development of areas freed from tse-tse infestation. These activities should be undertaken with the support of the Commission on African Animal Trypanosomiasis.

63. Effective control of Food-and-Mouth Disease will require the establishment of vaccine production facilities and effective quarantine systems at national, and possibly, regional levels.

64. At the subregional level, training centres for meat production, slaughter-house management and practices, livestock marketing and poultry development are needed. For a start, four training workshops (one every year during 1980-84) should be launched in 1980.

65. Proposals for the establishment of training and research centres in tick and tick-borne disease in Malawi (East and Central Africa), Khartoum (North Africa), Nigeria (anglophone West Africa) and Senegal (francophone West Africa) have been strongly supported by the African Governments. Every effort should, therefore, be made to establish and put these centres into operation by the end of 1983.

66. Regional "Typing" centres should be established to assist African countries to determine rapidly and effectively the types of infectious organisms with which they are confronted. A preliminary survey for establishing these centres should be carried out in 1981 to decide whether existing facilities should be expanded or new centres established. The decision should be implemented in 1982. In all cases, the centres created will supplement and co-ordinate national programmes.

(iii) Fisheries

67. The target should be to raise the level of average fish consumption per person per annum by one kilogram between now and 1985. This will require the production of an additional one million tons per year by 1985, a figure well within the resource potential.

68. With the objective in view, and in order to reduce dependence on imports, the following measures are recommended:

development of industrialized off-shore fleets (where justified by resource availability) and increased productivity of artisanal fisheries;

expansion of aquaculture;

improvement of communications between landing points and markets, especially inexpensive feeder roads to fishery communities;

- investment in shore-based infrastructure, in particular storage facilities;
- expansion of inter-regional trade in fishery products;
- encouragement of subregional co-operation in the assessment of the fish potential, especially where common stocks are concerned as well as for international lakes and river basins;
- formulation of joint schemes for the rational exploitation and management of subregional fish stocks;
- review and, as necessary, re-negotiation of existing fishing agreements.

69. In all fields and at all levels of the fishery sector, training, both formal and through strengthened extension services, remains an important prerequisite to ensure effective use of new technology and investment.

(iv) Forest Production

70. Forest and trees play an essential role as suppliers of basic products and services, and have a very important environmental impact which is more and more recognized. They contribute to maintaining the productivity of eco-systems and preventing soil erosion by wind and water; regulating the quantity and quality of waterflows and preserving amenable conditions of life for man. Forests and trees therefore contribute directly to the rural development and food production potential and bring important benefits to rural communities.

71. Uncontrolled destruction of the forest vegetation, through land clearing for agriculture or for fuelwood and grazing, has already had critical impact on agriculture, resulting in flooding, soil erosion, siltation and desertification.

72. Inventories of forest resources and potential should be organised and expanded at country level within the coming five years in order to serve as a basis for forestry development programmes and to help in the monitoring of the evolution of forest cover.

73. Countries should intensify programmes for integrating woodlots and trees in land use and agricultural practices at village and farm levels for the production of fuelwood, food, fodder, building materials and for protection against desertification and erosion.

74. Particularly, in areas where critical imbalance exists between the supply of and demand for forest products and services, forest regeneration programmes should be intensified with special attention on village or community woodlots or agro-forestry schemes. A sufficient number of afforestation/ reforestation projects should be identified by the end of 1981 so that enough projects are formulated for increasing areas under forestry regeneration programmes by at least 10 per cent every year up to 10 per cent between now and 1985.

75. Applied research programmes would also need to be substantially expanded particularly in the selection and silviculture of fast growing species for fuelwood and pulpwood plantations and on the management of tropical forests.

(v) Incentives to Farmers

76. The expansion of food production cannot be achieved without modification, in a radical way, of the techno-economic structures of production systems. This implies better access by small farmers to productive resources (through credit, subsidies, etc.), availability of marketing facilities, remunerative process for agricultural produce, close links between farming and complementary activities, widespread adoption of more intensive techniques and wide availability of social services.

Efforts on such a broad front in rural development would have the desired impact only if supported by a strong political will, and if based on the fullest participation of the population affected.

77. Government policies must aim at giving the small producers the necessary incentives to increase their food output beyond their immediate consumption needs. The peasant farmer must see clear prospect of benefit from his extra effort. Perhaps the most powerful incentive to the small farmer is a system on input and output prices that ensure maximum financial returns to him. Farm prices and income policy have been at the root of most of the agricultural problems in many African countries.

(vi) Strategy Review Missions

78. In the Lagos Plan of Action, FAO, in collaboration with OAU and other relevant international organisations, is requested to set up "Strategy Review Missions" which would assist countries in determining the manner in which the recommendations in the Lagos Plan of Action are to be applied in their respective contexts.

79. The purpose of the Strategy Review Missions is to advise Governments on the adoption of appropriate policies and institutions, as well as the determination of priority areas for programmes in the field of agricultural and rural development with focus on increased food production, improved self-sufficiency and food security. In general terms, the Missions will undertake the following tasks:

- (a) review existing policies and programmes in the field of agricultural and rural development with a view to assessing their impact on improved food self-sufficiency and food security;

- (b) assess the major constraints - economic, physical, technical and institutional - as well as the possibilities for increased food production and improved agricultural and rural development;
- (c) in the light of the above review and assessment, determine the priority areas for short to medium term action, discuss with the Government the need for possible adjustments in existing policies and programmes and indicate the broad implications of such adjustments in terms of resource allocations (domestic and external);
- (d) identify priority areas for new programmes and projects and indicate possible needs for further technical and financial assistance in the formulation and appraisal of such programmes and projects;
- (e) any other relevant tasks agreed upon in consultation with the Government.

B. Safeguards against Famine

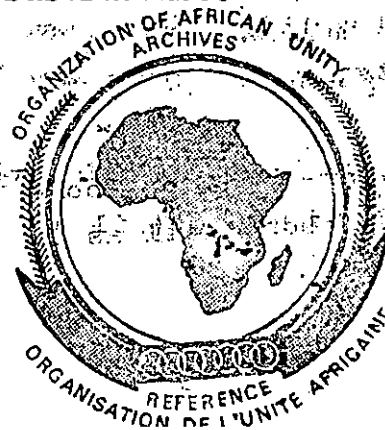
80. Food emergencies - including famine or the threat of it - have a tendency to occur, almost by definition, at times when states and citizens are least able to organize effective responses. This underlines the necessity for forward planning and action.

81. Action must be taken on two fronts: by reducing the annual variation in production and by increasing the country's readiness to confront situations of greatly reduced food availability through emergency plans for distribution, improved reserve stocks, and improved world food security.

82. While climatic variability is beyond the control of man, there are many ways in which appropriate choice of agricultural production patterns and technology can help to mitigate the effects on output. In the African context three main areas deserve special attention. First of all are measures which will counteract drought effects, such as irrigation, moisture and soil conservation, and the creation of safe drinking water resources. Controlling the shifting of crop production into less drought prone areas (sleeping sickness and onchocerciasis).

83. The second area is the control of major epidemic diseases of livestock and the control of large-scale attacks by insects and pests (e.g. locusts, rats, quelea birds) and by plant diseases which can result in tragic drops in production. Action for such control measures often will have to be taken across international borders and thus regional co-operation is fundamental for their success. Action is needed not only in combatting the outbreaks once they occur on a large scale, but organisations and programmes are required to monitor their status and to start preventive action early in their development.

84. Thirdly, choice of appropriate cropping patterns permits the reduction of drought or other natural calamity induced shortages of food. The utilization of drought-resistant food crop species or varieties, turning to mixed cropping, and increasing the share of food crops in overall land use can all contribute to a safer food supply as a bulwark against famine. This is so especially in areas where the bulk of food is produced for home consumption and where local self-reliance is important because of the lack of development of infrastructure.



Proposed National Level Actions

85. A number of recommendations aimed at assisting countries at risk to make advance arrangements for improving their emergency preparedness have been developed by FAO in the context of its ongoing work on world food security. These recommendations invite Governments in those countries to:

- (a) maintain minimum reserve stocks of basic food grains and special reserves of quality seeds;
- (b) establish national monitoring and early warning systems for basic food supplies;
- (c) establish, on a stand-by basis, food disaster units, or charge an existing administrative unit with the responsibility for planning and organizing food relief programmes;
- (d) prepare food relief contingency plans and codify tasks to be undertaken and procedures to enter into force in the event of acute and large-scale food shortages;
- (e) establish methods for the timely assessment of the food situation and food needs of the people and regions threatened by food shortages, and of the country as a whole;
- (f) establish principles governing the declaration of a state of "food emergency";
- (g) establish procedures for timely requests for bilateral and multilateral assistance in assessing and meeting large-scale emergency food requirements;
- (h) prepare a shelf of food-for-work projects with as much operational detail as is feasible;

- (i) organize movement of supplies before the onset of the rainy season to remote areas where communications may be disrupted by rain;
- (j) make advance arrangements for renting the required storage accommodation in both procurement and distribution centres;
- (k) ensure that existing legislation is sufficient, or keep a draft legislation ready for enacting, to allow government to assume powers for undertaking various relief activities or control measures;
- (1) evaluate any past experience with price and food supply controls, as well as past performance of food relief operations.

These recommendations are submitted to the governments of Member States falling within the category of countries at risk for their necessary action.

86. In view, however, of the particularly acute complications of the logistics of food delivery to communities at risk in most African countries it is further recommended that Governments consider as a matter of particular urgency:

- the decentralization to provincial, district and community levels of those parts of their emergency preparedness and response systems - and facilities - that can now, or with the creation of stock management capability at sub-national levels, be decentralized.

87. This recommendation is submitted in the interest of both the expeditious delivery of food where and when it is needed and the possible prevention of those famine situations or threats which sometimes arise precisely because various communities are isolated from commercial as well as aid distribution channels by the absence or deterioration of access roads.

88. Finally, it is recommended that to raise the level of reserve stocks of basic food grains seriously consider in their emergency preparedness planning:

the types of economic and administrative incentives (including price incentives) that can be introduced to encourage the participation of public and private employers, non-governmental bodies, community-level organisations, individual farmers in stock building and other emergency preparedness efforts.

Regional Level Actions

89. Member States of the OAU may wish to study the initiative taken by the eight member countries of the Interstate Committee for Drought Control (CILSS) in co-operation with FAO towards the establishment of a sub-regional food security emergency relief mechanism and the follow-up to the declared intention of the Southern African Heads of State at Lusaka to strengthen food security in the sub-region for possible ideas on how they might establish other sub-regional food security and emergency relief arrangements.

Continental Level

90. In addition to establishing the African Mutual Guarantee and Solidarity Fund for food envisaged by the Lagos Plan of Action and sustaining the emergency relief fund established by the OAU Council of Ministers in Resolution CM/Res.465.XXVI, members may wish to consider:

- (a) providing a forum for "negotiating out", in phases where necessary and immediately where possible, all unnecessary tariff and non-tariff barriers to intra-African trade in food items;

- (b) creating a political and legal machinery for the settlement of disputes relating to the functioning of any sub-regional emergency preparedness and response arrangements;
- (c) strengthening the OAU's established machinery for participation in regional and international emergency preparedness efforts.

World Food Security

91. As a basis for collective action, FAO drew up in 1973 the International Undertaking on World Food Security. The Undertaking has since been formally adopted by over 30 African countries. By sub-scribing to the Undertaking, these countries have pledged themselves to implement national stock policies in order to help ensure a minimum safe level of basic food stocks for the world as a whole in time of crop failures and natural disasters. The Undertaking stresses the importance of strengthening food production in developing countries. It also calls for special assistance to these countries for their stock programmes, for the establishment of an effective food information and early warning system, and for regular intergovernmental consultations to review the situation and decide on any action required.

92. It was generally envisaged that the main elements of the International Undertaking would be translated into a legally-binding instrument through the conclusion of an international grains arrangement with clearly defined rights and obligations regarding reserves, prices, special assistance to developing countries and other provisions essential for world food security. Likewise, it was considered that the minimum food aid target of 10 million tons would be achieved through legal commitments under a new Food Aid Convention.

93. After four years of negotiation, the United Nations negotiating conference on new International Grains Arrangement agreed on most of the provisions of a new Food Aid Convention aimed at this target but was unable to reach agreement on a number of essential elements and broke up for an indefinite period in February 1979 without an agreement.

94. Regardless of this adjournment, the Director-General of FAO drew up a Voluntary Plan of Action on World Food Security taking up the concepts and pledges of the International Undertaking on World Food Security, and focussing on some of the most urgent food security problems, especially of the low-income food deficit countries. FAO's Plan of Action on World Food Security has been endorsed by the FAO Conference and the UN General Assembly.

95. The OAU Council of Ministers is invited to support the Plan of Action by taking into account the Resolution on World Food Security adopted by African Ministers of Agriculture at the FAO Regional Conference held in Lomé, Togo, in June this year. This Action Plan consists of the following five points:

- (a) Adoption of food grain stock policies;
- (b) Criteria for the management and release of national stocks;
- (c) Special measures to assist low-income food deficit countries to meet current import requirements and emergency needs;
- (d) Special arrangements for increased food security assistance;
- (e) Collective self-reliance of developing countries.

C. Relief Measures

96. Recent trends show an increase in the scale and frequency of food emergencies in Africa caused by drought, and large-scale refugee influxes. FAO estimates that in 1980 half of Africa or 26 States with 150 million people face critical shortages. Cereal production fell sharply below requirements for the second consecutive year.

97. The present African food crisis comes at the end of a ten-year period which has seen food production per head decline on an average of 10 per cent. In many African countries food production per caput has dropped by almost 20 per cent in the same decade. At the same time, it is precisely the poorest countries which are facing the most difficult balance of payments problems, and which have the least scope for increasing commercial food imports.

98. Faced with this grave situation in Africa, the Director General of FAO, convened a meeting of donors in September, 1980 to prepare a co-ordinated reaction by the international community. According to FAO estimates, food aid to the 26 affected countries of Africa should increase from 1.4 million tons in 1979/80 to approximately 2.4 million tons in 1980/81 - an increase of about one million tons, and an amount 3 times larger than food aid shipments in 1976/1978. Beyond these quantities the countries concerned must purchase from the open world market greater volume at sharply rising commodity prices and freight rates in order to meet their food deficits and avert famine.

99. The above meeting recognized that the grave situation in Africa was a joint responsibility of the entire international community and agreed that concerted and co-ordinated action was essential to ward off famine. The meeting agreed also that there was an immediate need for substantial increase in food aid. Many donors announced that their Governments had reappraised their food aid programmes and had decided to give greater priority to African needs. A number of donors announced specific pledges in response to the appeal made by the Director General of FAO.

100. The meeting supported and endorsed FAO's proposals for co-ordinated action set forth in the following terms:

(i) Donors would immediately make every possible effort to speed up the physical delivery of food aid already pledged. They would give special priority in this, and in further commitments in the few weeks following to those countries facing shortages as a result of previous crop failures, or in the influx of refugees or returnees.

(ii) Donors would, as soon as possible, make additional commitments for any or all of the affected countries, to meet shortages expected to rise in the 1980/81 crop year.

(iii) FAO and WFP would together remain in continuous contact with the Governments of the affected countries in order to ensure a flow of up-to-date information to potential donors.

(iv) FAO would issue monthly reports on the overall situation, including the progress of crops and the level of food aid committed.

(v) The World Food Programme would exercise its traditional role of co-ordinating emergency operations in respect of countries with major needs.

101. It is recommended that recipient countries ascertain appropriate planning and financing for reception and onwarding of emergency assistance goods to be handled in a rational manner from the points of entry to main distribution centres.

102. The planning should define the procedures, the responsibilities, and the channels of information and communication between the public bodies concerned with transport, and co-ordination of transport, of food products, making optimum use of existing infrastructures, particularly as regards common links such as ports, railways and road transport of landlocked countries.

103. An information system covering food needs and production as well as transport capacities and providing an adequate and timely assessment of emergency assistance requirements should be foreseen in the Plan.

104. The Plan should aim at promoting the supplementary provision of commodities and the organisation of emergency aid calling for joint efforts on the part of competent sub-regional and regional organisations, if any, transit countries and donors. At the same time, the emergency Plan should seek to provide governments with a tool to stimulate the programming of basic food supplies, including food security stocks. The Plan should attach paramount importance to the improvement of permanent and global monitoring of imports and delivery at regional and sub-regional levels.

105. Relief measures should not only concentrate on the provision of food aid and supplementary support (transport/distribution facilities) to control famine and starvation, but should consider also immediate rehabilitation of agricultural and livestock production to help the affected rural population to recover from the economic set-back, to reduce its vulnerability to new crisis situations and enable them again to participate fully in the development programmes set forth by the Governments concerned.

D. Financial Resources

106. To meet the requirements of the proposed action programmes, substantial increases of financial flows are called for from both domestic and external sources.

107. There should be a deliberate reorientation in the allocation of Government resources with a view to treating agriculture commensurately with the important role the sector has in overall economic and social development. This may involve difficult policy decisions for Governments with scarce resources and many conflicting demands on them. It may involve allocating

local resources to match external financing being made available for investment, but it will also involve an increasingly heavier burden for inputs and for the expanded Government services required to yield benefits from such investments. In all events, African Governments should reconcile their priority for increased food production with other priorities such as assistance to urban consumers. This reconciliation can take place only within a balanced approach to development. Governments, obviously through fiscal and other measures, should make serious efforts to transfer resources from other sectors to agriculture as well as to reallocate resources from within the sector to the greater benefit to small farmers.

108. The setting of targets for increased domestic resource allocation to food and agriculture can only be done at the national level. Nevertheless, it would be desirable to aim at providing domestic resources (both government and private) to cover at least 50 per cent of the investment requirements for the development of the sector. This yardstick may not be applicable to some countries. However, it serves as a useful measure for maintaining a reasonable balance between domestic and foreign financing, in line with the Continent's self-reliance strategy, and, it may induce increased external assistance as more confidence in the recipient countries is thereby established.

109. A more flexible approach to development financing by external agencies is required. In some cases, this would involve radical departure from present policies and practices by providing, in addition, financing of investment-related recurrent expenditures and input costs during appropriate period of time. External financial resources should preferably be made available on highly concessionary terms, especially for the LDC's.

110. On the basis of recent trends, external resources to African agriculture 1/ are expected to reach, at 1975 prices, the level of about US\$1,500 million in 1980 and US\$2,000 million in 1985, or a total amount of about US\$9,000 million over the coming five years. Even if this level of external financing is attained, it will still leave a gap between all resources available to agriculture and the financial requirements of the proposed action programmes. Such a gap will need to be filled, particularly from ODA with special emphasis on highly concessional loans from multilateral lending agencies. Two measures will be needed in this respect:

- to increase the resources of agencies specialized in agricultural development, particularly to take into account "the need to increase food production in the poorest food deficit countries, the potential for increasing food production in other developing countries and the importance of improving the nutritional level of the poorest populations in developing countries and the conditions of their lives;
- to increase the African share of ODA resource flows from the present level of around 50 per cent to at least 60 per cent. Africa has a strong case in this respect vis-a-vis the other developing regions. It consists of more than 50 per cent of the total number of developing countries and counts 20 countries of the 31 LDC's. In addition, it has the most acute problems in comparison with other regions.

1/ "Narrow definition", OECD

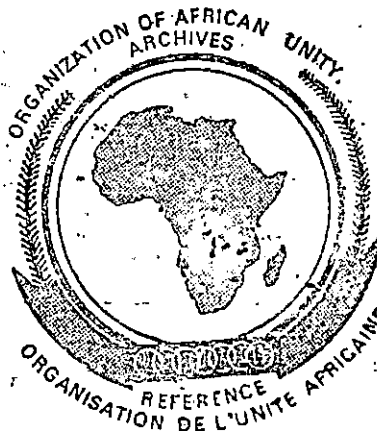
TABLE 1: INDICES OF PRODUCTION AND EXTERNAL TRADE OF THE AFRICAN REGION

This has already been discussed in the text. No further additional comments are needed.

TABLE 2: EXTERNAL TRADE OF THE AFRICAN REGION

Clearly the total merchandize figures show that imports exceeded exports in recent years. Of agricultural exports, which consistute the main source of foreign exchange earnings without any minerals, imports of agricultural products in the Region are taking an increasing share of the earnings from agricultural exports. What is really alarming is that the Region was before a net exporter of food products and was just about in balance during 1974-77 but is now showing a reverse trend. Imports of cereals have been rising very fast which is very clearly reflected in Table 3 - Fluctuations in the Gross Availability of Cereals in the African Region. As can be seen, the self-sufficiency of cereals has gone down from 92% in 1960-65 to 80.5% in 1979. In absolute terms, the cereal imports have increased from 3 million tons in 1960-65 to 4.2 million tons in 1970 and to around 11 million tons now. These imports have been forecast to rise to 15 million tons in 1985 if the present trend continues.

Inspite of heavy imports, the per caput availability of cereals has recorded no increase.



1) INDICES OF PRODUCTION AND EXTERNAL TRADE OF THE AFRICAN REGION

CM/1106(XXXVI)

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	1961-65	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	
						1969	- 71	= 100								
AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION																
- Total	82	87	90	94	98	100	102	102	101	106	107	110	103	112	115	
- per caput	99	96	97	99	100	101	99	97	93	95	93	93	89	89	89	
FOOD PRODUCTION																
- total	82	86	90	94	98	100	102	102	100	107	108	111	109	113	116	
- per caput	99	96	98	99	100	100	99	97	92	96	94	94	89	90	90	
TRADE IN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS																
- Imports:Volume	82	91	91	92	89	101	110	112	116	129	129	135	173	196	194	
- Imports:unit value	96	97	97	93	96	99	105	117	153	222	273	229	227	237	252	
- Imports:value	78	87	88	85	86	100	114	129	178	289	348	310	388	462	487	
- Exports:Volume	95	101	95	100	100	104	96	109	110	103	93	99	85	84	84	
- Exports:Unit value	86	87	89	91	96	102	101	104	133	184	189	209	319	314	325	
- Exports:value	83	88	84	91	96	107	97	112	145	185	170	207	274	267	272	
TRADE IN FOOD PRODUCTS																
- Imports:volume	79	91	89	88	87	101	112	114	119	131	128	135	178	208	204	
- Imports:unit value	98	98	98	94	96	98	105	118	156	234	294	237	222	233	249	
- Imports:value	78	89	87	83	84	99	117	131	186	307	371	319	389	477	501	
- Exports:volume	101	106	99	106	100	102	97	112	105	99	87	93	82	81	75	
- Exports:unit value	80	80	87	89	99	102	99	100	129	196	212	198	275	315	323	
- Exports:value	82	85	86	94	99	105	96	110	135	194	181	185	227	261	242	

Note: All the data in this table refers to the agricultural Sector only, i.e. excluding fishery and forestry.

Source: FAO

2) EXTERNAL TRADE OF THE AFRICAN REGION

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	1961-65	1969-71	1974-76	1977	1978	1979
	million US\$ (current prices)					
TOTAL MERCHANDISE TRADE						
- Total imports	5 535	9 417	28 247	39 762	45 934	49 280
- Total exports	5 274	8 978	29 339	36 146	35 460	40 256
TOTAL AGRICULTURAL TRADE(1)						
- Total imports	1 154	1 548	4 716	5 842	6 905	7 216
- Total exports	2 992	3 708	6 940	9 887	9 755	9 910
TOTAL FOOD TRADE(1)						
- Total imports	907	1 193	3 855	4 555	5 545	5 800
- Total exports	1 633	2 040	3 820	4 593	5 300	4 931
TOTAL TRADE OF CEREALS						
- Total imports	252	379	1 497	1 737	2 388	2 285
- Total exports	67	60	83	43	83	103

(1.) Excluding fishery and forestry products.

Source: FAO.

3) FLUCTUATIONS IN THE GROSS AVAILABILITY OF CEREALS IN THE AFRICAN REGION

	1961-56	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979
CEREALS															
PRODUCTION	37,084	34,596	39,749	41,324	42,600	41,941	43,592	44,852	39,243	45,725	44,427	48,016	43,036	47,523	44,22
EXPORTS	2,919	4,184	4,142	3,767	3,464	4,231	5,332	5,314	5,925	7,167	7,055	7,131	9,284	11,417	10,56
EXPORTS	915	686	979	1,143	1,034	848	587	728	775	646	463	526	237	610	70
TOTAL AVAIL- ABILITY	39,088	38,094	42,912	43,948	45,030	45,324	48,337	49,438	44,393	52,246	51,019	54,621	52,083	58,330	54,08
DOMESTIC SUPPLY AS % OF TOTAL AVAILABILITY	(92.5)	(89.0)	(90.3)	(91.4)	(92.3)	(90.7)	(89.0)	(89.3)	(86.7)	(86.3)	(86.2)	(86.9)	(82.2)	(80.4)	(80.
HUMAN POPU- LATION (mln)	(235.8)	(255.0)	(261.8)	(268.9)	(276.2)	(282.7)	(290.5)	(298.7)	(307.1)	(316.0)	(325.2)	(334.7)	(344.7)	(355.0)	(365
PER CAPUT AVAILABILITY (Kg)	(166)	(149)	(164)	(163)	(163)	(160)	(166)	(166)	(145)	(165)	(157)	(163)	(151)	(164)	(14

Note: The concept of "availability" used in this table is gross, i.e., including the quantities lost during storage, transportation and handling and the quantities used for food, seed, alcohol manufacture and industrial processing.

31 DECEMBER 1979

1981-02

Famine in Africa Prepared Jointly by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO)

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