

COMPARATIVE EVALUATION OF THE REGIONAL INSTITUTIONS FOR  
THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SENEGAL RIVER, NIGER RIVER  
AND LAKE CHAD BASINS

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Comparative Evaluation of the Regional Institutions  
for the Development of the Senegal River  
Niger River and Lake Chad Basins

Purpose:

The purpose of this paper is analyze the conditions in the Senegal River, Niger River and Lake Chad Basins, and the characteristics of the three regional institutions charged with the coordinated development of each of the basins. The analysis is intended to increase the awareness of AID policy-makers with respect the relationships of the member States of the Organization for the Development of the Senegal River (OMVS), the River Niger Commission (RNC) and the Lake Chad Basin Commission (LCBC) and the possible implications of these relationships on the progress of these institutions toward integrated planning and development.

## THE BASIN INSTITUTIONS

The Senegal and Niger Rivers and Lake Chad are internationally shared water resources by some fourteen countries in west and central Africa. Their hydrographic basins stretch contiguously from the Senegal River's outlet to the Atlantic Ocean in the west where it forms the border between Mauritania and Senegal, eastward along the southern side of the Sahara Desert through to Chad and Sudan in the Lake Chad Basin and extend southward through Nigeria where the Niger River discharges into the Atlantic Ocean. See Map 1.

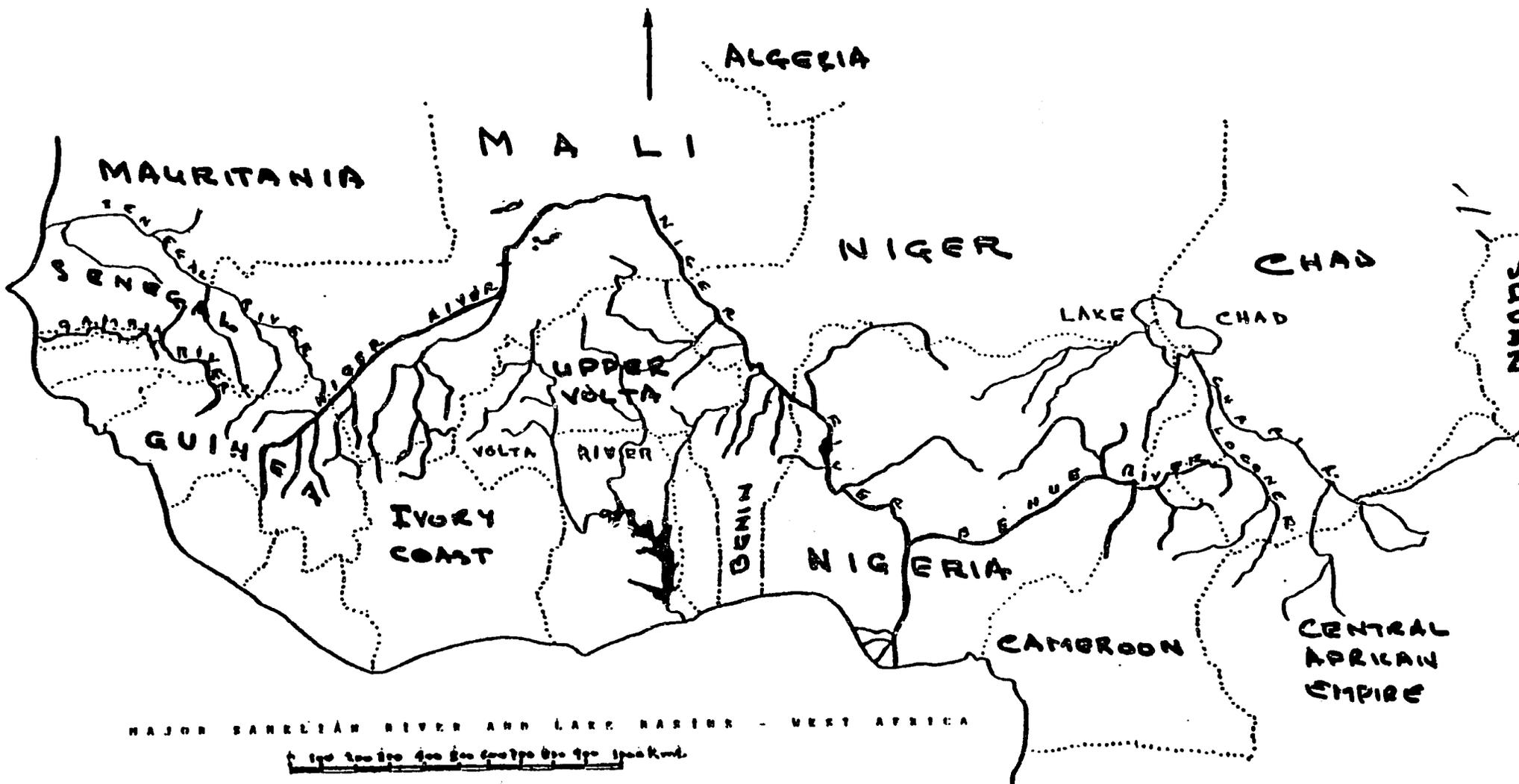
During the 1963-1964 period at a time when most of the west and central African countries had achieved independence only a few years earlier, institutions were created to coordinate the conservation, development and use of the water and related resources of the three basins. These institutions, or as in the case of the Senegal River Basin's successor institution, exist today. These are:

- the Organization for the Development of the Senegal River (OMVS)\*
- the River Niger Commission (RNC)
- the Lake Chad Basin Commission (LCBC)

### The River/Lake Basin Institutions

According to Dante A. Caponera" . . . the functions and powers of a basin water resources institution . . . should be clearly defined, (and) may vary from case to case, depending upon (a) the kind of cooperation envisaged; (b) the desired degree of involvement; and (c) the specific fields for which it is proposed to establish the institution.

\*French acronym for Organisation pour la Mise en Valeur du Fleuve Senegal



Such functions may include:

- (a) advisory, consultative, coordinating or policy-making functions;
- (b) executive or operational functions which may include, the carrying out of studies, exploration, investigation and surveys, feasibility studies, plan formulation, project construction, operation and maintenance;
- (c) regulatory function, including the control of project and plan implementation, the allocation of water rights, law-making;
- (d) judicial functions, which may include arbitration or final dispute settlement. "1/

According to the original statutes of the Senegal and Niger River Basin and Lake Chad Basin institutions, they were to perform advisory, regulatory and judicial functions and executive functions, except project construction, operation and maintenance. However, since 1972 LCBC has assumed the functions of project implementation, management and operation.

The three basins or basin institutions share several similar characteristics: these may be important in terms of transferability of experiences from one basin to another.

- They were created during the 1963-64 period when the spirit of cooperation among the newly independent states of West Africa manifested itself in a strong desire for mutual cooperation.
- Although the main consideration for jurisdiction of the three basin institutions had been the hydrographic basins, no one of the three institutions covers the entire hydrographic basin.
- The memberships of the three institutions comprise sub-Saharan and Saharan countries whose populations share some common ethnic and cultural heritage.
- Mali is a common member of the OMVS and the RNC.
- Cameroon, Chad, Niger and Nigeria are common members of the RNC and LCBC.
- The Senegal and Niger Rivers and Lake Chad originate in areas of high rainfall and either pass through or flow into arid or semi-arid areas. Irrigation is therefore possible and desirable.

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1/Caponera, Dante A., Legal and Institutional Aspects of, and Requirements for International River Basin Development in West Africa, mimeograph 1978.

- The populations of the Sahelian member states of the three institutions have been are subject to recurring, and in some cases, devastating droughts.
- Each of the three institutions initially had similar mandates from their member states for coordinating the conservation, development and use of the water and related resources of their respective basins.
- The memberships of the three organizations consist significantly of some of the poorest countries of the world.
- The populations served by the three institutions are primarily agricultural and rural.

Figure 1 presents selected characteristics of the three basin institutions and their member States.

		Position on River/Lake	Languages	Population Estimates 1/ (thousands)	Potentials in Each Basin					Relative Importance of Basin in each country
					Irrigated Agriculture	Hydro-Power	Water Transport	Fisheries	Livestock	
<b>OMVS - SENEGAL BASIN</b>										
	Basin under OMVS is 259,000 km <sup>2</sup> .	U	F	5,840	.	*	*	.	.	Secondary
Mali		U	F	5,840	.	*	*	.	.	Secondary
Mauritania	Total basin area is 290,000 including Guinea.	D	F	1,320	⊠	.	o	o	.	Primary
Senegal		D	F	5,110	*	.	o	o	.	Secondary
<b>LAKE CHAD BASIN COMMISSION (LCBC)</b>										
Cameroon	Conventional basin under LCBC is 427,300 km <sup>2</sup> .	U/D	E/F	6,530	o	o	.	o	*	Secondary
Chad		U/D	F	4,120	⊠	o	.	*	*	Primary
Niger	Total basin area is approx. 2,500,000 km <sup>2</sup> .	D	F	4,730	⊠	.	.	.	.	Secondary
Nigeria	including Central African Empire and Sudan.	U/D	E	64,570	o	.	.	o	o	Secondary
<b>RIVER NIGER COMMISSION (RNC)</b>										
Benin	Total apparently active basin i.e. with rainfall runoff and under PnG is 1,112,000 km <sup>2</sup> .	D/U	F	3,200	.	.	.	o	.	Tertiary
Cameroon		U	E/F	6,530	.	o	.	o	.	Secondary/Tertiary
Chad		U	F	4,120	.	.	.	.	.	Tertiary
Ivory Coast		U	F	5,020	.	.	.	.	.	Tertiary
Guinea		U	F	4,530	.	.	.	.	.	Tertiary
Mali	Total theoretical basin including ephemeral basin without rainfall runoff is approx. 1,890,000 km <sup>2</sup> .	D/U	F	5,840	**	o	o	o	*	Primary/Secondary
Niger		D/U	F	4,730	⊠	⊠	o	o	*	Primary
Nigeria		D	E	64,750	*	**	*	*	*	Primary
Upper Volta	including Algeria.	U	F	6,170	.	.	o	.	.	Tertiary

1/ SOURCE: World Almanac, 1978.

\*\* Potential is highly significant.

\* Potential is significant.

o Potential is not significant in absolute terms but could be significant for country or a particular region of country.

. Potential is not significant.

⊠ Potential is highly significant for country since it has limited potential outside of subject basin.

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Organization for the Development of the Senegal River (OMVS)

The antecedent organizations from which the OMVS has evolved included the membership of the four riparian states of the Senegal Basin i.e., Guinea, Mali, Mauritania and Senegal. Guinea, the furthest upstream State, did not elect to be part of the OMVS when it was created in 1972.

The role of the OMVS in the development of the Senegal Basin is based on agreements among the three states concerning the objectives of an integrated development plan, and the components, ownership, operation and financial responsibilities for mainstream infrastructure. Through the OMVS mechanism, Mali, Mauritania and Senegal have agreed that the integrated development of the Senegal Basin be based on a regulated flow of 300 m<sup>3</sup>/sec downstream from the proposed Manantali Dam. They have also decided that the planning, design, construction and operation of the following works forming the regional mainstream infrastructure for developing the Senegal Basin should be managed and operated by the OMVS and should consist of:

- a multipurpose regulatory and hydro-electric dam at Manantali
- a dam at Diama in the delta of the Senegal to arrest salt water intrusion and provide water for irrigation
- a river and seaport at St. Louis, Senegal and a river port at Kayes, Mali
- the improvement of a number of points of call along the Senegal at Rosso, Richard Toll, Dagana, Podor, Boghe, Kaedi, Matam, Bakel and Ambidedi.

The OMVS states have subsequently agreed that the mainstream infrastructure as defined above is the common property of the three states regardless of whose territory the works are to be constructed. They also jointly guarantee the repayment of loans obtained by the OMVS in the construction of the mainstream infrastructure i.e., if one of the states were to default the other states would assume the additional repayment burden.

Some of the more important features of the OMVS, its basin and the member states are:

- small basin (total drainage area 290,000 km<sup>2</sup>) and Senegal River discharges approximately 25 billion cubic meters of water into the Atlantic Ocean each year.
- relatively simple river system.
- small membership (Mali, Mauritania and Senegal) although membership is also open to the remaining riparian state, Guinea.
- two principally downstream states and one upstream state.
- distribution of responsibilities between the OMVS and the member state governments has to an extent been defined.
- there is the possibility of commencing the integrated development of the basin on the basis of three of the four basin states.
- the membership of the OMVS is French speaking and the states have had a shared common colonial administration.
- the size of the populations of the Mali and Senegal are evenly matched but that of Mauritania is only about 10% of the population of the three countries.
- the potential and therefore interests of the three states are different but in a sense complementary and therefore, reconcilable within the framework of overall basin development. Mali's interest is power and navigation while Mauritania's and Senegal's primary interest is the development of irrigation. The distribution of the 420,000 ha of irrigable land in the OMVS basin is 240,000 ha for Senegal, 140,000 ha for Mauritania and 40,000 ha for Mali. <sup>1/</sup>
- both Mali and Senegal have considerable potential for water resources development outside of the Senegal Basin while for Mauritania the Senegal represents its sole important surface water resource.

<sup>1/</sup>FAO, Perspective Study of Agricultural Development in the Sahelian countries 1975-1990, Volume I: Main Report, Rome, 1976 p. 50

### River Niger Commission

The principal characteristics of the Niger River and the RNC are:

- large basin area (1,112,000 km<sup>2</sup>) for the apparently active basin discharging an average of approximately 175 billion cubic meters of water into the Atlantic Ocean each year.
- complex river system consisting of the upper and lower portions which behave like rivers and an intervening delta/lake area which behaves like a lake and which is particularly vulnerable to environmental changes.
- large membership (nine countries: Benin, Cameroon, Chad, Ivory Coast, Guinea, Mali, Niger, Nigeria and Upper Volta).
- Mali is also a member of the OMVS.
- All members of the LCBC are members of the RNC.
- complex upstream - downstream relationships.
- important differences between English speaking Nigeria and the eight French speaking countries in terms of approach to the modern world, population, and wealth.
- population of Nigeria, is estimated to be 64 million and population of each of the other countries 3-6 million.
- the member states of the RNC have different interests in developing the potential of the Niger Basin based on their share of the potential. Figure 1 indicates Guinea, Mali and Nigeria have considerable potential.
- the member states of the RNC have different interests in developing the potential of the Niger Basin based also on their water resources development options elsewhere. Niger has only limited potential in both the Niger River Basin and Lake Chad Basin, but these represent virtually the country's total surface water potential. The Niger River's potential is therefore very important to Niger.
- Nigeria, the most downstream of the states is developing the potential of the Niger River at a much faster rate than the upstream states.

LCBC

The principal features of the Lake Chad Basin and the LCBC are:

- large basin (approx. 2,500,000 km<sup>2</sup>) but conventional basin over which the LCBC has jurisdiction is limited to 427,300 km<sup>2</sup>. Lake Chad receives annual discharges from its tributaries of approximately 50 billion cubic meters per year.
- the basin is a closed hydrologic system and is very vulnerable environmentally.
- irrigation projects can proceed without the need for major impoundments.
- relatively small membership of LCBC (Cameroon, Chad, Niger and Nigeria).
- all LCBC members are members of the RNC.
- the presence of Nigeria raises similar dichotomies for the LCBC as have been noted above for the River Niger Commission.
- Chad has the most to gain from the development of the Lake Chad Basin.
- Niger has limited irrigation potential (30,000 hectares) in the Lake Chad Basin and Niger River Basin (130,000 hectares) However, these represent Niger's only irrigable land which is very important to Niger.
- Nigeria and Cameroon have considerable water resources potential outside of the Lake Chad Basin.
- The Chad Basin is remote from the centers of population of Cameroon, Niger and Nigeria.

## COMPARATIVE EVALUATION

### Basin Size and Extent of Water Resources

The OMVS Basin is the smallest of the three basins with an area of 259,000 km<sup>2</sup> and an estimated average annual discharge at its mouth of 25 billion cubic meters. Comparable figures for the conventional Lake Chad Basin and the Niger River's apparently active basin are 427,300 km<sup>2</sup>/50 billion cubic meters and 1,112,000 km<sup>2</sup>/175 billion cubic meters respectively.

### Territorial Jurisdiction

The OMVS Basin includes three member States and the Lake Chad Conventional Basin and Niger River Basin four and nine member States respectively. No one of the three institutions has jurisdiction over the entire hydrographic (surface) basin.

In the case of the OMVS Basin (259,000 km<sup>2</sup>) Guinea did not elect to become a member when the OMVS was created in 1972. The total Senegal Basin area including Guinea is 290,000 km<sup>2</sup>.

For the Niger River Basin no precise definition has been made of the jurisdiction of the RNC. However, the membership (nine) of the RNC covers the entire apparently active hydrographic basin (1,112,000 km<sup>2</sup>) with rainfall runoff but not the entire theoretical basin (1,890,000 km<sup>2</sup>) including the apparently inactive basin or epheremal basin i.e., without rainfall runoff. The apparently inactive basin extends into Algeria.

The LCBC with a membership of Cameroon, Chad, Niger and Nigeria has jurisdiction over the Conventional Lake Chad Basin with an area of 427,300 km<sup>2</sup>. The total theoretical basin for Lake Chad extends into the Central African Empire and Sudan.

The failure of the RNC member states to address the fundamental issue of the territorial jurisdiction of the RNC may indicate that they are not yet prepared to take some of the fundamental first steps for comprehensive planning and development of the Niger Basin.

### Upstream - Downstream Relationships

The waters of the three basins are shared by four to nine riparian countries. According to Caponera <sup>1/</sup> concepts governing the uses of internationally shared water resources have evolved over the years from the principle of absolute territorial sovereignty whereby a state had unrestricted or sovereign right over waters located within and under its territory to that of limited territorial sovereignty whereby individual states rights gave way to a community of interest governing the equitable apportionment and utilization of the waters of international basins. Another principle is that of "first in demand, first in right" which gives priority to those uses which have already been established.

The experience in a number of international river basins in Africa suggests that some rivers have their sources in remote areas of high rainfall and flow downstream through more populated lands where demands, and principally consumptive use demands for the water resources, are greatest. The Senegal, Niger and Nile Rivers are examples in Africa where this principle holds true. For the Nile, Egypt's water demands have developed earlier than upstream riparian states. Egypt has also been fortunate in being able to mobilize international assistance to develop the Nile's waters for its uses. Egypt has been in the lead in promoting international cooperation with respect to the waters of the Nile in order to protect the Nile against upstream actions which could jeopardize the flow.

Senegal Basin - Of the four riparian states Mauritania and Senegal are principally downstream states and Mali and Guinea upstream states. In the Senegal Basin the impetus for development appears to be coming equally from upstream Mali for the generation of hydro-electric power and for assuring year round transport on the Senegal from Kayes to the mouth as for irrigated agriculture for downstream Mauritania and Senegal.

Niger River Basin - In the Niger River Basin (See Figure 1), Nigeria is the only truly downstream state. The remaining eight countries are either strictly upstream countries or as in the cases of Mali, Niger and Benin they are downstream to the upstream countries and upstream to those which are downstream from them. However, the most significant relationship today in assessing the Niger River Basin are those between the eight francophone, less populous, upstream countries and wealthy Nigeria which is anglophone, more populous and downstream. Nigeria's relationship to the Niger River is comparable to that of Egypt's on the Nile except that Nigeria can and is providing its own resources in order to develop the lower reaches of the Niger River. Nigeria is developing its portion of the basin at a very rapid rate as compared to the poorer and more sparsely

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<sup>1/</sup>Caponera, Dante A., Legal and . . . pp.5-6.

populated upstream states. When and if agreements are prepared to apportion the waters of the Niger Basin, Nigeria will be in a position to demand increasingly large shares based on her use at the time that apportionments are decided. The more that Nigeria develops the downstream waters, the stronger will be her position to demand larger shares of the basin's waters.

Lake Chad Basin - In the Lake Chad Basin all four of the LCBC States are downstream states in that they all share Lake Chad. However only Cameroon, Chad and Nigeria are upstream states. Niger is not. The Chari River flows through Chad. Cameroon and Chad share the Logone River. On the Kamadougou, Nigeria holds the upstream position and Niger the downstream. Nigeria has been able to draw from internal sources and develop areas of the Kamadougou for irrigated agriculture which may not be in the future best interests of Niger. Any action in the Lake Chad basin which lessens the flow into Lake Chad or adversely affects the resources of Lake Chad will affect the four LCBC States. In addition, Niger is particularly vulnerable to the actions of Nigeria on the Kamadougou which could affect Niger's ability to develop its 30,000 hectare irrigation potential. This is not very large in absolute terms, but it represents a significant share of Niger's total irrigation potential in the Niger and Chad Basins.

All of the member States of the river/lake basin institutions share a common African heritage. Ten of the eleven member States of the three institutions are French speaking or, as in the case of Cameroon, have both French and English as national languages. These countries have been under French colonial administration. Their indigenous values have been overlain with a French view of the modern world. Nigeria is English speaking and its view of the modern world has been conditioned by its English administration, cultural and educational experience. The commonality of the African heritage of the eleven member States of the three institutions may suggest that the States will have similar concepts for planning and developing the three basins. This propensity to similarity will be countered by the Francophone/Anglophone dichotomy suggesting differences in planning and development.

#### Member State Potentials Within Each Basin and Elsewhere

Senegal Basin - Mauritania's and Senegal's principal potential in the Senegal Basin is irrigated agriculture. There are an estimated 420,000 hectares of irrigable land distributed 240,000 hectares in Senegal, 140,000 hectares in Mauritania and 40,000 hectares in Mali. Mali's principal interests are developing its hydro-electric potential and developing year round transport on the Senegal from Kayes to the mouth for 1.5 meter draught vessels thus providing Mali with permanent access

to the sea. Mauritania and Senegal would also benefit from improved transportation on the Senegal River. For Mauritania, the Senegal Basin is virtually its only means for irrigated agriculture. Rainfed agriculture is also relatively limited in Mauritania. Senegal possesses other surface water resources namely the Gambia and Casamance Rivers for irrigated agriculture and sizeable access to rainfed agriculture. Mali's potential is enormous in the Niger River Basin

Because of Mauritania's very limited water resources potential elsewhere, the development of Mauritania's modest potential in the Senegal Basin is of great importance to Mauritania.

Niger River Basin - Mali and Nigeria have enormous potential (irrigation, power, fisheries and transport) in the Niger River Basin. Mali's irrigable land resources are on the order of 2,000,000 hectares. An estimated 100,000 tons of fish are taken from inland delta in Mali each year. Nigeria already has developed about 900 MW of hydro-electric power at Kainji Dam and has plans for increasing its hydro-electric power from the Niger Basin to 2000 MW. Installed capacity at the proposed Manantali Dam in the Senegal Basin is approximately 200 MW. Guinea has considerable hydro-electric power potential in the Niger Basin but also possesses other power resources which are located closer to its mineral resources, population centers and the coastal area. Niger's irrigation (approx. 130,000 ha) and power possibilities are not very large in absolute terms but are of enormous importance to Niger since its potential outside of the basin is limited and rainfed agriculture is confined to a strip of land extending north from its border with Nigeria.

Conventional Lake Chad Basin <sup>1/</sup> - The principal uses of the water resources of the Lake Chad Basin are for irrigation, livestock and fisheries. The approximately 680,000 hectares of irrigable land are distributed as follows:

Cameroon	320,000 hectares
Chad	180,000 hectares
Nigeria	150,000 hectares
Niger	20,000 hectares

<sup>1/</sup>The source of statistics quoted below is the Ad Hoc Committee (UNDP, USAID) with the assistance of META Systems, Cambridge, Mass., Briefing Paper-Development of Lake Chad Area, July 1977.

Annual fish production has been registered at 100,000 tons per year of which 40% is fished from the lake and 60% from the rivers. For fisheries the estimated percentages of catches from each country are:

Cameroon	15%
Chad	50%
Nigeria	25%
Niger	10%

Both Cameroon and Nigeria have significant potential in the Lake Chad Basin but because of their water resources potential outside of the Chad Basin, their interest in the Chad Basin is secondary. Niger's interest is secondary for the reason that its potential in absolute terms is limited. The Chad Basin has significant potential both in absolute terms and in terms of Chad's water resources potential outside of the Basin. The Chad Basin is therefore of primary importance to Chad.

#### Implications For Basin Development

##### OMVS Basin

The Senegal Basin is the smallest and least complex of the three basins. The OMVS states are only three and they share a common French language and colonial heritage. The development of the Senegal Basin has begun without the cooperation of the fourth riparian state, Guinea. Mali, Mauritania and Senegal have similarly strong interests in cooperating on developing the Senegal Basin. Mauritania's options elsewhere on its territory for rainfed agriculture are limited. The Senegal River represents for Mauritania its sole source of irrigated agriculture. Senegal has considerable potential for rainfed agriculture. Although its irrigation potential extends to the Gambia and Casamance Basins, these are only about one half of Senegal's potential in the Senegal Basin (240,000 hectares). Mali's interest is primarily navigation and hydro-electric power.

The OMVS today can be characterized as an international river basin institution for which its member states have been both careful and creative in endowing the OMVS with the legal basis and institutional capability to effectively translate the expressed desires of the member states into common objectives and an investment program for the planning and development of the water and related resources of the Senegal Basin. The OMVS has been careful in the sense that its legal basis and institutional structure and staffing has evolved cautiously to provide the bases and capacity to permit the OMVS to fulfill its growing and enlarged responsibilities with respect to the Senegal Basin. The OMVS has been creative in that the member states have assigned a unique role to the

OMVS which neither has been equalled nor surpassed in any other international river/lake basin institution in any other part of the world.

Niger Basin - In the Niger Basin there are a number of factors contributing to a slower movement towards comprehensive planning and development. The Niger Basin is large and complex. The RNC has a membership of nine riparian countries. Nigeria as the downstream country is populous, wealthy and English speaking compared to the remaining eight countries which are small in population, poor and French speaking. The Niger Basin is of primary interest to Guinea, Mali, Niger and Nigeria with respect to their potentials for developing each of those countries. Niger's potential is not important in absolute terms but is very significant relative to Niger's very limited water resources potential on other parts of its territory. Niger is the only one of the four countries to manifest a desire to move ahead with the integrated planning and development of the Niger Basin. Guinea has hydro-electrical power potential outside of the Niger Basin which is located closer to its population centers and mineral deposits. Mali may view its participation in the OMVS as an opportunity to experiment with the planning and development of an international river basin in West Africa where Mali has less at stake. Mali then could apply some of the lessons learned to the planning and development of the Niger Basin where Mali has enormous potential and where Mali may wish to proceed more cautiously. As stated earlier, Nigeria also has reasons for proceeding more slowly on the development of the Niger Basin. Nigeria has the means for executing large projects unilaterally and in fact has plans for executing several large dams on the Niger within the next decade. It would be to Nigeria's advantage to execute those large projects before meaningful international collaboration is effected through the RNC. With projects already executed, Nigeria would have a stronger case for a larger share of the waters of the Niger entering Nigeria when apportionment agreements are made.

It appears that meaningful international collaboration on the international planning and development of the Niger Basin through the RNC will depend largely on the support of Mali and Nigeria for those efforts. Mali may be the key to these efforts because of its commanding position upstream on the Niger and its enormous potential for consuming large amounts of the water and because of the experience it could bring to the Niger Basin as a result of its participation in the international planning and development of the Senegal Basin.

Lake Chad Basin - The LCBC can be characterized as an institution which has ventured beyond its capability to fulfill its responsibilities in the Lake Chad Basin. The member states have permitted the LCBC to assume responsibilities for coordinating the conservation, development and use of the water and related resources of the Lake Chad Basin as well as for the execution of development projects in the territories of its member states. Perhaps the principal reasons for the LCBC's neglect of the responsibilities usually assigned to international river/lake basin institutions is the possibility of undertaking development projects without the need to construct major infrastructure, the desire of the LCBC to undertake highly visible projects, the capacity of Nigeria to finance capital projects and the fact that the projects would be located in remote parts of Cameroon, Niger, and Nigeria which may have disposed these countries to allow the LCBC to undertake them.

Current LCBC planned project activities include projects which emphasize more of the planning and coordination activities usually associated with international river/lake basin institutions. It is also expected that those projects of more of a national nature will be undertaken by the national governments. Because all of the LCBC member states border on Lake Chad, all are vulnerable to the actions of any of the countries which affect the quality, quantity or regime of Lake Chad. Niger is particularly vulnerable with respect to the actions of Nigeria upstream on the Kamadougou. Niger may be particularly in need of international cooperation that could be provided by the LCBC in order to protect Niger's interests on the lower Kamadougou.