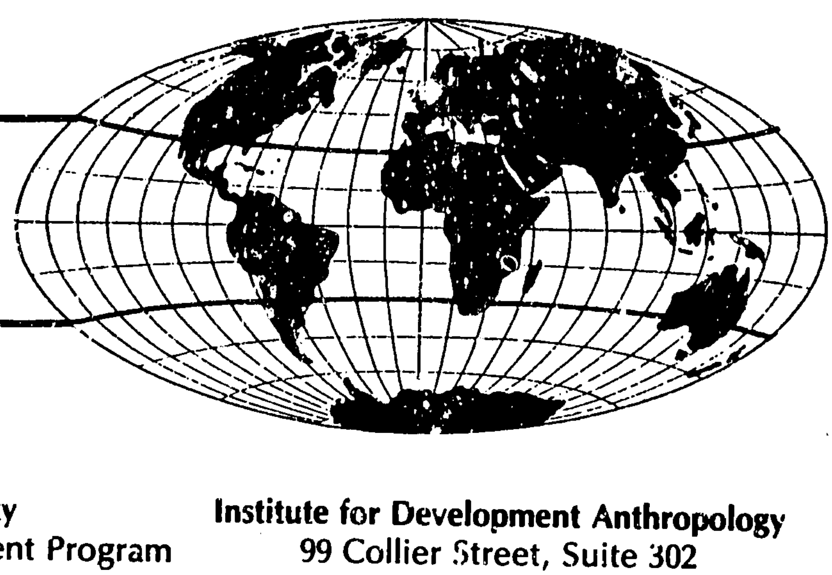
COOPERATIVE AGREEMENT ON SETTLEMENT AND RESOURCE SYSTEMS ANALYSIS

BACKGROUND STUDIES ON EAST AFRICAN TRADE



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BACKGROUND STUDIES ON EAST AFRICAN TRADE

for

African Bureau, USAID

by

Settlement and Resource System Analysis
Cooperative Agreement
Clark University

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Preface

The report is the first stage in a series of projects dealing with East African trade, especially directed to a focus upon unreported or illegal trade. While the specific workplan and field work on unreported trade have yet to be articulated, it was felt desirable to start the longer-term project by beginning with a series of background studies which collect pertinent information on three trade subjects: (1) current and historical data series; (2) trade policies and practices; and (3) the space economy of East Africa. This report presents the results of those background studies gleaned from information and data now on file at Clark University.

The data and information were collected from unpublished reports and published documents found in libraries and agencies at American universities in Worcester, Boston, and Washington, DC and also from institutions in Rome, Geneva, and London. Unfortunately, no attempt was made to research institutions in East Africa.

The study area for these background reports defines East Africa as a primary region of Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda. In some cases the region was expanded to cover the surrounding countries of Rwanda, Burundi, Sudan, Somalia, and Ethiopia. Obviously, for the next stages of the longer-term project, the East Africa Region will be more carefully delineated.

Part I of the report presents selected data on trade patterns for the broader East Africa Region. The data show that the flows of goods for the countries of the region are very limited in regards to shipments between East Africa countries, with the exception of a more dominant position of Kenya. For some East African countries there are virtually no interactions within the region. The same conclusion can be reached for East African trade with the rest of Africa. European and American trade in coffee, cotton, and tea are predominant flows of exports.

Part II is introduced by a brief overview of the various types of problems associated with trade policies in East Africa. The best understood of these problems is that of the generic economic problems associated with government attempts to regulate trade for various social aims. This overview is followed by a discussion of the nature of the problems associated with the use of the various trade policy instruments such as quotas, tariffs, export taxes, etc.

The review of the theory of trade policy is followed by a country-by-country review of the trade policies currently in effect. One of the important differences between the East African countries and the western economies is that East Africa depends far more heavily on trade for government tax and fee revenue than the more developed countries. This places an additional burden on the reform of trade policy since there are potentially serious government revenue effects associated with movement toward freer trade.

The final section of Part II looks at some of the other, peculiarly East African, trade policy problems. One of these problems is the relatively small fraction of total trade that is intra-African in nature. There appear to be a number of opportunities for expansion of trade among the countries of East

Africa which have thus far been unexploited. Some of the reasons for this lack of trade are examined as well as the most promising of the solutions, the development of preferential trade areas.

The study of the space economy of East Africa, focusing upon the three countries of Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda (Part III) reveals the dual economy characteristics of the region. There exists a core region of intense commercial activity focused upon Nairobi, with one extension into Kampala and around Lake Victoria, and another extension toward Mombasa and along the coast to Dar es Salaam. The remainder of the region can be characterized as dependent upon subsistence agriculture, with moderate population densities or unoccupied. In both types of occupance it is striking to observe that subregions extend across national boundaries, suggesting both a historical basis of trade patterns and cognizance of existing unreported trade.

Finally, while not presented in this report of background studies, the investigation team has prepared a series of suggested topics for the next stages of the project which result from a synthesis of the information and data base.

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PART I

EAST AFRICA TRADE STATISTICS

Two sets of data were developed to provide a brief description of trade patterns of the eight-country region. A time period covering 1978 to 1983 was considered appropriate for indicating the current conditions of trade, and a time series reported statistics from 1923 to 1971. One factor taken into consideration for initiating the description with 1978 is that this period marks the beginning of the post-East African Community (EAC) era, which was formally dissolved by its member states of Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda in 1977. The sources of the first set of data and tables treating the export and import trade flows were based on the International Monetary Funds (IMF), Direction of Trade Statistics for the period of 1975 to 1986.

The tables on exports and imports relate the recorded monetary values in millions of dollars for each of the East African countries in terms of their position with the rest of the world, the flow of exports and imports between the eight countries (intra-East African trade), and what percentage each nation contributes to the other members total trade.

A second set of data looks at this monetary value of exports and imports by breaking it down into specific commodities and showing the direction of commodity trade. The primary source of commodity flows and identification of trade partners were the current reports (1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, and 1984) of the Economist Intelligence Unit Ltd. (EIU). Finally, a brief review of historical trade characteristics is presented.

EXPORTS AND IMPORTS

The data covering the six years ending in 1983 (Table 1) indicate a fluctuating but relatively stable trend in the volume of export trade emanating from all the eight countries in the region. All countries showed a peak occurring in the middle of the study period, with slight declines to 1983 for the three traditional East African countries and slight increases for the "horn" countries. In terms of magnitude of export trade, Kenya far surpasses all the other East Africa group of countries. As Table 1 indicates, Kenya's world export trade reached its highest level in 1980 (1,390.4 million dollars) with its greatest volume of intra-East African trade (293 million dollars) occurring the same year. Kenya's total export values for the six-year period were more than double the next highest country.

The proportion of Kenya's trade with the rest of Africa is a significant part of its total worldwide position (Table 1). African trade accounts for approximately one-quarter of the total volume of all of Kenya's exports. Further, Kenya's trade among the East Africa group is a substantial percentage of its total African trade volume. Kenya's East African share was almost 80 percent in 1980, although the percentage decreased to 58 percent by 1983.

The direction of Kenya's export trade forms a distinct spatial pattern with the immediate countries on its borders. The flow of trade (Table 2) is highest with Uganda, followed by Rwanda, Sudan, and Burundi. The exception to this contiguous trading partner relationship for Kenya is Tanzania wherein the border between the two countries was officially closed in 1977 (reopened in 1984). For the other East African countries, the intra-regional destinations of exports are relatively narrowly defined: Tanzania primarily exports to Uganda and Burundi; Uganda primarily exports to Kenya, Sudan, and Rwanda; Rwanda only ships to Tanzania; Burundi exports to Kenya and Rwanda; Sudan, Somalia, and Ethiopia have negligible export trade within East Africa.

The characteristics of import trade for East Africa shows the same leading position of Kenya, having the largest volume of imports (Table 3). However, several other East African countries show significantly large values of imports in contrast to their levels of exports, notably Sudan and Tanzania. In terms of intra-East African import trade (Table 4), Kenya is the leading import origin for all of the other East AFrican countries; the only other significnt flows are: Tanzania to Burundi; Sudan to Uganda (in the early eighties).

The direction tables (2 and 4) for exports and imports indicate a few significant bilateral relationships. For instance, the trade links of Sudan in with, first, Somalia and, secondly, Ethiopia are strong bilateral flows in the East Africa region. The exports from Sudan to Somalia accounted for almost all the first country's total East African trade in 1979 and 1980, although this flow was disrupted after 1980 and no exports from Sudan were recorded for Somalia in 1981, 1982, and 1983. For those years, 1981 to 1983, Sudan appears to have substituted its trade relation with Somalia by exporting the same volume of trade to Ethiopia.

Tables 5 and 6 identify all the major trade partners by world region in terms of exports and imports. Both tables show how relatively weak the East African trade is for the total exports and imports for each of the member countries. With the exception of Kenya, African and, even more so, Intra-African trade contributes less than ten percent of the individual nations' trade flows. The same relative weakness of Africa and East Africa as a source of imports is illustrated in Table 6. For all the East African countries, Europe is the major locus of trade between East Africa and the rest of the world. In the case of Sudan, Asia, and the Middle East, especially Saudi Arabia, is another substantial linkage operating outside of East Africa.

COMMODITY TRADE

The highest value commodities involved in each country's export trade in a recent year either 1984 or 1985 was derived (Table 7) from the EIU quarterly reports. Based on the location and proximity of some member states within East Africa, there is a high degree of overlap in terms of the principal commodities currently used for exports. As Table 7 shows, coffee is the most important export for the region, topping the lists of Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, and Ethiopia. These six countries recorded exports valuing $1,199,000 of coffee in 1984 or 1985. There was also a similarity in the import markets. West Germany, the United Kingdom, the United States, and Japan were the leading markets for the coffee exporting group. Owing to this overlapping nature of East Africa's main export, the countries could be competing for the same primary import markets in the international coffee trade.

An analysis of selected commodity trade was performed for each of the East African countries for three different years - 1972, 1977, and 1982 (see

Appendix I based on similar tables in Berg, Intra African Trade and Economic Integration. Volume II, Statistical Tables, 1985.) If the commodity data was not available for one of the three years, another but close yearly figure was substituted; according to the Berg report, occasionally even nearby data was not available.

The objective of the tables in Appendix I was to trace the evolution of the main exports and imports from 1972 to 1982. For this reason, wherever possible the same commodities were applied for each of three representive years. In this way, a trend or sense of change could be depicted in the mix of commodities. The country's ten most important commodities by value in thousand US dollars for this year were listed in rank order of importance by total value.

Additional information provided for each country indicates:

1. the percentage share of the country's intra-African trade represented by the individual commodity;

2. the monetary value and wherever available the quantity of trade for the commodity in relation to the country's most important partners (importance in terms of that commodity, not in overall trade). The partner countries are listed in ranked order of importance. If data for more than six countries was available, those of sixth and lower rank were combined into the "other" category; and

3. the other commodities category shows the percent of total intra-African exports, imports, or re-exports that was not covered by top ten commodities.

We will only highlight some of the data shown in the commodity tables. Ranking the ten commodities by economic value produces much change in the order or mix of commodities betwen 1972 and 1982. Kenya, reflecting its position of primacy as an export power and the only import market of any magnitude within the group, demonstrates some of this shifting quality of exports over the last decade. From the standpoint of value, the country's petroleum products continue to account for approximately 50 percent of its African-bound trade. Countries like Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, and Sudan import much of Kenya's petroleum export classification. There has been an increasing importance in the country's food exports, notable coffee and tea which count Sudan, Somalia, and Ethiopia as important trade partners, receiving these foodstuffs along with sugar and vegetables. However, it is the nonfood categories of petroleum, cement, soap, chemical, and medicinal products that provide the bulk of Kenya's exports to Africa.

There have been significant shifts in Kenya's import mix. In 1972 and 1977 tea and mate, cotton and fertilizers led the list of imports from other African countries. However, in 1982, Kenya's greatest import item was unmilled maize from Mozambique, reflecting the country's deficit in that staple crop. Another important commodity is coal, coke, and briquettes which Kenya receives from South Africa and Mozambique. Often countries in Africa are able to supply neighboring countries with special natural resources like zinc from Zambia and hydroelectricity from Uganda. For instance, eleven percent of Uganda's exports to Africa were in the form of 1,016 million dollars (1976) worth of hydroelectricity purchased by Kenya.

In 1981 Sudan was able to take advantage of demand for cereals, oils seeds, nuts, and kernels by exporting these to Djibouti, Somalia, and Tanzania. Somalia and Ethiopia also rely mainly on food items to support their trade with other African nations. For example, Somalia exported almost one million dollars worth of fruit and fish to Kenya in 1981.

It is interesting to note that Tanzania's tables for all three years do not list Kenya as a recipient of the country's exports. Tanzania's commodities of tea, minerals, and cotton, however, penetrate the markets all around Kenya in Sudan, Ethiopia, Somalia, Rwanda, Burundi, and Uganda.

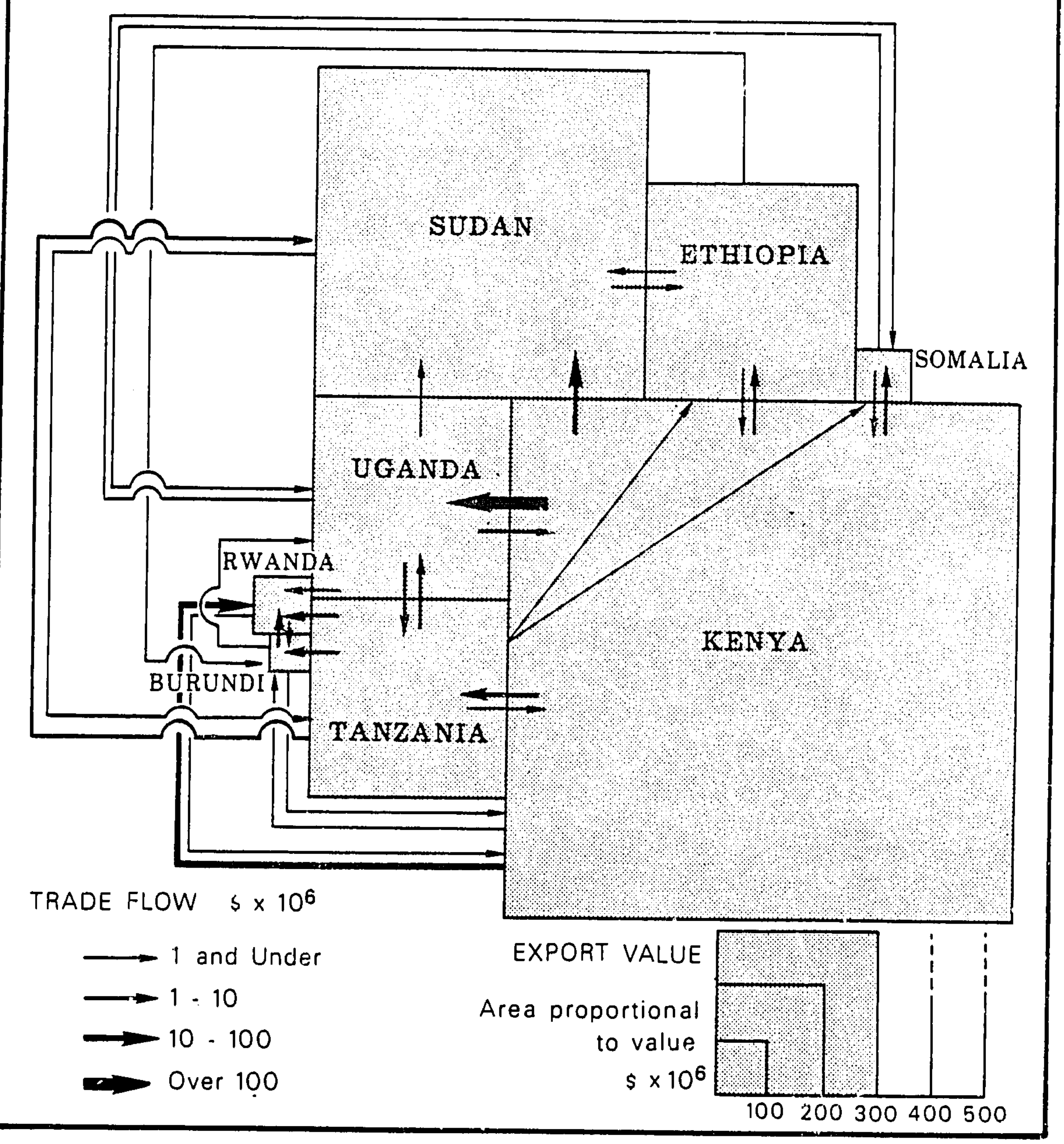
The general picture, not including Kenya, of the ten most important commodities traded on an intra-African basis indicates that foodstuffs like coffee, tea, vegetables, fruits, oils, and nuts are the primary substance of export trading within the region. In addition, Sudan, Uganda, and Tanzania contribute some cotton and textile goods to neighboring East African markets.

Uganda, of all the East Africa group, appears to be the most active importer of neighboring exports. Over one-half of its 1976 recorded import bill of $157,521,000 was supplied by countries like Kenya, Tanzania, Rwanda, and the Sudan. In turn, Uganda re-exported (1976) a significant volume of trade in manufactured items like electrical machinery , motor vehicles, power machinery (nonelectrical), and petroleum products to Kenya.

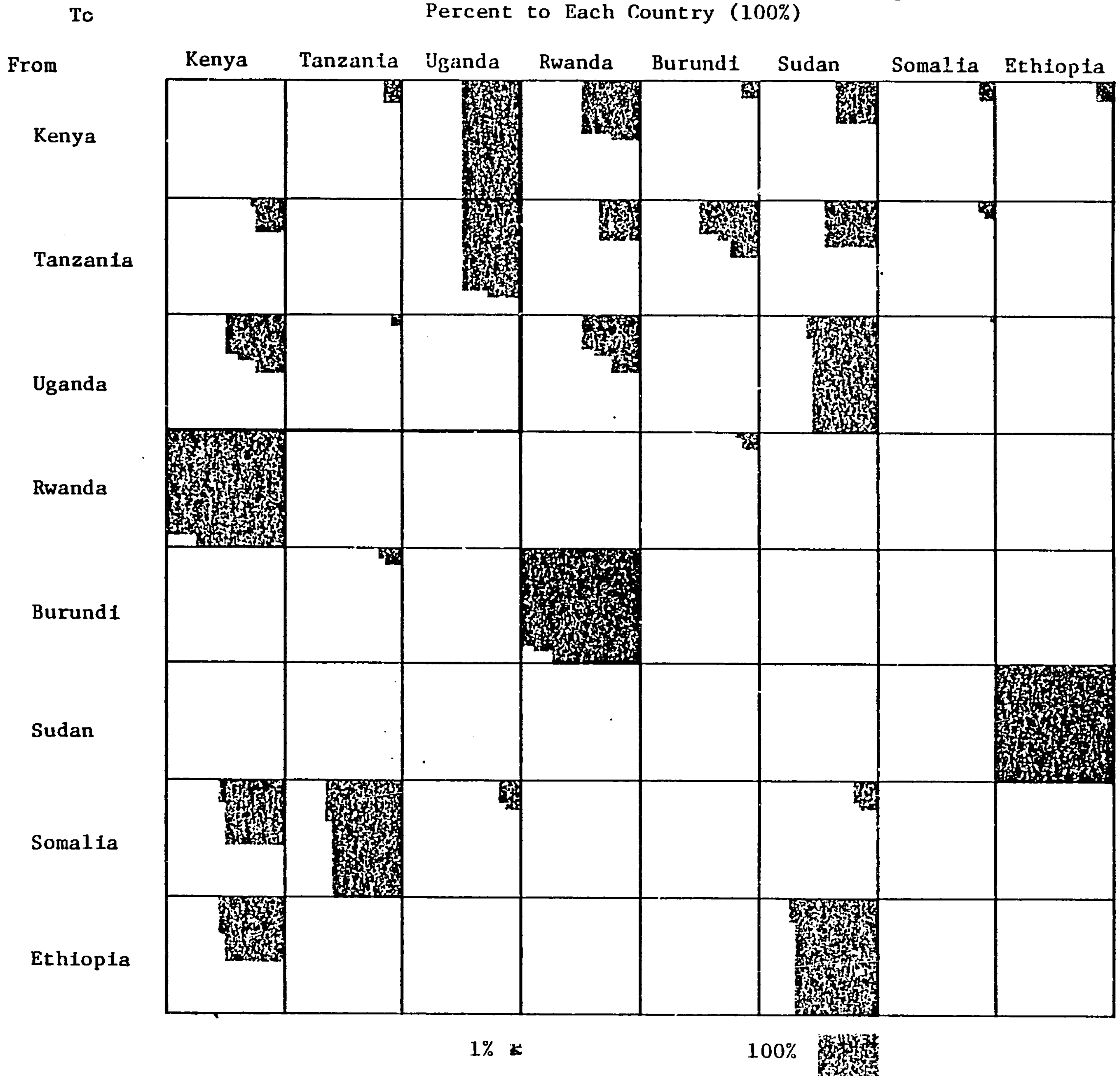
HISTORICAL SERIES

It is also useful to note some historical realities of East Africa trade. For the traditional region of East Africa (Kenya, Tanganyika, and Uganda), the pattern noted earlier is quite clear. For example, Table 8 shows that while export trade increased significantly from the early twenties to the late seventies, most of that trade has consistently been external to the region. Kenya has shown to be the "hub" of this traffic with relatively significant flows to Uganda (Table 9); while Tanganyika also shipped goods to Kenya and only a small amount to Uganda (Table 10); and Uganda historically traded only with Kenya (Table 11). In terms of the commodities traded, Kenya has historically exported coffee, with petroleum products, sisal, and tea being of recent significance (Table 12). Similarly, for Uganda, coffee has always been one of its major exports, but cotton, copper, and tea have also been significant. For Tanganyika, the primary dominance of coffee is relatively less important and a wide range of products are also of significance.

Direction and Flow of Trade
Within The Study Region, 1983



Destinations of Exports, 1983, East African Region;
Percent to Each Country (100%)



Origins of Imports, 1983, East African Region;
Percent from Each Country (100%)

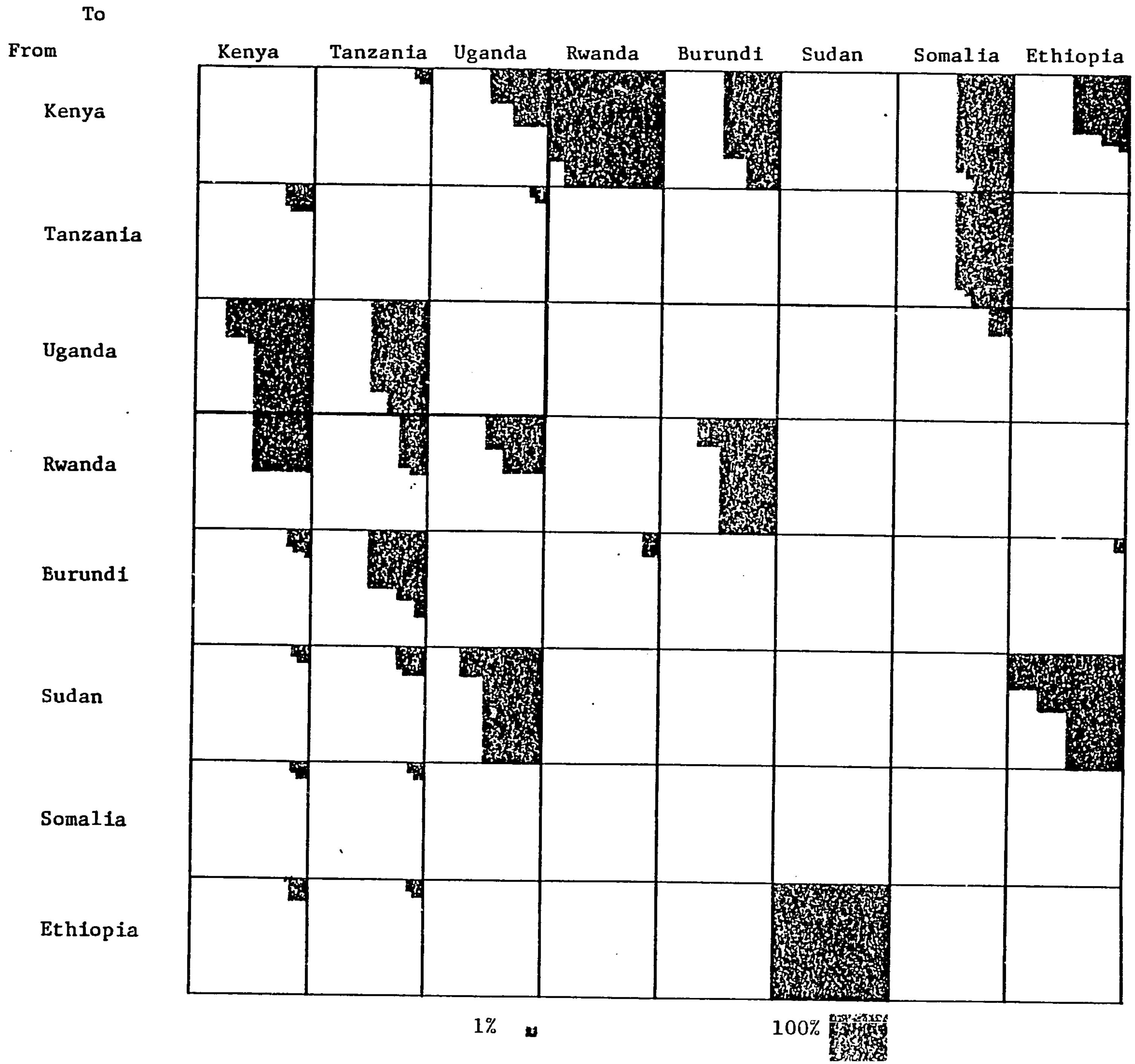


TABLE 1

EIGHT EAST AFRICA TRADE COUNTRIES: TRENDS IN EXPORT TRADE FOR THE WORLD, REST OF AFRICA, AND INTRA EAST AFRICA REGION, 1978 - 1983.
(in millions of US dollars and percent)

KENYA	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983
World	1021.7	1105.2	1390.4	1176.8	1145.8	1168.2
Intra African	230	287	367	378	346	369
% Share of Intra African of Total World	19.5	22.6	25.2	29.0	25.3	26.7
Intra East Africa		182.9	292.9	243.1	197.1	214.1
% Share of East Africa of Africa Total		63.7	79.8	64.3	57.0	58.02
TANZANIA						
World	453.8	539.1	510.8	577.6	479.6	456.9
Intra African	32.6	69.8	72.2	49.6	33.1	35.2
% Share of Intra African of Total World	7.2	12.9	14.1	8.6	6.9	7.7
Intra East African		31.1	52.9	32.0	22.16	21.7
% Share of East Africa of Africa Total		44.6	73.3	64.5	70.0	61.7
UGANDA						
World	346.66	412.40	459.72	281.30	376.24	354.25
Intra African	19	22	29	30	27	30
% Share of Intra African of Total World	5.5	5.2	6.3	10.7	7.2	8.4
Intra East African		4.59	6.41	7.43	6.69	7.24
% Share of East Africa of Africa Total		20.9	22.1	24.8	24.8	24.1
RWANDA						
World	68.97	117.64	73.33	100.65	82.32	86.76
Intra African	55	100	58	8	7	8
% Share of Intra Africa of Total World	80.2	85.2	78.5	7.9	8.4	8.7
Intra East African		100.23	57.59	8.02	6.88	7.52
% Share of East Africa of Africa Total		100.2	99.3	100.3	98.3	94.0

TABLE 1 Continued

	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983
BURUNDI						
World	69.36	81.02	63.51	71.37	87.58	77.13
Intra African	1	2	2	5	5	4
% Share of Intra African of Total World	1.8	2.0	2.5	6.7	5.7	5.4
Intra East African		1.42	1.13	1.49	.99	1.38
% Share of East Africa of Africa Total		71.0	56.5	29.8	19.8	34.5
SUDAN						
World	485.2	589.2	542.3	658.1	625.1	684.3
Intra African	3.0	2.4	2.2	4.5	4.2	3.4
% Share of Intra Africa of Total World	0.6	0.4	0.4	0.7	017	0.5
Intra East Africa		.3	.6	.2	.3	.3
% Share of East Africa of Africa Total		12.5	27.3	4.4	7.1	8.8
SOMALIA						
World	106.56	130.82	132.59	140.50	144.[illegible]	162.97
Intra African	0.77	0.93	1.50	2.00	1.18	1.30
% Share of Intra Africa of Total World	0.7	0.7	1.1	1.4	0.8	0.8
Intra East Africa		.39	.41	.90	.20	.21
% Share of East Africa of Africa Total		41.9	27.3	45.0	17.0	16.2
ETHIOPIA						
World	306.1	417.55	424.73	391.9	403.88	421.89
Intra African	5.22	28.48	56.71	26.06	42.37	46.36
% Share of Intra Africa of Total World	8.8	6.0	7.0	7.6	7.8	9.4
Intra East Africa		.70	5.66	2.58	.69	.76
% Share of East Africa of Africa Total		2.46	9.98	9.90	1.63	1.64

Source: IMF Direction of Trade Statistics Yearbooks 1984

TABLE 2

INTRA EAST AFRICAN FLOW OF EXPORTS - 1979 to 1983
Millions of US Dollars and Percent Share of Destination for Country's Total East Africa Trade
(Rows add to 100 percent)

	DESTINATION														
	K E N Y A					T A N Z A N I A					U G A N D A				
COUNTRY	'79	'80	'81	'82	'83	'79	'80	'81	'82	'83	'79	'80	'81	'82	'83
Kenya						10.9	14.1	14.0	6.9Z	7.6X	102.3	178.9	116.3	104.7X	115.2X
Share of E. Africa						5.96	4.81	5.76	3.69	3.55	56.0	61.08	47.84	55.96	53.81
Tanzania	0.5	0.2	1.8	1.6Z	1.7X						13.3	15.1	10.1	8.27	9.0X
Share of E. Africa	1.61	0.61	5.63	7.22	7.83						42.77	45.90	31.56	37.32	41.47
Uganda	1.95*	2.96*	1.61*	1.45X	1.59X	0.09*	0.09*	0.08*	0.07Z	0.07X					
Share of E. Africa	42.48	46.48	21.67	21.67	21.96	1.96	1.40	1.08	1.05	0.97					
Rwanda	0.91	9.87	7.42*	6.67X	7.34X	99.32	47.66	0.3*							
Share of E. Africa	0.91	17.14	92.52	96.95	97.61	99.09	82.76	3.74							
Burundi	0.86	0.23	0.59	0.21				0.02		0.04					
Share of E. Africa	60.56	20.35	39.60	21.21				1.34		2.90					
Sudan		0.1													
Share of E. Africa		16.67													
Somalia	0.17*	0.39	0.06*	0.05X	0.06X	0.19*	0.01	0.82*	0.127	0.13X					
Share of E. Africa	43.59	95.12	6.67	25.0	28.57	48.72	2.44	91.11	63.50	61.90		2.44	1.11	5.0	4.76
Ethiopia	0.57	0.61	0.95	0.2	0.22X										
Share of E. Africa	81.43	10.73	36.82	28.99	28.95										

TABLE 2 Continued

	Destination														
	R W A N D A					B U R U N D I					S U D A N				
COUNTRY	'79	'80	'81	'82	'83	'79	'80	'81	'82	'83	'79	'80	'81	'82	'83
Kenya	23.4	34.1	49.0	44.1X	48.5X	12.2	19.8	28.6	8.0*	6.2*	20.5	26.8	27.4	14.7X	27.1X
Share of E. Africa	12.79	11.64	20.16	23.57	22.65	6.67	6.76	11.76	4.28	2.90	11.21	9.15	11.27	7.86	12.66
Tanzania	2.3	3.2	2.7	2.72	2.4X	10.1	10.2	12.4	5.8Z	4.5*	0.4	1.2	4.1	3.4Z	3.7Z
Share of E. Africa	7.4	9.73	8.44	12.27	11.06	32.48	31.0	38.75	26.17	20.74	1.29	3.65	12.81	15.34	17.05
Uganda	1.06*	1.63*	1.63X	1.47X	1.51X	0.01*						1.7*	4.1*	3.69*	4.06X
Share of E. Africa	23.09	25.43	21.94	21.97	20.86	0.22						26.52	55.18	35.16	56.08
Rwanda	—	—	—	—	—		0.06	0.3*	0.21*	0.18*					
Share of E. Africa	—	—	—	—	—		0.1	3.74	3.05	2.39					
Burundi	0.56	0.9	0.88	0.78	1.34	—	—	—	—	—					
Share of E. Africa	39.44	79.65	59.06	78.79	97.10	—	—	—	—	—					
Sudan											—	—	—	—	—
Share of E. Africa											—	—	—	—	—
Somalia											0.03*		0.01*	0.01X	0.01X
Share of E. Africa											7.69		1.11	5.0	4.76
Ethiopia	0.12										0.01	5.05	1.63	0.49	0.54X
Share of E. Africa	17.14										1.43	89.22	63.18	71.01	71.05

TABLE 2 Continued

	Destination														
	S O M A L I A					E T H I O P I A					T O T A L E A S T A F R I C A				
COUNTRY	'79	'80	'81	'82	'83	'79	'80	'81	'82	'83	'79	'80	'81	'82	'83
Kenya	7.2	12.8	4.3	3.9X	4.3X	6.3	6.4	3.5	4.8*	5.2X	182.9	292.9	243.1	187.1	214.1
Share of E. Africa	3.94	4.37	1.77	2.08	2.01	3.44	2.19	1.44	2.56	2.43					
Tanzania	4.3	2.7	0.5	0.37	0.4X	0.2	0.3	0.4			31.1	32.9	32.0	22.16	21.7
Share of E. Africa	13.83	8.1	1.56	1.67	1.84	0.64	0.91	1.25							
Uganda	1.48X	0.01*	0.01X	0.01X	0.01X		0.02*				4.59	6.41	7.43	6.69	7.24
Share of E. Africa	32.24	0.16	0.13	0.15	0.14		0.31								
Rwanda											100.23	57.59	8.02	6.88	7.52
Share of E. Africa															
Burundi											1.42	1.13	1.49	0.99	1.38
Share of E. Africa															
Sudan	0.3	0.5						0.2	0.3*	0.3X	0.3	0.6	0.2	0.3	0.3
Share of E. Africa	100.0	83.33						100.0	100.0	100.0					
Somalia	—	—	—	—	—						0.39	0.41	0.9	0.2	0.21
Share of E. Africa	—	—	—	—	—										
Ethiopia						—	—	—	—	—	0.7	5.66	2.58	0.69	0.76
Share of E. Africa						—	—	—	—	—					

Source: IMF Direction of Trade Statistics Yearbook, 1984.

TABLE 3

EIGHT EAST AFRICA TRADE COUNTRIES: TRENDS IN IMPORT TRADE FOR THE WORLD, REST OF AFRICA, AND INTRA EAST AFRICA REGION, 1978 - 1983.
(in millions of US dollars and percent)

KENYA	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983
World	1711.8	1660.5	2584.9	2045.6	1761.7	1519.5
Intra African	29.2	32.3	79.0	37.9	24.1	22.1
% Share of Intra African of Total World	1.7	1.94	3.0	1.85	1.35	1.45
Intra East Africa	22.78	23.8	32.21	59.62	53.36	48.74
% Share of East Africa of Africa Total	48.6	37.46	14.3	28.2	38.58	38.0
TANZANIA						
World	1118.3	1079.6	1226.6	1197.2	1024.8	795.3
Intra African	12.6	23.7	32.5	113.0	107.3	95.4
% Share of Intra African of Total World	1.1	2.1	2.6	9.4	10.47	11.99
Intra East Africa	3.2	11.2	10.1	13.6	11.3	10.2
% Share of East Africa of Africa Total	25.39	47.2	31.0	12.0	10.5	10.69
UGANDA						
World	313.99	252.39	501.52	358.15	359.25	321.32
Intra African	106.78	129.82	215.04	140.28	125.26	112.75
% Share of Intra African of Total World	34.0	51.4	42.87	39.1	34.3	35.0
Intra East Africa	105.04	127.27	213.39	139.06	124.19	111.76
% Share of East Africa of Africa Total	98.3	98.0	99.2	99.1	99.1	99.1
RWANDA						
World	177.93	194.87	243.04	221.66	209.85	206.07
Intra African	24.09	25.13	34.30	61.63	55.99	50.45
% Share of Intra African of Total World	30.39	12.89	14.1	27.8	26.78	24.48
Intra East Africa	22.78	23.8	32.21	59.62	53.36	48.74
% Share of East Africa of Africa Total	94.56	94.7	93.9	96.7	95.3	96.6

TABLE 3 Continued

BURUNDI	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983
World	98.22	152.82	167.32	161.37	214.44	205.22
Intra African	12.22	19.73	28.20	27.64	27.23	24.53
% Share of Intra African of Total World	12.44	12.9	16.85	17.1	5.29	11.95
Intra East Africa	10.78	16.54	17.97	17.67	15.68	12.07
% Share of East Africa of Africa Total	88.2	84.6	63.7	63.9	57.58	49.2
SUDAN						
World	875.5	918.7	1575.9	1558.9	2013.8	1595.3
Intra African	12.7	6.9	11.8	14.4	12.5	11.7
% Share of Intra African of Total World	1.45	0.75	0.74	0.92	0.62	0.69
Intra East Africa	0.2		11.7	12.2	10.1	9.0
% Share of East Africa of Africa Total	1.57		99.1	8.45	80.9	76.9
SOMALIA						
World	241.34	421.24	347.84	445.12	473.34	421.70
Intra African	25.26	23.61	37.33	20.54	18.39	17.49
% Share of Intra African of Total World	10.46	5.23	10.7	4.6	3.88	4.1
Intra East Africa	19.58	14.87	22.03	5.28	4.66	4.19
% Share of East Africa of Africa Total	77.5	62.98	59.0	25.7	25.3	23.95
ETHIOPIA						
World	455.43	5[illegible]7.43	722.08	737.71	784.1	849.53
Intra African	11.8	11.25	12.25	10.31	9.22	8.32
% Share of Intra African of Total World	2.59	1.89	1.69	1.39	1.17	0.97
Intra East Africa	8.09	8.02	5.40	6.62	6.00	5.40
% Share of East Africa of Africa Total	68.5	71.55	44.0	64.2	65.0	64.9

Source: IMF Direction of Trade Yearbooks 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983

TABLE 4

INTRA EAST AFRICAN FLOW OF IMPORTS - 1979 to 1983
Millions of US Dollars and Percent Share of Destination for Country's Total East Africa Trade
(Rows add to 100 percent)

	DESTINATION														
	K E N Y A					T A N Z A N I A					U G A N D A				
COUNTRY	'79	'80	'81	'82	'83	'79	'80	'81	'82	'83	'79	'80	'81	'82	'83
Kenya	—	—	—	—	—	0.3	0.8	0.6	0.3	0.3	2.2	3.3	1.8	1.6	1.4
Share of E. Africa	—	—	—	—	—	2.4	7.0	5.6	3.2	3.5	18.0	29.0	16.8	17.0	16.6
Tanzania	10.8	9.6	12.3	11.1	10.0	—	—	—	—	—	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Share of E. Africa	96.4	95.0	90.4	98.0	98.0	—	—	—	—	—	0.89	0.99	0.7	0.88	0.98
Uganda	112.59	196.80	127.95	115.16	103.64	14.68	16.58	11.10	9.02	8.11	—	—	—	—	—
Share of E. Africa	88.4	92.2	92.0	92.7	92.7	11.5	7.7	7.9	7.2	7.2	—	—	—	—	—
Rwanda	18.40	26.12	53.89	48.51	43.65	2.60	2.97	2.39	2.97	2.16	1.17	1.79	1.79	1.61	1.45
Share of E. Africa	77.3	81.0	95.4	90.9	89.5	10.9	9.2	4.0	5.5	4.4	4.9	5.6	3.0	3.0	2.9
Burundi	10.61	11.34	10.94	8.81	6.87	5.68	6.40	6.40	6.64	5.00					
Share of E. Africa	64.1	63.1	61.9	56.1	56.9	34.3	35.6	36.2	42.3	39.3					
Sudan		4.1	4.9	4.4	3.9		0.2	1.4	1.1	1.0		1.9	4.5	4.1	3.6
Share of E. Africa		35.0	40.1	43.5	43.3		1.7	11.5	10.9	11.1		16.2	36.9	40.6	40.0
Somalia	7.88	13.74	4.77	4.29	3.86	4.69	1.24	0.50	0.36	0.32	1.96	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
Share of E. Africa	52.9	62.3	90.1	92.0	92.1	31.5	5.6	9.5	7.7	7.6	13.2	0.05	0.2	0.2	0.2
Ethiopia	7.62	5.12	5.88	5.23	4.71	0.37	0.26	0.43	0.47	0.42	0.02				
Share of E. Africa	95.0	94.8	88.8	87.2	87.2	4.6	4.8	6.5	7.8	7.8	0.25				

TABLE 4 Continued

	Destination														
	R W A N D A					B U R U N D I					S U D A N				
COUNTRY	'79	'80	'81	'82	'83	'79	'80	'81	'82	'83	'79	'80	'81	'82	'83
Kenya	8.8	7.1	8.2	7.3	6.6	3.10	0.30	0.60	0.20	1.20	0.6				
Share of E. Africa	72.7	62.8	76.6	78.6	78.5	25.6	2.6	5.6	2.1	14.2	4.9				
Tanzania			0.3				0.2	0.3							
Share of E. Africa			2.2				1.98	2.2							
Uganda										0.01					
Share of E. Africa										0.09					
Rwanda						0.79	1.33	0.97	0.85	1.48					
Share of E. Africa						3.3	4.1	1.6	3.0						
Burundi	0.25	0.23	0.33	0.23	0.19										
Share of E. Africa	1.5	1.3	1.9	1.5	1.6										
Sudan															
Share of E. Africa															
Somalia											0.34	0.09			
Share of E. Africa											2.3	0.4			
Ethiopia											0.01	0.02	0.31	0.30	0.27
Share of E. Africa											1.2	0.4	4.7	5.0	5.0

TABLE 4 Continued

	Destination														
	S O M A L I A					E T H I O P I A					T O T A L E A S T A F R I C A				
COUNTRY	'79	'80	'81	'82	'83	'79	'80	'81	'82	'83	'79	'80	'81	'82	'83
Kenya	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	6.0	6.80	9.40	0.2	0.2	12.1	11.3	10.7	9.3	8.4
Share of E. Africa	1.6	0.88	0.9	1.0	1.19	49.58	60.0	87.8	2.1	2.3					
Tanzania	0.2	0.2	0.9	0.1	0.1	0.1					11.2	10.1	13.6	11.3	10.2
Share of E. Africa	1.73	1.98	6.6	0.88	0.98	0.89									
Uganda		0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1						127.27	213.39	139.06	124.19	111.76
Share of E. Africa		0.04	0.07	0.08	0.08										
Rwanda							0.84				23.8	32.21	59.62	53.36	48.74
Share of E. Africa							2.1								
Burundi										0.01	16.54	17.97	17.67	15.68	12.07
Share of E. Africa										0.08					
Sudan							5.5	1.4	0.5	0.5		11.7	12.2	10.1	9.0
Share of E. Africa							47.0	11.5	4.95	5.6					
Somalia	—	—	—	—	—		6.95				14.87	22.03	5.28	4.66	4.19
Share of E. Africa	—	—	—	—	—		31.5								
Ethiopia						—	—	—	—	—	8.02	5.40	6.62	6.00	5.40
Share of E. Africa						—	—	—	—	—					

TABLE 5

MAJOR TRADE PARTNERS: VOLUME AND PERCENT* OF TOTAL EXPORTS

$\$10^6$ & % of Total	Burundi (1985)	Ethiopia (1984)	Kenya (1985)	Rwanda (1984)	Somalia (1984)	Sudan (1983)	Tanzania (1985)	Uganda (1984)
Africa (Total)	10.64 (9.7%)	37.82 (9.1%)	293.4 (25.89%)	3.45 (2.4%)	1.28 (1.3%)	2.3 (0.3%)	14.5 (5.1%)	37.52 (9.4%)
Burundi							2.1 (0.7%)	
Kenya	1.98	1.17		2.12 (1.5%)			1.0	1.67
Djibouti		28.90 (6.9%)	22.9		1.10			
Mozambique			23.0				2.1 (0.7%)	
Rwanda	3.58 (3.3%)		53.5 (5.6%)				1.3	1.14
Sudan		4.99	15.1				1.9	
Tanzania	1.09		18.2		0.11			11.10 (2.8%)
Tunisia						2.3 (0.3%)		
Uganda			114.9 (12.0%)				1.8	
Zaire	2.30							
Asia (Total)	3.35 (3.0%)	33.29 (8.0%)	116.8 (10.31%)	8.47 (5.9%)	8.88 (8.9%)	190.4 (30.5%)	62.3 (21.9%)	34.37 (8.6%)
Japan	1.31	31.17 (7.5%)	10.1		0.42	33.4	10.7 (3.8%)	26.71 (6.7%)
Hong Kong	1.04				1.84 (1.8%)			
China		1.47			6.58 (6.6%)	57.1 (9.2%)		
India			10.8			50.1 (8.1%)		
Indonesia							19.5 (6.9%)	
Pakistan			73.2 (7.6%)	7.33 (5.1%)				
Singapore							18.3 (6.4%)	5.17
South Korea						50.1 (8.1%)		
Thailand						19.1		
Europe (Total)**	89.75 (81.5%)	184.13 (44.2%)	558.1 (49.25%)	121.77 (84.5%)	11.41 (11.4%)	171.6 (27.5%)	180.8 (63.7%)	226.53 (56.8%)
Belgium-Luxembourg	5.56	9.50	14.8	19.61 (13.4%)		6.1	6.9	
Finland	31.66 (28.8%)	9.33		3.26			13.8	3.11
France		21.12 (5.1%)	30.5	5.80	1.10	21.2		37.24 (9.3%)
W. Germany	33.77 (30.7%)	75.21 (18.0%)	144.6 (15.1%)	51.60 (35.8%)	0.50	46.6 (7.5%)	66.7 (23.5%)	35.79 (9.0%)
Italy		30.77 (7.4%)	34.9	4.98	7.11 (7.1%)	35.1 (5.6%)	13.3	26.95 (6.8%)
Netherlands	1.80	8.44	46.2 (4.8%)	12.70		14.9	17.4	16.45
United Kingdom	4.04 (3.7%)	9.69	225.3 (23.5%)	19.03 (13.2%)	1.80 (1.8%)	16.1	47.7 (16.8%)	57.39 (14.4%)
Spain		14.36 (3.4%)					39.88 (10.0%)	
Sweden			22.2					

TABLE 5 (Continued)

$\$10^6$ & % of Total	Burundi (1985)	Ethiopia (1984)	Kenya (1985)	Rwanda (1984)	Somalia (1984)	Sudan (1983)	Tanzania (1985)	Uganda (1984)
Middle East (Total)	0.16 (0.1%)	46.31 (11.1%)	46.3 (4.09%)	0.07 (0.05%)	77.91 (77.7%)	170.3 (27.3%)	3.9 (1.4%)	7.01 (1.8%)
Egypt			11.3			29.0	1.4	
Iran					4.51			
Libya				0.07 (0.05%)				6.23 (1.6%)
Saudi Arabia		17.43 (4.2%)	3.7		45.16 (45.0%)	118.7 (19.0%)	1.4	
Yemen Arab Rep.					17.15			
Yemen P.D. Republic		24.00 (5.8%)	18.5					
USA	6.64 (6.0%)	81.11 (19.5%)	90.5 (8.9%)	9.25 (6.4%)	0.73	12.4	5.1 (1.8%)	88.55 (22.2%)
Canada			10.4				3.1	
USSR & E. Europe (Total)		32.76 (7.9%)	17.7 (1.56%)		0.03	68.1 (10.9%)	5.8 (2.0%)	
E. Germany		11.43 (2.7%)						
USSR		18.88 (4.5%)	6.4			33.6 (5.4%)	1.3	
Yugoslavia			9.1			20.2	1.3	
Bulgaria							1.8	
World (Total)	110.12 (100%)	416.78 (100%)	1133.2 (100%)	144.10 (100%)	100.27 (100%)	623.5 (100%)	283.9 (100%)	398.64 (100%)

Source: Adapted from Direction of Trade Statistics, Yearbook 1986

Note: * = Percentages reported for significant exports
** = Estimated values, and excluding Eastern Europe.

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MAJOR TRADE PARTNERS: VOLUME AND PERCENT OF TOTAL IMPORTS

$\$10^6$ & % of Total	Burundi (1985)	Ethiopia (1984)	Kenya (1985)	Rwanda (1984)	Somalia (1984)	Sudan (1983)	Tanzania (1985)	Uganda (1984)
Africa (Total)	21.76 (11.2%)	10.17 (1.1%)	22.5 (1.48%)	73.61 (26.5%)	21.29 (5.1%)	22.9 (1.7%)	64.9 (6.4%)	138.37 (35.5%)
Kenya	5.05 (2.6%)	4.54		61.92 (22.3%)	4.96	16.6 (1.2%)	20.0 (1.9%)	133.0 (34.1%)
Djibouti					15.82 (3.8%)			
Mozambique			5.6					
Tanzania	2.15			2.02		5.8		3.48
Zambia	5.83 (3.0%)		2.9				5.1	
Zimbabwe	2.21		1.2				5.6	
Zaire				3.78				
Asia (Total)	20.34 (10.5%)	100.06 (10.88%)	316.3 (20.74%)	65.52 (23.6%)	28.85 (6.9%)	187.5 (13.8%)	169.0 (16.63%)	55.17 (14.1%)
Japan	12.23 (6.3%)	60.88 (6.5%)	155.6 (10.8%)	24.17 (8.7%)	6.08	43.7 (3.2%)	97.1 (9.4%)	18.92 (4.9%)
China	4.86	3.96	15.6	25.27 (9.1%)	10.92 (2.6%)		14.6 (1.4%)	
Hong Kong						32.7		
India		4.62	22.11			35.9 (2.7%)	14.3	17.38 (4.5%)
Korea		9.75						
Singapore			67.5 (4.7%)					
Thailand					11.99 (2.9%)		14.9	
Europe (Total)**	107.28 (55.4%)	381.35 (41.46%)	617.9 (40.57%)	115.38 (41.5%)	179.81 (43.0%)	605.8 (44.7%)	511.2 (50.31%)	118.68 (30.4%)
Belgium-Luxembourg	34.67 (17.9%)	13.58	26.5	50.27 (18.1%)	9.35	30.6	31.9	12.90
France	23.07 (11.9%)	30.27	56.0 (3.9%)	15.34 (5.5%)	19.72	69.2 (5.1%)		13.99
W. Germany	22.56 (11.6%)	97.19 (10.3%)	125.0 (8.7%)	22.17 (8.0%)	21.50 (5.1%)	89.8 (6.6%)	95.5 (9.3%)	21.75 (5.6%)
Italy	9.80	91.99 (9.8%)	50.5 (3.5%)	5.64	88.05 (21.0%)	48.8	96.6 (9.4%)	11.95
Netherlands	2.78	17.67	37.2	3.47	7.16	82.8 (6.1%)	37.1	5.55
United Kingdom	3.59	60.18 (6.4%)	228.4 (15.9%)	6.13	20.38 (4.9%)	156.5 (11.6%)	136.1 (13.2%)	42.73 (11.0%)
Sweden					35.1			
Switzerland		20.48						
Middle East (Total)	31.41 (16.1%)	14.02 (1.52%)	390.0 (25.57%)		84.02 (20.1%)	351.9 (26.0%)	191.5 (18.85%)	8.51 (2.2%)
Egypt						23.2		
Iran	30.62 (15.8%)		20.2				74.8 (7.3%)	
Kuwait						25.8		
Saudi Arabia		4.83	191.0 (13.3%)		52.13 (12.5%)	224.7 (16.6%)	34.8	
Israel		7.51						
Bahrain					24.16 (5.8%)	44.1 (3.3%)	25.8	
United Arab Emirates								5.78

TABLE 6 (Continued)

$\$10^6$ & % of Total	Burundi (1985)	Ethiopia (1984)	Kenya (1985)	Rwanda (1984)	Somalia (1984)	Sudan (1983)	Tanzania (1985)	Uganda (1984)
America								
USA	11.00 (5.7%)	145.41 (17.83%)	106.4 (7.93%)	16.99 (7.36%)	83.82,(21.1%)	123.1 (9.1%)	36.3 (5.48%)	3.52 (1.0%)
Canada		18.62	14.5	3.49	4.4		19.4	
Australia			22.1 (1.45%)		3.46 (0.83%)			
USSR & E.Europe (Total)	1.68 (0.9%)	250.09 (27.2%)	35.4 (2.31%)	0.60 (0.3%)	1.79 (0.4%)	24.2 (1.8%)	23.7 (2.33%)	
USSR		205.41 (21.8%)			(0.43%)			
Yugoslavia			26.2				11.7	
World (Total)	193.68 (100%)	919.72 (100%)	1525.1 (100%)	278.20 (100%)	418.47 (100%)	1354.4 (100%)	1016.0 (100%)	389.98 (100%)

Source: Adapted from Direction of Trade Statistics, Yearbook 1986

Note: * = Percentages reported for significant exports
** = Estimated values, and excluding Eastern Europe.

TABLE 7

PRINCIPAL EXPORT COMMODITIES AND DESTINATION COUNTRIES
MOST RECENT YEAR 1984 OR 1985

	KENYA 1985[a]		TANZANIA 1985b		UGANDA 1985		RWANDA 1985	
Principal Exports (in millions of US dollars)	Coffee	281	Coffee	114.1	Coffee	355.0	Coffee	93.3
	Tea	233	Cotton	23.7	Cotton	15.4	Tea	17.3
	Petrol. Prod.	132	Sisal	5.4	Maize	3.1	Tin	8.0
					Tea	1.0		
Main Destinations for Exports (percent of total)	UK	16.9	W. Germany	23.5	USA	22.6	W. Germany[d]	35.8
	W. Germany	11.6	UK	16.8	UK	14.1	Belgium/Lux	13.6
	Uganda	8.7	Indonesia	6.9	France	9.5	UK	13.2
	USA	6.7	Singapore	6.4	W. Germany	9.1	Netherlands	8.8
	Netherlands	6.6	Netherlands	6.1	Italy	6.9		
	France	3.4						

a Kenya - Preliminary
b Tanzania - Other significant exports are cloves, cashewnuts, and tea for which recent data are unavailable.
c Total figure is for 1984.
d Rwanda destination of exports for 1984 only.

TABLE 7 Continued

PRINCIPAL EXPORT COMMODITIES AND DESTINATION COUNTRIES
MOST RECENT YEAR 1984 OR 1985

	BURUNDI 1985		SUDAN 1985		ETHIOPIA 1984		SOMALIA 1984	
Principal Exports (in millions of US dollars)				S£[e] mn				
	Coffee	92.6	Cotton	374.3	Coffee	263.3	Live Animals	25.7
	Tea	5.9	Sesame	97.8	Hides/Skins	46.4	Fish	4.5
	Cotton		Gum Arabic	66.0	Qat	15.5	Myrrh	3.7
	Fabrics	3.5	Groundnuts	23.15	Oilseeds	9.2		
	Beer	0.9			Pulses	8.2		
Main Destinations for Exports (percent of total)	W. Germany	30.5	Egypt	19.8	USA	19.5	Saudi Arabia[f]	59.1
	Finland	28.8	Saudi Arabia	13.0	W. Germany	18.0	North Yemen	11.5
	USA	6.0	Japan	8.8	Japan	7.5	Italy	5.8
	Belgium/Lux.	5.0	Thailand	8.0	Italy	7.4	China	5.4
			Italy	7.6	Djibouti	6.9		
			Poland	6.6				
			W. Germany	5.8				

[e] Official rate Sudan £ 1985
[f] Derived from IMF, Direction of Trade Statistics, Subject to wide margins of error.
The pattern will have changed substantially since the loss of the Saudi market for cattle in 1984.

TABLE 8

EAST AFRICAN EXPORTS (KENYA, TANGANYIKA, AND UGANDA)
INTERTERRITORIAL/INTERSTATE AND EXTERNAL
Shillings millions

Year	Combined Total Exports	External Total	Interstate Total
1923	113	113	negligible
1924	175	175	"
1925	214	204	
1926	181	181	
1927	174	174	
1936	311	268	43
1937	366	304	62
1938	217	250	192
1946		506	
1956		2,417	
1957		2,383	
1958		2,469	
1959	2,979	2,577	402
1960	3,250	2,794	456
1961	3,173	2,672	501
1962	3,328	2,793	535
1963	4,042	3,414	629
1964	4,644	3,828	816
1965			902
1966			
1967			
1968			
1969			
1970			1,017
1971			1,941
1972			946
1973	8,146	7,105	1,041
1974	9.490	8,427	1,283
1975			1,132
1976			1,262
1977			

TABLE 9

KENYAN EXPORTS
Shillings millions

Year	External	Within East Africa	To Tanganyika /Tanzania	To Uganda
1923	31			
1924	45			
1925	54			
1926	48			
1927	62			
1936	93		24	(including Uganda's exports)
1937	107		29	
1938	80			
1946	154			
1956	652			
1957				
1958				
1959	777	246	130	116
1960	811	275	152	123
1961	842	319	178	141
1962	905	346	200	146
1963	1,033	395	207	188
1964	1,073	518	266	252
1965	1,041	589	282	307
1066				
1967				
1968				
1969				
1970	1,549	629	295	334
1971	1,567	678	295	382
1972	1,909	656	325	330
1973	2,579	775	337	438
1974	3,401	967	381	586
1975	3,531	921	407	514
1976	5,569	977	460	537
1977	8,800	1,026	154	872
1978	7,090	667	37	630
1979	7,419	674	62	612
1980	8,882	1,181	70	1,111
1981	9,566	1,027	91	936
1982	10,067	1,214	111	1,103

TABLE 10

TANGANYIKA (TANZANIA) EXPORTS
Shhillings millions

Year	External	Within East Africa	To Kenya	To Uganda
1923	33			
1924	52			
1925	58			
1926	61			
1927	66			
1936	81		19	
1937	91		33	
1938	73		73	
1946	173			
1956	920			
1957	814			
1958	880			
1959	932	52	37	15
1960	1,141	46	37	9
1961	1,034	45	37	8
1962	1,076	65	56	9
1963	1,302	72	62	10
1964	1,456	107	87	20
1965	1,313	121	94	27
1966	1,668	98	81	17
1967	1,645	83	68	15
1968	1,585	91	74	17
1969	1,767	104	80	24
1970	1,688	148	119	29
1971	1,735	197	159	38
1972	2,028	133	118	15
1973	2,232	170	153	18
1974	2553	218	191	26
1975	2,549	175	169	6
1976			248	
1977			32	
1978			7	
1979			2	
1980			6	
1981			5	
1982			17	

TABLE 11

UGANDAN EXPORTS
Shillings millions

Year	External	Within East Africa	To Kenya	To Tanganyika/Tanzania
1923	49			
1924	78			
1925	102			
1926	72			
1927	46			
1936	93			
1937	107			(including Kenya's exports)
1938	96			
1946	179			
1956	844			
1957	935			
1958	928			
1959	868	105	73	32
1960	842	133	102	31
1961	830	108	103	34
1962	828	141	108	33
1963	1,078	165	125	40
1964	1,313	195	147	48
1965		194	142	52
1966	1,271	200	146	64
1967	1,242	252	203	49
1968	1,277	214	173	41
1969	1,388	190	156	34
1970	1,628	241	201	40
1971	1,565	177	161	16
1972	1,327	157	152	6
1973	1,834	97	93	2
1974	2,025	76	75	
1975				
1976			16	
1977			12	
1978			40	
1979			16	
1980			24	
1981			20	
1982			28	

TABLE 12

PRINCIPAL EXPORTS
(Values in '000 of Shillings; Volumes Indicated)

	1927		1937		1960		1967		1974	
	Quantity	Value	Quantity	Value	Quantity	Value	Quantity	Value	Quantity	Value
KENYA										
Cement ('000) tons							221	20,120	531	90,820
Coffee, not roasted ('000 tons)	10	1,141	24			205,220	51	313,520	72	767,740
Fruit & vegetables								43,080		148,620
Hides & skins (million)		246	1.5		35,120			34,840		88,820
Maize, unmilled ('000 tons)	89	506	33				80	28,120	60	49,200
Meat & meat preparations ('000 tons)		8				36,900	8	57,140	7	93,500
Paper & paper products								7,140		91,400
Petroleum products & by-products (million litres)							1,028	151,800	1,259	618,360
Pyrethrum extract						40,380	274	48,460		91,200
Sisal fiber & tow ('000 tons)			1			91,320	58	41,280	72	339,140
Sodium carbonate (tons)	51	263	41			26,340	75	20,440	140	41,580
Tea ('000 tons)			4			99,220		147,920	50	387,820
Wattle bark extract ('000 tons)			6			14,600		17,220	14	28,680
Copra and Coconuts (tons)	779	14	161							
Groundnuts ('000 tons)	1,246	23	3							
Simsim (sesame) ('000 tons)	3,419	67	2							
Sugar ('000 tons)	22,029	24	14							

TABLE 12 Continued

	1927		1937		1960		1967		1974	
	Quantity	Value	Quantity	Value	Quantity	Value	Quantity	Value	Quantity	Value
UGANDA										
Coffee ('000 tons)	2	43,514				339,740	160	692,000	187	1,567,800
Copper and alloys						73,780	15	109,300	9	120,653
Cotton ('000 tons)	24	33,817				298,600	72	303,200	36	272,324
Cotton seed cake ('000 tons)	30	3,406								21,281
Tea						29,060	10	70,900	17	109,520
Animal feeding stuffs						33,540				
Hides and skins (million)	2					22,920				
Oil seeds, oil nuts, etc.						13,680				
TANGANYIKA										
Coffee ('000 tons)	6	8,068	12			146,520	44		41	375,137
Cashew nuts						42,520	71		114	196,242
Cordage										145,773
Cotton ('000 tons)	4	7,240	12			176,540	61		49	472,606
Cotton seed cake ('000 tons)	5	369	12							28,353
Diamonds						92,440				107,327
Gold ('000 oz.)	10	605	93			24,620				
Groundnuts ('000 tons)	14	4,761	22							
Hides and skins ('000 tons)	3	5	3			36,720				21,088
Sisal ('000 tons)	33	223	91			308,340	204		93	463,400
Tobacco (tons)	49	71	238						12	133,600

Sources: Republic of Kenya. Statistical Abstract (various annual issues, as available, dating from 1972 through 1983)
East Africa Statistical Department. Economic and Statistical Review. (Dec. 1961, Dec., 1965, and Dec., 1975)
Great Britain Department of Overseas Trade. Annual Reports on Economic and Commercial Conditions in East Africa. 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928, 1929, 1930, 1932, 1934, 1936, 1937, 1938.
IBRD. Uganda. Country Economic Memorandum. 1982.
IBRD. Tanzania. Basic Economic Report. Dec. 1977.

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Footnotes: There are many gaps in these tables. A gap could mean that there was no trade between the two countries during the period, or that the trade was unrecorded. Some of the figures that are present have a symbol indicating that the IMF obtained them by extrapolating from earlier figures, or by inserting the partner-reported figure for the same trade. The symbols are explained below:

* Data derived from partner country for the entire year

X Data extrapolated for the entire year

Z Data derived from partner and/or extrapolated for part of the year

APPENDIX

Tables on Selected Intra East African

Commodity Exports and Imports

for Each Country[1] for the Years 1972, 1977, 1982:

Kenya
Tanzania
Uganda
Burundi
Sudan
Somalia
Ethiopia

Source: Elliot Berg Associates. Intra-African Trade and Economic Integration Volume II, Statistical Tables. 1985. (From the tables: "Recorded Intra African Commodity Exports and Imports by Three Digit SITC Category, 1972, 1977, 1982." pp. 62-208.

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[1] Rwanda was omitted from the Berg Tables.

KENYA

Exports to Africa: Selected Years, Commodities, Countries

Thousand US Dollars

1972	Quantity	Value	1977	Quantity	Value	1982	Quantity	Value
World		253,566			1,161,036			937,707
Africa		30,990			212,076			239,517
Petroleum products		33%	Petroleum products	610,423	49%	Petroleum products	315,254	51%
Zambia		4,604	Uganda	429,978	67,101	Uganda	163,030	61,537
Rwanda		1,795	Zambia	72,483	9,997	Rwanda	49,307	22,921
Zaire		1,063	Tanzania	20,430	8,611	Burundi	39,121	16,257
Seychelles		705 :W	Rwanda	35,383	5,810 :W	Zaire	13,461	4,552
Ethiopia		693	Zaire	18,720	5,278	Sudan	9,553	4,545
Other		1,345	Other	33,429	6,992	Other	40,787	10,340
Cement etc, bldg products	240,838	11%	Cement etc, bldg product	334,115	5%	Cement etc, bldg products	357,515	3%
Mauritius	105,415	1,570	Mauritius	206,573	5,670	Mauritius	120,523	5,433
Reunion	88,300	1,044	Reunion	57,229	1,548	Rwanda	49,850	3,759
Seychelles	21,200	314	Rwanda	19,293	941	Reunion	93,534	3,390
Zambia	8,450	130 :W	Somalia	13,731	654 :W	Uganda	14,302	1,471
Rwanda	7,856	125	Seychelles	11,261	383	Somalia	21,997	1,081
Other	9,577	156	Other	26,028	1,356	Other	56,549	3,181
Paper, paperboard articles		7%	Chemicals nes	3,442	4%	Soaps etc cleaning preps	6,787	4%
Zambia		815	Uganda	1,576	5,713	Uganda	6,470	5,990
Ethiopia		316	Madagascar	656	1,562	Rwanda	439	819
Zaire		311	Rwanda	196	685	Zaire	721	679
Sudan		197 :W	Somalia	174	220 :W	Zambia	467	510
Reunion		133	Zambia	189	141	Burundi	253	453
Other		374	Other	311	589	Other	427	939
Other inorganic chemicals		3%	Medicinal etc products	881,512	2%	Coffee	8,062	4%
Mozambique		408	Uganda	214,543	1,400	Sudan	4,816	5,842
Zaire		237	Ethiopia	142,691	758	SACU	560	985
Ethiopia		120	Tanzania	183,398	693	Djibouti	848	534
SACU		99 :K	Zambia	144,042	430 :W	Somalia	1,701	518
Madagascar		55	Somalia	47,338	329	Mozambique	157	292
Other		111	Other	149,500	990	Uganda	0	1
Medicinal etc products		3%	Soaps etc cleaning preps	3,767	2%	Tea and mate	4,254	2%
Zambia		556	Uganda	1,711	1,573	Sudan	2,603	3,766
Ethiopia		107	Zambia	1,466	1,557	Ethiopia	552	825
Malawi		84	Rwanda	255	343	Djibouti	409	389
Nigeria		60 :W	Ethiopia	214	266 :W	Mozambique	184	310
Somalia		55	Zaire	25	40	Nigeria	194	274
Other		73	Other	86	132	Other	222	310
Tea and mate	770	2%	Paper and paperboard	5,746	2%	Medicinal etc products	675,164	2%
Somalia	550	463	Uganda	1,800	1,612	Uganda	200,010	1,824
Ethiopia	199	220	Sudan	2,138	924	Tanzania	142,908	933
Seychelles	15	20	Zambia	1,009	602	Ethiopia	57,200	456
Nigeria	6	4 :W	Tanzania	149	295 :K	Malawi	43,949	442
			Mauritius	322	162	Zambia	34,668	325
			Other	328	305	Other	195,429	1,005

1972

Commodity / Country	Quantity	Value	Share
Footwear	360,117		2%
Zambia	243,521	493	
Burundi	46,494	68	
Rwanda	27,695	51	
Somalia	27,246	37	
Seychelles	11,483	14	
Other	3,678	9	
Meat, fresh, chilled, frz	709		2%
Zaire	532	370	
Zambia	65	105	
Burundi	56	101	
Ghana	12	19	W
Nigeria	7	11	
Other	25	35	
Chemicals nes			2%
Zambia		324	
Madagascar		106	
Somalia		46	
Ethiopia		45	
Burundi		13	
Other		36	
Glassware	4,234		2%
Zambia	2,461	297	
Sudan	1,440	176	
Reunion	141	31	
Mauritius	58	9	W
Burundi	41	6	
Other	83	13	
Other Commodities			33%

1977

Commodity / Country	Quantity	Value	Share
Paper, paperboard articles			2%
Uganda		1,054	
Zambia		577	
Mauritius		489	
Tanzania		429	W
Rwanda		279	
Other		743	
Finished struct, parts n	2,121		2%
Uganda	1,074	1,868	
Tanzania	255	679	
Sudan	404	470	
Rwanda	274	216	W
Somalia	120	90	
Other	33	70	
Electrical machinery, nes			2%
Uganda		1,668	
Rwanda		583	
Ethiopia		553	
Zambia		342	
Sudan		42	
Other		78	
Meat, fresh, chilled, fr	2,011		1%
Zambia	1,518	2,006	
Nigeria	388	475	
Sudan	46	97	
Burundi	45	83	W
Seychelles	4	15	
Other	10	22	
Other Commodities			30%

1982

Commodity / Country	Quantity	Value	Share
Chemicals nes	2,963		2%
Uganda	561	2,925	
Rwanda	1,769	373	
Somalia	111	346	
Tanzania	121	275	
Burundi	98	218	
Other	-203	311	
Sugar and honey	13,398		2%
Uganda	12,825	4,633	
Burundi	525	225	
Zambia	15	33	
Zaire	24	10	
Sudan	4	3	
Other	5	4	
Paper, paperboard articles			2%
Uganda		1,372	
Sudan		774	
Rwanda		635	
Mauritius		386	
Tanzania		320	
Other		1,171	
Vegs etc fresh, simply pd	12,181		2%
Somalia	7,345	2,577	
Sudan	1,586	714	
Djibouti	952	442	
SACU	1,325	359	
Mozambique	447	112	
Other	525	229	
Other Commodities			22%

KENYA

Imports from Africa: Selected Years, Commodities, Countries

Thousand US Dollars

1972

Commodity / Country	Quantity	Value	Share
World		496,052	
Africa		7,308	
Tea and mate	4,831		31%
Zaire	4,493	1,384	
Mozambique	320	244	
Malawi	15	8	
Rwanda	3	2	W
Fertilizers, manufactured	18,221		25%

1977

Commodity / Country	Quantity	Value	Share
World		1,285,572	
Africa		19,591	
Cotton	1,638		17%
Sudan	1,255	2,758	
Tanzania	334	460	
Uganda	39	7	
Tea and mate	5,217		16%

1982

Commodity / Country	Quantity	Value	Share
World		1,602,986	
Africa		61,876	
Power machinery, non-elec			39%
Ethiopia		24,182	
Mauritius		8	
Ivory Coast		2	
Maize, unmilled	56,046		27%

	Zambia	18,221	1,821
Zinc		2,460	13%
	Zambia	2,220	874
	Zaire	240	93
Coal, coke, briquettes		39,202	9%
	SACU	31,940	573
	Mozambique	7,262	84
Hides, skins, undressed		242	6%
	Ethiopia	205	442
	Zambia	34	15
	Somalia	3	9
Cocoa		609	6%
	Ghana	609	454
Oil seeds, nuts, kernels		1,165	2%
	Seychelles	1,115	149
	Ethiopia	50	6
Crude animal materials nes			2%
	Somalia		122
	Zambia		1
	Madagascar		1
Lead		352	1%
	Zambia	352	100

	Rwanda	3,794	2,115
	Zaire	1,177	870
	Mozambique	228	155
	Malawi	10	8
	Zambia	8	4
Coal, coke, briquettes		61,410	10%
	Mozambique	30,801	997
	SACU	30,609	995
Zinc		2,015	8%
	Zambia	1,565	1,208
	Zaire	449	343
Crude veg. materials nes		122	7%
	Rwanda	45	930
	Tanzania	55	333
	Zaire	21	135
	Ethiopia	1	0
Electrical energy		271,758	6%
	Uganda	271,758	1,149
Fertilizers, manufacture		5,160	4%
	Zambia	5,000	809
	Uganda	160	19
Petroleum products		4,409	4%
	Tanzania	4,025	629
	Uganda	379	67
	Zambia	5	17
Other crude minerals		18,602	3%
	Ethiopia	18,240	456
	SACU	340	157

	Mozambique	55,046	16,489
Tea and mate		8,223	12%
	Rwanda	4,026	4,107
	Zaire	2,700	1,720
	Uganda	720	572
	Burundi	285	333
	Tanzania	306	277
	Other	184	154
Coal, coke, briquettes		46,350	8%
	SACU	15,543	2,773
	Mozambique	30,807	2,038
Zinc		2,340	4%
	Zambia	2,226	2,125
	Tanzania	114	111
Electrical energy			2%
	Uganda		1,432
Aluminum		530	2%
	Tanzania	530	1,132
Iron, steel shapes		3,936	2%
	Zimbabwe	3,933	1,116
	Mozambique	3	1
Tobacco, unmanufactured		280	1%
	Malawi	280	513

			Tanzania	22	1			
Fish, fresh, simply presv	407	1%	Lead	1,032	3%	Other crude minerals	2,690	1
Somalia	407	67	Zambia	1,032	581	SACU	407	264
						Ethiopia	2,283	172
Other Commodities		4%	Other Commodities		22%	Other Commodities		3%

KENYA
Reexports to Africa: Selected Years, Commodities, Countries
Thousand US Dollars

1972	Quantity	Value	1977	Quantity	Value	1982	Quantity	Value
World		13,616			52,121			39,361
Africa		7,683			36,590			22,191
			Road motor vehicles		13%	Road motor vehicles		24%
			Uganda		2,705	Sudan		2,460
			Sudan		772	Uganda		1,575
			Tanzania		453	Tanzania		712
			Rwanda		436	Rwanda		296
			Zambia		182	SACU		118
			Other		314	Other		91
			Petroleum products	8,731	11%	Machines for special inds.		12%
			Uganda	3,054	1,934	Sudan		1,371
			Tanzania	3,041	897	Rwanda		491
			Zambia	911	491	Cameroon		312
			Ethiopia	364	120	Uganda		202
			Seychelles	505	115	Tanzania		136
			Other	856	343	Other		143
			Medicinal etc products	197,112	9%	Machines nes, non-electric		11%
			Uganda	135,629	2,273	Sudan		1,933
			Somalia	12,356	348	Uganda		217
			Tanzania	13,827	162	Tanzania		79
			Zaire	11,231	137	Somalia		61
			Sudan	4,459	57	Burundi		46
			Other	19,611	240	Other		116
			Machines for special ind	1,488	8%	Petroleum products	2,470	3%
			Sudan	1,207	1,495	Uganda	869	613
			Uganda	183	933	Rwanda	871	376
			Tanzania	35	238	Comoros	275	183
			Zambia	43	92	Zaire	177	171

	Rwanda	8	47	
	Other	12	78	
Machines nes, non-electric				5%
	Uganda		1,031	
	Tanzania		452	
	Zambia		303	
	Sudan		160	
	Rwanda		151	
	Other		254	
Chemicals nes		604		5%
	Uganda	445	1,252	
	Tanzania	73	223	
	Zambia	50	138	
W	Somalia	6	56	
	Sudan	7	23	
	Other	23	61	
Electric power machine e		142		2%
	Uganda	82	563	
	Sudan	22	156	
	Tanzania	22	125	
W	Zambia	9	21	
	Zaire	4	18	
	Other	3	25	
Tea and mate		553		2%
	Somalia	471	659	
	Zambia	77	143	
	Ethiopia	5	5	
W				
Electrical machinery, nes				2%
	Uganda		512	
	Tanzania		129	
	Sudan		43	
	Rwanda		37	
	Ethiopia		30	
	Other		45	
Inorganic chem. elem. et		1,619		2%
	Uganda	1,523	587	
	Zambia	40	36	
	Rwanda	23	36	
W	Somalia	12	34	
	Zaire	20	9	
	Burundi	1	1	
Other Commodities				39%

	Sudan	120	155	
	Other	158	194	
Tea and mate		1,069		5%
	Sudan	466	543	
	Ethiopia	377	327	
	Djibouti	142	99	
W	Congo	41	45	
	Mozambique	20	20	
	Other	23	29	
Chemicals nes		183		3%
	Uganda	102	325	
	Somalia	12	148	
	Rwanda	16	77	
W	Burundi	12	59	
	Sudan	28	46	
	Other	15	35	
Road vehicles, non-motor				3%
	Ethiopia		325	
	Sudan		259	
	Uganda		17	
	Zaire			
	Tanzania		-	
Agricultl mach., non-elec				3%
	Uganda		286	
	Sudan		225	
	Tanzania		75	
	Ethiopia		26	
	Rwanda		16	
Instruments, apparatus				3%
	Uganda		175	
	Zambia		152	
	Sudan		122	
	Zaire		44	
	Tanzania		37	
	Other		25	
Tools				2%
	Sudan		205	
	Uganda		166	
	Tanzania		43	
	Rwanda		16	
	Zaire		2	
	Other		2	
Other Commodities				27%

Other Commodities

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TANZANIA

Exports to Africa: Selected Years, Commodities, Countries

Thousand US Dollars

1972	Quantity	Value	1977	Quantity	Value	1981	Quantity	Value
World		283,767			550,772			552,539
Africa		32,722			22,744			35,075
Petroleum products		84%	Petroleum products		30%	Tea and mate	2,443	11%
Zambia		23,882	Burundi		6,116	Sudan	2,052	3,404
Burundi		3,173	Zaire		533	Ethiopia	97	187
Zaire		578	Zambia		109	nes	225	112
Rwanda		3				Uganda	16	109
						Somalia	31	36
						Nigeria	21	33
Cotton	1,565	3%	Cotton	2,730	18%	Other crude minerals	19,314	10%
Somalia	986	716	Zambia	1,992	2,991	Burundi	15,615	2,777
Ethiopia	579	344	Somalia	394	656	Zaire	3,516	773
			Zaire	199	345	Uganda	77	24
			Mauritius	127	165	Rwanda	106	24
			Nigeria	18	30			
Fish, fresh, simply presv	1,854	2%	Other crude minerals	8,950	5%	Electrical machinery, nes		9%
Zambia	1,163	547	Burundi	7,997	1,017	Rwanda		2,039
Zaire	666	116	Zaire	616	78	Burundi		1,208
Malawi	7	26	Zambia	335	20	Zaire		142
Burundi	16	3	Seychelles	2	2	Mozambique		8
						Zimbabwe		7
Other crude minerals		2%	Electrical machinery, nes		5%	Tobacco manufactures	3,194	8%
Burundi		302	Zambia		604	Burundi	1,765	1,509
Zaire		205	Rwanda		505	Zaire	1,367	1,050
Rwanda		19	Burundi		7	Rwanda	62	317
Zambia		4				Uganda	0	6
Rice	3,681	1%	Veg. fibres not jute, cot	3,359	5%	Cotton fabrics, woven		6%
Madagascar	3,000	230	nes	3,229	1,017	Mozambique		1,888
Zambia	544	131	Mozambique	130	29	Uganda		150
Seychelles	100	16				Rwanda		44
Burundi	37	9						
Veg. fibres not jute, cot	2,679	1%	Coffee	191	4%	Meat, fresh, chilled, frz	293	6%
Zambia	2,679	371	Mozambique	56	317	Uganda	293	2,030
			Nigeria	69	246			
			Somalia	50	222			
			Zambia	16	188			

1972	Quantity	Value	%	1977	Quantity	Value	%	1981	Quantity	Value	%
Meat, tinned or prepared	171		1%	Rubber articles nes	1,055		4%	Food preparations nes	707		[illegible]
Zambia	166	240		Mozambique	982	658		Uganda	707	1,583	
Seychelles	5	8		Rwanda	32	120					
				Burundi	39	82					
				Seychelles	2	3					
				Sudan	0	2					
Aluminum	277		1%	Clothing not of fur			4%	Veg. fibres not jute, cot	3,353		[illegible]
Zambia	277	213		Mozambique		833		nes	2,653	1,311	
								Ethiopia	400	229	
								Zambia	300	114	
Glassware	1,077		1%	Aluminum	388		3%	Vegs etc fresh, simply pr	2,011		[illegible]
Burundi	1,035	167		Zambia	330	512		Uganda	1,176	1,017	
Zambia	42	24		Burundi	25	47		Nigeria	251	152	
				Rwanda	19	35		Somalia	259	115	
				Zaire	13	24		Mauritius	148	106	
								Sudan	158	55	
								Other	19	14	
Furniture			1%	Special textile etc prods	1,024		3%	Coffee	947		4?
Nigeria		146		nes	720	334		n.s.	637	515	
Zambia		13		Zambia	160	143		SACU	120	333	
Burundi		10		Sudan	144	99		Uganda	28	301	
Zaire		2						Somalia	151	146	
								Seychelles	4	35	
								Other	7	38	
Other Commodities			3%	Other Commodities			20%	Other Commodities			33%

TANZANIA
Imports from Africa: Selected Years, Commodities, Countries
Thousand US Dollars

	1972 Quantity	1972 Value	%		1977 Quantity	1977 Value	%		1981 Quantity	1981 Value	%
World		363,422				730,142				867,206	
Africa		3,488				7,005				17,658	
Pearls, precious stones			32%	Cement etc, bldg products	48,060		33%	Petroleum products			25%
Zambia		1,129		Mozambique	46,180	2,232		Kenya		3,174	
				Zambia	1,630	53		Zambia		1,195	
				Zaire	250	19		Zaire		204	
								SACU		1	
Maize unmilled	11,970		28%	Zinc	2,470		28%	Cement etc, bldg products	23,152		11%

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Malawi	11,970	985	
			W
Zinc	1,823		22%
Zambia	1,823	763	
			W
Natural abrasives, diamnd			7%
Zambia		236	
Machines for special inds	106		3%
SACU	70	106	
Zambia	36	9	
			W
Petroleum products			2%
Zambia		54	
			W
Other manuf'd goods nes			1%
Somalia		51	
			W
Live animals	104,730		1%
Zambia	104,730	39	
			W
Lead	103		1%
Zambia	103	30	

Zambia	2,470	1,534	
			W
Iron, steel tubes, pipes	97		7%
Madagascar	93	425	
Ghana	4	33	
Mozambique	0	1	
			W
Road motor vehicles			4%
Zambia		276	
Rwanda		7	
Mozambique		6	
Malawi		6	W
nes		5	
Other		10	
Other fixed vegetable oil	399		3%
Mozambique	399	236	
Machines for special inds	52		3%
Madagascar	37	194	
Zambia	15	41	
			W
Milk and cream	286		3%
Mozambique	286	227	
Other crude minerals	277		3%
Somalia	34	166	
Madagascar	243	18	
Clothing not of fur			3%
nes		159	
Zambia		17	

Mozambique	13,050	1,339	
Kenya	3,456	545	
Zambia	684	88	
Rubber articles nes	294		5%
Mozambique	266	759	
Zimbabwe	27	84	
Kenya	1	16	
Zambia	0	2	
Other inorganic chemicals	6,458		5%
Kenya	6,445	803	
Zambia	13	16	
Fertilizers, manufactured	3,115		5%
Somalia	3,000	727	
Kenya	115	60	
Maize, unmilled	3,000		3%
Zimbabwe	3,000	588	
Toys, sporting goods etc			3%
Kenya		529	
Seychelles		27	
Zambia		1	
Metal manufactures nes			3%
Kenya		343	
Mozambique		181	
SACU		1	
Road motor vehicles			3%
Kenya		406	
Uganda		58	

				Somalia	15
				Zambia	14
				Malawi	9
				Other	14
Crude veg. materials nes	1%	Metal manufactures nes	3%	Domestic electric equip.	[illegible]
Ethiopia	12	Zambia	153	Mozambique	437
Zambia	10	Mozambique	23	Zimbabwe	13
				nes	5
				SACU	3
				Zambia	2
				Other	2
Other Commodities	2%	Other Commodities	11%	Other Commodities	34%

TANZANIA
Reexports to Africa: Selected Years, Commodities, Countries
Thousand US Dollars

	1972 Quantity	1972 Value		Quantity	Value		1981 Quantity	1981 Value
World		16,288			8,254			11,551
Africa		15,[illegible]			1,298			8,976
			Road motor vehicles		36%	Railway vehicles		63%
			Zambia		308	Zambia		5,625
			Madagascar		121			
			Zaire		16			
			Mozambique		11			
			nes		6			
			Other		6			
			Petroleum products		21%	Power machinery, non-elec		5%
			Zambia		273	Zimbabwe		277
						Madagascar		259
						Zambia		11
						Kenya		1
			Machines nes, non-electr	72	11%	Agricultl mach., non-elec		5%
			Madagascar	48	88	Kenya		430
			Somalia	15	52			
			Malawi	8	4			
			Sudan	0	1			
			Zambia	0	1			
			Rails, construc materials	20	4%	Road motor vehicles		4%
			Burundi	20	55	Kenya		225
						Uganda		42
						Zambia		33
						Malawi		28

				nes	14
				Other	31
	Machines for special inds	48	4%	Electrical machinery, nes	4%
	Madagascar	14	28	Kenya	205
	Malawi	33	24	Zambia	150
	Burundi	1	1	Zimbabwe	3
	W			nes	2
	Agricultl mach., non-elec		4%	Developed cinema film	3%
	Madagascar		46	Uganda	241
				Zambia	38
				Mozambique	18
				Ethiopia	1
				Seychelles	[illegible]
	Textile fabrics waste	18	3%	Metal manufactures nes	2%
	Mozambique	18	39	Uganda	125
				Zambia	45
				Kenya	6
	W			Zimbabwe	2
	Developed cinema film		2%	Machines for special inds.	2%
	Zambia		18	Kenya	173
	Somalia		8	Zambia	4
	Mozambique		3		
	Burundi		2		
	Road vehicles, non-motor		2%	Ships and boats	2%
	Somalia		23	Kenya	133
	Zambia		2	Uganda	5
	Power machinery, non-elec		2%	Machines nes, non-electric	1%
	Zambia		24	Kenya	123
				Zambia	6
				Ethiopia	2
				Zimbabwe	1
				Madagascar	1
Other Commodities	Other Commodities		10%	Other Commodities	7%

UGANDA
Exports to Africa: Selected Years, Commodities, Countries
Thousand US Dollars

1972		Quantity	Value	1976		Quantity	Value	1982 Quantity	Value
World			259,184				351,496		
Africa			5,147				9,013		
Coffee		6,103	48%	Coffee		4,008	53%		
	Sudan	6,103	2,447		Sudan	4,008	4,815		
Cotton		1,281	15%	Petroleum products		8,000	17%		
	Ethiopia	363	598		Rwanda	3,356	311		
	Zambia	220	139		Zaire	2,121	444		
	Somalia	98	79		Kenya	1,560	240		
					Burundi	143	43		
					Sudan	108	22		
Tea and mate		586	11%	Electrical energy		250,221	11%		
	Somalia	374	329		Kenya	250,221	1,016		
	Sudan	207	229						
	Zambia	2	1						
	Madagascar	1	1						
	Zaire	1	1						
	Reunion	1	1						
Glassware		902	4%	Tea and mate		1,124	11%		
	Rwanda	613	143		Somalia	739	616		
	Burundi	289	69		Sudan	180	159		
					nes	163	132		
					Ethiopia	40	64		
					Seychelles	2	3		
Wood manufactures nes			3%	Textile yarn and thread		105	2%		
	Rwanda		97		Kenya	105	214		
	Zaire		80						
Animal feed		1,132	3%	Cotton fabrics, woven		117	1%		
	Somalia	1132	137		Kenya	117	93		

Fish, fresh, simply presvd	215	2%	Organic chemicals	141	1%	
Zaire	211	114	Kenya	141	76	
Rwanda	7	5				
			V			
Meat, fresh, chilled, frzn	138	2%	Fertilizers, manufactured	387	0%	
Zaire	137	111	Kenya	387	42	
Burundi	1	2				
			W			
Iron, steel shapes	362	2%	Wood, shaped	259	0%	
Rwanda	362	89	Kenya	259	34	
			W			
Sugar confectionery	140	1%	Oil seeds, nuts, kernels	100	0%	
Zaire	140	60	nes	100	28	
			W			
Other Commodities		8%	Other Commodities		2%	Other Commodities

UGANDA
Imports from Africa: Selected Years, Commodities, Countries
Thousand US Dollars

	1972			1976			1982	
	Quantity	Value		Quantity	Value		Quantity	Value
World		113,633			157,521			
Africa		621			80,792			
Zinc	1,115	70%	Petroleum products		57%			
Zaire	717	270	Kenya		45,770			
Zambia	398	165						
Other crude minerals		12%	Chemicals nes	1,357	3%			

SACU		44	Kenya	1,281	2,622
Zambia		31	Tanzania	76	105
		:M			
Tools		5%	Road motor vehicles		3%
Zambia		33	Kenya		2,281
			Rwanda		87
			Zambia		26
			Zaire		7
			Ethiopia		4
			Other		3
Aircraft		5%	Electrical machinery, nes		3%
Ethiopia		31	Kenya		1943
			Tanzania		92
Lead	40	2%	Medicinal etc products	259,100	2%
Zambia	40	11	Kenya	259,000	1,780
			Sudan	100	2
		:K			
Hides, skins, undressed	17	1%	Soaps etc cleaning preps	1,497	2%
Sudan	16	7	Kenya	913	971
Rwanda	1	1	Sudan	582	380
			Rwanda	2	1
		:M			
Machines nes, non-electric		1%	Woven textiles non-cotton		2%
SACU		3	Kenya		1,272
Zambia		2			
Nigeria		1			
Printed matter		1%	Rubber articles nes	338	[illegible]
Ghana		2	Kenya	211	[illegible]
Nigeria		2	Tanzania	127	455
		:M			
Clothing not of fur		1%	Machines for special inds.	218	1%
Zambia		4	Kenya	218	1,166

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1972	Quantity	Value	1976	Quantity	Value	1982	Quantity	Value
Nails etc. of irn stl coo	3	0%	Milk and cream	4,054	1%			
Zambia	0	2	Kenya	4,054	1,079			
SACU	3	1						
			W					
Other Commodities		2%	Other Commodities		25%	Other Commodities		

UGANDA
Reexports to Africa: Selected Years, Commodities, Countries
Thousand US Dollars

1972	Quantity	Value	1976	Quantity	Value	1982	Quantity	Value
World		1,256			199			
Africa		1,022			134			
			Electric distributing mach	20	32%			
			Kenya	20	43			
			W					
			Road motor vehicles		15%			
			Kenya		20			
			Power machinery, non-elec		13%			
			Kenya		17			
			Petroleum products		13%			
			Kenya		17			

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Machines for special inds.		2	6%
	Kenya	2	3
W			
Chemicals nes		7	4%
	Kenya	7	5
W			
Woven textiles non-cotton		2	4%
	Kenya	2	5
A			
Instruments, apparatus			4%
	Tanzania		3
	Kenya		2
Aluminum		3	3%
	Kenya	3	4
W			
Inorganic chem. elem. etc		1	2%
	Kenya	1	3
W			
Other Commodities			5%

Other Commodities

Other Commodities

BURUNDI
Exports to Africa: Selected Years, Commodities, Countries
Thousand US Dollars

	1972 Quantity	1972 Value		1976 Quantity	1976 Value	1982 Quantity	1982 Value
World					53,564		
Africa					752		
			Cement etc, bldg products	1,109	62%		
			Rwanda	1109	469		
			W				
			Fixed vegetable oils, soft	108	11%		
			Rwanda	108	86		
			W				
			Ships and boats		10%		
			Tanzania		62		
			Zaire		14		
			Inorganic chem. elem. etc	10	4%		
			Rwanda	10	27		
			W				
			Finished struct, parts nes		3%		
			Rwanda		25		
			Hides, skins, undressed	12	2%		
			Tanzania	8	11		
			Kenya	4	4		
			W				

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1972	1976	Quantity	Value	1982
	Fish, fresh, simply presvd	10	2%	
	Rwanda	4	5	
	Zaire	6	4	
	Burundi	0	3	
	W			
	Pearls, precious stones	7	1%	
	Zaire	2	5	
	Rwanda	5	5	
	W			
	Organic chemicals	1	1%	
	Rwanda	1	5	
	W			
	Cotton		1%	
	Rwanda	22	-	
	W			
Other Commodities	Other Commodities		3%	Other Commodities

BURUNDI
Imports from Africa: Selected Years, Commodities, Countries
Thousand US Dollars

	1972 Quantity	1972 Value		1976 Quantity	1976 Value	1982 Quantity	1982 Value
	0	0					
World					57,562		
Africa					4,907		
			Cement etc, bldg products	10,550	14%		
			Zaire	3725	508		
			Kenya	273	111		
			Tanzania	355	78		
			W				
			Tobacco manufactures		11%		

	Kenya		445
	Tanzania		118
Other crude minerals		5,282	11%
	Tanzania	4275	421
	Somalia	267	43
	Kenya	540	42
W	Zaire	200	29
Glassware			6%
	Kenya		307
	Tanzania		5
Footwear		66,922	5%
	Kenya	66355	253
	Tanzania	565	1
	Zaire	2	0
P			
Sugar and honey		338	4%
	Ethiopia	320	184
	Zaire	18	9
W			
Pearls, precious stones		304	4%
	Kenya	233	146
	Zaire	71	36
W			
Meat, fresh, chilled, frzn		66	3%
	Kenya	64	128
	Tanzania	2	3
W			
Wood manufactures nes			2%
	Kenya		118

	Plastic materials etc	56	2%	
	Kenya	55	116	
	Tanzania	0	1	
Other Commodities	Other Commodities		37%	Other Commodities

SUDAN
Exports to Africa: Selected Years, Commodities, Countries
Thousand US Dollars

	1972 Quantity	1972 Value	1977 Quantity	1977 Value		1981 Quantity	1981 Value
World		357,480					500,80
Africa		958					2,75
Petroleum products	23,003	23%	no data		Cereals nes	5,025	45
Somalia	18,981	191			Djibouti	2,968	67
Djibouti	4,000	30			Somalia	990	34
CAR	22	5			Tanzania	1,068	246
4					W		
Oil seeds, nuts, kernels	921	19%			Oil seeds, nuts, kernels	1,693	29
Ethiopia	921	181			Angola	1,632	77
					Somalia	61	38
4					W		
Cereals nes	2,547	18%			Textile yarn and thread	61	13
Djibouti	697	62			Ethiopia	61	375
Somalia	687	55					
Ethiopia	1,163	54					
4					W		
Animal feed	1,975	14%			Other crude minerals		4%
Reunion	1,975	130			Ethiopia		73
					Congo		37
4							
Cotton	191	8%			Cotton fabrics, woven		2%
Somalia	109	63			Ethiopia		59
Ethiopia	82	11					
W							
Other crude minerals		5%			Hides, skins, undressed	65	1%
Chad		42			Kenya	65	40
Ethiopia		3					
CAR		1			W		

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Other fixed vegetable oil	68	4%				Fish, fresh, simply presv	30	1%
Ethiopia	46	24				Congo	29	36
CAR	22	13				CAR	1	1
						W		
Medicinal etc products		1%				Base metal household equi	11	1%
CAR		12				Ethiopia	11	16
						W		
Iron and steel scrap	431	2%				Vegs etc fresh, simply po	36	1%
Ethiopia	431	15				Ethiopia	36	15
						Nigeria	0	1
						W		
Hides, skins, undressed	5	1%				Clothing not of fur		0%
Ethiopia	0	6				Ethiopia		13
Uganda	5	3						
Other Commodities		7%				Other Commodities		1%

SUDAN
Imports from Africa: Selected Years, Commodities, Countries
Thousand US Dollars

	1972 Quantity	1972 Value		1977 Quantity	1977 Value		1981 Quantity	1981 Value
World		353,479						1,518,702
Africa		6,846			26,001			27,916
Coffee	14,016	78%	Coffee	5,856	47%	Tea and mate	2,819	19%
Uganda	6,325	2,476	Uganda	2,041	6,029	Kenya	1,795	3,168
Ivory Coas	6,049	2,216	Kenya	1,847	4,069	Tanzania	982	2,203
Kenya	1,598	640	Congo	1,480	1,490	Congo	42	56
Ethiopia	44	36 W	Ethiopia	452	363 W			
			Zaire	36	170			
Vegs etc fresh, simply po	2,765	6%	Tea and mate	1,496	9%	Road motor vehicles		5%

Ethiopia	2,763	418		Congo	574	901		Kenya	2,4[illegible]		
Chad	2	0		Uganda	557	896		Chad	4[illegible]		
				Kenya	350	538		Nigeria			
				Zaire	9	11		Tanzania			
				Chad	6	4					
Road motor vehicles			2%	Electric power machine etc			2%	Petroleum products	4,442		
Uganda		109		Kenya		626		Kenya	4,416	2,304	
Ethiopia		39						Tanzania	26	[illegible]	
Chad		16									
Kenya		3									
Glassware			2%	Agricultl mach., non-elec			1%	Coffee	599	7[illegible]	
Kenya		131		Kenya		363		Ethiopia	317	1,52[illegible]	
Ethiopia		29		Uganda		3		Kenya	172	2[illegible]	
								Congo	110	13[illegible]	
Paper, paperboard articles			2%	Wood, shaped			1%	Tobacco, unmanufactured	333	[illegible]	
Kenya		132		Kenya		346		Zambia	238	1,27[illegible]	
				Congo		10		nes	64	405	
				Ethiopia		1		Tanzania	31	220	
Spices	464		2%	Road vehicles, non-motor			1%	Finished struct, parts ne	332	[illegible]	
Tanzania	13	55		Kenya		206		Kenya	332	1,602	
Ethiopia	289	40									
Chad	152	27									
Nigeria	10	2									
Crude veg. materials nes			1%	Finished struct, parts n	238		1%	Paper and paperboard	1,691	5[illegible]	
Chad		35		Kenya	238	177		Kenya	1,691	1,325	
Ethiopia		24									
Nigeria		2									
Other inorganic chemicals	989		1%	Metal tanks, boxes, etc	43		1%	Machines for special inds	94		4%
Kenya	989	57		Kenya	34	120		Kenya	94	1,163	
				Tanzania	9	35					
Chemicals nes			1%	Alcoholic beverages	120		1%	Alcoholic beverages	339	2[illegible]	
Kenya		29		Kenya	100	128		Kenya	336	661	
Tanzania		25		Congo	20	14		Congo	3	4	

1972	Quantity	Value	1977	Quantity	Value	1981	Quantity	Value
Tea and mate	23	0%	Food preparations nes	44	0%	Furniture		2%
Uganda	23	31	Kenya	44	97	Kenya		588
Other Commodities		5%	Other Commodities		36%	Other Commodities		29%

SUDAN
Reexports to Africa: Selected Years, Commodities, Countries
Thousand US Dollars

	1972 Quantity	1972 Value		1977 Quantity	1977 Value		1981 Quantity	1981 Value
World								6,854
Africa		65						191
Aircraft		82%	no data			Road motor vehicles		53%
Kenya		53				Kenya		65
						Congo		37
Road motor vehicles		11%				Machines nes non-electric		21%
Kenya		4				Somalia		36
Chad		3				Kenya		4
Textile products nes		6%				Railway vehicles	9,010	12%
Ethiopia	783	4				Kenya	38	22
						N		
Cotton fabrics, woven		2%				Aircraft		8%
Ethiopia		1				Ethiopia		16
						Toys, sporting goods etc		3%
						W Kenya	2	6
						Electrical machinery nes		1%
						Congo		1
						Sound recorders, producers		1%
						Congo		1
						Ships and boats		1%
						N Kenya	1	1

		Road vehicles, non-motor W Kenya
		Printed matter Kenya
		Other Commodities

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SOMALIA
Exports to Africa: Selected Years, Commodities, Countries
Thousand US Dollars

	1972 Quantity	1972 Value		1977 Quantity	1977 Value		1981 Quantity	1981 Value
World		43,095			62,586			151,998
Africa		692			1,570			1,622
Hides, skins, undressed	539	57%	Materials of rubber	399	55%	Fruit, fresh; nuts, fresh	1,486	42
Djibouti	539	391	Uganda	399	855	Kenya	1,355	539
						Djibouti	130	33
Fish, fresh, simply presv	295	10%	Fruit, fresh; nuts, fresh	1,140	14%	Fish, fresh, simply presv	510	25%
Kenya	274	63	Tanzania	1,127	215	Kenya	427	332
Tanzania	20	3	Djibouti	2	7	Tanzania	45	35
Ethiopia	1	0	Kenya	11	1	Djibouti	38	30
Furniture	6	9%	Crude veg. materials nes	77	7%	Crude veg. materials nes	0	9%
Nigeria	6	59	Uganda	50	107	Djibouti	0	142
			Djibouti	18	3			
			Kenya	7	2			
			Ethiopia	2	0			
Special transactions	30	4%	Cotton fabrics, woven	25	7%	Other manuf'd goods nes	9	7%
Kenya	19	15	Uganda	25	108	Djibouti	9	112
Sudan	2	8						
Ethiopia	5	5						
Tanzania	3	2						
Senegal	1	1						
Crude animal materials ne	18	4%	Fish, fresh, simply presv	82	5%	Fruit, preserved, prepd	212	6%
Kenya	13	29	Kenya	79	67	Djibouti	212	102
Ethiopia	5	0	Djibouti	3	11			
Clothing not of fur	7	3%	Animal feed	407	2%	Road motor vehicles	15	3%
Kenya	7	18	Kenya	400	38	Tanzania	12	39
			Djibouti	7	0	Kenya	3	4
						Djibouti	1	0

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Metal manufactures nes		2%	Petroleum products	181	2%	Vegs etc fresh, simply pd	49	2%
Kenya		14	Djibouti	84	20	Djibouti	49	29
			Kenya	97	17			
Crude veg. materials nes	128	2%	Special transactions	7	2%	Fish etc, tinned, prepare	10	1%
Djibouti	95	11	Kenya	4	19	Djibouti	3	13
Ethiopia	31	1	Malawi	0	3	Kenya	7	7
Kenya	1	0	Djibouti	0	3			
			Uganda	1	1			
			Nigeria	1	1			
			Other	1	2			
Road motor vehicles		2%	Butter	4	1%	Other crude minerals	92	1%
Kenya		7	Djibouti	4	10	Kenya	81	14
Sudan		3				Djibouti	11	3
Zambia		2						
Live animals	16	1%	Footwear	2	1%	Pulp and waste paper	1	1%
Djibouti	16	6	Kenya	2	6	Kenya	1	13
Other Commodities		6%	Other Commodities		4%	Other Commodities		4%

SOMALIA
Imports from Africa: Selected Years, Commodities, Countries
Thousand US Dollars

	1972			1977			1981	
	Quantity	Value		Quantity	Value		Quantity	Value
World		75,649			227,606			512,934
Africa		5,942			15,580			55,439
Crude veg. materials nes	894	25%	Crude veg. materials nes	1,863	35%	Crude veg. materials nes	4,302	55%
Ethiopia	894	988	Ethiopia	1,844	5,459	Ethiopia	2,973	23,281
Kenya	176	521	Kenya	13	41	Kenya	1,181	6,540
			Djibouti	6	15	Djibouti	148	734
Tea and mate	1,573	21%	Tea and mate	1,673	15%	Road motor vehicles	0	8%

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	Kenya	1,484	1,166	
	Tanzania	48	34	
	Uganda	41	30	W
Cotton		598		5%
	Tanzania	200	190	
	Uganda	398	95	
Road motor vehicles				3%
	Djibouti		138	
	Kenya		63	
	Tanzania		3	X
Coffee		1,213		3%
	Uganda	810	101	
	Kenya	393	56	
	Tanzania	10	7	W
Finished struct. parts ne		49		3%
	Kenya	49	163	W
Paper, paperboard article		354		3%
	Kenya	348	158	
	Djibouti	6	3	
Wood, rough or roughly sq		278		2%
	Kenya	203	123	
	Ethiopia	55	6	
	Djibouti	20	1	W
Vegs etc fresh, simply pd		1,530		2%
	Ethiopia	1,053	96	
	Kenya	473	30	

	Kenya	1,417	2,060	
	Uganda	248	238	
	Djibouti	8	13	
Road motor vehicles		534		7%
	Djibouti	454	748	
	Kenya	114	299	
	Zambia	14	23	
	Ethiopia	1	5	W
	Tanzania	1	3	
Medicinal etc products		110,966		5%
	Kenya	106,799	732	
	Djibouti	4,167	7	W
Cement etc, bldg products		5,217		3%
	Kenya	5,214	446	
	Djibouti	3	0	W
Rice		797		2%
	Djibouti	771	320	
	Ethiopia	26	10	W
Petroleum products				2%
	Kenya		294	
	Madagascar		29	W
Clothing not of fur		91		2%
	Djibouti	74	276	
	Kenya	17	31	
	Ethiopia	0	2	W
Tobacco, unmanufactured		214		2%
	Djibouti	155	175	
	Tanzania	59	125	

	Kenya		2,35-	
	Djibouti		2,10-	
	Zimbabwe			
	Ethiopia			
Sugar and honey		8,380		[illegible]
	Djibouti	8,300	4,42-	
	Kenya	69	7-	
	Ethiopia	11	[illegible]	
Maize, unmilled		7,409		[illegible]
	Kenya	7,409	1,305	
Cement etc, bldg products		5,112		[illegible]
	Kenya	5,058	1,453	
	Djibouti	54		
Tea and mate		1,470		2%
	Djibouti	995	723	
	Kenya	238	323	
	Tanzania	232	278	
	Ethiopia	5	4	
Rice		3,121		2%
	Djibouti	3,120	1,224	
	Kenya	1	0	
Veneers, plywood etc		2,248		2%
	Kenya	1,929	1,074	
	Djibouti	306	107	
	Sudan	12	2	
	Madagascar	1	0	
Cereals etc, preparations		981		2%
	Djibouti	966	1,135	
	Kenya	11	12	

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Djibouti		2				Ethiopia		
Clothing not of fur	103	2%	Cotton	150	2%	Medicinal etc products	103,573	2%
Kenya	79	68	Tanzania	150	285	Djibouti	61,759	859
Djibouti	20	33				Kenya	41,906	112
Tanzania	3	12				Tanzania	6	0
Ethiopia	1	1						
Other Commodities		31%	Other Commodities		25%	Other Commodities		12%

SOMALIA
Reexports to Africa: Selected Years, Commodities, Countries
Thousand US Dollars

	1972		1977		1981	
	Quantity	Value	Quantity	Value	Quantity	Value
World		113				
Africa		15				

ETHIOPIA
Exports to Africa: Selected Years, Commodities, Countries
Thousand US Dollars

	1972 Quantity	1972 Value		1977 Quantity	1977 Value		1982 Quantity	1982 Value
World		165,332			333,376			404,255
Africa		12,069			18,163			39,583
Coffee	2,340	20%	Petroleum products	67,127	34%	Crude veg. materials nes	3,047	39%
Djibouti	2,336	2,409	Djibouti	67,127	6,127	Djibouti	3,047	15,615
Sudan	4	1						
Sugar and honey	11,521	17%	Coffee	778	20%	Petroleum products	62,321	24%
Djibouti	11,521	2,076	Djibouti	748	3,389	Djibouti	62,321	9,517
			SACU	30	166			
			Nigeria	0	1			
Crude veg. materials nes	2,125	13%	Crude veg. materials nes	748	14%	Sugar and honey	31,800	12%
Djibouti	1,344	1,241	Djibouti	748	2,574	Djibouti	31,800	4,583
Somalia	721	325	Somalia	0	7			
Kenya	52	14	Sudan	0	1			
Sudan	11	5						
Mauritius	7	3						
Vegs etc fresh, simply pd	10,140	13%	Vegs etc fresh, simply pd	7,600	12%	Vegs etc fresh, simply pd	9,304	7%
Djibouti	4,700	586	Djibouti	4,235	1,027	Djibouti	8,845	2,634
Sudan	2,662	452	Sudan	833	382	Sudan	346	180
Mauritius	1,787	282	Mauritius	983	346	Kenya	113	79
Somalia	943	213	SACU	990	255			
Cameroon	25	5	Ghana	399	126			
Kenya	23	3	Kenya	160	89			
Petroleum products	74,127	7%	Sugar and honey	8,505	8%	Live animals	2,006	6%
Djibouti	74,127	840	Djibouti	8,505	1,444	Djibouti	2,006	2,419
Meat, fresh, chilled, frz	874	6%	Oil seeds, nuts, kernels	1,764	4%	Coffee	585	5%
Djibouti	704	561	Djibouti	1,727	777	Djibouti	350	1,091
Zaire	170	153	Mauritius	28	13	Mauritius	150	583
			Kenya	9	4	Sudan	60	184
						Liberia	25	76

Live animals		1,100		4%	Spices		199		2%	Oil seeds, nuts, kernels		986		2%
	Djibouti	1,094	494			Kenya	127	183			Mozambique	739	556	
	Ethiopia	6	2			Djibouti	51	63			Djibouti	247	141	
						Somalia	20	21						
						Ghana	1	6						
Cereals nes		4,284		4%	Animal feed		1,346		1%	Fruit, fresh; nuts, fresh		2,237		1%
	Somalia	2,345	258			Ghana	1,000	169			Djibouti	2,237	540	
	Djibouti	1,929	213			Djibouti	326	74						
	Guinea Bis	10	1			Kenya	11	2						
						Somalia	9	1						
Gas, natural and manuf'd		21,168		3%	Hides, skins, undressed				1%	Wood, shaped		1,063		1%
	Djibouti	21,168	302			Mauritius		102			Djibouti	1,063	362	
						Kenya		96						
Hides, skins, undressed		177		2%	Rubber articles nes		370		1%	Spices		246		1%
	Kenya	135	247			Kenya	370	156			Kenya	80	96	
	Djibouti	42	29								Djibouti	76	71	
											Sudan	90	44	
Other Commodities				11%	Other Commodities				3%	Other Commodities				2%

ETHIOPIA
Imports from Africa: Selected Years, Commodities, Countries
Thousand US Dollars

		1972 Quantity	1972 Value				1977 Quantity	1977 Value				1982 Quantity	1982 Value	
World			189,361					391,379					784,950	
Africa			6,177					7,755					8,860	
Tobacco, unmanufactured		743		24%	Tea and mate		543		30%	Tea and mate		1,381		31%
	Malawi	743	1,477			Kenya	543	2,288			Kenya	1,286	2,561	
											Tanzania	95	188	
Cotton		1,643		20%	Medicinal etc products		17,575		10%	Tobacco, unmanufactured		214		8%

Uganda	939	685	
Sudan	605	431	
Tanzania	99	133	
			K
Petroleum products	1,358	7%	
Kenya	1,281	316	
Djibouti	571	86	
Sudan	6	1	
			W
Road motor vehicles	6	5%	
Kenya	6	330	
Madagascar	0	1	
			W
Essential oil, perfume et	29	4%	
Kenya	29	232	
Tea and mate	156	4%	
Kenya	156	217	
			W
Zinc	531	3%	
Zambia	519	198	
Djibouti	12	1	
			W
Printed matter	0	3%	
Kenya	0	155	
			W
Synthetic or regen'd fibr	209	2%	
Tanzania	209	142	

Kenya	15,115	758	
Ghana		16	
Sudan	2,460	6	
			W
Petroleum products	1,030	8%	
Kenya	523	318	
Djibouti	507	303	
			K
Tobacco, unmanufactured	189	8%	
Malawi	189	587	
			W
Electrical machinery, nes		5%	
Kenya		413	
Ghana		2	
			W
Soaps etc cleaning preps	247	5%	
Kenya	247	360	
			W
Chemicals nes	165	3%	
Kenya	153	235	
Ghana	8	13	
Djibouti	4	1	
			W
Zinc	258	3%	
Zaire	240	180	
Zambia	1[illegible]	15	
			W
Iron, steel shapes	349	2%	
Kenya	349	160	

Zimbabwe	214	709
Medicinal etc products	65,838	7%
Kenya	65,819	538
Senegal	16	2
Zaire	3	[illegible]
Road motor vehicles	92	5%
Djibouti	81	447
Kenya	5	18
Malawi	4	14
Zimbabwe	2	12
Petroleum products	358	4%
Djibouti	174	206
Kenya	184	190
Electrical machinery, nes	98	4%
Kenya	91	378
nes	7	8
Djibouti	0	2
Other crude minerals	521	4%
SACU	521	382
Clothing not of fur	21	4%
Djibouti	21	380
Veg. fibres not jute, cot	411	3%
Tanzania	400	276
Kenya	11	15

Paper and paperboard		363	2%	Other inorganic chemicals	640		2%	Agricultl mach., non-elec		29	2%
	Kenya	346	119	Kenya	550		120		Kenya	23	228
	Zambia	17	5	Ghana	90		15		nes	5	27
				W. Sahara	0		1		Zimbabwe	1	2
W								W			
Other Commodities			27%	Other Commodities			25%	Other Commodities			25%

ETHIOPIA
Reexports to Africa: Selected Years, Commodities, Countries
Thousand US Dollars

	1972 Quantity	1972 Value	1977		1977 Quantity	1977 Value	1982		1982 Quantity	1982 Value
World						185				140
Africa						45				1
			Metal tanks, boxes etc	Djibouti		16	Perfume, cosmetics etc			
			Office Machines	Djibouti		3	W	Djibouti	0	1
			Road motor vehicles	Kenya		4				
				Djibouti		1				
			Road vehicles, non-motor	Djibouti		4				
			Special transactions	Djibouti		3				
			Electric power machinery	Djibouti		2				
			Rubber articles nes	Djibouti		2				
			Chemicals nes	Djibouti		1				
			Instruments, apparatus	Djibouti		1				
			Toys, sporting goods etc	Djibouti		1				

Part II

East Africa Trade Policies

Introduction

The trade policy of a country is not the pronouncements made by the leaders of the country or the statements found in the various planning documents. While these may indicate the direction the country wishes to go in, the real trade policy is indicated by the collection of rules, regulations, tariff schedules, export duty rates, and other administrative minutiae. These form the structure that importers and exporters must interact with, and it is at this level that any serious analysis of trade policy must be engaged.

If one looks at the problems associated with trade policy in East Africa, they tend to fall into a number of categories. First, there are a set of problems that are created for any trading country. These are problems that have long been recognized by economists and other students of international trade. An elaborate theory has been developed to understand and predict the difficulties associated with various types of government intervention with trade. A summary of some of the main points of this theory follows immediately after this section.

This is followed in turn with a description of the trade policies of each of the eight East African countries. A brief table of trade policy data is provided for each of the countries as well as a sample of the type of far more detailed data available on computer tape.

A second set of trade policy concerns arise with respect to the level of intra-African trade compared to trade with the rest of the world. There has been a great deal of disappointment expressed over the small amount of trade that African countries have with each other relative to the rest of the world. While general problems of trade policy may well account for some of the lack of trade, other factors are present and these are discussed along with the most promising of the solutions, the establishment of preferential trade areas.

Another trade related problem of East Africa is the apparent existence of large amounts of illegal trade. Some of this is simply traditional trade by tribal groups who do not fully recognize the existence of national boundaries, while some is full-scale criminal activity which has a serious effect on government revenues. The existence of such trade can be seen to be an indication of an area where changes in trade and other policies may improve the situation.

All of these trade policy problem areas are interrelated with each other as well as with other government policies. The countries of East Africa are heavily dependent on trade as a source of government revenue, a source of foreign exchange, and a source of goods and services for economic development. These needs may well lead to conflicting pressures on trade policies, conflicts which need careful examination to ensure the development of policies best for the national and regional interests.

I. Trade Policy Instruments

A. Tariffs

The tariff, historically the most important instrument of trade policy, is a tax imposed on tradable goods and services. While it can be applied to both imports and exports, the former tends to be generally far more common than the latter and will therefore be used in the following for expository purposes.

Tariffs may be "specific," i.e., a designated amount per unit of quantity of the good, or "ad valorem," i.e., expressed as a percentage of the dutiable value of the good. Both types of tariffs offer particular advantages and disadvantages in their application. Being levied at a given rate on the value (price) of the commodity, the ad valorem tariff has the advantage of being self-adjusting in inflationary periods and hence maintaining a constant rate of protection. It also facilitates the distinction between different product qualities to the extent that they are reflected in price differentials. On the other hand, specific duties offer a more objective basis for measurement and therewith rule out the possibility of tax evasion through underinvoicing.

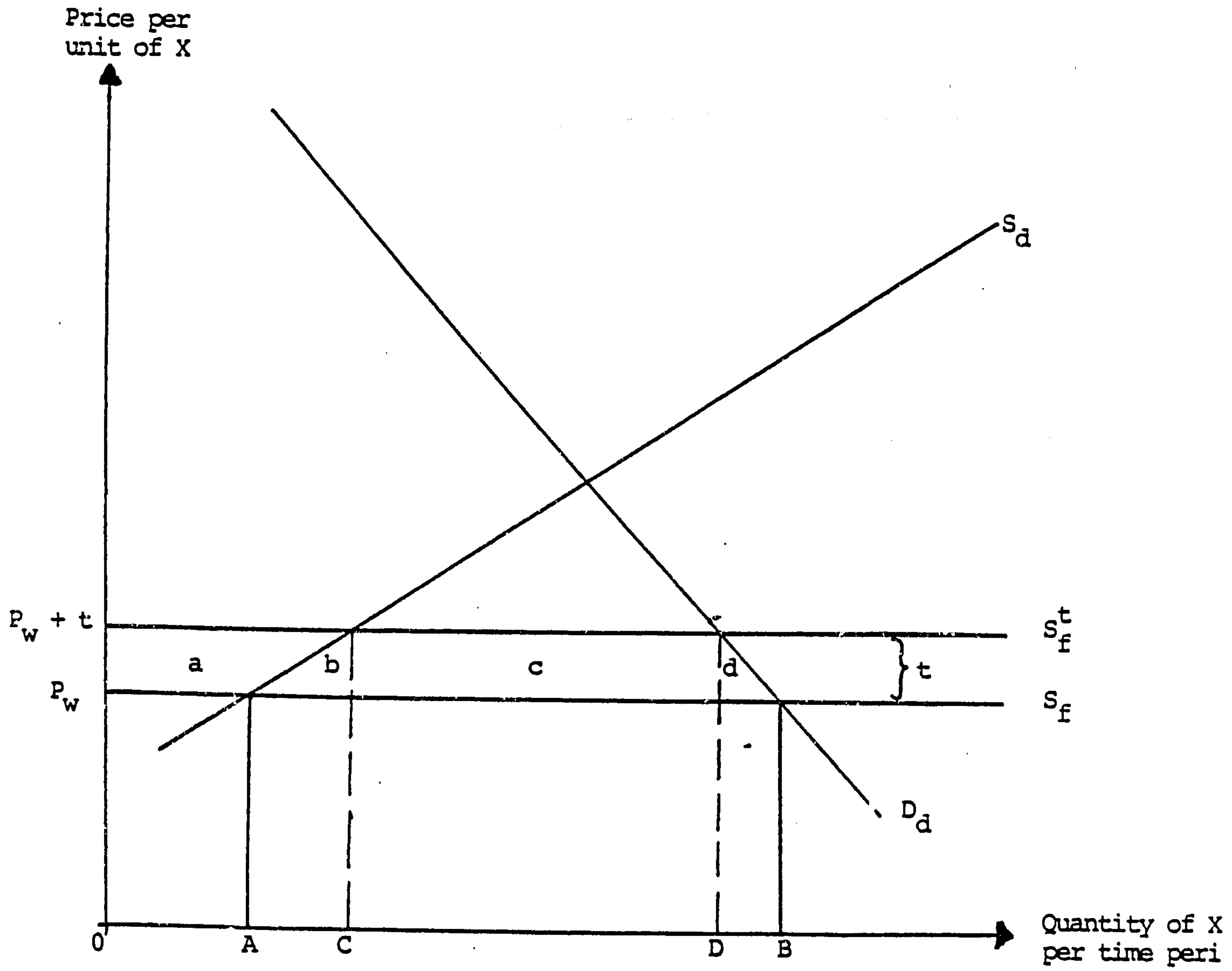
1) Economic Effects of Tariff Imposition

The economic effects of a given import tariff can be approximated within a two-country partial equilibrium framework. The resulting impact on domestic and foreign prices, production, consumption, imports, and exports depends crucially on the position and shape of the home and foreign demand and supply schedules. Two general cases can be distinguished: the "small" versus the "large" open economy. A country is said to be "small" if it plays only a minor role on world markets and as a result is unable to affect its terms of trade (TOT). Conversely, an economy is referred to as "large" if it enjoys some element of market power and can thus influence the world prices at which it trades. Since the latter condition seems to be hardly applicable to the countries under analysis, the following discussion will focus on the small country case.

The economic effects of an import tariff in a small open economy can be depicted by reference to Figure 1, which shows the foreign supply curve under free trade Sf as well as the domestic supply (Sd) and demand (Dd) conditions of the importing country.

The small country assumption implies that world prices are a given datum, i.e., the foreign supply curve is infinitely elastic (horizontal). The small country can therefore purchase all it desires at the given world price Pw. Where trade is unrestricted, total consumption will amount to OB of which OA is produced domestically and AB imported. If a tariff of t is imposed on all imports, foreign

Figure 1



Price per unit of X
S_d
$P_w + t$
S_f^t
a
b
c
d
t
P_w
S_f
D_d
0
A
C
D
B
Quantity of X per time peri

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producers will charge (Pw + t) to domestic consumers which entails a contraction of total consumption to OD. The tariff - by way of raising the price to consumers of competitive imports - allows domestic producers to expand their supply of import substitutes to OC while demand for imports falls to CD. Evidently, the extent to which a given tariff reduces imports is a function of both domestic price elasticity of demand for imports and domestic price elasticity of supply of import substitutes.

The static welfare effects of the tariff can be assessed by reference to changes in consumer and producer surplus. The higher price faced by domestic consumers and resulting reduction of quantity demanded leads to a fall in consumer surplus amounting to (a+b+c+d). This welfare loss is partially offset by an increase in producer surplus equivalent to "a" and the tariff revenue "c" accruing to the government. Consequently, welfare is transferred from domestic consumers to domestic producers and the domestic government. Overall, the tariff-imposing nation will suffer a net welfare loss equivalent to the triangles "b" and "d" (deadweight welfare loss). The former is known as the "production loss" resulting from AC units being inefficiently produced at a cost exceeding that at which the same quantity could have been obtained through imports under free trade. Triangle "d" represents the "consumption loss" emerging from BD consumers leaving the market.

In reality, the deadweight welfare loss is likely to understate the true costs associated with tariff imposition, for it omits the administrative costs of tariff policy including the maintenance of a customs department and a tariff court as well as the resources devoted to the formulation of tariff policy.

One may hence conclude that under the assumptions of the above analysis a small open economy appears to be worse off as a consequence of tariff imposition.

2) Tariff Imposition in a Large Open Economy

As suggested above, a large open economy is able to affect its TOT through tariff imposition. Being a significant purchaser of the commodity in question, the large country faces a less than perfectly elastic foreign supply curve which implies a fall in the price at which the commodity is traded on world markets as the large country's imports contract following the tariff imposition. Thus, the price of the importable increases by less than the full amount of the tariff on domestic markets; part of the tariff is borne by overseas producers as part of their income is redistributed to the tariff-imposing authority. For the importing nation this constitutes a welfare gain. If this gain exceeds the familiar deadweight welfare loss, the large country as a whole is actually better off as a consequence of levying an import tariff. The less elastic the foreign supply curve, the greater the likelihood of an overall welfare gain for the large country. While there is thus a possibility of welfare improvement for the large country, this gain will not completely offset the welfare loss of the rest of the world; from a global perspective free trade is hence in any event to be preferred to restricted trade.

3) Motivation

Tariffs - as any other instrument of trade restriction - are methods for intervening in the free flow of goods and services. As discussed above, unless a country is in the position to levy an optimum tariff, restrictive trade measures generally lower the economic well-being of the nation imposing those policies. Despite the costs involved, governments continue to impose new trade measures and resist the dismantling of existing trade barriers.

One of the best known arguments for restricting trade and "the main rationale for the discriminatory structure of protection found in most developing countries" that attempt to achieve economic development through import substitution is the infant-industry argument according to which temporary protection is needed to insure the competitiveness of a newborn domestic industry. Allegedly, in private markets a problem often arises with regard to the financing of a project in its initial loss-making stage especially when capital markets do not exist or do not function efficiently as may indeed frequently be the case in developing countries or with regard to projects that generate benefits for the rest of the economy which the investor cannot reap. While the above may constitute valid arguments for government intervention, trade policy is hardly the best available means; instead, interventions should attack the problem of market failure nearest to its source.

In this context it is in fact important to distinguish between market imperfections and infant-industry conditions. Market imperfections - whether in product or factor markets - constitute distortions that have served as an a priori justification for intervention. The "theory of optimal intervention" has attempted to answer the question whether tariffs are the most efficient instrument for correcting such distortions. The theory suggests that in general some form of subsidy is preferable to a tariff; the latter is optimal only where there exists monopoly in foreign trade.

The circumstances under which the tariff can be viewed as an efficient instrument of intervention are few in number. If one wants to understand its widespread use, one will have to look beyond the purely economic criteria and consider political objectives. Non-economic goals relate primarily to self-sufficiency. Targets may range from maintaining national defense capability to self-sufficiency in agriculture. Again, optimal intervention analysis seems to be applicable and to call for subsidies rather than tariffs.

A final motive applicable to the imposition of tariffs especially by less developed countries is that of raising revenue. Taxes on foreign trade are substantial sources of revenue for governments of almost all LDCs primarily because they are administratively more feasible than domestic taxes. As Due (1970) notes, with customs duties "the need for trained personnel is less and the potentiality of effective enforcement is much greater." (p. 28) Since foreign trade usually flows through a few ports or "bottlenecks", the collection costs for trade taxes are typically much lower than for other taxes which - according to Corden (1974) - is the crucial factor justifying a preference for tariffs over other taxes.

B. Quantitative Import Restrictions

1) Quotas

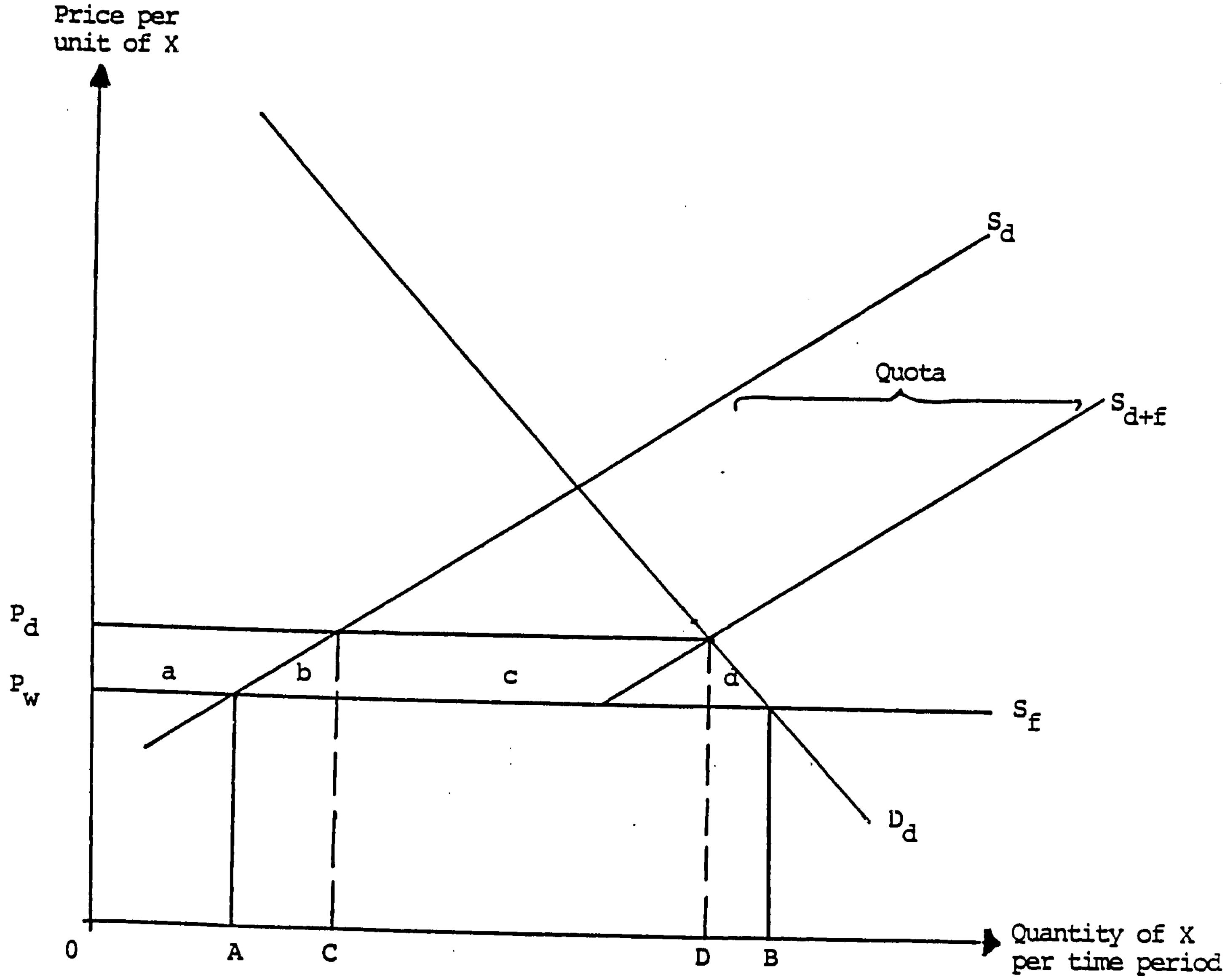
The most readily identified and at the same time the most restrictive selective measure used to limit trade is the import quota. Import quotas are unilaterally imposed by the importing country and place an upper limit on the physical quantity of the product that may be imported during a specified time period.

Economic Effects Figure 2 outlines the economic impact of a quota for a small open economy. The assumptions underlying the analysis are identical to those of the tariff case discussed above. The imposition of the import quota equal to the quantity CD, which is less than the amount which would be imported under free trade (AB), directly leads to a reduction in the amount of the importable demanded domestically by DB, to an increase in the domestically produced import substitute by AC and to a wedge between world and domestic price.

Comparison Quota vs. Tariffs In terms of their effects on domestic production, consumption and prices, tariffs and quotas are essentially identical and therefore often viewed as substitutes for each other. The crucial difference between the two policy instruments lies in the significance of area "c," which in Figure 1 was identified as tariff revenue, i.e., redistribution of income from domestic consumers to the tariff-levying authority. In the case of a quota, this area represents the quota profit which accrues to the holders of import licenses. It could be appropriated by the government by charging a license fee for imports or auctioning off the import licenses to the highest competitive bidder. In this case tariff and quota would yield identical welfare effects. The system of selling licenses for the imported good is, however, not widely used in practice. Instead, importers or exporters are allowed to reap all of the profit or to divide it among themselves. Any profit accruing to foreign exporters represents an additional welfare loss to the importing nation over and above the deadweight losses "b" and "d" that also result in the tariff case.

The analysis has suggested so far that - with the exception of the difference between quota profit and tariff revenue - the static economic effects of the two trade restricting instruments are similar. They do, however, differ in several other ways. One difference is that the effect of a quota on the quantity of imports is certain while that of a tariff is not, since the response of producers and consumers to a change in price cannot be precisely predicted. In addition, quantitative barriers are more restrictive than tariffs in a dynamic sense: as imports are strictly limited regardless of selling price, there is little, if any, incentive for foreign producers to reduce

Figure 2


Price per
unit of X
S_d
Quota
S_{d+f}
P_d
P_w
a
b
c
d
S_f
D_d
0
A
C
D
B
Quantity of X
per time period

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their production costs in an attempt to increase sales to the importing country. More importantly, quotas greatly inhibit supply flexibility in case of a demand expansion that may result e.g. from a rise in disposable income. Since imports continue to be limited quantitatively, the additional demand must be satisfied solely via an expansion of quantity supplied in the domestic import substitute sector which leads to further price hikes. Baldwin (1970), therefore, concludes that "[q]uotas are inconsistent with the principle of free choice that underlies the private enterprise economy, for they force consumers as a group to accept a government-imposed upper limit on their purchases. Consumers are consequently blocked from the opportunity of raising their living standards by spending a larger fraction of their incomes on the restricted import items and less on domestic or other imported goods" (pp. 31/2). In the same context Greenaway (1983) makes a point especially valid for LDCs, arguing that "quotas are likely to inhibit the growth process to a greater extent than tariffs. An important element in generating growth is resource reallocation, the rundown of relatively inefficient sectors to make resources available for relatively efficient sectors to expand. A given fixed quota, by raising the price of the importable in a growing market, raises the effective protection given to the important substitute sector. This could frustrate, rather than encourage, resource reallocation" (p. 137).

Based on the contrasts drawn above, economic consideration should lead one to prefer the tariff over the quota as a trade policy measure. In practice, however, economic criteria often have to yield place to administrative ones. The latter may rank quotas first, for they are easier to operate even though the definite revenue yield from tariffs could offset any higher administrative costs.

2) Voluntary Export Restraints / Orderly Marketing Arrangements

While quotas are quantity limitations that are unilaterally imposed by the importing country, Voluntary Export Restraints (VERs) and Orderly Marketing Arrangements (OMAs) are "voluntary" quota arrangements that are negotiated in "cooperation" with the exporting country (or countries), which makes them a more acceptable policy by standards of international cooperation and diplomacy - at least in theory; in practice, most VERs and OMAs are negotiated under the threat of unilateral import quotas.

The economic impact of a VER on domestic production, consumption, and price is identical to that of an import quota of equal size. The fundamental difference between the two instruments lies in the distribution of the quota profit. Since VERs are by definition administered by the foreign country, the quota revenue is unequivocally captured by overseas exporters while in the quota case it most likely accrues to the domestic importers or could be appropriated by the domestic government through license fees. VERs hence entail a higher welfare loss for the importing country than would an import quota of equal size.

C. Other Nontariff Barriers (NTBs)

1) Government Procurement

In most economies, government agencies are major purchasers of goods and services and are as such in the position to exert a significant effect on trade flows. More often than not some form of preferential treatment is extended to domestic producers in the award of government contracts. In the United States, this practice is even formalized by law in the form of the Buy American Act of 1933 which - in its present version - compels government agencies to give a preference margin of 6 % to domestic firms in non-defense contracts and of 50 % in defense contracts. In its economic effects the discrimination is essentially comparable to a direct subsidy given to the domestic supplier, the cost of which is ultimately borne by the tax payer.

2) Border Tax Adjustments

Under international agreements, countries are permitted to introduce export rebates and import levies to compensate for indirect taxes such as turnover or value-added taxes which are common especially in Western Europe. This system of compensation is intended to free world-market prices from indirect taxation. However, GATT rules do not allow that direct measures such as the Corporation Income Tax be rebated on exports or imposed additionally on imports. This distinction is being justified by the contention that indirect taxes are passed on to consumers via higher prices while direct taxes reduce profits without being reflected in final product prices. Nations that rely more heavily on direct rather than indirect taxes dispute this alleged difference and argue that the competitiveness of their exports is impeded. The issue of whether or not both direct and indirect taxes result in higher prices remains to be resolved.

3) Customs Valuation

Determination of an ad valorem tariff on imports usually involves not only establishing the rate of duty but also setting the method of valuation of imports on which the ad valorem rate is to be paid. Trading nations often apply valuation practices with clearly protective, trade distorting intent. The American Selling Price System (ASP), for instance, valued imports according to the American price rather than foreign prices, the former of course exceeding the price of competitive foreign products. As a consequence, the actual tariff rate was raised far beyond its nominal level. Under the new Customs Valuation Code of GATT, a series of preferred valuation methods has been defined, which do not, however, completely eliminate the application of further restrictive procedures.

4) Technical and Administrative Regulations

A significant subset of non-tariff measures covers a multitude of governmental policies which need not necessarily be employed with protective intent, but do nonetheless exert great influence on international exchanges. The trade restricting effects of such NTBs as environmental, safety, health and other public interest regulations, technical standards, packaging and labeling requirements and marking of origin, as well as customs valuation procedures and discriminatory government procurement policies which have been briefly discussed above stem primarily from the uncertainties that they impose on importers and exporters over and above the cost-increasing impact of the measures themselves. Their economic effects are extremely difficult if not impossible to assess theoretically and empirically for they can vary greatly for individual traders; yet the little evidence that exists suggests that their distortive impact be substantial. As Baldwin (1970) concludes: "It does seem clear from the judgment of experienced traders that the distorting effects are by no means insignificant and that this category of trade distortions should receive high priority in future trade negotiations" (p. 148).

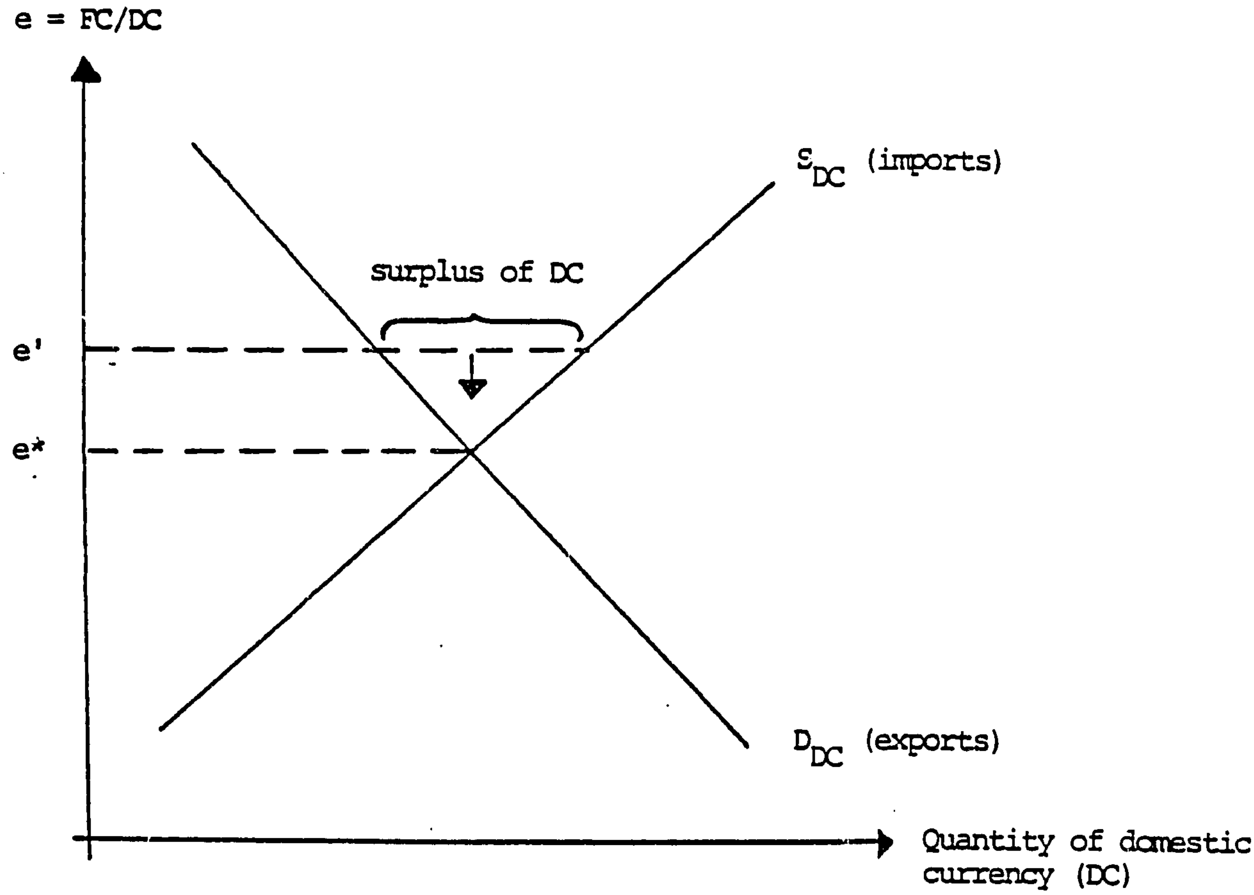
5) Advance Deposits on Imports

A further variant of NTBs requires the importer to deposit in advance with the central bank a percentage of to the value of the good which is to be imported. The deposit is held for a defined period of time at the end of which it is returned to the importer. Since usually no interest is received on the deposit, an additional cost is imposed on the importer in form of foregoneinterest payments which effectively acts as an ad valorem special duty on imports. This trade restrictive device is interesting because of its implications for monetary conditions. As money is transferred from the hands of the public (the importers) to the central bank, the country's money supply is temporarily reduced. Thus, while advance deposit requirements are used primarily to discourage imports, they also serve as an instrument of domestic monetary policy. This effect renders import deposits particularly attractive to LDCs plagued with inflation problems but lacking in institutionally sufficiently developed monetary control instruments. It is important to point out, however, that any monetary effect is of temporary nature.

6) Exchange Arrangements and Restrictions

Many developing countries use exchange controls to influence the level and composition of their foreign trade and to insulate and separate their economy from the outside world. In particular, they are directed at fighting an excess demand for foreign currency (FC) (which directly translates into an excess supply of domestic currency (DC)) which is associated with a deficit in the current account. Under such a regime, domestic exporters are required to turn over all foreign

Figure 3


e = FC/DC
S_{DC} (imports)
surplus of DC
e'
e*
D_{DC} (exports)
Quantity of domestic currency (DC)

exchange earned abroad from the sale of goods and services to the government who then allocates it to those buyers whom the authorities give highest priority. The excess demand for FC (stemming from demand for import goods) is left unsatisfied. Note that as Figure 3 suggests this permanent excess demand for FC (or excess supply of DC) goes hand in hand with an exchange rate that continuously exceeds the equilibrium rate e* (with e = FC/DC). The fact that the DC is overvalued - as is indeed often the case in LDCs pursuing an inward oriented strategy - implies a tax on exports.

While exchange controls are theoretically analogous in their economic effects to the quantitative import restrictions discussed above, their actual welfare effects on society as a whole depend on the extent to which the government collects a profit from auctioning off the foreign currency available and returns these profits to the general public e.g. in form of tax reductions. In practice, the right to buy foreign exchange is obtained through involved application procedures which are to show that the purpose of the foreign purchase qualifies for priority access. This decision inevitably implies a discretionary assessment on the part of government officials who may,therefore, favor exchange controls as "an opportunity for personal power and its lucrative exercise". The social costs of actual exchange rate regimes comprise not only the administrative costs of enforcement but also private resource costs evolving from both the attempt to comply with them or evade them and from uncertainties imposed on private firms and households who are left in doubt as to whether or not they will be granted any foreign exchange; the costs of foreign exchange controls are hence much higher than those associated with an import quota which makes the latter a more attractive policy option from a social welfare point of view. Nonetheless, exchange controls are often favored by certain governments for they can be administered in greater secrecy and give bureaucrats better protection from international and domestic scrutiny while enhancing their discretionary power over the allocation of the nation's resources.

D. Export Policies

The discussion so far has been limited to measures which restrict imports. Clearly, trade policy may also be directed at the export side. Controlling the flow of exports may be motivated by balance of trade conditions as well as the state of the internal domestic economy.

1) Export Subsidies

Export subsidies are intended to promote export sales abroad through subsidies paid to domestic exporters in form of direct cash payments, subsidized export credits, or tax rebates. As such they result in a reduction of the producer's costs. The strategy of export promotion has been recommended as superior to that of import substitution in terms of fostering economic development in LDCs.

The economic impact of an export production subsidy is outlined in Figure 4 where Sd represents the domestic supply curve which shifts down to Sds as a result of the subsidy of s%. Domestic demand is given by Dd, world demand for the exportable is perfectly elastic at the going world price of Pw (small country assumption).

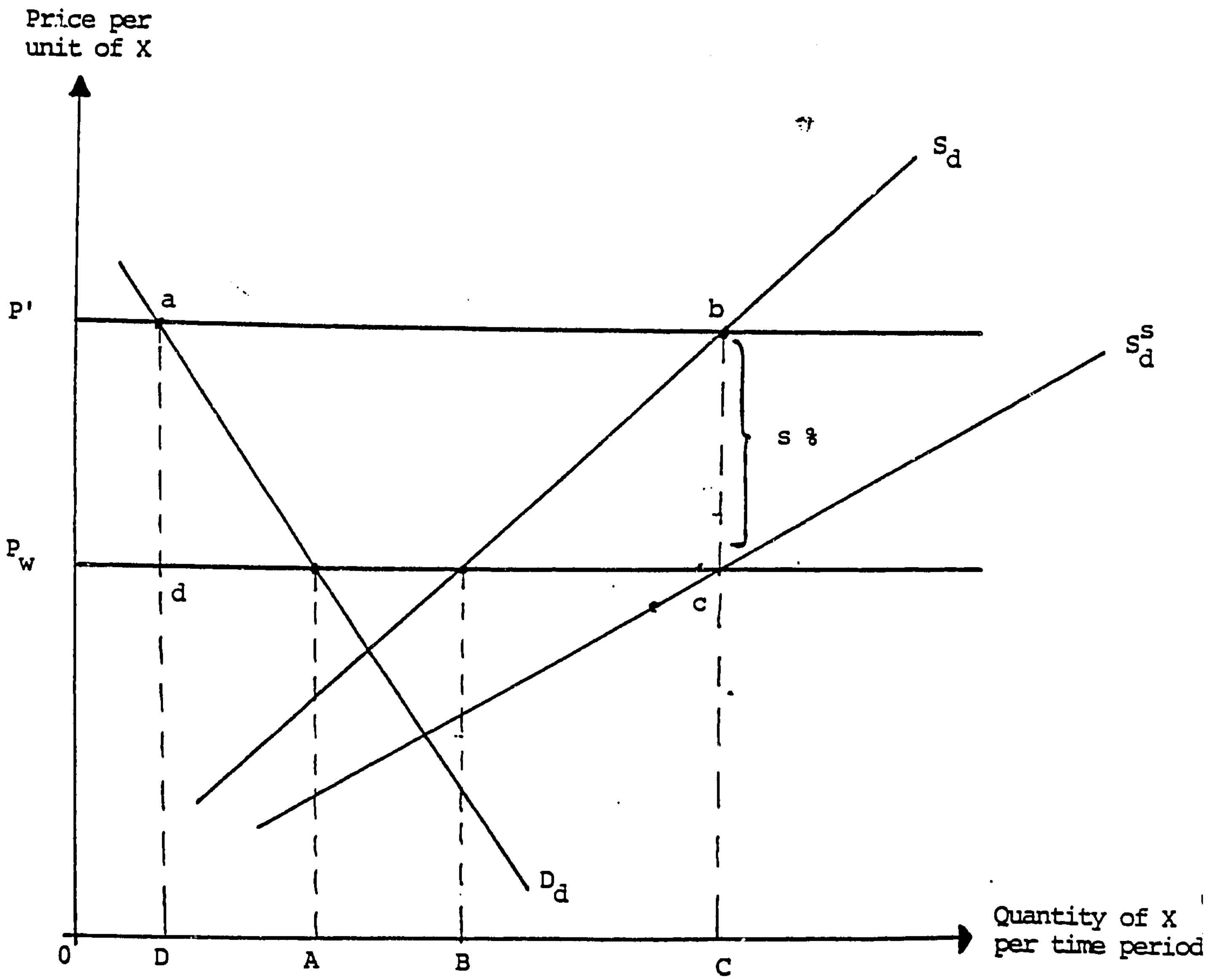
In a situation of unrestricted trade, Pw determines that OB is being produced, OA of which is consumed domestically which leaves AB for exports. The export subsidy gives producers an incentive to increase their output to OC for they will now receive a price of [Pw + s% = P'] per unit exported. Clearly, if any portion of the production is to be consumed domestically, the price paid by domestic consumers will have to rise to P' which leads to a contraction of domestic consumption to OD while exports now amount to DC requiring the government to make a total subsidy payment equivalent to the rectangle abcd.

As a result of the export subsidy, output and employment in this particular sector have increased. The cost of the subsidy payment is borne by the domestic government and the public it represents, i.e., the tax payer. Since the deadweight loss of taxation is zero only in the case of an impractical head tax, the subsidy policy, too, entails a welfare loss to the exporting nation.

2) Export Taxation and other Restrictions

In some instances foreign trade restrictions take on the form of barriers to export rather than to import. Exports are often the targets of taxation in third-world countries because of the administrative ease of collecting the tax. Other forms of taxation, such as income taxes, which might be preferable on theoretical grounds, are far more difficult to enforce in an economy with a large informal sector. As a result, the need for government revenues leads

Figure 4 *



* From: Greenaway (1983), Fig. 7.6, p. 147

to taxation, often at quite high levels, of exported goods and services.

Other export restrictions are typically motivated by the desire to reduce the inflationary effects of high foreign demand, by the large country's wish to improve its TOT through a reduction in world supply, or by the desire to conserve limited supplies of an export good. The latter motive is especially valid in the case of nations who wish to develop domestic processing industries that are dependent on raw materials.

The analysis of the economic effects of an export barrier in form of an export duty is the exact mirror image to that of the import tariff presented in part B.I. and shall therefore not be explored in further detail. Clearly the export sector loses net income while the domestic consumers and the government gain from price reduction and duty revenues respectively. Their welfare improvements do not, however, completely offset the losses of exporters such that a net welfare loss results for the exporting nation as a whole.

BURUNDI

A. Import Policies

1) Customs Tariff

The Burundi tariff schedule uses a 6-digit, CCCN based nomenclature. The ad valorem import duties range from 15 to 100 %. Typically, basic foods, other consumer goods, luxury consumables and motor vehicles are subject to high duties from 20-100 % whereas low duties from 15-25 % are imposed on raw materials, intermediate goods and investment products.

Table I provides a summary picture of the structure of Burundi's tariff schedule. The unweighted mean ad valorem tariff rate for all goods amounts to 37.0 %. Even though on average primary products seem to be charged a higher rate (48.4 %) than manufactured goods (32.6 %), closer analysis reveals that this has to be attributed to the high duty imposed on food which with 74.7 % exceeds all listed tariff rates except that for furniture (82.6 %). Other selected product categories are taxed at rather modest rates between 14.4 % (mineral fuels) and 32.2 % (agricultural raw materials). Among the manufactured goods, relatively high duties are levied on consumer goods such as furniture, textile and clothing, footwear, toiletries and perfumeries.

2) Additional Charges on Imports

In addition to the import duties, Burundi levies an administration tax of 1 % of the f.o.b. value of the imports to be collected at the time of validation of the license, a 4 % statistical tax on the c.i.f. value and a 6 % transaction tax. Brand-name products such as certain food products, soaps, cigarettes, tires, clothes, refrigerators, etc. are furthermore subject to a 15-25 % tax charged on the c.i.f. value.

3) Licensing and Quantitative Restrictions

In accordance with Burundi's licensing system, all imports into Burundi except trade samples without commercial value or merchandise not intended for sale whose declared value c&f Bujumbura is less than FBu 50,000 require licenses. The system which is not intended to restrict the quantity or value of imports, is applied in connection with foreign exchange administration and price policy. Licenses are generally issued automatically if all formalities and requisite conditions are met.

Approved importers may be authorized to import goods for sale with a license not involving purchase of official foreign exchange. Imports of cotton goods and cigarettes as well as selected pharmaceuticals like ampicillin, bactrim, meprobamate etc in capsules and tablets are prohibited.

Imports from South Africa are banned.

4) Money and Finance Measures

Approval of license applications - with specified exceptions - can be given by authorized banks for values not exceeding FBu 1 million (c.i.f.) Applications with higher value require the approval of the Banque de la Republique du Burundi. Approval constitutes an authorization also to obtain foreign exchange which is in principle made available at the time of shipment of the goods. For certain necessities documentary credits may be opened for which exchange is supplied immediately while for goods under global licenses foreign exchange is not made available until after customs clearance.

5) Single Channel for Imports and Compulsory National Services

All goods into Burundi must be insured by the Societe Generale du Burundi (SOCABU).

6) Preferential Trading Arrangements

Burundi is a member of the PTA, CEPGL, and CEEAC.

7) Special Entry Procedures

All consignments of imports exceeding FBu 500,000 are subject to preshipment inspection with respect to quality, quantity, packaging and price by the Societe Generale de Surveillance, Geneva, Switzerland.

B. Export Policies

All exports valued above FBu 10,000 require a prior declaration in each case, which must be presented for certification by the Banque de la Republique du Burundi. Payments must be collected within 90 days of the date of export declaration at the customs. All exchange proceeds from exports must be surrendered to an authorized bank within eight days of their collection.

Virtually all exports are subject to export taxes. Exports of manufactured goods may receive a refund of duties paid, provided that they incorporate raw material on which import duty has been paid.

C. Exchange Arrangement

The currency of Burundi is the Burundi Franc, which is pegged to the SDR. In August 1986, Burundi introduced a flexible exchange rate system under which the exchange rate was to be adjusted periodically to reflect underlying economic conditions. Control over foreign exchange transactions and foreign trade is vested in the Banque de la Republique du Burundi; authority to carry out some transactions is delegated to three authorized banks which must execute permitted exchange transactions at the buying and selling rates established by the central bank. An exchange fee of 2 per mill is collected on purchases or sales of foreign exchange.

BURUNDI

Customs Duties	15-100 %
Consumer Goods	20-100 %
Raw Materials Intermediate Goods Investment Goods	15- 25 %
Average Duty Rate on all goods	37 %

Other Charges

Administration Tax	1 %
Statistical Tax	4 %
Transactions Tax	6 %
Brand-name Tax	15-25 %

License > BuF 50,000
License w/ no official foreign exchange
Central bank authorization > BuF 1 mio
Imports from South Africa banned
Compulsory national insurance
Pre-shipment inspection > BuF 500,000

ETHIOPIA

A. Import Policies

1) Customs Tariff

The Ethiopian tariff schedule uses a 6-digit, CCCN based nomenclature. The ad valorem import duties range broadly from 0-185 % and are accompanied by numerous specific duties. Typically, basic foods and other consumer goods (including perfumes) are subject to high duties from 20-100 %, while tariff rates imposed on raw materials and intermediary products on one hand and investment goods on the other range from 0-60 % and 0-30 % respectively. Luxury consumables are primarily subjected to specific tariffs. Specific duties are furthermore levied on preserved milk and cream, some fruit, tea, mate, sugar and sugar products, beer, wine and other spirits, tobacco, salt, mineral oils, and cotton and cotton products.

2) Additional Charges on Imports

Ethiopia furthermore applies a whole variety of charges in addition to import duties. They include:

1. a surtax which may be imposed by the customs administration at various rates; currently only tobacco and tobacco products are taxed at 30 % of the dutiable value.
2. a Tobacco Monopoly Board Tax levied on tobacco, tobacco products, cigarette paper, matches and pocket lighters.
3. a specific or 5-40 % ad valorem excise tax is levied on alcoholic beverages, perfumes, petroleum products, sugar, molasses for making sugar, shoes, cotton yarn, yarn of synthetic fibers and mixtures thereof, textiles manufactures from these yarns, mineral water and aerated drums, leather goods and salt.
3. a municipality tax amounting to 1 % of the dutiable value, levied on all imports subject to transaction tax.
4. a statistical fee of Br 2.00 on each import document.
5. harbor dues levied on all imports entering through sea ports.
6. a transaction tax of 18 % of the dutiable value imposed on most imports.

3) Licensing and Quantitative Restrictions

Import licenses issued by the Import/Export Control Department, Ministry of Foreign Trade, are required for all products entering Ethiopia. Private importers are classified according to their historical line of activity and limited to trading in a single product line. Licenses are renewed at the beginning of each year on presentation of an existing license. New licenses to new traders are not normally issued. Import licenses to government controlled foreign trade auxiliaries (public sector) are normally issued in accordance with prior budgetary provisions. A license renewal fee of Br 300 is charged both to the private importer and government controlled foreign trade auxiliaries.

Imports of cars and other vehicles are subject to prior authorization by the Minister of Transport.

For a large number of products considered to be nonessential or readily substitutable by domestic products and listed in the National Bank Notices #1 of January 1978 and #2 of May 1978, foreign exchange will not be provided. The list includes foodstuffs, beverages, rubber, textile fibers, crude minerals, and a variety of manufactured goods. While temporary additions to or deletions from the list are made without notice from time to time by the Ministry of Foreign Trade, the list has been officially confirmed as still being in effect.

4) Money and Finance Measures

Foreign exchange licenses issued by the Exchange Controller of National Bank of Ethiopia are required for all imports. Exchange licenses are issued in accordance with established priority which is given to essential capital goods, raw materials, fuels, spare parts, etc. and under consideration of prior budgetary allocation to the public sector and the availability of foreign exchange. The Bank may also provide "franco valuta" licenses to importers of goods on which no foreign exchange is payable. All foreign exchange transactions are subject to commission and service charges amounting to 0.75 %.

5) Single Channel for Imports and Compulsory National Services

As the Ministry of Foreign Trade in its report on "Import/Export Procedures and Administration in Ethiopia" (1983) suggests "The import trade of Ethiopia is handled by both public and private sectors... Private import in Ethiopia is declining as the size of foreign exchange expenditure on consumer goods, especially textiles and food stuffs, is dwindling and the role of private importers in the import activity is simultaneously decreasing." In fact, imports of a long list of selected products are under state monopoly.

All imports into Ethiopia have to be insured with the Ethiopian Insurance Company.

6) Preferential Trading Arrangements

Ethiopia is a member of the PTA.

B. Export Policies

All individual exporting enterprises, public and foreign trading companies engaged in export trade intending to operate in Ethiopia must register with and obtain licenses from the Ministry of Foreign Trade and other relevant ministries engaged in export trade. Some commodity exports require in addition the approval of specified public bodies. For exports on a c.i.f. basis, exporters must obtain full insurance from the Ethiopian Insurance Corporation. The granting of a permit by the Exchange Controller enables the goods to pass through customs. The licensing system is used to ensure that foreign exchange receipts are surrendered to the National Bank, generally within three months, and that export proceeds are received in an appropriate currency.

All goods exported are subject to a 2 % transaction tax. While most export commodities are exempt from export duties, duty is payable on export items like coffee, bovine cattle, ivory of elephants, civet, chat, bees wax, kids, sheep and leopard skins.

C. Exchange Arrangements

The currency of Ethiopia is the Ethiopian Birr, which is pegged to the U.S. dollar, the intervention currency, at the official rate of Br 2.07 = US$ 1. All transactions in foreign exchange must be carried out through authorized dealers under the control of the National Bank which itself does not deal with the public. The dealers must observe the official rate for the U.S. dollar and prescribed commission charges, which accrue to the National Bank, of 0.5 percent buying and 1.5 percent selling. Commissions also apply to the National Bank's dealings with the Government and certain public sector entities.

There are no taxes or subsidies on purchases or sales of foreign exchange. Forward transactions require the approval of the National Bank. All payments abroad are conditional upon licenses issued by the Exchange Controller, whose office is a division of the National Bank. All exports are licensed by the Exchange Controller to ensure the surrender of foreign exchange proceeds which are subsequently distributed among importers upon approval of an exchange license application. The latter presupposes the provision of satisfactory information on costs and payment terms and the submission of evidence that adequate insurance has been arranged with the Ethiopian Insurance Corporation.

ETHIOPIA

Customs Duties	0-185 %
Consumer goods	20-100 %
Raw materials Intermediate goods	0- 60 %
Investment goods	0- 30 %

Other Charges

Surtax	var.
Tobacco Monopoly Board Tax	
Excise Duty	var. (5-40 %)
Municipality Tax	1 %
Statistical Fee	Br. 2
Harbor Dues	
Transaction Tax	18 %

Licenses
Authorization on vehicles
No foreign exchange for non-essential goods
Foreign exchange license

KENYA

A. Import Policies

1) Customs Tariff

The Kenyan tariff schedule uses a 7-digit, CCCN based nomenclature. The ad valorem import duties range broadly from 0-135 % and are accompanied by some specific duties. In general, basic foods are subject to relatively low rates up to 45 % while duty rates for other consumer goods and luxury items range from 25-135 %. Low rates of 0-50 % are levied on raw materials, intermediate and investment goods. Specific duties are imposed primarily on alcoholic beverages, tobacco and tobacco products and certain oils.

Table I gives an overview of the structure of Kenya's tariff schedule. The unweighted mean ad valorem tariff rate for all goods takes on a value of 39.2 %. On average, manufactured products are charged more heavily (40.4 %) than primary products (30.4 %). Relatively high rates are applied especially on consumer goods such as furniture, textiles and clothing, footwear, toiletries and perfumeries.

2) Additional Charges on Imports

In addition to customs tariffs, the Kenyan government charges a sales tax of 17, 35, 50, 75 and 100 % with the major part of imports being subjected to the basic rate while increased rates are imposed on luxury goods. Basic food stuffs, farm inputs and medicines are exempt.

3) Licensing and Quantitative Restrictions

In 1983, the Kenyan government adopted a new import policy linked to a revised tariff schedule in an effort to shift emphasis from import substitution to promotion of industrial exports and the elimination of quantitative restrictions and import licensing. All imports are classified into four schedules (IA, IB, IIA, IIB) according to their importance to the Kenyan economy and are subject to import licensing. Schedule I consists of a list of high-priority items including subschedule IA: essential consumer goods and development inputs; and IB: semi-essential goods. Schedule IA which comprises such most essential goods as raw materials, capital goods, spare parts etc. receives near automatic approval of licenses and foreign exchange for their imports is automatically released.

Foreign exchange for imports of semi-essential goods included in the schedule IB is distributed on the basis of annual allotments to traders. Within the shilling amount of his allotment, the trader is authorized to import any of these items or a combination thereof.

Subschedule IIAS includes high-priority items whose importation requires authorization by a state agency. Items which are domestically produced or whose substitutes are available from domestic industries, and consumer goods are contained in subschedule IIB; they are regarded as non-essential and obtain import license approval on the basis of specific quotas for each item to each eligible importer.

Imports from South Africa are prohibited.

4) Money and Finance Measures

"When an exchange allocation license has been obtained from the Central Bank or when such a license is not required, authorized banks are permitted to provide exchange against documents, but normally not prior to customs entry. Prior exchange control approval must be obtained for imports of capital goods on deferred payment terms, and for imports of machinery and equipment, which are regarded as a contribution toward equity capital or are to be accounted for on a loan basis." IMF

A tax of 1 % of the transaction value is charged on foreign exchange transactions.

5) Single Channel for Imports and Compulsory National Services

National insurance for all imports is required.

6) Preferential Trading Arrangements

Kenya is a member of the PTA.

7) Special Entry Procedures

With the exception of imports from Tanzania, Uganda and some other countries, most imports with an f.o.b. value in excess of KSh 25,000 are subject to preshipment inspection as to quality, quantity, and price. Upon satisfactory completion of the inspection and receipt of all required documents, a "Clean Report of Findings" will be received without which authorized banks in Kenya may not issue shipping guarantees for the clearance of imports. The cost of the inspection services is paid by the Kenyan buyer.

B. Export Policies

All regular and proven exporters are registered with the Central Bank. Most goods may be exported without special licenses other than exchange control approval. Special licenses are required for exports of certain foodstuffs, agricultural products, tea, coffee, minerals, precious stones, and other essential strategic materials. Restrictions may be applied in order to ensure adequate supplies in the domestic market. Coffee is marketed through the Coffee Board of Kenya.

Exports of manufactured goods with at least 30 percent domestic value added are eligible for compensation equivalent to 20 percent of the f.o.b. value. About 700 export items, other than coffee, tea, sugar, sisal, pyrethrum, horticultural products, petroleum products, soda ash, and most goods produced with raw material imports not subject to import duty are covered by the export compensation scheme.

Export proceeds in foreign currencies must be collected within three months of exportation and offered to an authorized dealer in Kenya for conversion into Kenya shilling.

C. Exchange Arrangement

The currency of Kenya is the Kenya shilling, which is pegged to the SDR within margins of 2.25 percent. The middle rate of the Kenya shilling for the U.S. dollar quoted by the Central Bank is determined on the basis of the daily U.S. dollar-SDR rate. The Central Bank, to which the Minister of Finance has delegated the administration of exchange control, does not deal in other foreign currencies, except occasionally on behalf of the Government. Authority is delegated to the authorized banks for approving certain payments for imports, most payments for current invisibles, and some capital payments.

KENYA

Customs Duties	0-135 %
Basic foods	- 45 %
Consumer goods Luxury consumables	25-135 %
Raw materials Intermediate goods Investment goods	0- 50 %
Average duty rate on all goods	39.2 %

Other Charges

Sales Tax	var.
Transaction Tax on For. Exch.	1 %

Licenses
Import authorization
Authorization restricted to selected purchasers
Global quota
Automatic licenses
Compulsory national insurance
Pre-shipment inspection > KSh 25,000
Imports from South Africa banned

RWANDA

A. Import Policies

1) Customs Tariff

The Rwanda 2-column tariff schedule uses a 4/6-digit, CCCN based nomenclature. Customs duty rates are quite low around 10-20% with even lower duties (0-5 %) on basic foods, raw materials and basic development goods. Fiscal duties, however, range from 15-60 % for basic foods, other consumer goods and luxury consumables and 0-15 % for raw materials, intermediate and investment goods. Rates may extend up to 130 % for a few commodities such as motor vehicles.

Some specific duties are also applied.

2) Additional Charges on Imports

A license validation fee of 1 % of the value of imports involving the use of foreign exchange and of those subject to preshipment inspection is applied. All other import licenses entail a fee of RF 750 per case. Warehouse and customs clearance fees amount to 4 % of the c.i.f. value.

3) Licensing and Quantitative Restrictions

All imports into Rwanda that require payment in foreign exchange as well as those that are valued at more than RF 100,000 c&f Kigali require licenses. Two categories of licenses are in force, i.e. ordinary licenses for specific import transactions and global licenses allowing the enterprises to import various goods during a definite period (usually 3 months) to ensure continuity of their operations. For reasons of public security, imports of a few types of goods such as explosives and weapons, are subject to prior approval by competent authorities regardless of origin and value. Imports of narcotics and cement are prohibited. Import licenses for certain items such as soap, candles and insecticides have been temporarily suspended. Imports from the CEPGL member countries are not subject to licensing.

Imports from South Africa are prohibited.

4) Money and Finance Measures

For a number of consumer goods - mostly luxury goods - the validation of import licenses for payment in foreign exchange is subject to the opening of an interest-bearing time deposit (three to six month) account for 100 % of the c. & f. value of imports. Government imports as well as food products and beverages imported by hotels are exempt from the deposit.

5) Single Channel for Imports and Compulsory National Services

Insurance of imports must be taken out locally.

6) Preferential Trading Arrangements

Rwanda is a member of the PTA, CEPGL, and CEEAC.

7) Special Entry Procedures

Imports whose f.o.b. value on the pro forma invoice is greater than RF 1.5 million in the case of ordinary licenses and RF 0.5 million in the case of global licenses are inspected by international agencies for quality and quantity in the country of origin prior to shipment; at the same time prices are verified.

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B. Export Policies

All exports except for merchandise valued at less than RF 20,000 are subject to prior declaration to be presented to the National Bank which issues a certification at a fee of RF 750

Payments for exports to Burundi, Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, and Zaire must be collected not later than 30 days after the goods have left the country; the maximum permissible period for repatriation of export proceeds from all other countries is 120 days. All exchange proceeds from exports have to be surrendered to an authorized bank within eight days from their collection.

C. Exchange Arrangement

The currency of Rwanda is the Rwanda Franc, which is pegged to the SDR at RF 102.71 = SDR 1. This fixed relationship is used to determine the midpoint between buying and selling exchange rates quoted by the Banque Nationale du Rwanda for spot delivery of RF against the U.S. dollar and other currencies. The buying and selling rates for all currencies are set at 1 percent above and 1 percent below the midpoint, respectively. There are no taxes or subsidies on purchases or sales of foreign exchange.

Foreign exchange proceeds from exports are to be surrendered to an authorized bank; they are subsequently allocated to importers via validation of import licenses for payment in foreign exchange.

RWANDA

Customs Duties	10- 20 %
Basic foods Raw materials Development goods	0- 5 %
Fiscal Duties	0-130 %
Basic foods Consumer goods Luxury consumables	15- 60 %
Raw materials Intermediate goods Investment goods	0 - 15 %

Other Charges

License Validation Fee	1 %
Warehouse & Customs Fee	4 %

Licenses
Imports from South Africa banned
Advance deposit
Compulsory national insurance
Pre-shipment inspection > RF 0.5 mio (1.5 mio)

SOMALIA

A. Import Policies

1) Customs Tariff

The Somalia 2-column tariff schedule uses a 6-digit, CCCN based nomenclature. Customs duties on most imports (including basic foods, other consumer goods, raw materials, intermediate goods and investment products) are relatively low within a range of 0-10%. Goods such as toiletries and perfumeries and alcoholic beverages are taxed more heavily at 20-30 %. Fiscal duties are generally higher ranging between 10-50 % and reaching up to 300 % for luxury goods. Specific duties are applied on a few items such as petroleum oils, maize, rice and cereals.

Table I gives an overview of Somalia's tariff structure. The unweighted mean ad valorem tariff rate for all goods amounts to 30.8 %. On average, the tariff imposed on manufactured products (31.0 %) slightly exceeds that levied on primary products (29.8 %). Relatively high rates are applied especially on consumer goods such as furniture, textiles and clothing, footwear, toiletries and perfumeries.

2) Additional Charges on Imports

An administration and statistical fee is levied at the rate of 2 % ad valorem on all dutiable imports (except for selected foodstuffs and medicines for which a 10 % rate applies). Other charges include

1. port dues of 3 % of the value of the goods entering through Somali ports
2. a stamp tax assessed at the rate of 2 % on foodstuffs, medicines and fuel
3. an equalization tax levied at the rate of 80 % on alcoholic beverages with the exception of medical and pharmaceutical preparations containing alcohol, grape wine and beer.

3) Licensing and Quantitative Restrictions

With the exception of a few commodities that are subject to prior approval and those that are prohibited for reasons of public safety and social policy, all items can be imported freely into Somalia.

Imports from Israel and South Africa are prohibited.

4) Money and Finance Measures

A noninterest-bearing advance deposit up to 100 percent of value is required to open letters of credit for private sector imports; the deposit is retained up to the settlement of the letter of credit.

5) Single Channel for Imports and Compulsory National Services

Somalia maintains a state monopoly on imports of tobacco products.

Imports have to be locally insured.

6) Preferential Trading Arrangements

Somalia is a member of the PTA and the CAEU.

B. Export Policies

The export of various types of ivory, hides and skins, and minerals is subject to prior approval. Bananas are exported only by Somalfruit.

For exports other than those made under letter of credit arrangements, an advance payment deposit of 30 percent of the export value is required. A tax of 25 % is levied on exports of livestock, on the basis of minimum export prices used for purposes of duty collection.

All export proceeds must be repatriated.

C. Exchange Arrangement

The currency of Somalia is the Somali Shilling. Somalia's exchange arrangement consists of three exchange markets: the official market, the free market, and the auction market. In the official market, which comprises the Central Bank and the sole commercial bank operating as the authorized dealer in foreign transactions, the Central Bank periodically adjusts the exchange rate on the basis of relative price movements in Somalia and abroad. The official rate applies to the surrendered portion of export proceeds, official loans, grants and investment income, foreign exchange receipts of embassies and international organizations other than the United Nations, central government imports, official travel, expenses of Somali embassies abroad, official imports of crude petroleum and petroleum products, and the operational costs of the Central Bank. All other transactions are conducted in the free or the auction market.

All foreign exchange proceeds from exports are to be repatriated. Exporters may retain up to 50 percent of their foreign exchange receipts in export promotion accounts; the remainder has to be surrendered to the Central Bank or to the authorized dealer within five business days after their receipt.

SOMALIA

Customs Duties	0-10 %
Luxury consumables	20-30 %
Fiscal Duties	10-50 %
Luxury consumables	up to 300 %
Average duty rate on all goods	30.8 %

Other Charges

Administration & Statistical Fee	2 %
Port Dues	3 %
Stamp Tax	2 %
Equalization Tax (alcohol)	80 %

Imports from Israel and South Africa banned
Advance deposit
State Monopoly on tobacco
Compulsory national insurance

SUDAN

A. Import Policies

1) Customs Tariff

The Sudanese tariff schedule uses a 4/6-digit BTN (Brussels based) nomenclature. The 2-column schedule includes normal customs duty rates and preferential rates to be applied only to imports from Egypt. The tariff also includes the schedules of export and consumption duty. The Sudanese tariff makes use primarily of ad valorem rates, specific rates being applied exclusively to tobacco. Ad valorem duties range broadly from 15-250 %. Duties from 15-125 % and 20-200 % are imposed respectively on basic foods and other consumer goods. Lower duties from 10-80 % are applied to raw materials while a tariff of 10-50 % is levied on investment goods.

Table I provides a summary picture of Sudan's tariff structure. The unweighted mean ad valorem tariff rate for all goods takes on a value of 56.6 % which is rather high in intra-regional comparison. Primary products and manufactured goods are taxed at roughly the same rate (56.7 vs. 56.4 %). Strikingly high tariff rates are imposed especially on toiletries and perfumeries (132.2 %), furniture (110.0 %), footwear (94.0 %), textile and clothing (92.9).

2) Additional Charges on Imports

Sudan imposes additional charges on imports consisting of
1. consumption duties that are levied at ad valorem (5-40 %) or specific rates on wheat flour, sugar, mineral waters, alcohols, tobacco products, cement, fuel, lubricating oil, paints, soap, toilet preparations, plastic bags, garments, leather, blankets, footwear, kneaf sacks, tiles and pipes, articles of asbestos-cement.
2. quai dues that are assessed at Port Sudan on all goods discharged from any ship at the rate of 2 % of the c.i.f. value (0.5 % on goods transported by air).
3. according to a document on "Sudan Trade Regulations" provided by the Embassy of Sudan (Date ??) "a 5 % defense tax is imposed on the c.i.f. value of the following items: tobacco, petrol, lentils, rice, tea, coffee. A 10 % defense tax is imposed on the c.i.f. value of all other imports, except: agricultural machinery and insecticides, seeds for sowing, industrial raw materials, medicines, milk powder, dates, bicycles, printed matter, jute and jute sacks. A 10 % additional tax is imposed on all imports except sugar, wheat, flour, petrol, tobacco, cigarettes.

3) Licensing and Quantitative Restrictions

Sudan applies a variety of non-tariff restrictions: All imports into Sudan - except for books and printed matter - are subject to import licensing by the Ministry of Cooperation, Commerce, and Supply. A more restrictive, special license is applied to imports of cars, batteries, corrugated zinc sheets, millstones, paints, matches, cosmetics, soaps, leather goods, photographic equipment, plastic and aluminum products, stationery, furniture, doors, windows, and appliances which are on the list of "normally prohibited goods". Imports of bags, cotton gauze and bandages, barbed wire, stencil ink, carbon paper, sodium silicate, hats, asbestos products, cement, shovels and rakes, alcohol (medicinal and industrial) and gypsum require prior approval from the Ministry of Industry.

As an additional trade restrictive measure quotas are imposed on imports of ladies and children shoes, tomato paste, blankets and artificial leather.

Imports of alcoholic beverages are completely prohibited; so are imports from Israel and South Africa.

4) Money and Finance Measures

Most imports into Sudan are subject to a 100 % advance deposit in foreign currency before the issuance of an import license. Imports from Egypt and a number of "essential goods" are exempted from this requirement.

5) Single Channel for Imports and Compulsory National Services

All imports are to be insured with local insurance companies.

6) Preferential Trading Arrangements

Sudan is a member of the CAEU.

Bilateral trade agreements have been established with Egypt, Morocco, and Tunesia.

B. Export Policies

1) Licensing

According to the "Sudan Trade Regulations", all goods, except gold, silver, tiger and zebra skin, may be exported subject to sufficient availability to meet local demand. However, all exports, except cotton and gum Arabic require an export license, which can easily be obtained from the Ministry of Cooperation, Commerce and Supply immediately after presentation of the contract authenticated by the Bank of Sudan. The price specified in the contract should be in line with international market prices.

Agricultural commodities for export are subject to quality standards in accordance with the Produce Inspection Act of 1972. A rigorous quality control program has been initiated by the government particularly for groundnuts, sesame and sorghum to keep up with international standards.

2) Taxes

In order to encourage exports, a presidential decree was issued recently abolishing export tax on groundnuts, edible vegetable oils, sesame and Karkadeh Export tax on cattle and sheep and lamb was reduced from 25 % to 15 % and meat from 25 % to 10 %" (Sudan Trade Regulations).

According to the IMF (1987) an export tax is presently imposed on gum arabic, cotton, hides and sins, and ivory. All commodities are subject to minimum export prices.

"Export proceeds must be repatriated to the banking system within four months from the date of shipment. All convertible currency proceeds from exports of cotton and gum arabic and 70 percent of the convertible currency proceeds of all other exports must be surrendered to the Bank of Sudan at the official exchange rate; in the case of the latter group of products, the remaining 30 percent of the export proceeds must be surrendered at the commercial bank rate" (IMF, 1987).

Exports to Israel and South Africa are prohibited.

C. Exchange Arrangement

"The currency of Sudan is the Sudanese Pound. There are two exchange markets: (1) the official market, in which the exchange rate for the Sudanese pound is, in principle, pegged to a currency basket but is, in practice, closely linked with the U.S. dollar at the rate of LSd 2.50 = US$ 1; and (2) a commercial bank market in which the exchange rate is determined by the "Bankers' Committee", composed of representatives of seven commercial banks" (IMF, 1987). The allocation of transactions to official versus commercial exchange market is precisely defined.

Exchange control is administered by the Bank of Sudan with the assistance of the authorized banks. All export and import registration forms and licenses must be validated by the Bank of Sudan. Official import payments and other foreign payments are approved within the framework of an annual foreign exchange budget drawn by the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, in coordination with the Bank of Sudan and the Ministry of Commerce, Cooperation, and Supply (IMF, 1987).

SUDAN

Customs Duties	15-250 %
Basic foods	15-125 %
Consumer Goods	20-200 %
Raw materials	10- 80 %
Investment goods	10- 50 %
Average duty rate on all goods	56.6 %

Other Charges

Quay Dues	2 %
Airport Dues	0.5 %
Consumption Duty	5-40 %
Defense Tax	10 %
Additional Tax	10 %

Licenses
Prohibition
Recommendation of Ministry of Commerce, Industry & Cooperation
Quotas
Advance deposit
Multiple exchange rates
Compulsory national insurance

TANZANIA

A. Import Policies

1) Customs Tariff

The Tanzania customs tariff uses a 4/5-digit, CCCN based nomenclature. While the single-column customs duty schedule also includes a list of items benefiting from duty suspension, preferential duty rates applied to goods imported from the PTA member countries are published separately.

The ad valorem rates lie broadly within a range of 0-100 % and are accompanied by some specific duties applied primarily to certain alcoholic and non-alcoholic beverages, tobacco, certain petroleum products, and woven fabrics. Duties imposed on basic foods and other consumer goods range from 15-75 % while luxury consumables are more heavily charged at 50-105 %. Tariffs levied on raw materials, intermediate products and investment goods take on lower values from 0-55 %. The free list generally applies to agricultural imports, petroleum distillates, spare parts, educational and artistic materials, packaging materials and certain personal effects.

Table I gives an overview of Tanzania's tariff structure. The unweighted mean ad valorem tariff rate for all goods amounts to 32.1 %. Primary products are taxed on average more heavily (35.4 %) than manufactured products (31.0 %) with rates imposed on food and textile fibers taking on relatively high values among the primary products (42.4 % and 46.4 % respectively). Among the manufactured goods, relatively high duties are levied on consumer goods such as furniture, textile and clothing, toiletries and perfumeries as well as on electric machinery.

2) Additional Charges on Imports

In addition to customs duties, Tanzania levies
1. excise duties on petroleum products, sugar, alcoholic and non-alcoholic beverages, tobacco and tobacco products.
2. a wharfage surcharge of TSh 0.30 per imported package entering Zanzibar.
3. a sales tax on all imports and most locally produced goods; rates range from 20-100 % with higher rates (150-275 %) being applied to cigarettes and alcoholic beverages. Inputs are subject to taxes up to 25 %, the most common rate, while final goods are taxed at higher rates. Exemptions include educational articles, some food stuff, pharmaceuticals and government imports.

3) Licensing and Quantitative Restrictions

Imports into Tanzania are controlled through licenses. Most goods with the exception of those specified as freely importable in the Import Control Notice of 1980 require specific licenses. Under the "Own Foreign Exchange Import Scheme", import licenses are issued on request for importation of a specified list of commodities. For values not exceeding T Sh 10,000 in each case, imports not financed with official foreign exchange do not require licenses. (IMF).

Imports of specified food products, prescription drugs, animal and poultry feeds, day old chicks and veterinary medicines require a special import authorization from the relevant ministry.

"Under the 'retention scheme', private traders are authorized to import machinery, equipment, tools, specified raw materials, semi-finished goods, spare parts and packaging materials for agricultural, industrial, transport, communications, fishing, tourist etc. activities as well as for human health and veterinary purposes. Similar imports are also authorized as emergency supplies under the open general license" (UNCTAD Handbook p. 155). The retention scheme is also extended to a variety of selected foodstuffs and manufactured consumer goods.

An open general license is extended to imports of live animals, seeds, fruit and spores for planting, antisera, vaccines, microbial cultures, etc., mobile radiological units and mobile clinics, fire engines and fire escapes, spare parts for special purpose lorries and vans as well as emergency supplies for the ultimate users in agricultural, industrial and health sectors.

Imports from South Africa are prohibited.

Zanzibar administers an independent system of foreign trade controls through a Board of Trade; all imports to the mainland from Zanzibar require a specific license when the goods originate outside Zanzibar. Private traders in Zanzibar disposing of their own foreign exchange account are authorized to import basic foodstuffs for preparation of baby food, textiles, tooth paste, dry cells, matches, household appliances and commercial vehicles.

4) Single Channel for Imports and Compulsory National Services

The socialist state model adopted by Tanzania implies major State control of virtually all commerce, industry, insurance and banking through a network of holding companies, production agencies, agricultural commodity authorities and financial institutions. On the mainland, import trade is organized by state and parastatal organizations which correspond to sectors of the economy. Goods not mentioned above as obtaining an open general license nor requiring special import authorization are channeled through parastatal organizations.

All imports except for those financed by international and bilateral aid credits must be insured by the National Insurance Corporation of Tanzania.

5) Preferential Trading Arrangements

Tanzania is a member of the PTA and SADCC.

6) Special Entry Procedures

Imports valued at TSh 20,000 or more are s.t. a compulsory quality, quantity and price inspection by the Societe Generale de Surveillance, Geneva, Switzerland.

B. Export Policies

All exports require a license which is in most cases easily and quickly obtained. Despite the licensing requirement, manufactured exports are in practice not subject to restrictions. Exports of products handled by state-trading organizations and exports of certain other products are subject to controls and may be restricted in case of a local shortage.

In an attempt to restructure the economy in order to put a halt to the deterioration of the economic situation, the Tanzanian government has instituted a number of export promotion policies in recent years. The Board of External Trade (BET) which was formed in 1978 under the aegis of the Ministry of Industries and Trade, has been actively involved in designing and implementing many export incentive schemes and providing export promotion services. Various councils and committees at the BET are entrusted with rationalizing procedures for export documentation such as export licenses, helping solve ad hoc problems faced by exporters such as transportation bottlenecks, shortage of domestic inputs, water and power, organizing Contact Promotion Programs for particular industries.

The Export Credit Guarantee Scheme (ECGS) recently put in place by the National Bank of Commerce and the BET is intended to cover the lending institution or the exporter against any loss resulting from insolvency of the exporter or non-payment of the buyer respectively. In addition, financial services such as preferential interest rates are offered to exporters.

The Export Rebate Scheme established in July 1981 grants exporters a 5-25 % rebate of the FOB value of exports depending on a detailed analysis of duties and sales taxes levied on inputs for the products exported.

The Export Retention Scheme is the most significant export incentive provided to exporters because of the large differential between official and parallel exchange rates and the rationing of foreign exchange by the Bank of Tanzania. The scheme allows exporters to retain some of their foreign exchange earnings for the importation of inputs and spares and, in some cases, to cover foreign debt service. The third retention scheme announced in 1986/87 budget differentiates between traditional and non-traditional exports. Traditional agricultural exports (eight main commodities constituting 68 percent of total exports) are entitled to retain about 10 % to finance imports needed for their production activities, while non-traditional agricultural exports, which account for 14 % of total exports, and other non-traditional exports, mainly manufactures and processed raw materials (18 % of total exports), will be eligible to retain 50% of their export earnings. Exporters involved in a production activity must use all of their retained foreign exchange for imports of raw materials and spare parts essential to their production activities, whereas export traders must use 50 % of their retained foreign exchange for imports of raw materials and spare parts, and the remainder may be used to import goods on the list that are permitted to be financed by "own foreign exchange" for sale in the local market. In addition, limited transferability of retained currency by exporters to other producers has recently begun to be sanctioned.

C. Exchange Arrangement

The currency of Tanzania is the Tanzania Shilling. It is pegged to a basket of currencies of the country's main trading partners. Exchange control is administered by the Bank of Tanzania which quotes daily buying and selling rates for the U.S. dollar. There are no taxes or subsidies on purchases or sales of foreign exchange.

While in principle authority for making payments abroad should be delegated by the Bank of Tanzania to the two authorized banks, the National Bank of Commerce and the people's Bank, in practice virtually all outward payments have to be approved by the former.

As suggested above, the Export Retention Scheme provides an exception to the rule that all export proceeds have to be repatriated. The foreign exchange is distributed among importers goods that are subject to specific licenses according to the provisions of a semiannual foreign exchange plan.

TANZANIA

Customs Duties	0-100 %
Basic foods Other consumer goods	15- 75 %
Luxury consumables	50-105 %
Raw materials Intermediate goods Investment goods	0- 55 %
Average duty rate on all goods	32.1 %

Other Charges

Excise Duty	var.
Wharfage Surcharge (Zanzibar)	TSh. 0.30
Sales Tax	var. (20-100 %)

Licenses
Restrictive Licenses
Licenses restricted to ultimate users
Open general licenses
Own Foreign Exchange Holders in Zanzibar
State Trading Monopoly
Sole Importing Agency
Compulsory national insurance
Pre-shipment inspection > TSh 20,000

UGANDA

A. Import Policies

1) Customs Tariff

The Uganda customs tariff uses a 6-digit, CCCN based nomenclature. Ad valorem import duty rates range broadly from 0-350 %. Low duties of 0-30 % are imposed on raw materials, intermediate products and investment goods while those on basic foods and consumer goods are set at 0-50 %. Luxury consumer products are charged quite heavily from 50-350 %.

Table I provides a summary picture of the structure of Uganda's tariff schedule. The unweighted mean ad valorem tariff rate for all goods amounts to 19.9 %, the lowest value in intraregional comparison. On average, primary products are taxed at a higher rate (25.2 %) than manufactured products (18.0 %) which is largely due to the relatively high tariff levied on food which with 35.9 % exceeds all other duty rates listed.

2) Additional Charges on Imports

Uganda applies a sales tax of 10-40 % on most imports with higher charges on tobacco products and alcoholic and non-alcoholic beverages. An excise duty is applicable on imports of tobacco and tobacco products, matches, beer, alcoholic beverages, mineral waters, biscuits, soap, woven fabrics, paints and sugar. Rates are ad valorem (30-150 %) or specific.

The import license fee amounts to 0.5 % of the c.i.f. value.

Licensing and Quantitative Restrictions

Specific licenses are required for import operations undertaken by importers other than authorized importers; the latter receive automatic licenses and may import goods within their respective operational areas.

The Ministry of Commerce and Industry is authorized to prohibit imports of goods which are produced locally and in sufficient quantity to meet domestic requirements. As from mid-1986, imports of luxury goods such as cosmetics and alcoholic beverages are temporarily prohibited. Banned are also any imports from Israel and South Africa.

3) Money and Finance Measures

Foreign exchange allocation is administered by the Ministry of Finance. "Foreign exchange at the official rate (ca. USh 1400 per US$1) is allocated for imports of essential goods such as sugar, salt, soap, agricultural machinery and tools, petroleum products, educational articles, medicaments, bicycles as well as raw materials, machinery and parts for specified branches of local industry. Remaining goods must by imported at market rate (ca USh 5000 per US$1)." (Handbook p. 170)

4) Single Channel for Imports and Compulsory National Services

The State has a monopoly over imports of agricultural products, hardware, industrial machinery, motor vehicles and pharmaceuticals. Certain monopoly goods may be imported by private traders with the approval of the relevant state trading organization."

5) Preferential Trading Arrangements

Uganda is a member of the PTA.

6) Special Entry Procedures

All imports require pre-shipment inspection by the Societe Generale de Surveillance, Geneva, Switzerland.

B. Export Policies

All exports require licenses from the Ministry of Commerce; some may be restricted in order to ensure sufficient supplies for domestic consumption. Various commodity exports are monopolized by specific State Marketing Boards.

Cotton and coffee are subject to export duty.

C. Exchange Arrangement

The currency of Uganda is the Uganda Shilling, the official exchange rate of which is fixed against the U.S. dollar at a rate of U Sh 1,400 per US$ 1. Foreign exchange control is administered by the Bank of Uganda which authorizes commercial banks to deal in foreign currencies at officially quoted rates. There are no taxes or subsidies on purchases or sales of foreign exchange.

The Ministerial Committee on Foreign Exchange Allocation prepares a monthly foreign exchange budget, which distributes among competing importers the foreign exchange proceeds that every exporter must convert into Uganda shillings at an authorized bank which in turn surrenders them to the Bank of Uganda.

UGANDA

Customs Duties	0-350 %
Basic foods Consumer goods	0- 50 %
Luxury consumables	50-350 %
Raw materials Intermediate goods Investment goods	0- 30 %
Average duty rate on all goods	19.9 %

Other Charges

Sales Tax	var. (10-40 %)
Excise Duty	var. (30-150 %)
License Fee	0.5 %

State Trading Monopoly
Specific licenses
Automatic licenses
Imports from South Africa and Israel banned
Dual exchange rates
Compulsory national insurance
Pre-shipment inspection

II. Trade Policy Conclusions

A. General Trade Policy

The analysis of trade policy in the East African setting has an additional dimension not present in the same degree when we think about trade policy in the west. Not only are there the same pressures for protection of specific industries that one finds in any country, but there is also the role that trade plays as a major source of government revenue.

The East African governments are generally highly dependent on the revenues from tariffs and exports to fund central government operations. No other sources of revenue are obviously apparent to take up the slack if trade policies were changed to make the economies more open. The administrative ease of collecting border revenues is an important factor in understanding both the high dependence on trade taxes and the reluctance to shift to other sources of government revenue.

As a result, the countries are left with trade policies that appear to have generally harmful effects to their economies, not the least of which is the reduction in the amount of trade that takes place to a level well below the potential.

An indication of the magnitude of the problem can be gained from a confidential study done by Sanchez-Ugarte and Modi for the IMF (1987). Two of the commodities they looked at were cotton and coffee, both of which are important to East Africa. While export tax rates charged on these commodities vary by country, they were in the range of 28 to 41% for the countries used in the study. These tax rates have the effect of making the exports of the countries involved less competitive than they otherwise would be by either increasing the price charged, or more importantly, by reducing the returns to the producer and making it less attractive to produce the export crop rather than engage in some other activity.

The effective tax rate on exports is a result of both implicit and explicit taxes. The explicit taxes are the rates set on the product itself, while the implicit taxes are the result of other government policies. For example, if fertilizer used in the production of the export crop is subject to a quota, that has much the same effect on the producer as an increase in the export tax rate.

An additional type of "tax" is that created by the operation of government price stabilization schemes which producers are required to participate in. The notion is that the government will cannily play the international market to protect the producer against price variations. In exchange, the producer will get a slightly lower price for his produce, representing the administrative costs of the scheme, but will benefit from the greater certainty about future returns.

The Sanchez-Ugarte and Modi analysis suggests that the export tax rates are set at far too high a level. If they were reduced substantially, the governments would expect to get greater total foreign exchange earnings as well as, in many cases, increases in export tax collections. Their estimates of the optimum tax rates on coffee and cotton varied by country, but were in the range of 1 to 6 percent, far below the current levels of 28 to 41 percent.

They also found little of value in export price stabilization schemes. In general they observed that the scheme not only reduced the average yield to the producer but also failed to reduce the variation in prices that he received. This obviously leaves the producer worse off than he would otherwise be in the absence of the scheme.

The authors recognize the great difficulty many governments would have in switching to other types of tax for general revenues. Given the necessity for trade to produce a large share of the tax revenue, the policy suggestions were to reduce non revenue producing implicit taxes, such as import quotas, and perhaps experiment with a combination of export tax reduction and devaluation, which might lead to an increase in total tax revenue.

B. Intra-African Trade

An element in the vision many leaders have for a future Africa is a greatly expanded level of trade within Africa itself. Intra-African trade is a very small part of the total trade of almost all African countries. At first glance this seems somewhat puzzling. There are numerous examples of one country exporting a product of the same type which its neighbor imports, but both the export and import transactions are with non-African countries. It appears to many observers that there is an untapped potential for such trade and that it should be encouraged. The enlargement of markets for the exporting countries would be helpful to their own economies and even the importing countries would benefit through lower product prices and more ready availability.

The encouragement of intra-African trade has been a theme of UNECA, among others, for a number of years. UNECA has done a number of studies on the barriers to intra-African trade, looking in particular at the specific factors that seem to inhibit such trade relative to other trade.

The trade barriers already discussed would be expected to reduce all trade, not just trade among the African countries. High tariffs, complex licensing procedures, and other restrictive measures by themselves don't account for the very small proportion of total trade that is intra-African.

The specific factors that are often blamed include such things as poor quality of products, high product prices, unreliable supply due to undercapitalized suppliers, high cost slow transportation and a lack of knowledge about potential markets and suppliers.

A more detailed account of some of these problems can be found in reports of UNECA such as The General State of Intra-African Trade, Its Obstacles and Potential (1981) and Intra-African Trade: Trade Flows among Sub-Saharan African Countries; Current Flows and Prospects. The issue of low quality is one that is often encountered in the early stages of the development of a national manufacturing industry. Post World War II Japan had a reputation for producing only the cheapest and most shoddy of goods, a reputation that has obviously changed. Other Asian countries, such as Korea, have worked through such reputational stages, so it is not surprising that the very young manufacturing industries of Africa might have similar problems.

The overcoming of quality problems is related to the issue of reliability of supply and high prices. The small scale of the operations makes it difficult to carry extensive inventories. This is made worse by the general import restrictions which make raw and intermediate materials more expensive than they would otherwise be, and make it difficult to be sure of having necessary materials and repair parts on a timely basis. In addition, export taxes add to the cost to the buyer and/or reduce the incentives to the producer. The net result is that the producers of potential exports are hamstrung by small scale, shoestring financing and relatively high tax and regulatory burdens.

Western producers of competing goods are more likely to have the staff and experience to wend their way through the red tape of the export import business. The African producer of similar goods may well have a better knowledge of African culture and the needs of his African customers - although this is not necessarily true - but this knowledge isn't necessarily of value in dealing with a complex regulatory system.

Transportation difficulties add to the problem. For many goods, it is easier, faster, and cheaper to have them flown in from Europe than to have them trucked in from a neighboring country. The African road networks are marginal at best and at times quite unusable. This obviously makes the reliability and cost problems worse.

An additional problem is also related to scale, and this is the lack of knowledge on the part of both supplier and purchaser about their potential mutual interest. This is related in part to the communication networks which tend to provide relatively good flows of information from individual African countries to the West, but may not do as good a job in providing information across African borders.

C. Intra-African Cooperation

The suggestions made to remedy the barriers to intra-African trade fall into a number of categories. The first is to selectively reduce trade barriers with respect to African partners while still maintaining them and thus capturing the presumed, although quite questionable, benefits of maintaining them with respect to the rest of the world. This can take the form of arrangements ranging from bilateral agreements specific to individual products up to the establishment of multi-nation free trade areas. The PTA is an example of an agreement which is expected to eventually evolve into a large common market, although it remains to be seen if the proposed pace of trade barrier reduction will actually be maintained.

The structure and current status of the PTA and other trade areas is discussed in an appendix. While the various heads of state of the countries involved have made statements showing great optimism about the future of such trade areas, there are also some reasons for concern. The problems associated with the operation of the now defunct East African community of Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania (discussed in detail elsewhere in this report) raise some concerns about the viability of such preferential trade areas. While there is no reason to expect history to repeat itself exactly, some of the earlier problems may well crop up again. As an example, the recent border tension between Kenya and Uganda makes one wonder if there is currently the capacity to resolve the inevitable frictions of interpretation of detailed trade regulations in a timely and efficient enough way to make real progress toward free trade possible.

Another type of concern over the establishment of free trade areas is based on worries about the applicability of free market models to the African context. Mullei, in an article in the *East African Economic Review* (1987) argues that the standard trade model makes assumptions about supply responsiveness that may not be appropriate. If one assumes a more rigid structure, it may well be that the desired effects of trade creation and diversion are not nearly as large as one might expect. It may well be that investment in infrastructure such as intra-African transportation facilities, would be a more helpful investment.

Another general policy direction is that of providing information to help match potential buyers and sellers of African products. This can take a number of forms.

One approach is to carefully study the exports and imports of the various African countries in some detail. If one does this, one finds that there are a number of products which one country produces for export and another imports from a different source, usually a western one. For example, we may find that one country exports canned meat. Its neighbor imports canned meat, but not from the first country. If one can identify such *potential matches*, one can then take a look at the specific barriers to trade in that specific product.

One expectation is that many of these trade matches are overlooked because the potential partners are unaware of each other. This has led to suggestions of establishing trade information bureaus, strengthening local and national Chambers of Commerce and industry associations and other groups, as well as setting up Africa-wide or regional counterparts of the national groups. Similar types of cooperation can be helpful in facilitating intra-African transactions and dealing with regulatory problems.

The matching of buyer and seller can be thought of as having a number of stages. In the short run, it would seem most efficient to match current exporters of products with current importers. Over the medium to long term, it might be possible to identify potential producers of products who could meet the needs of importers. For example, one might notice that a particular African product is exported in a relatively unprocessed state, then reimported elsewhere in Africa as a more processed good. This would suggest that it might make sense to establish an African industry to take over the currently offshore processing.

Just how this would be done is a matter of some concern. One school of thought suggests that all that should be done is to at best let local entrepreneurs know about the opportunity and trust that they will act in their own self interest if the opportunity is really there.

Others suggest a more interventionist approach. The government or external aid providers could subsidize the establishment of the industry or perhaps even establish it as a state enterprise. The approach might be along the lines of the industrial policy employed in a number of Asian countries. The difference would be that the targeting would be African trade opportunities which already potentially exist, rather than trying to establish a niche in an already highly competitive world market.

The success of such policies depends on a large number of factors. The government has to be quite canny in picking the industries it is going to support and must be careful to not cripple the enterprise through political and other burdens. African state enterprises have not in general distinguished themselves as models of efficiency, although some, such as the Kenya Tea Board, have had quite good track records. But regardless of the wisdom of diverting scarce resources to new and risky enterprises, it would be quite valuable to provide as much information about potential opportunities as possible.

D. Illegal Trade

One place to look for potential trade possibilities is in the informal markets that have been established across national borders. There appear to be as many euphemisms for smuggling as there are for the naughty parts of the body, but whether one refers to it as parallel markets, informal trade, or whatever, it is still smuggling, an illegal activity in the eyes of the government being affected.

Being illegal, it is very difficult to estimate the total volume of such trade. One attempt to shed some light on this was the UNECA study "Unrecorded Transborder Trade between African Countries: A Preliminary Note by the Secretariat" (1987). While no conclusions were reached as to the totals, it was apparent that illegal trade was an important part of the total trade in many commodities.

Other evidence appears in the press from time to time. Two recent examples are an assessment of the impact of IMF suggested Ugandan currency reforms on coffee smuggling and an analysis of the impact of gold smuggling on the Tanzanian economy.

In the Ugandan case, the issuance of new currency was seen as having an impact on the smuggling trade by drying up the large amounts of cash needed to facilitate the transactions. While this would seem to be only a temporary phenomena, there appear to have been substantial short-run benefits to the Ugandan government.

The estimates of foreign exchange "lost" to the Tanzanian economy by the smuggling of gold out of the country are on the order of a quarter of the entire export earnings. If this were all captured by the government, it would make a major change in the ability to deal with the Tanzanian debt problem as well as the easing of import restrictions.

It is difficult to know how much faith to put into these estimates of the volume of smuggling. For example, the article on Tanzania gold smuggling states that the smugglers are offered five times the world price for their gold by the illicit buyers. This seems rather unlikely, unless the author is simply taking into account the overvaluation of the official Tanzanian exchange rate.

If one looks at smuggling from a free market perspective, its existence is simply a sensitive indicator of the impact of some sort of distorting government policy. If coffee is being smuggled from Uganda to Zaire or Kenya, it reflects a Ugandan government policy of paying abnormally low prices to, or levying inappropriately high taxes on producers and/or maintaining an unrealistic official exchange rate. In any case, the appropriate response is to change the offending government policy and the smuggling will dry up.

This is not quite the same as saying that one can reduce drug related crime by making the possession and use of drugs legal, but there are similarities.

In like manner, there are seen to be social problems associated with strict enforcement of smuggling laws. One of the most common advantages cited for export smuggling is that it acts as a safety valve for the economy, providing a source of either currency for buying consumer goods or the goods themselves, and that the availability of these goods reduces social tensions that might otherwise be destabilizing. In addition, it is argued that smuggling even though it has some social costs and inefficiencies associated with it, still acts to produce a more efficient allocation of goods and services than would otherwise exist in its absence.

Another reason for the existence of smuggling could be the attempt by a government to maintain the production of some good which is just not economical to produce. If, for example, country X tries to establish a shoe manufacturing industry, but simply doesn't have the appropriate resources to do so, their attempts to protect the inefficient industry may well lead to smuggling of shoes across the border from a more efficient producer. Thus, smuggling may also be useful in pointing to products that have great potential for trade in the absence of trade barriers. After all, if it is still profitable to import shoes even after bribing border officials and taking the risk of arrest and confiscation of the goods, it is difficult to imagine that legal trade would not take place if the barriers to it were reduced.

Unfortunately, such illegal trade is difficult to measure. It is possible to get some ideas of where it may exist from a study of official production and trade statistics along with information from remote sensing. This would have to be supplemented by careful local studies, presumably done by people with good local knowledge and contacts as well as a lack of obvious government connection.

E. Opportunities for Further Investigation

A concerted effort on the identification of intra-African trade opportunities that might be undertaken by non-African government agencies might look like the following.

First, the data is available in rather fine commodity detail on tariff, quotas and other barriers to trade. This data could be used in conjunction with country specific commodity trade flow data to look at the potential commodity matches between exporters and importers and determine if the lack of trade seems to be due to governmental trade barriers.

As an example, if one saw a potential match - exports of dried mild from one country and imports of dried milk in another country from a third non-African source - then one could look at the commodity specific regulations to see if there was some reason for the African product not being imported. It might be that there were packaging standards that the African product didn't meet, and this would open the possibility for either a change in the packaging standards or a change in the exporting country packaging.

While a number of immediate possibilities for trade might be identified this way, others could be likewise identified through a study of the smuggling taking place. Once again, there are detailed data on the trade restrictions on individual products and the data on the smuggling would help establish an estimate of how much of a change in the trade restrictions would be necessary to permit open trading.

A third component might be the investigation of potential industries to be developed. An approach to this would be to combine information from the trade flow and trade restriction data with industry structure data. Input-output tables would be very useful for such a study and would allow at least the approximate identification of promising industries that would have strong African and local linkages and thus be good prospects for further intensive case studies as to the existence of an actual comparative advantage.

P T A

Preferential Trade Area for Eastern and Southern Africa

The Preferential Trade Area for Eastern and Southern Africa (PTA), established in June 1982, includes the following member States: Burundi, Comoros, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Rwanda, Somalia, Swaziland, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe, hence all countries in the study region except Sudan. In addition, the Treaty for the Establishment of the PTA, which came into force in September 1983 upon its ratification by more than seven member states, remains open for signature and ratification by Angola, Botswana, Madagascar, Mozambique and the Seychelles.

The PTA's primary objective is the reduction and eventual elimination of tariff and non-tariff barriers among member states. The gradual establishment of a common external tariff on imports from third countries is also planned. The PTA originally prepared a common list of commodities of export/import interest to member states for which a program of tariff reductions was designed. The plan was to proceed as follows:

"The Common List is classified into six categories in respect of which the rates of duties will progressively be reduced and eventually eliminated, starting with the reduction by various percentages as follows:

Category	Class	% reductions on duties
Group I	Food (excl. luxury items)	30 %
Group II	Raw materials	
	a) agricultural	50 %
	b) non-agricultural	60 %
Group III	Intermediate goods	65 %
Group IV	Manufactured consumer goods (excl. luxury items):	
	a) durable consumer goods	40 %
	b) non-durable consumer goods	35 %
	c) highly competing cons. goods	30 %
	d) consumer goods of particular importance to econ. development	70 %
Group V	Capital goods (incl. transport equipment)	70 %
Group VI	Luxury goods	10 %

The basic rates of tariffs on which reductions will be based are the rates existing at the date the Treaty definitely entered into force, i.e. September 30, 1982.

In addition, the commodities appearing in the Common List will be accorded the most favored nation treatment by member states. Similarly, they will enjoy preferential treatment with respect to non-tariff barriers." (Kenya Export News, Feb. 1984: Spotlight on Preferential Trade Area Treaty protocols)

"The Preferential Trade Area for Eastern and Southern Africa is a first step towards the establishment of a common market and eventually an economic community. Its objectives, therefore, go beyond a purely preferential trade arrangement. The P.T.A. treaty hence seeks to promote co-operation and development in all fields of economic activities including trade and customs, industry, agriculture, transport/communications, natural/human resources and financial as well as monetary "

A more recent article in The Dec 17, 1987 issue of African Concord, concerned the just concluded Kampala meeting of the Heads of State. President Museveni of Uganda was reported to have said that "the Heads of State agreed on an accelerated timetable for the removal of tariffs and other non-tariff barriers to enhance intra-PTA trade. ... tariff reduction is set at a rate of 10 per cent every two years between 1988 and 1996. At the end of that period, tariffs will have been reduced by 50 per cent. Subject to the review of the entire situation in 1996 and taking into account the Lagos Plan of Action, the remaining 50 per cent may be eliminated in two steps - 20 per cent in 1998 and 30 per cent in the year 2000."

Other accomplishments and plans for regional cooperation were also announced. The establishment of the PTA Clearing House will now allow the freer use of national currencies for settling intra-PTA transactions, which would conserve precious foreign exchange. In addition, plans were underway to establish a number of enterprises to produce chemicals, fertilizer and other industrial products currently imported into the region.

It is not clear from the communique whether or not the new tariff rate reduction schedule means that the previous one was simply not implimented or that this is a continuation of progress underway. In any case, the emphasis of the communique seemed to be more on the great accomplishments to be expected rather than any solid achievments already accomplished.

C E P G L

Communaute Economique des Pays des Grands Lacs

The Economic Community of the Great Lake Countries (CEPGL) was established in September 1976 by Burundi, Rwanda, and Zaire. The community's objectives are to ensure the security of the member states and their peoples, to create and develop activities of common interest, to promote trade and facilitate the movement of persons and goods, and to co-operate closely in the social, economic, commercial, scientific, cultural, and general policy areas.

As regards trade, the member States signed in September 1978 a new trade and customs co-operation agreement in which the parties pledged themselves to authorize the import or export of goods within the CEPGL through the use of CEPGL import/export notices. More recently, the possibility of establishing a free trade area among the three member countries has been considered. The area would first stage towards the establishment of a customs union.

A monetary arrangement among the Central Banks of the CEPGL member countries was signed in March 1981 to facilitate the settlement of commercial transactions between the member countries. The agreement, which makes no provision for any granting of credit lines among the participating banks, is managed by the meeting of the governors of the Central Banks.

Burundi **Date: March 1987 (NV)**

I. MEASURES INCLUDED IN THE TABULATION

1. Tariffs

CD.GEN		Customs duty

2. Additional Charges (for calculation of total charges)

FC.NES.		Tax on brand-name products

3. Non-tariff Measures

PB.TOTL	(P)	Prohibition
PB.SUSP	(P)	Suspension of licence
MF.FEXC	(O)	Central Bank authorization

II. SOURCES OF INFORMATION

1. Tariffs/Additional charges

CD.GEN.	National Tariff, july 1986

2. Non-tariff Measures

PB.TOTL	British Business 11/3/81
PB.SUSP	IMF Exchange Restriction 1986
MF.FEXC	MOCI 730/22 (09/86)

III. NON-TARIFF MEASURES APPLICABLE TO ALL IMPORTS

LIC.DIC	Licence if value is over BUF 50,000.-

IV. OTHER MEASURES STORED AT THE TARIFF LINE LEVEL

1. Tariffs

2. Additional Charges (for calculation of total charges)

3. Non-tariff Measures

Sample of Data from Handbook of Trade Control Measures of Developing Countries 1987

UNCTAD

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Table I

BURUNDI : Unweighted Average [a]

SECTORS	TARIFFS & PARA-TARIFFS Mean Tariff	Min. Tariff	Max. Tariff	Total Charges	FREQUENCY OF NTM's [b] All Measures	Licence	Quota	Prohib.	MEAN TARIFF WHEN At least One NTM	No NTM	At least One QR	No QR
Primary products	48.4	47.8	49.0	48.4	14.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	82.8	43.0	.	48.4
Food	74.7	73.[illegible]	75.7	74.7	21.4	0.0	0.0	0.4	87.4	70.7	.	74.7
Cereals	40.0	40.0	40.0	40.0	30.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	40.0	40.0	.	40.0
Vegetable oils & oil seeds	46.2	46.2	46.2	46.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	.	46.2	.	46.2
Agricultural raw materials	32.2	31.8	32.5	32.2	1.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	50.0	31.9	.	32.2
Textile fibres	19.4	19.4	19.4	19.4	4.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	50.0	18.0	.	19.4
Crude fertilizers & mineral ores	19.2	19.2	19.2	19.2	6.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	81.3	15.2	.	19.2
Mineral fuels	14.4	14.4	14.4	14.4	22.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	15.0	14.4	.	14.4
Non-ferrous metals	22.3	22.1	22.7	22.3	11.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	71.7	16.0	.	22.3
Manufactured products	32.6	30.3	34.9	32.6	18.2	0.0	0.0	0.4	51.4	28.5	.	32.6
Chemicals	18.9	17.6	21.1	18.9	3.2	0.0	0.0	0.2	23.5	18.9	.	18.9
Medicaments	15.0	15.0	15.0	15.0	42.5	0.0	0.0	2.5	15.0	15.0	.	15.0
Toiletenes & perfumeries	42.5	38.3	46.7	42.5	8.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	38.3	.	42.5
Manufactured fertilizers	15.0	15.0	15.0	15.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	.	15.0	.	15.0
Iron & steel	20.4	20.0	20.7	20.4	6.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	21.3	20.3	.	20.4
Machinery & equipment	25.7	24.0	27.7	25.7	1.9	0.0	0.0	0.3	46.3	25.6	.	25.7
Non-electric machinery	21.3	20.8	21.7	21.3	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	50.0	21.0	.	21.3
Electric machinery	36.9	33.6	39.8	36.9	3.8	0.0	0.0	1.3	30.0	37.9	.	36.9
Transportation equipment	24.9	21.3	32.3	24.9	2.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	75.0	24.1	.	24.9
Other manufactured products	43.6	40.3	46.4	43.6	34.6	0.0	0.0	0.6	53.5	38.3	.	43.6
Leather & travel goods	45.2	40.3	51.2	45.2	38.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	72.4	29.1	.	45.2
Rubber products	22.7	19.7	25.3	22.7	37.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	25.9	20.3	.	22.7
Wood products	32.5	31.7	33.3	32.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	.	32.5	.	32.5
Paper products	20.3	17.6	21.5	20.3	94.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	20.6	15.0	.	20.3
Textile & clothing	50.3	47.4	52.5	50.3	54.2	0.0	0.0	1.5	55.0	44.1	.	50.3
Non-metal mineral products	42.1	41.0	43.0	42.1	22.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	83.6	30.1	.	42.1
Furnitures	82.6	63.6	87.9	82.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	.	82.6	.	82.6
Footwear	50.0	50.0	50.0	50.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	50.0	.	.	50.0
Professional equipment	30.1	24.8	34.3	30.1	14.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	63.6	23.7	.	30.1
All goods	37.0	35.1	38.9	37.0	17.1	0.0	0.0	0.3	58.8	32.7	.	37.0

Source: UNCTAD computer files based on published official national sources.

Table II

BURUNDI : Trade-weighted Average [a]

SECTORS	TARIFFS & PARA-TARIFFS Mean Tariff	Min. Tariff	Max. Tariff	Total Charges	FREQUENCY OF NTM's [b] All Measures	Licence	Quota	Prohib.	MEAN TARIFF WHEN At least One NTM	No NTM	At least One QR	No QR
Primary products	40.1	38.8	41.3	40.1	26.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	66.9	34.8	.	40.1
Food	62.7	60.3	64.9	62.7	29.0	0.0	0.0	2.2	73.5	58.1	.	62.7
Cereals	40.0	40.0	40.0	40.0	16.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	40.0	40.0	.	40.0
Vegetable oils & oil seeds	65.1	65.1	65.1	65.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	.	65.1	.	65.1
Agricultural raw materials	19.8	19.7	19.9	19.8	2.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	50.0	19.1	.	19.8
Textile fibres	20.2	20.2	20.2	20.2	7.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	50.0	18.0	.	20.2
Crude fertilizers & mineral ores	16.8	16.8	16.8	16.8	3.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	50.0	15.8	.	16.8
Mineral fuels	15.0	15.0	15.0	15.0	33.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	15.0	15.0	.	15.0
Non-ferrous metals	17.3	16.0	19.9	17.3	6.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	29.7	16.5	.	17.3
Manufactured products	27.4	23.1	32.1	27.4	12.2	0.0	0.0	1.2	47.7	25.6	.	27.4
Chemicals	20.8	18.6	24.6	20.8	8.3	0.0	0.0	2.7	31.4	20.8	.	20.8
Medicaments	15.0	15.0	15.0	15.0	52.1	0.0	0.0	20.0	15.0	15.0	.	15.0
Toiletenes & perfumeries	51.2	41.7	60.7	51.2	19.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	41.7	.	51.2
Manufactured fertilizers	15.0	15.0	15.0	15.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	.	15.0	.	15.0
Iron & steel	20.5	20.0	21.4	20.5	25.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	21.6	20.1	.	20.5
Machinery & equipment	24.7	20.6	30.3	24.7	1.4	0.0	0.0	0.4	79.1	24.6	.	24.7
Non-electric machinery	21.4	19.8	22.6	21.4	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	50.0	21.2	.	21.4
Electric machinery	33.0	27.1	37.0	33.0	2.3	0.0	0.0	1.6	21.8	34.3	.	33.0
Transportation equipment	22.7	16.8	35.1	22.7	1.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	98.4	21.6	.	22.7
Other manufactured products	38.6	31.6	42.8	38.6	32.5	0.0	0.0	2.1	47.9	33.6	.	38.6
Leather & travel goods	31.1	29.4	32.9	31.1	31.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	50.1	22.7	.	31.1
Rubber products	26.6	23.6	29.4	26.6	64.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	28.1	23.9	.	26.6
Wood products	26.3	24.9	27.7	26.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	.	26.3	.	26.3
Paper products	18.5	14.6	19.7	18.5	99.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	18.5	15.0	.	18.5
Textile & clothing	47.5	39.4	50.3	47.5	44.2	0.0	0.0	8.7	52.6	40.1	.	47.5
Non-metal mineral products	44.9	43.0	46.7	44.9	49.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	58.4	32.3	.	44.9
Furnitures	84.2	67.9	88.4	84.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	.	84.2	.	84.2
Footwear	50.0	50.0	50.0	50.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	50.0	.	.	50.0
Professional equipment	25.7	20.7	29.7	25.7	7.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	60.5	22.6	.	25.7
All goods	31.0	27.4	34.7	31.0	16.4	0.0	0.0	1.1	54.0	28.1	.	31.0

Source: UNCTAD computer files based on published official national sources.

a For definitions of sectors and/or variables see the Introduction.
b NTM's applied across the board, if any - see point III on the previous page - are not included.

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Selected Export

Duties of

African Countries

Table 15. Selected Countries of Sub-Saharan Africa: Export Duties (Base and Rates)

Country	Tax Base	Food Products: Items	Food Products: Rates	Beverages, Tobacco, and Related Products: Items	Beverages, Tobacco, and Related Products: Rates	Minerals: Items	Minerals: Rates	Other Raw Materials: Items	Other Raw Materials: Rates	Remarks
Benin	F.o.b. export value	Shrimp Palm kernels	CFAF 2.5 per kg. CFAF 1 per kg.	Tobacco	CFAF 1 per pkg.					
Botswana	F.o.b. exports	Livestock	. . .					Hides and skins Ivory, trophy	. . . . . .	
Burundi	F.o.b. exports or administrative value			Coffee Processed coffee Tea	FBu 114–133 per kg. FBu 0.25–0.40 per kg. 6 per cent of FBu 66 per kg.			Hides and skins Cotton	10 per cent of FBu 3,616 per kg. FBu 16 per 100 kg.	Additional development tax on coffee of FBu 103 per kg. Taxes based on administrative value
Cameroon	F.o.b. exports or administrative value	Peanuts Peanut oil	CFAF 175–250 per ton CFAF 595 per ton	Coffee Cocoa	CFAF 3 per kg. CFAF 1 per kg.					Export duties of 2–40 per cent; also, a small control tax on cotton and coffee
Central African Republic	F.o.b. exports or administrative value	Cotton, peanuts, and palm oil	0.3–9.5 per cent	Coffee	CFAF 5 per kg.	Diamonds	2–17.5 per cent	Lumber logs	1 per cent	Export duties of 0–12.3 per cent and turnover tax of 2 per cent
Chad	Fiscal duty on f.o.b. value Turnover tax on f.o.b. value plus fiscal duty	Livestock Meat	14 per cent 14 per cent			Phosphate	14 per cent	Cotton Gum arabic	14 per cent 14 per cent	Fiscal duty of 8 per cent and turnover tax of 6 per cent
Congo	Turnover tax on f.o.b. value plus fiscal duty	Livestock	CFAF 200–100,000 per animal	Coffee	CFAF 5 per kg.	Diamonds	2 per cent	Logs Processed logs	3–33 per cent 2.5–10.5 per cent	All exports subject to export and fiscal duty up to 13 per cent and turnover tax of 2 per cent
Ethiopia	F.o.b. value plus transactions tax	Sugar surtax	80–95 per cent	Coffee	Br 18 per 100 kg.			Cottonseed surtax	40–60 per cent	All exports subject to transactions tax of 2 per cent; additional coffee surtax of Br 21 per 100 kg. Surtaxes are with reference to export prices
Gambia, The	F.o.b. value	Palm kernel Groundnuts Oil, cake, and meal	6 per cent 5.75–6 per cent 6 per cent							
Ghana	Cocoa Marketing Board's sale price			Cocoa	Sale price less ¢ 739 per ton					
Ivory Coast	Standard value	Agricultural products	20 per cent	Coffee Cocoa	23 per cent	Mineral products	23 per cent	Logs	33 per cent	
Kenya	F.o.b. value			Coffee (Nairobi) Other coffee Tea	15 per cent of price over K Sh 20,000 per ton K Sh 6,000 per ton or 10 per cent f.o.b. 15 per cent of price [illegible]					Coffee sold at Nairobi auction

(continued overleaf)

Table 15 (continued). Selected Countries of Sub-Saharan Africa: Export Duties (Base and Rates)

Country	Tax Base	Food Products		Beverages, Tobacco, and Related Products		Minerals		Other Raw Materials		Remarks
		Items	Rates	Items	Rates	Items	Rates	Items	Rates	
Lesotho	F.o.b. value					Sand and stones	M 0.25 under 5 tons M 0.50 over 5 tons			
Liberia	F.o.b. value							Rubber	1.5–2.5 cents per lb.	Graded to export price
Mali	F.o.b. value for ad valorem rates Weight/quantity for specific rates	Karite butter Livestock Fish Groundnuts Groundnut oil	MF 10,000 per ton MF 500–7,000 per head MF 41,000 per ton MF 4,050 per ton MF 12,000 per ton					Cotton Other exports	MF 54,000 per ton 5 per cent	
Malawi	F.o.b. value			Tea Tobacco	MK 0.30 per lb. MK 0.026–0.278 per lb.			Hides and skins	MK 0.35 to MK 1.60 per lb.	MK 0.278 per lb. on oriental (flue-cured) tobacco; MK 0.026 per lb. on all other tobacco
Mauritius	F.o.b. value	Sugar Molasses	6–13.5 per cent 5 per cent							Rates graded by volume of production per producer
Nigeria	F.o.b. export value	Livestock Palm oil Edible nuts	... ...	Cocoa beans	...			Cotton Rubber Timber	... ...	Edible nuts: palm kernels, groundnuts, and shea nuts
Rwanda		Flour Cinnamon extract	130 per cent 130 per cent	Tea	130 per cent			Pyrethrum extract	130 per cent	100 per cent fiscal duty and 30 per cent customs duty
Senegal	F.o.b. export value	Groundnuts Groundnut cake Other groundnut products Other nuts	20 per cent 10 per cent or CFAF 7,310 per ton 20 per cent CFAF 15,000–20,000 per ton			Phosphates	4 per cent			
Seychelles		Cinnamon bark Other cinnamon products	5–20 per cent per ton Sey Rs 500 per ton			Guano and phosphates	10 per cent			Graduated to export value per ton of cinnamon bark
Sierra Leone	Diamonds, coffee, and cocoa on f.o.b. value; others on c.i.f. value	Ginger Palm kernels, cake, and oil	5 per cent 10 per cent	Cocoa Coffee	10–35 per cent 10–35 per cent	Diamonds Titanium-bearing minerals	2.5 per cent 2.5 per cent			20 per cent of f.o.b. value plus 1 per cent for every Le 20 over Le 400 per ton for coffee and cocoa
Somalia	F.o.b. export value	Animal fat Butter Livestock	17.3 per cent 17.3 per cent 22.4 per cent					Gum arabic Hides and skins Ivory, horns Gray amber Leopard furskins	12.2 per cent 12.2 per cent 27.5 per cent 32.6 per cent 58.1 per cent	Tax rates include stamp duty of 2.2–3.1 per cent

Table 15 (concluded). Selected Countries of Sub-Saharan Africa: Export Duties (Base and Rates)

		Food Products		Beverages, Tobacco, and Related Products		Minerals		Other Raw Materials		
Country	Tax Base	Items	Rates	Items	Rates	Items	Rates	Items	Rates	Remarks
Sudan	F.o.b. export value	Groundnuts	8 per cent					Cotton	5, 8, and 10 per cent	Short-staple, medium-staple, and long-staple, respectively Cotton export tax abolished beginning with the 1979/80 cotton season
Swaziland	F.o.b. export value	Livestock Sugar	... 50 per cent of the excess over E 132 per metric ton					Gum	5 per cent	
Tanzania	F.o.b. export price/value	Processed meat Cashewnuts	3 per cent 10 per cent	Coffee Tea	12.5–60 per cent T Sh 0.15 per kg.			Beeswax Sisal Timber Pyrethrum extract Cotton lint Copra	T Sh 492.50 per ton 15–60 per cent 5 per cent T Sh 2.20 per kg. 10–40 per cent 5 per cent	Marginal rates of tax on coffee, sisal, and cotton are graded to prices per unit
Togo	F.o.b. export value			Coffee Cocoa	6 per cent 6 per cent	Phosphates	6 per cent			All exports subject to fiscal duty of 0–30 per cent, customs stamp duty of 4 per cent, turnover tax of 8 per cent, and statistical tax of 2 per cent
Uganda	F.o.b. export value			Coffee	10 per cent of value plus 80 per cent over threshold price	Copper	5–25 per cent	Cotton Hides and skins	5–22 cents per kg. U Sh 16.60–109.10 per 100 kg.	Threshold price of U Sh 17,000 per ton Graded to unit export price
Upper Volta	F.o.b. export value									All exports, except cotton, groundnuts, sesame, and shea nuts, subject to export duties of 6–26 per cent, statistical tax of 3 per cent, and research tax of 0.5–1.5 per cent
Zaire	F.o.b. export value	Palm oil	2 per cent + 3–15 per cent			Diamonds Copper, Cobalt Zinc Uranium	25 per cent + 7 per cent 40 per cent + 10–40 per cent + 7 per cent 7 per cent 7 per cent	Rubber Other exports	5 per cent 6.75 per cent	5, 20, 25, and 40 per cent of basic export tax Additional progressive surtax of 3–15 per cent on palm oil and of 10–40 per cent on copper and cobalt based on price above threshold level 7 per cent turnover tax on diamonds, copper, cobalt, zinc, and uranium and 6.5 per cent on other exports Additional statistical tax of 1 per cent on export value minus export tax

Source: Data provided by country authorities.

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PART III

THE EAST AFRICAN SPACE ECONOMY

This report reviews those aspects of the space economy of Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda that seem most relevant to an understanding of patterns of internal and external trade. It first considers briefly some aspects of East Africa as a whole and then examines the main components of the spatial structure of each of the national economies.

EAST AFRICA IN GENERAL

The space economy of East Africa incorporates many elements that long predate colonial rule, as well as those brought in by the British and the Germans. The former include the main features of the present distribution of population and of the present pattern of staple food crop production; the latter include the division of the lands and peoples of this part of Africa into the territories that have become Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda.

One hundred years ago there was already a concentration of population, with a very reliable food supply, in the fertile and well-watered area north of Lake Victoria which formed the Kingdom of Buganda. Farther north, poorer soils and much more seasonal rainfall supported a much sparser population in an area extending from the present northern Uganda far into the present southern Sudan. The densely populated zone extended eastwards around Lake Victoria into what is now western Kenya, and on into parts of the Kenya highlands. The lands farther to the east and north are much more arid and, like southeastern Ethiopia and much of Somalia, have always had only a sparse population of pastoralists.

To the south, rainfall is higher, and only a small part of present-day Tanzania is devoted mainly to pastoralism. Indeed, over large areas the tsetse fly prevents cattle rearing. Many of these areas are sparsely settled, but the land south of Lake Victoria is almost as densely populated as that to the north of the lake, and there are other well settled areas in the higher lands 1000 km to the south. Again, 100 years ago, there were no sharp divisions between the local societies and economies in what is now southern Tanzania and those in present-day northern Zambia, Malawi, and Mozambique.

German rule created a totally new political and economic entity. This included some densely populated highlands in the far northwest, but these were transferred to Belgian administration in 1919 and ultimately became the independent states of Burundi and Rwanda. The remainder became the British Trust Territory of Tanganyika, which gained independence in 1961, and became Tanzania after union with the small offshore islands of Zanzibar and Pemba in 1964. Colonial rule brought new means of transport, initially in the form of railways leading inland from Dar es Salaam and Tanga but later supplemented by roads and a system of inland towns in addition to these two ports. It brought plantation agriculture, with sisal as the most widely grown plantation crop, and the cultivation of export crops such as cotton on indigenous small farms. The pre-existing patterns of trade were very largely replaced by new patterns based on these new elements and conforming to the new spatial framework.

The British brought similar changes in what they designated the Uganda Protectorate, although plantation agriculture has never played more than a minor role there. Meanwhile, they brought more dramatic changes to the area designated as Kenya. The railway built from Mombasa to Kisumu has become the most important traffic artery of East Africa; and Nairobi, which originated as a half-way camp on this railway has become the most flourishing urban center in eastern Africa. In contrast to both Tanzania and Uganda, cash cropping on indigenous small farms was inhibited rather than encouraged; but both plantations and large mixed farms were established on extensive tracts of very fertile lands in the highlands.

Colonial rule not only created three new political entities, which provided the framework for new forms of commercialized economic activity, but also brought these together to produce what is still commonly regarded as "East Africa." This was partly a matter of the many links established between Uganda and Kenya from the 1980s, including what was originally known as the Uganda Railway, and then between both of these and Tanganyika after 1919. These included a customs union and a wide range of common services which survived into the early years of independence in the form of the East African Community. It was also partly a matter of the changing spatial patterns of economic activity. This was intensified in the parts of Uganda closest to Kenya and Tanzania, and in the parts of Kenya closest to Uganda and Tanzania. Similarly, within Tanzania more changes took place in most parts of the north than in most parts of the south. Equally important perhaps was the orientation of areas beyond the boundaries of East Africa away from those boundaries. Thus, the economic orientation of southern Sudan was increasingly northwards, that of eastern Zaire (then Congo) was westwards, and that of northern Zambia, Malawi, and Mozambique was towards the south.

In general, these orientations persist today. Despite years of civil war, the trade of southern Sudan is still controlled from Khartoum rather than Kampala. An improved road now links Kenya and Ethiopia, but Ethiopia looks outwards towards the Red Sea while Kenya looks to the Indian Ocean. Tanzania and Mozambique have political ties, but when the economic center of gravity in Mozambique lies so far to the south economic interaction is bound to remain limited. The most substantial change since independence has been the construction of an oil pipeline, a new highway, and a railway from Zambia across 900 km of Tanzania to Dar es Salaam. In contrast to the road from Addis Ababa to Nairobi, this triple routeway carries heavy traffic, now forming Zambia's principal outlet to the sea. Even so, apart from refined oil products it has not generated a great deal of trade between Tanzania and Zambia.

Within East Africa the past twenty years have brought reduced integration and interaction among the three countries. The East African Community was weakened by arguments regarding the distribution of gains from its existence, and by ideological differences between Kenya and Tanzania, and finally collapsed in 1976 as Uganda plunged into economic chaos under Amin. The long border between Kenya and Tanzania was then officially closed to trade for several years. The trade which did continue was illegal and unrecorded. The Kenya-Uganda border was not officially closed, but smuggling accounted for an increasing proportion of the movement of goods across it. Even while the East African Community still existed, economic nationalism in Tanzania had led to some changes in patterns of interaction. Merchants in Bukoba once obtained most of their supplies from Kampala in Uganda, while those in Musoma, Arusha, and Moshi relied heavily on Kisumu, Nairobi, and Mombasa; all were required to turn increasingly to Dar es Salaam, with Mwanza as an intermediary in the case of Bukoba and Musoma.

There is still some justification for considering Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda as an entity to which the term "East Africa" can be applied; but for most purposes the three countries have to be considered individually.

ECONOMIC SECTORS

In terms of sectors of the economy, agriculture is clearly the dominant element over East Africa as a whole, including crops grown mainly for subsistence such as millet and sorghum, crops grown both for subsistence and for sale within the region such as maize, and crops grown mainly for export overseas such as coffee and cotton. Many cultivators also keep livestock, and most of the region's cattle are reared by such cultivators; but about 5 percent of the total population, occupying a much larger proportion of the land, are primarily pastoralists and are in some cases nomadic.

Next in importance perhaps, in terms of livelihoods, are tertiary activities (which more often involve wage employment), including trade, transport, social services, and administration. These tend to be concentrated in the cities and towns, but there are some shopkeepers or schoolteachers in most rural communities. Manufacturing is also represented in most urban centers, although it employs far fewer people, and micro-scale manufacturing is a vital ingredient in many rural areas. Mining is of negligible importance in the East African space economy, in total contrast, say, to Zambia. A much more significant "extractive" activity is fishing. This does not dominate any entire region, but it is widespread not only along the coast but also around all the lakes, and there are extensive trade networks in dried and smoked fish throughout the region. There is some commercial timber extraction, but far more important and more widespread is the gathering of fuelwood, partly for subsistence but increasingly also for sale, especially since the sharp increase in the price of import-based kerosine.

Also relevant for understanding of the space economy is analysis in terms of what are sometimes termed "formal" and "informal" sectors. These terms are most often used in an urban context, where a dichotomy is drawn between the activities of the state and of large-scale private enterprise on one side and small-scale enterprise, including much self-employment, on the other side. The first is essentially of alien origin in an East African context; the second is wholly indigenous in origin, is largely unrecorded, and includes much that is illegal.

The distinction was actually much sharper twenty years ago than it is today. In Nairobi, for instance, there has recently been a substantial growth of what must be regarded as an intermediate sector, notably in activities such as public transport where entrepreneurs may operate three or four *matatus*, perhaps licensed and usually overloaded. In Kampala, the semi-collapse of much of the "formal" economy has brought "informal" modes of operation into much large-scale activity. If *magendo* became the dominant element in the urban economy in Uganda, it was certainly not an element that could be sharply defined.

In a sense, of course, the "informal" sector is far more extensive in therural areas, where most adults are self-employed and most production is unrecorded. The majority are generally labelled "farmers," though in reality most men and women are also part-time house-builders, water-suppliers, nurses, lawyers, and many other things besides. Economic analyses of transport often consider only ports, railways, and motor vehicles, but bicycle loads of dried fish or fuelwood are also an essential part of the East African space economy, as is a vast amount of headloading over short distances.

In rural, as in urban areas, the distinction between formal and informal or large-scale and small-scale enterprise is tending to become less sharp. In the Kenya highlands at independence nearly all farms were either larger than 100 hectares (and non-African) or smaller than 10 hectares. Now there are many farms of intermediate size, and many cooperative ventures that involve both large and small-scale elements. In Tanzania, the villagization program has brought a measure of "formality" and even state control into the rural economy, even though most households have made clear their determination to remain independent decision makers as far as farming is concerned.

The formal/informal dichotomy is particularly problematic with regard to trade. The export of a commodity such as tea or the import and distribution of petroleum and petroleum products are clearly formal sector activities, while street hawkers and rural periodic markets are clearly features of the informal sector. Most retail trading, however, lies somewhere between the two, much taking place in family businesses which have just two or three paid employees. Specialized forms of trade such as that in cattle may take place at a variety of scales, some just loosely under government supervision. With respect to crop marketing there is generally a sharp divide between the activities of state marketing boards and those of the private sector, but the latter often includes a wide range from large corporate firms which keep detailed records of individual men and women in an open-air market.

A full examination of the East African space economy would involve consideration of a very wide range of activities that are undertaken at a variety of scales. In some cases, data are readily available and could easily be mapped. In other cases they must exist, but are certainly not readily available, one example being transactions and flows within banking systems. In yet other cases, such as movements of fish or fuel, the vast majority of transactions are unrecorded, and extensive field surveys would be required to establish present patterns.

A SYNTHESIS

An interpretation of the space economy of East Africa clearly requires the use of a series of maps which portray the important features of the relationships between the land, culture, and economic activity. While there are many relationships that can be reported, five maps can effectively synthesize the most important characteristics of the region.

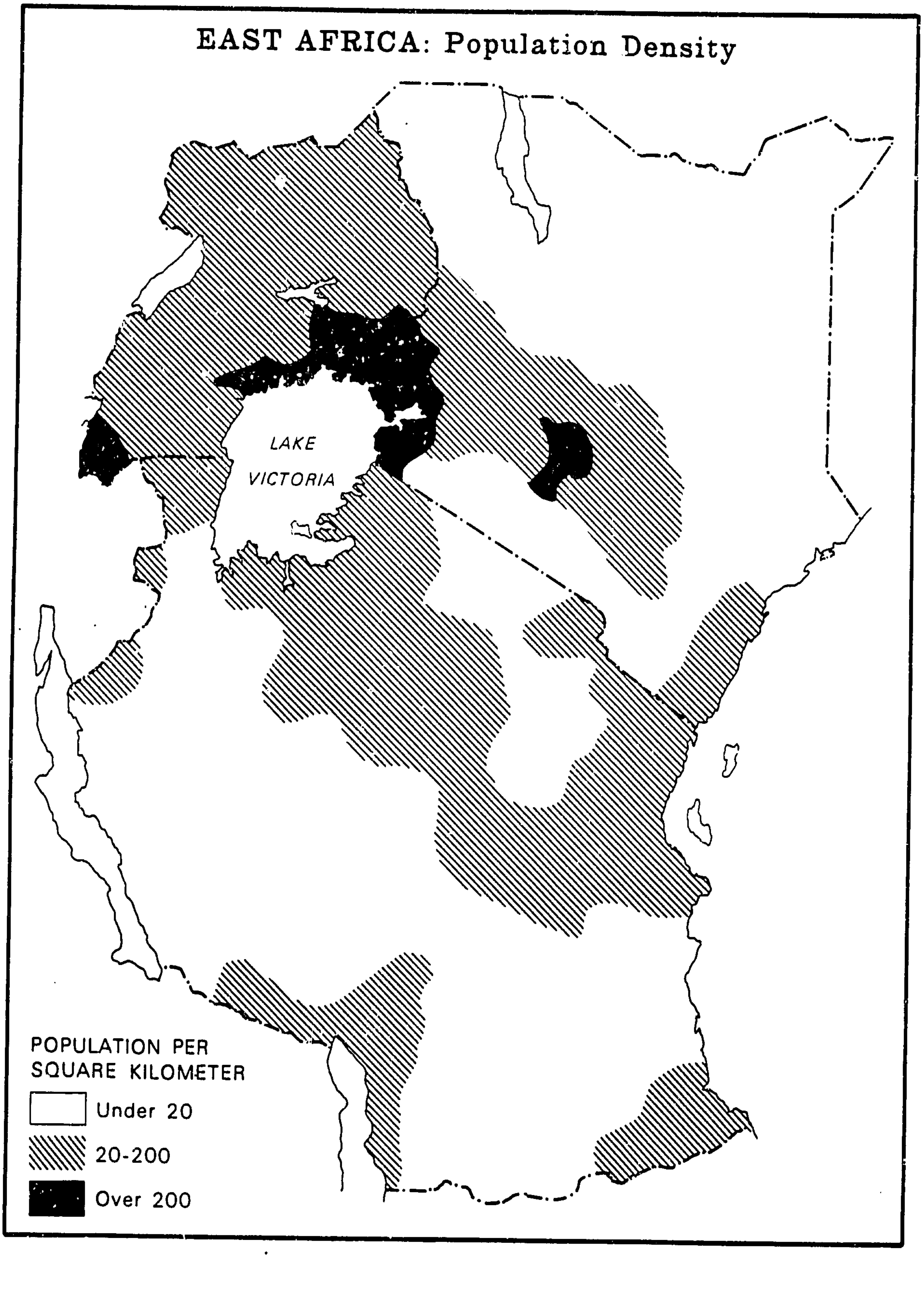
One of the principle economic features of East Africa is the predominance of subsistence agriculture, which characterizes the livelihood of the vast majority of the population of the region. The population density map can be considered as a good proxy for subsistence agriculture, and that map reveals a continuous zone of moderate and high density spreading from the northwest

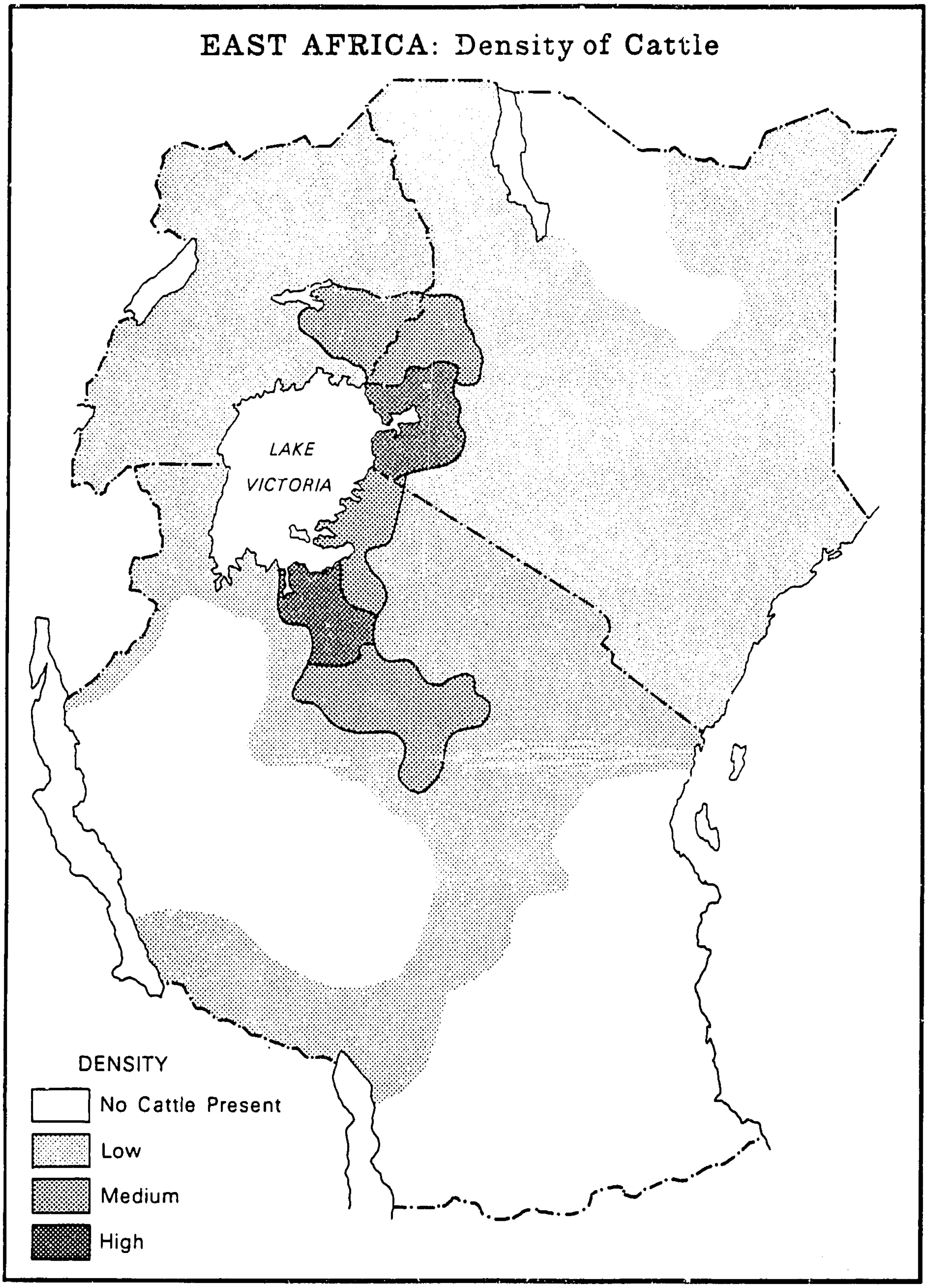
(Uganda) into one strip running through Kenya to the coast and another strip through northern Tanzania to the coast. Much of the remainder of the region is devoid of population. The density of cattle conform to this population density qua subsistence agriculture pattern, as practically all small farmers own some cattle.

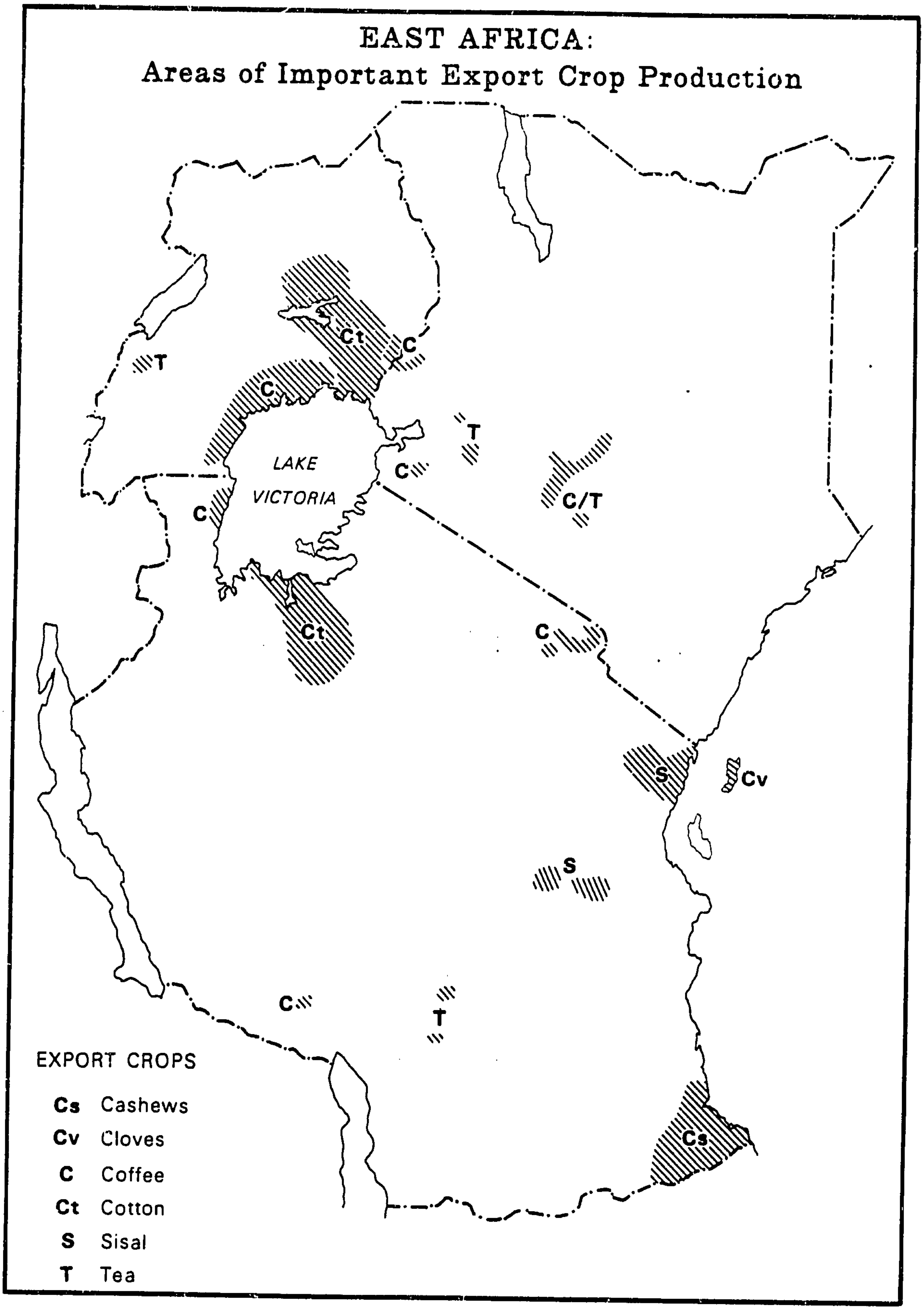
Another portrayal of the space economy of the region considers the commercial aspects of economic systems in which some marketing of agricultural products contributes to the livelihood of households or household income is acquired as wage earning. In some parts of the region, export crops from large commercial farms are dominant features (see the Export Crop Production Map).

Thus, a general synthesis of this commercial level of economic activity can be revealed when wage employment is considered as a measure of economic intensity (see the maps -- Intensity of Economic Activity and Household Income). At the first level, the highest economic intensity is found in the four principal metropolitan areas -- Nairobi, Mombasa, Dar es Salaam, and Kampala. The second highest intensity areas of economic activity (reflecting above average wage employment and crop sales -- from both large and subsistence farms) is found around the four largest cities and in a few scattered regions where export crops are predominant. The third highest intensity areas are wider extensions of the previous pattern wherein only a very small contribution from wage employment exists in the small towns and there is some crop sales from small farms. Finally, the areas with the fourth level of intensity cover the extensive zone of subsistence farms, having negligible wage incomes and only minimal crop and livestock sales.

In summary, the space economy of East Africa is centered upon a core region of high economic intensity around Nairobi, with an extension westward through the Kenya Highlands to the basin of Lake Victoria and including southern Uganda and northwestern Tanzania. There also exists another, secondary core region along the coast from Mombasa to Dar es Salaam and including the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba. The remainder of the space economy of East Africa comprises large areas of low economic intensity wherein subsistence agriculture is predominant with moderate population densities or areas of low population density with an economy dependent upon pastoral subsistence.


EAST AFRICA: Population Density
LAKE
VICTORIA
POPULATION PER
SQUARE KILOMETER
Under 20
20-200
Over 200


EAST AFRICA: Density of Cattle
LAKE
VICTORIA
DENSITY
No Cattle Present
Low
Medium
High


EAST AFRICA:
Areas of Important Export Crop Production
LAKE
VICTORIA
Ct
C
T
C/T
S
Cv
Cs
EXPORT CROPS
Cs Cashews
Cv Cloves
C Coffee
Ct Cotton
S Sisal
T Tea

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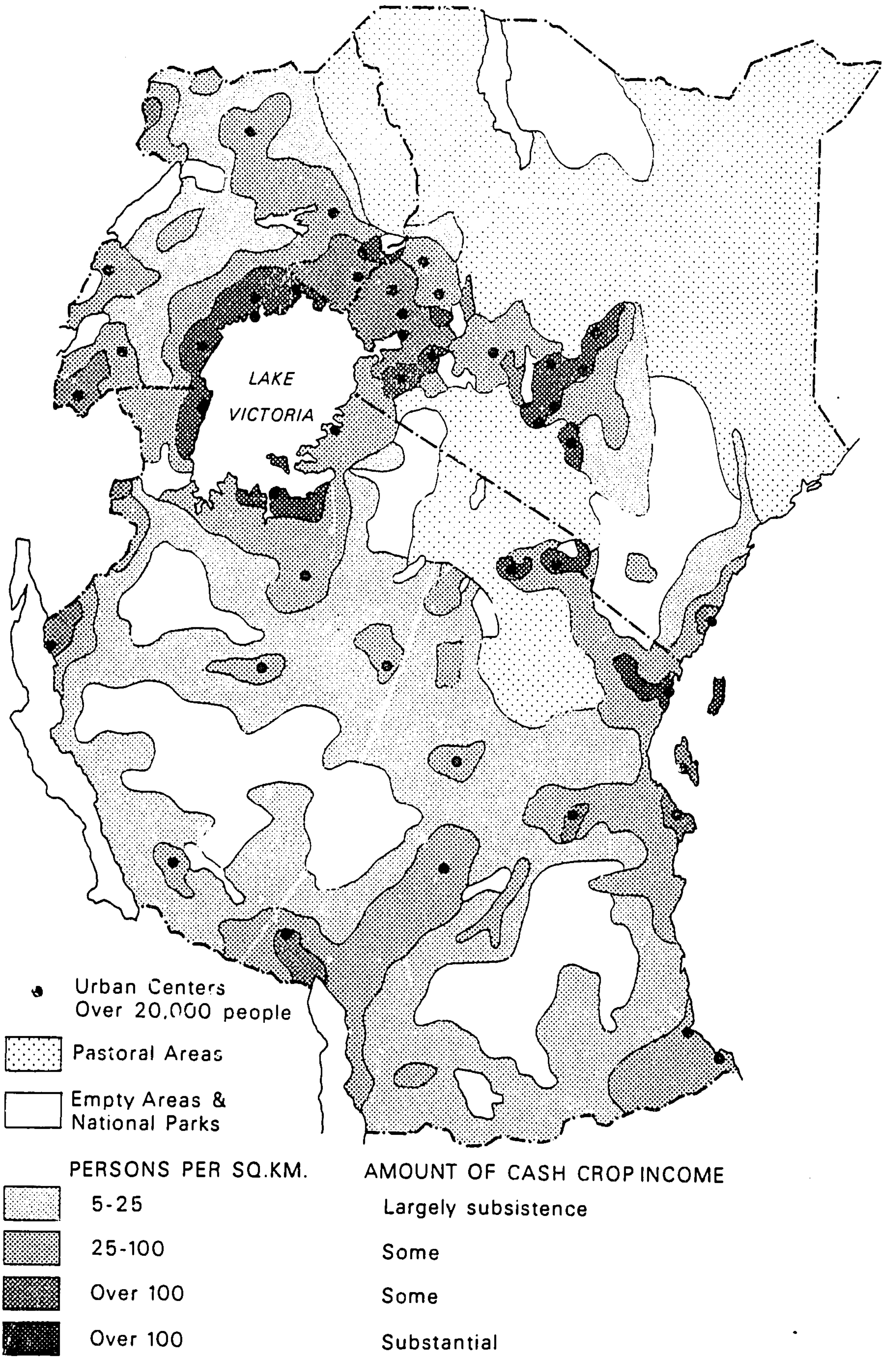
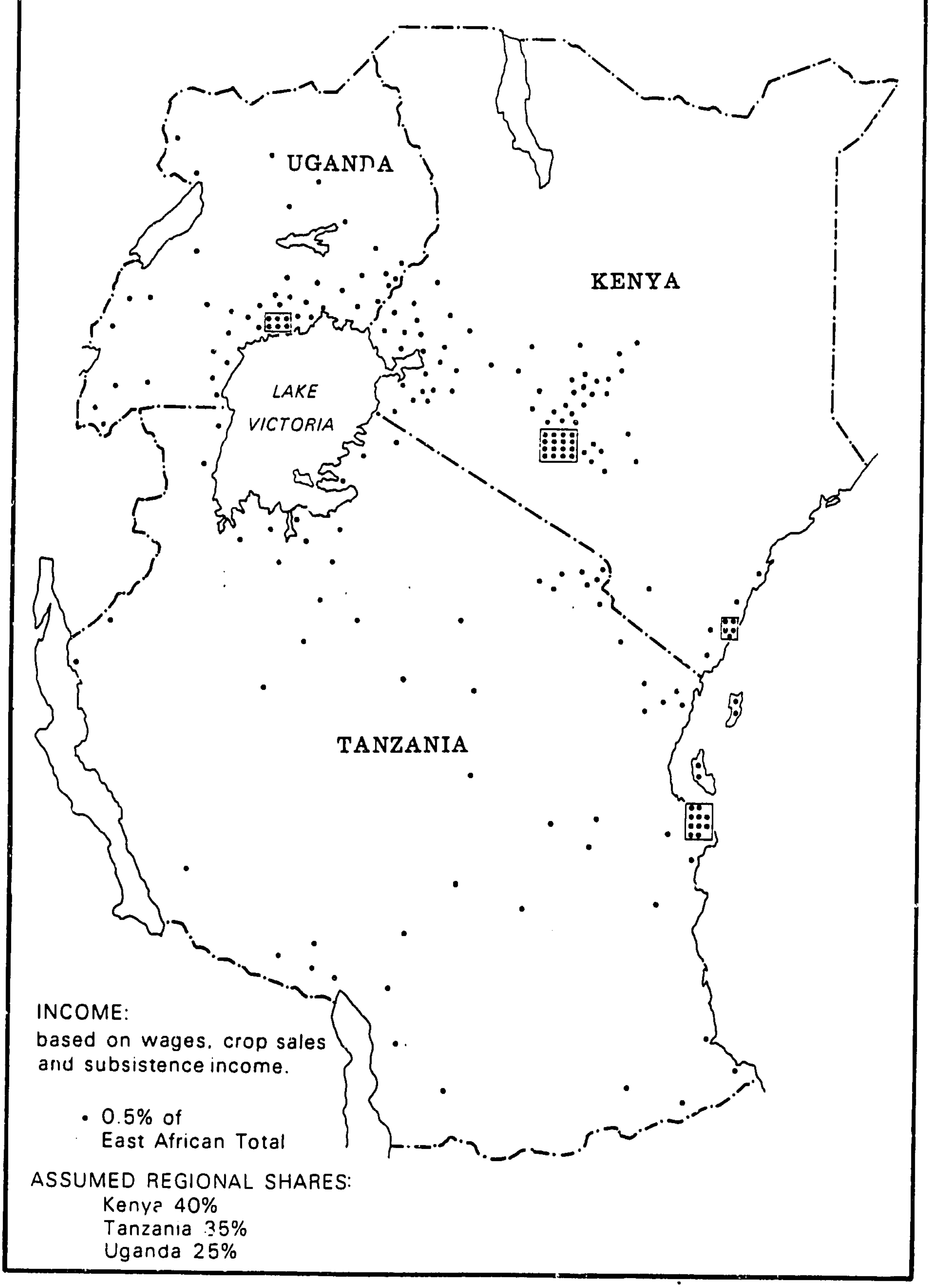
EAST AFRICA: Intensity of Economic Activity



EAST AFRICA: Household Income



KENYA REGIONS

The space economy of Kenya is marked by a far greater regional concentration of both population and economic activity than in either Tanzania or Uganda. Kenya has the most prosperous agricultural areas in East Africa but also has the most extensive areas too arid for any agriculture. There is often extreme diversity over very short distances, making for great difficulty in dividing the country into coherent economic regions, but also reinforcing the necessity for constant reference to spatial differentiation in any discussion of the Kenyan economy.

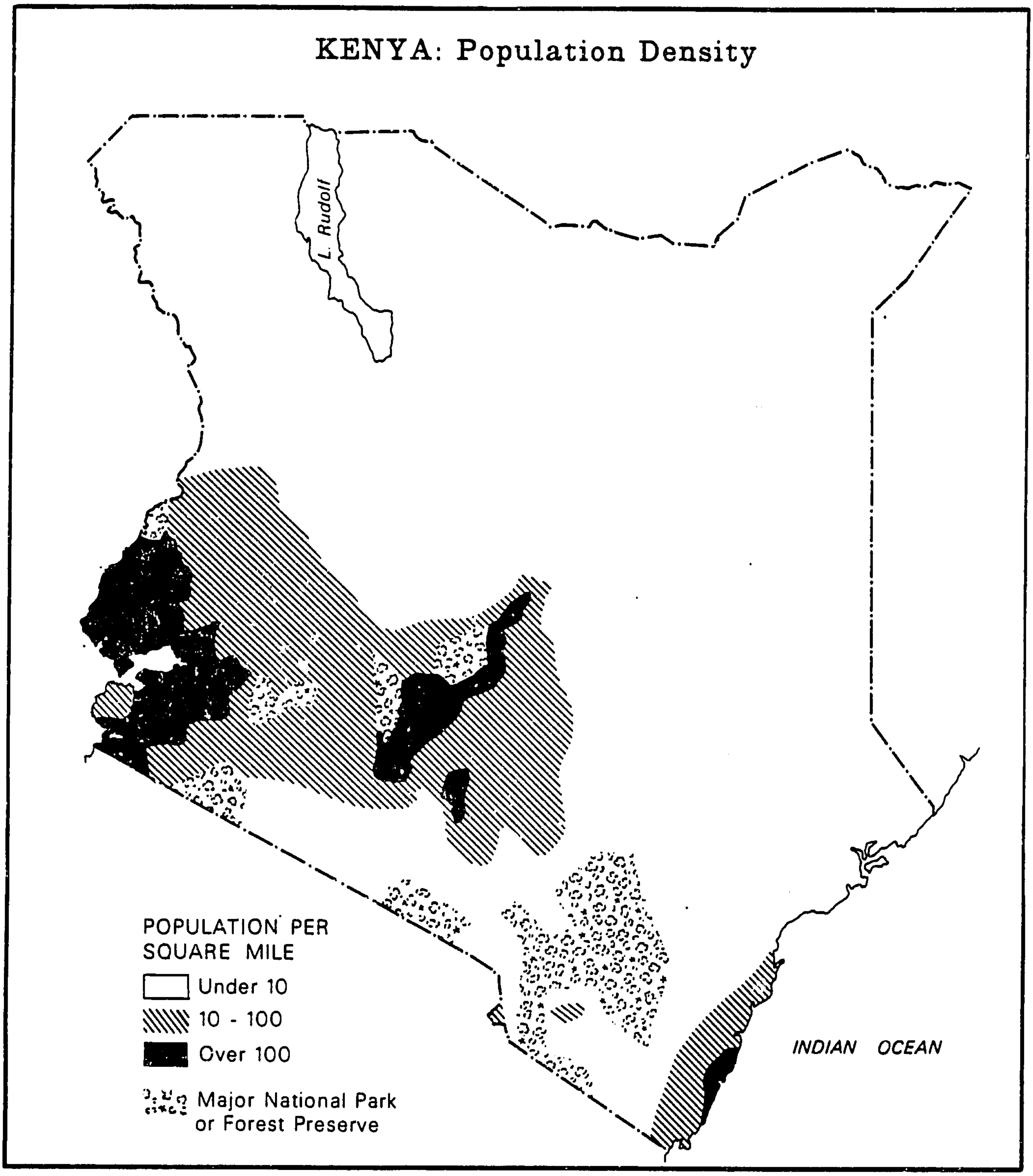
The city of Nairobi and a small zone of intensive agriculture stretching northward constitute a very distinct "economic heartland." Westward, a zone of highly commercialized agriculture extends across and beyond the rift valley, focussing on Nakuru and Eldoret; and beyond this is a zone with a denser population but lower level of commercial activity, focussed on Kisumu and extending to the Uganda border. Detached from these areas is a subsidiary concentration of population along the coast, incorporating Mombasa, the country's second city. In sharp contrast to these areas, the entire northeastern half of Kenya is only very sparsely occupied by nomadic pastoralists, and there is semi-arid pastoral land or land set aside for wildlife along much of the Tanzanian border in the south. The maps showing population density and the urban system contribute to defining the economic regions, and together they delimit in more detail the relationships described earlier.

Nairobi

The population of Nairobi has grown rapidly since independence to reach 1/2 million in 1969 and about 1 1/4 million today, and it has consolidated its position as the national administrative and commercial capital. It also accounts for about half of all manufacturing employment in Kenya, or over 60 percent if the factories in the satellite town of Thika, 40 km to the northeast, are included. While the population is no higher than that of Dar es Salaam, the income generated annually in and around Nairobi is substantially higher - some of it remitted by migrants to their home areas elsewhere in Kenya and some sent overseas by the many foreign companies and individuals to be found in the city. Good external communications have encouraged the selection of Nairobi for the headquarters of two global institutions, the U.N. Environment Programme and the U.N. Commission on Human Settlements.

Mombasa and the Coastlands

Mombasa has grown more slowly than Nairobi in recent years, but with a population of about 1/2 million it is far larger than any other East African city apart from the national capitals. Its primary function is to serve as the seaport for the whole of Kenya and Uganda, although it has associated industries such as a massive oil refinery. Another source of income is tourism, with many visitors from Europe flocking to hotels strung along the coast northwards and southwards. Agriculture in the coastal zone provides Mombasa with its food supply, but most of the hinterland is otherwise largely for subsistence. Attempts to establish commercial irrigated agriculture some way inland along the Tana River have not been very successful.


KENYA: Population Density
L. Rudolf
POPULATION PER SQUARE MILE
Under 10
10 - 100
Over 100
Major National Park or Forest Preserve
INDIAN OCEAN

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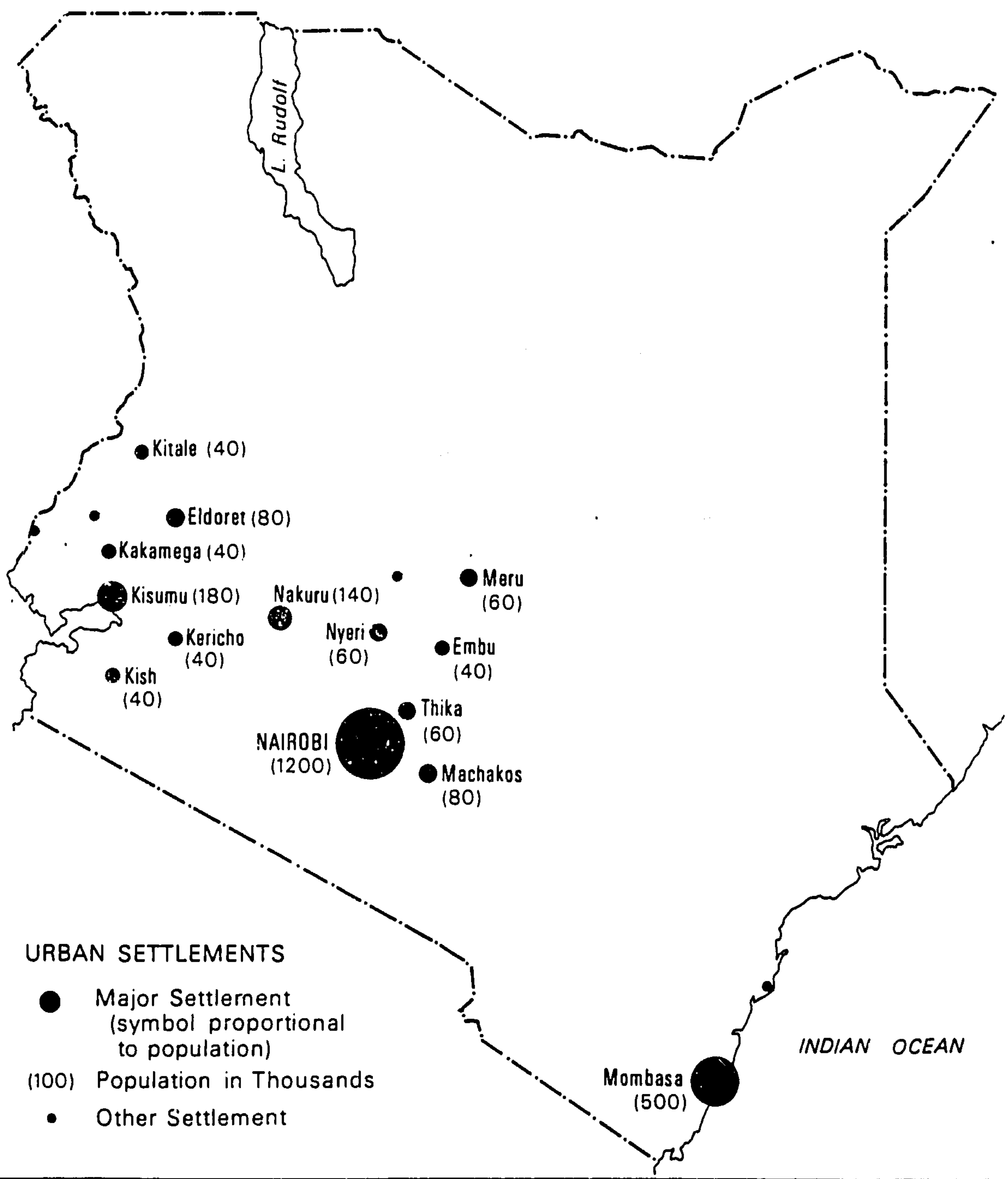
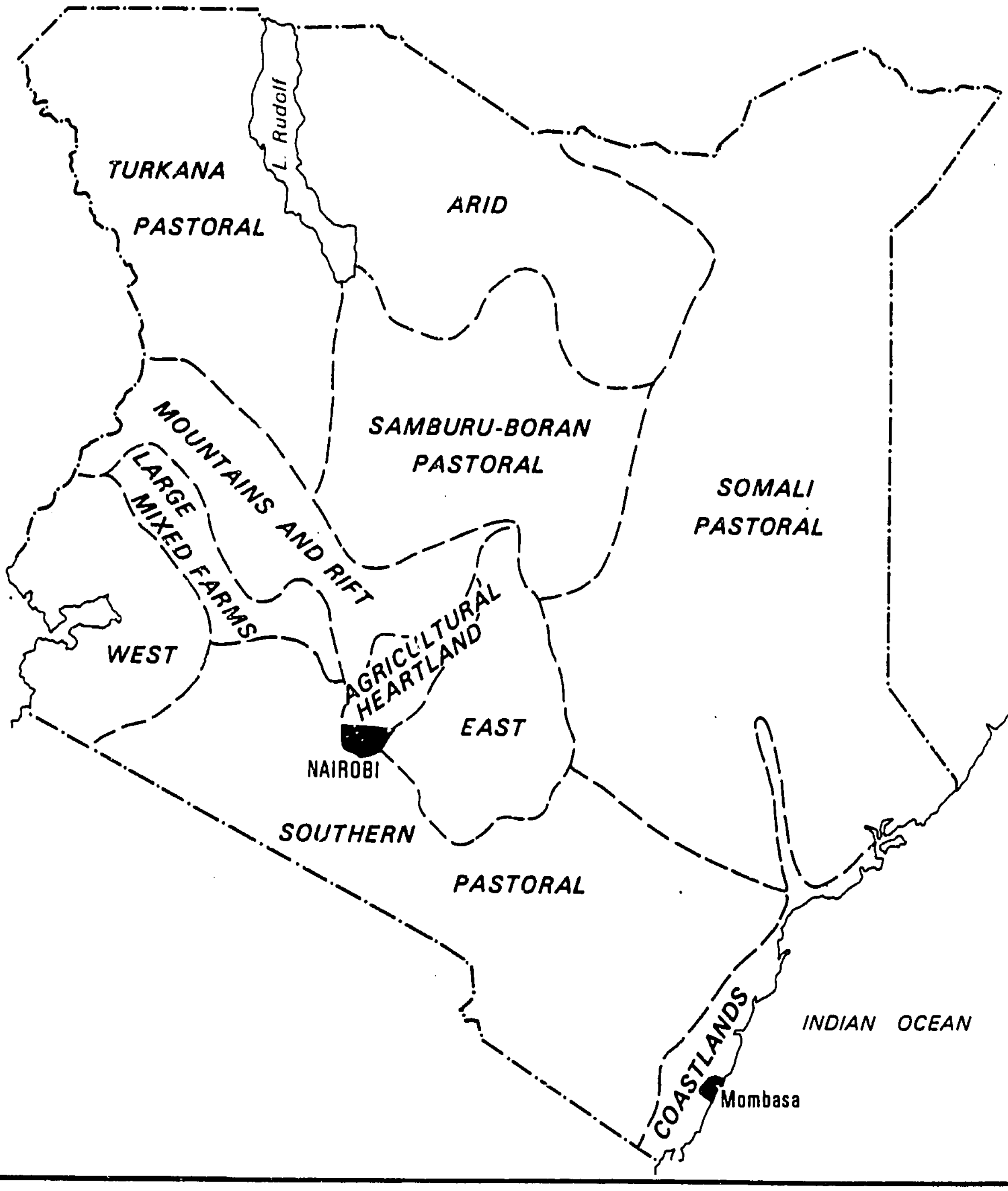
KENYA: The Urban System



KENYA: Economic Regions



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The Agricultural Heartland

The area extending northwards from Nairobi to Nyeri is densely settled by Kikuyu people, and a similar dense settlement extends around Mount Kenya through Embu and into Meru. The land is well watered and has rich volcanic soils, and in addition to staple foods such as maize and beans most of the small farms produce coffee, tea, or pyrethrum as a cash crop. Close to Nairobi, dairy cattle provide a further source of income. While small farms such as these now account for most of Kenya's coffee production, some is still grown on plantations that were set up on the edge of this zone during the colonial period. Although this heartland represents only about 2 percent of the total area of Kenya, it probably accounts for half the total value of agricultural exports.

The East Region

To the east of Nairobi rainfall is lower and soils are poorer, but agriculture is possible over much of Machakos and Kitui districts, and the Kamba people who occupy these are primarily cultivators. Some coffee is grown, especially in the higher parts of Machakos, and some areas produce a surplus of food crops in most years, but there is also a strong tradition of out-migration with remittances as a means of securing a cash income. The 1979 census is often quoted as indicating a faster growth rate in the 1970s for Machakos town than for any other urban center in Kenya; this in part reflects real growth, encouraged by proximity to Nairobi but in part results from a massively enlarged town boundary.

The West Region

While the last two zones together account for about one-third of Kenya's total population, the West Region accounts for a further one-third, crowded onto just 4 percent of the country's total area. Most of the land is only moderately fertile, and some of the Luo and Luhya groups in this area are now experiencing increasing pressure of population on the land. Many farms are too small to yield any surplus above subsistence needs, and some localities here have higher rates of out-migration than any other parts of Kenya. There are, however, some pockets of more commercialized farming as exemplified by the successful Mumias sugar project which combines a nucleus estate and small-farmer outgrowers. The southeastern edge is the most prosperous part of this zone, incorporating both the coffee growing area of Kisii and the tea plantations of Kericho. (Both might alternatively be regarded as detached parts of the agricultural heartland.) The focal point for the West Region is the town of Kisumu, which first grew as a port at the eastern extremity of Lake Victoria and has now overtaken Nakuru to be come Kenya's third largest urban center.

The Large Mixed Farm Region

Both Nukuru and Eldoret lie in more sparsely populated areas than Kisumu, and they grew up as towns serving the needs of European settlers in what were then known as the "White Highlands." These settlers established a farming system matching as closely as possible that in England, involving mechanized wheat cultivation, fodder crops, and livestock. To some extent this system survives, even though many of the large farms have now been subdivided for a variety of resettlement schemes. Some farms have been bought by elite Kenyans, while others are still worked on a large scale by local cooperatives made up mainly of former employees. In some localities there has been a substantial shift from wheat to maize, and on the settlement schemes much cultivation is for subsistence, but in general the extent of commercial orientation in this zone far exceeds that in most parts of East Africa.

The Mountain and Rift Zone

This term is here being used for the highly diverse areas lying between the productive agricultural lands of the Highlands and the lower, semi-arid pastoral lands to the north. Mount Elgon in the west and Mount Kenya in the east both rise far above the upper limit of settlement, but between them lies the rift valley and much steeply sloping land on either side of it. Few parts of this zone are highly productive, but it includes some areas of relatively intensive cultivation in districts such as Elgeyo Marakwet. It also includes extensive ranches for beef cattle on relatively dry land within the rift valley. In Baringo and West Pokot districts more traditional forms of cattle rearing are essential to the local economy, but despite low yields in a harsh climate cultivation of small patches of maize and millet is equally important. Population densities of about 30 per sq. km. reflect the intermediate character of these districts between agricultural areas with 200 to 400 per sq. km. and pastoral areas with only 5 to 10 per sq. km.

Turkana Region

This region, lying between Lake Turkana and the Uganda border, represents more than 10 percent of the total area of Kenya, but it is occupied by only 1 1/2 percent of the total population. Rainfall is very scanty and highly irregular, and the Turkana people depend almost entirely upon their animals for their food supply. This takes the form of blood rather than meat, together with milk and milk products. Culture and inaccessibility both discourage any involvement in the cash economy of the country.

Samburu-Boran Pastoral Areas

While the Samburu economy is also mainly pastoral, life is rather less nomadic than for the Turkana, and millet plays some part in the diet. This area also has rather better access to the rest of Kenya, and there is some trade in livestock, hides, and skins which allows a few consumer goods to be brought in. To the north, various Boran groups occupy the larger Marsabit District, but here the overall density is little over 1 per sq. km., with true desert conditons prevailing to the east of Lake Turkana.

Somali Pastoral Areas

Garissa, Wajir, and Mandera districts together occupy almost one-quarter of the land of Kenya, but account for little over 2 percent of the population. An entirely arbitrary boundary divides these people from those in the Somali Republic, and a similar nomadic pastoral economy prevails either side of it. Mandera is so remote from the rest of Kenya that one would expect the people there to interact with those across both this border and that with Ethiopia more than with other Kenyans.

The Southern Pastoral Region

Environmental conditions in much of this zone are similar to those in the Somali zone, but parts of it are totally different in respect of accessibility, since they lie astride the Nairobi-Mombasa road and railway or the Nairobi-Arusha road. Some use has been made of this asset by designating extensive areas as National Park or Game Reserve, providing sufficient amenities for tourists to ensure that they contribute thereby to the national economy. Other areas have less wildlife but rather better grazing for cattle, and the Masai of Kajiado and Narok districts are able to keep larger herds than most of the people of the northern pastoral areas.

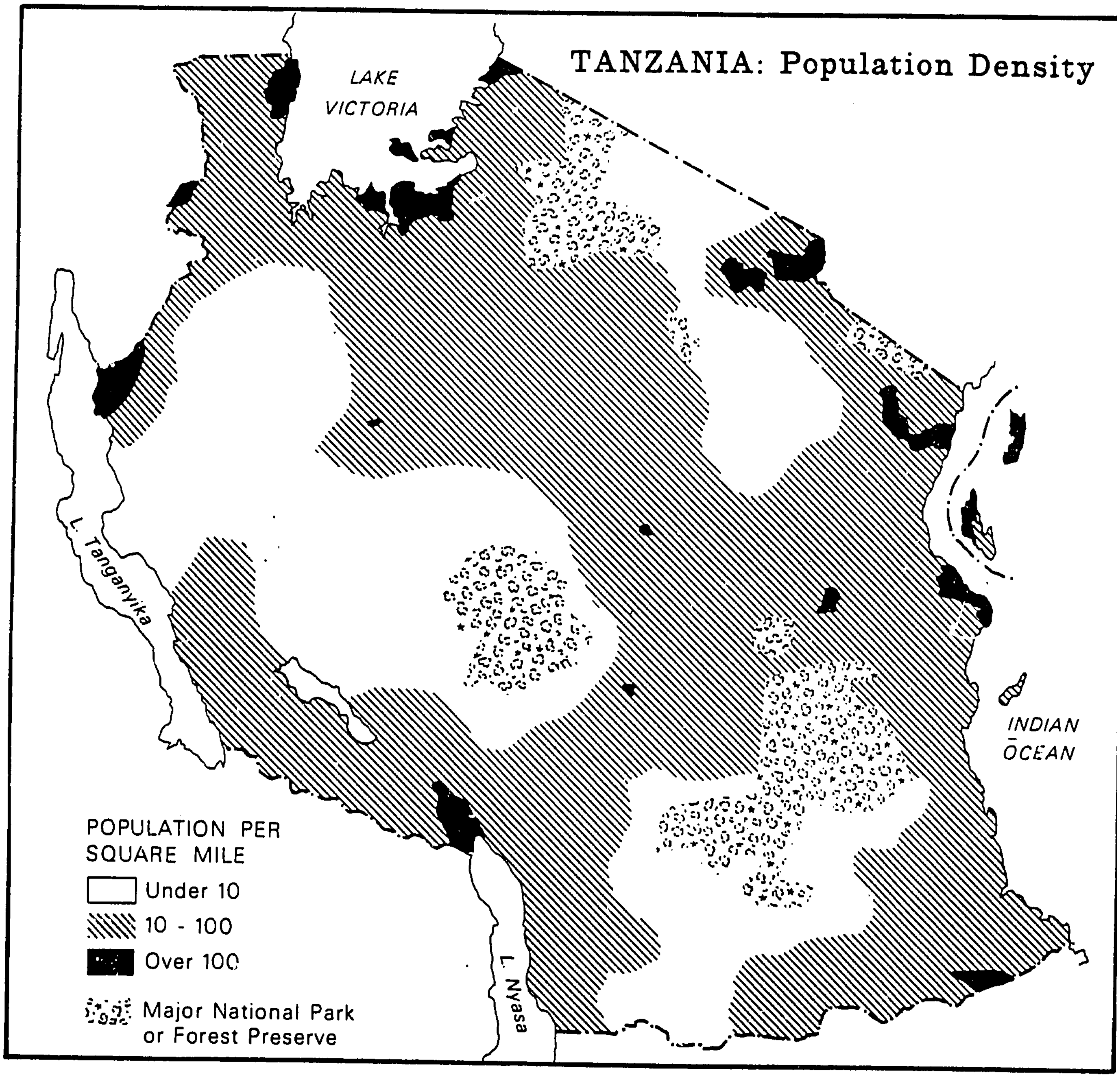
TANZANIA REGIONS

The Tanzanian space economy contrasts sharply with that of Kenya. The population is highly dispersed, and while densities naturally differ from region to region, many of the most densely settled areas are around the margins of the country. Economic activity pursued on a subsistence basis is more dominant than in Kenya, and this is necessarily equally dispersed. The cash economy shows greater spatial concentration, but less than in either Kenya or Uganda. The city of Dar es Salaam is quite clearly the focal point of trade, transport, and finance, and it has a large share of the country's manufacturing, but its immediate hinterland is not one of the most productive farming areas. The most important cash crop, coffee, is grown mainly 500 km to the northwest, near the Uganda and Rwanda borders. In terms of the urban hierarchy, Dar es Salaam is very clearly a primate city, but secondary centers are more evenly spread around the country than in either Kenya or Uganda.

While the country lacks a distinct core region, the capital city of Dar es Salaam is a focal point for the economy of the country. As shown by the population density map, there are several other smaller foci, unusual in that they are all on the periphery of the national boundary. These are: the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba (cloves); the Tanga Region on the northeast coast (sisal); the coffee region around Mt. Kilamanjaro in the north; the lakeshore region (cotton around Mwanza and an extension of the coffee region around Bukoba); the Southern Highlands around Mbeya; the western area around Kigoma (an extension of high population density from Burundi); and the southeastern zone (an extension from Mozambique. Much of central Tanzania rates low in economic intensity but is moderately dense in population, reflecting a predominant subsistence agriculture.

Dar es Salaam

Although Dar es Salaam was the German and British colonial capital, it still had less than 200,000 inhabitants in 1961. Independence brought a great boost, as administrative and commercial functions were shifted from both London and Nairobi, the population reaching 750,000 by 1978 and probably exceeding 1.25 million today. In 1973 a decision was made to move the seat of government inland to Dodoma, but lack of funds has prevented much progress on this. The 1978 "Decentralization" exercise has also not had a great impact on the city's administrative functions. Its port facilities help to ensure that it dominates the export and import trade, and enable it to handle much of the external trade


TANZANIA: Population Density
LAKE VICTORIA
L. Tanganyika
L. Nyasa
INDIAN OCEAN
POPULATION PER SQUARE MILE
Under 10
10 - 100
Over 100
Major National Park or Forest Preserve

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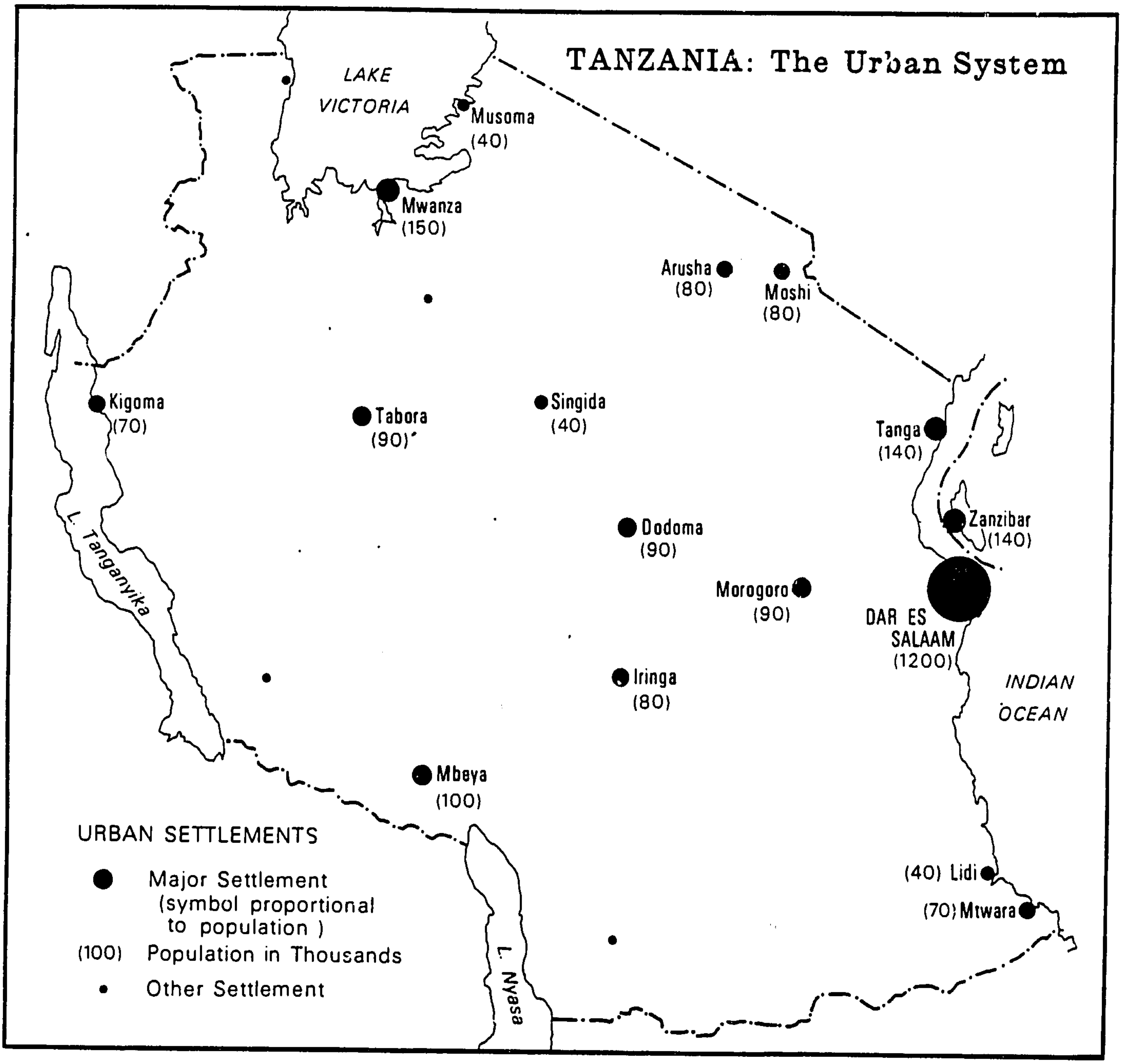
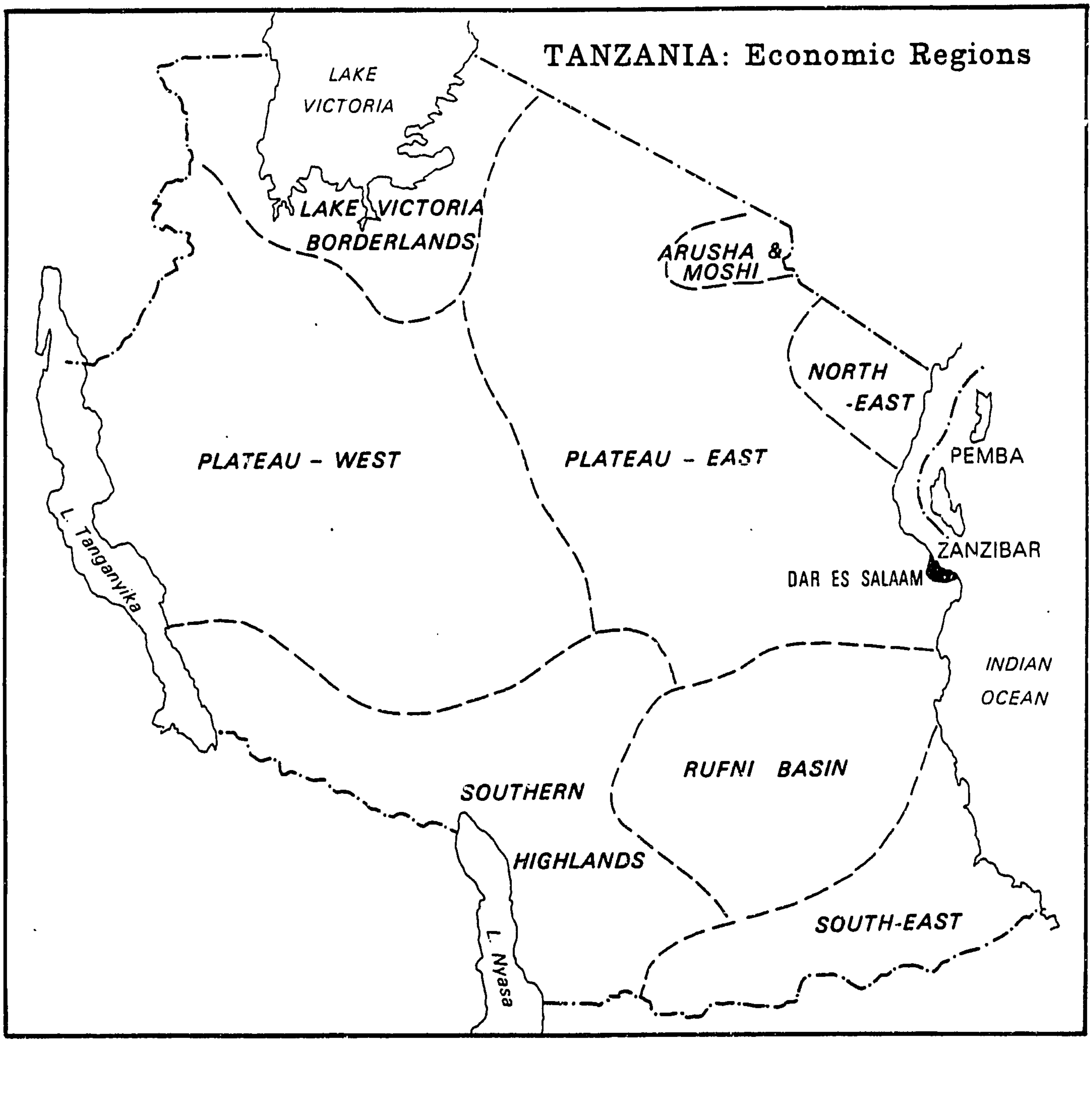

TANZANIA: The Urban System
LAKE VICTORIA
Musoma (40)
Mwanza (150)
Arusha (80)
Moshi (80)
Kigoma (70)
Tabora (90)
Singida (40)
Tanga (140)
Zanzibar (140)
Dodoma (90)
Morogoro (90)
DAR ES SALAAM (1200)
Iringa (80)
INDIAN OCEAN
L. Tanganyika
Mbeya (100)
(40) Lidi
(70) Mtwara
L. Nyasa
URBAN SETTLEMENTS
Major Settlement (symbol proportional to population)
(100) Population in Thousands
Other Settlement


TANZANIA: Economic Regions
LAKE
VICTORIA
LAKE VICTORIA
BORDERLANDS
ARUSHA &
MOSHI
NORTH
-EAST
PEMBA
PLATEAU - WEST
PLATEAU - EAST
L. Tanganyika
ZANZIBAR
DAR ES SALAAM
INDIAN
OCEAN
RUFNI BASIN
SOUTHERN
HIGHLANDS
SOUTH-EAST
L. Nyasa

of Zambia also. As long as it is both the capital and the main port, it is likely to remain the main center of commerce and industry despite efforts to establish alternative "growth poles" elsewhere.

Zanzibar and Pemba

These two islands were administered by the British quite separately from mainland Tanzania (then Tanganyika) and gained independence separately in 1963, but following a revolution some months later the islands and mainland combined to form the United Republic of Tanzania. Political and economic integration has taken place only slowly, and while Zanzibar and Pemba form one of the more prosperous parts of Tanzania, it is hard to say whether they should now be seen as forming part of a coastal "core" or as still functionally peripheral. It would be of interest to investigate how far their external trade is still conducted independently of Dar es Salaam.

Tanga and the Northeast

Tanga is the second port of mainland Tanzania, but it has increasingly been overshadowed by Dar es Salaam. It has also been overtaken by Mwanza as the second largest town, and its commerical area appears almost in decay. One cause of this is the steep decline of the sisal industry which once formed the economic backbone of its immediate hinterland. The local economy is now more diversified, but it is far from prosperous. The extent of cross-border trade with Kenya appears to be small, but there may be much that is unrecorded.

Lindi, Mtwara, and the Southeast

This coastal area has always been a relatively poor part of Tanzania. Mtwara has a fine natural harbor, and it was to be the port for the ill-fated colonial Groundnut Scheme. Now it is under-used, and both Mtwara and the older town of Lindi are in deep depression as production of the main local cash crop, cashew nuts, has fallen. Culturally and economically this area is very similar to adjacent northern Mozambique, but that is not at present a factor encouraging lively trade between the two.

The Moshi-Arusha Area

Moshi and Arusha, each with about 80,000 inhabitants, and located near the Kenya border only 85 km apart, are the most prosperous provincial towns in Tanzania. They both have some industries that were intended to use the location to supply markets throughout East Africa, but each also depends on the commercialized rural economy of its hinterland. Moshi lies at the foot of Mount Kilimanjaro, and on its lower slopes the dense Chagga population use the rich volcanic soil and ample rainfall for intensive cultivation of bananas and maize for food and high quality coffee as the main source of cash. Coffee is also grown around Arusha, while there is some large-scale production of both maize and wheat. Tourism also brings some income to this area, which forms the gateway to Ngorongoro and Serengeti, although a policy dilemma results from the wish of international tour operators to organize visits to this part of Tanzania from a base in Nairobi.

The Lake Victoria Borderlands

The lands east and south of Lake Victoria have soils of moderate fertility and sufficient rain to permit many farmers to grow cotton as a cash crop, despite the 1,000 to 1,200 km rail haul required to carry it to Dar es Salaam for export. The Sukuma people, the largest ethnic group in Tanzania thus have, in general, incomes slightly above the national average. Many also have above average assets in the form of substantial herds of cattle. Mwanza, the main commercial center for this large region, has become the largest of the provincial towns of Tanzania, with over 150,000 inhabitants. On the western shores of the lake, around Bukoba, the Haya people have a rather more prosperous local economy despite their isolation from most of the country, with coffee as their main source of income.

The Central Plateaux - eastern half

Any division of the vast central plateau of Tanzania must be very arbitrary -- here a crude distinction is made between the more densely settled east and the more sparsely settled west, but there is diversity within each of these. Morogoro town, with 100,000 inhabitants, lies within 200 km of Dar es Salaam, and its hinterland includes areas producing food supplies for that city as well as a few surviving sisal estates. Dodoma, 250 km inland, and now similar in size, has a hinterland which receives too little rain to produce any agricultural surplus. The Gogo people of this area combine cultivation and pastoralism, but most manage little more than a meager subsistence. Both the lack of local sources of income and a national centrality were factors in the choice of Dodoma to become Tanzania's new capital as and when the state of the national budget permits the expenditure involved.

The Central Plateaux - western half

Even in the previous region there are large areas with only a very sparse population, but to the west these become even more extensive. Tabora, over 800 km west of Dar es Salaam, and Kigoma-Ujiji on the shore of Lake Tanganyika have both grown from small settlements on the pre-colonial Arab trade route to be the focal points for vast areas which have experienced very little 20th century "development." Between the two there is much ill-drained land, seasonally occupied by swamp, and south of Tabora there are huge tracts of Miombo woodland permanently occupied by tsetse fly. Large areas here have been set aside as Game Reserve, but they are at present too isolated to attract many tourists. Even in those parts of the west where there are settled farming communities, trade is often minimal, economic activity being very largely for subsistence.

The Rufiji River Basin

Another zone with extremely sparse population occupies much of the south-eastern quarter of the country. The coastlands are relatively well settled, but from about 100 km inland most of the Rufiji basin is occupied by forest and woodland with much of it constituting the Selous Game Reserve. There are large tracts here that have much more fertile soils and higher rainfall than most parts of Tanzania, and it must eventually be brought into use as the country's population increases; but disease and seasonal flooding are among the factors discouraging settlement at present. An example of the way in which the region's potential might be used is provided by the Kilombero Valley on its northwestern fringe, where Tanzania's largest sugar plantation has been established.

The Southern Highlands

The core of this region comprises land rising above 5,000 meters extending from Iringa southwestwards to the borders with Zambia and Malawi. The Iringa District includes some relatively productive farming areas which produce a substantial surplus of maize in most years, while farther south around Njombe is found the main tea-growing area in Tanzania. The Mbeya District is one of the most densely settled districts in the country, as is the small area of lower land at the northern end of Lake Malawi, and many farms are too small to produce much surplus. However, since the opening of the Tanzania-Zambia highway and railway, an increased amount of trade has been taking place in this area, and Mbeya grew faster than any other major town in Tanzania during the 1970s, from around 20,000 inhabitants to almost 80,000. It is increasingly serving as a regional center for most of southern Tanzania, including areas of moderate population density but very limited economic development such as those around Songea and around Sumbawanga, both on the fringes of the Southern Highlands.

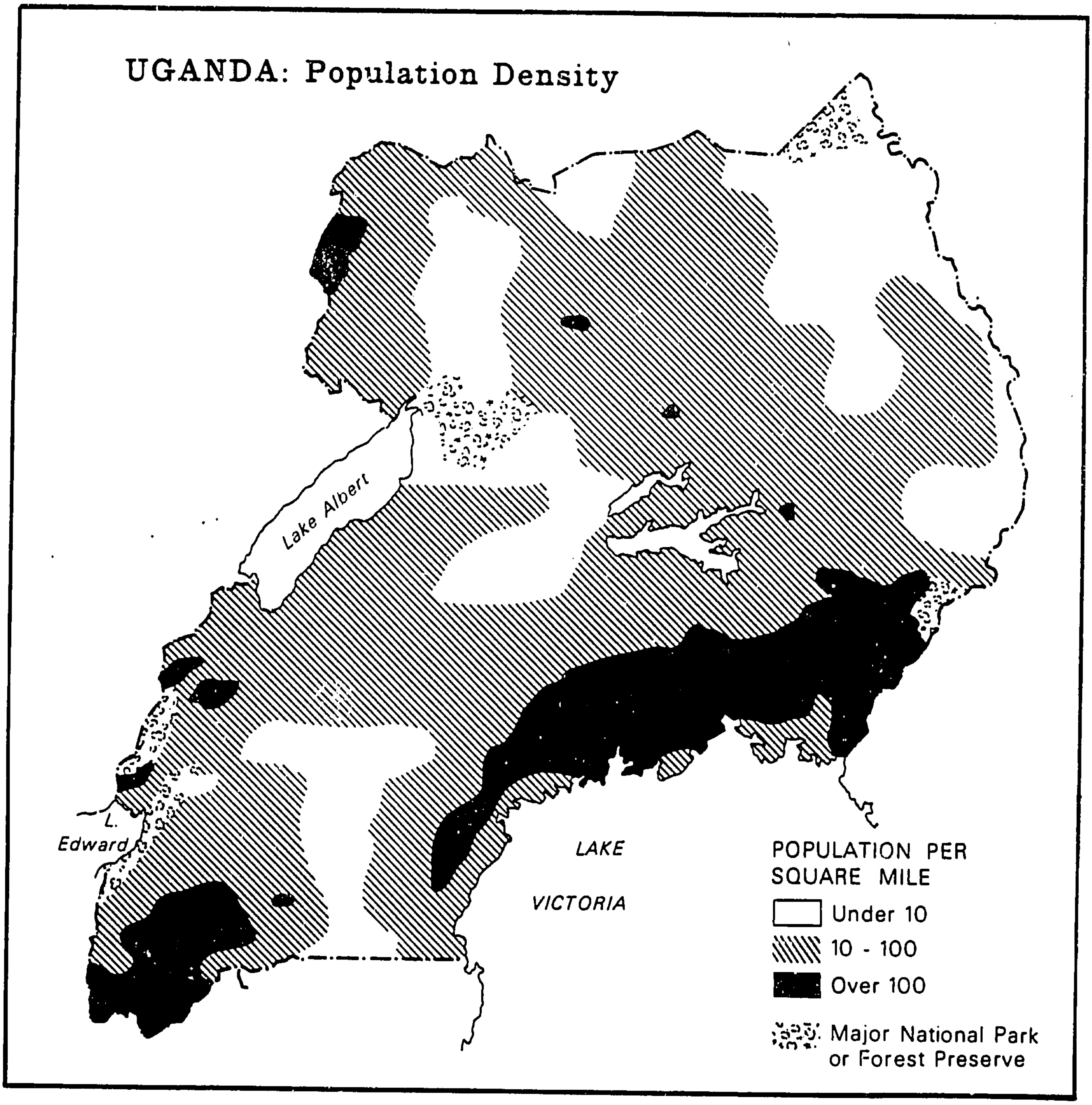
UGANDA REGIONS

The space economy of Uganda can be characterized by a distinct core-periphery, centering upon Kampala and the northern shore of Lake Victoria. In this regard, it is similar to Kenya, however, Uganda is much smaller and practically all of the country is effectively occupied, being devoid of vast empty spaces. The population density map shows these spatial characteristics, and the urban systems map illustrates the dominance of the lakeshore region. The southwestern corner of the country is densely populated but has a very low intensity of economic activity, and the western central and northern parts are of lower density with virtually no significant commercial activity. The northeast is an extension of the pastoral, thinly populated region of Kenya.

Kampala

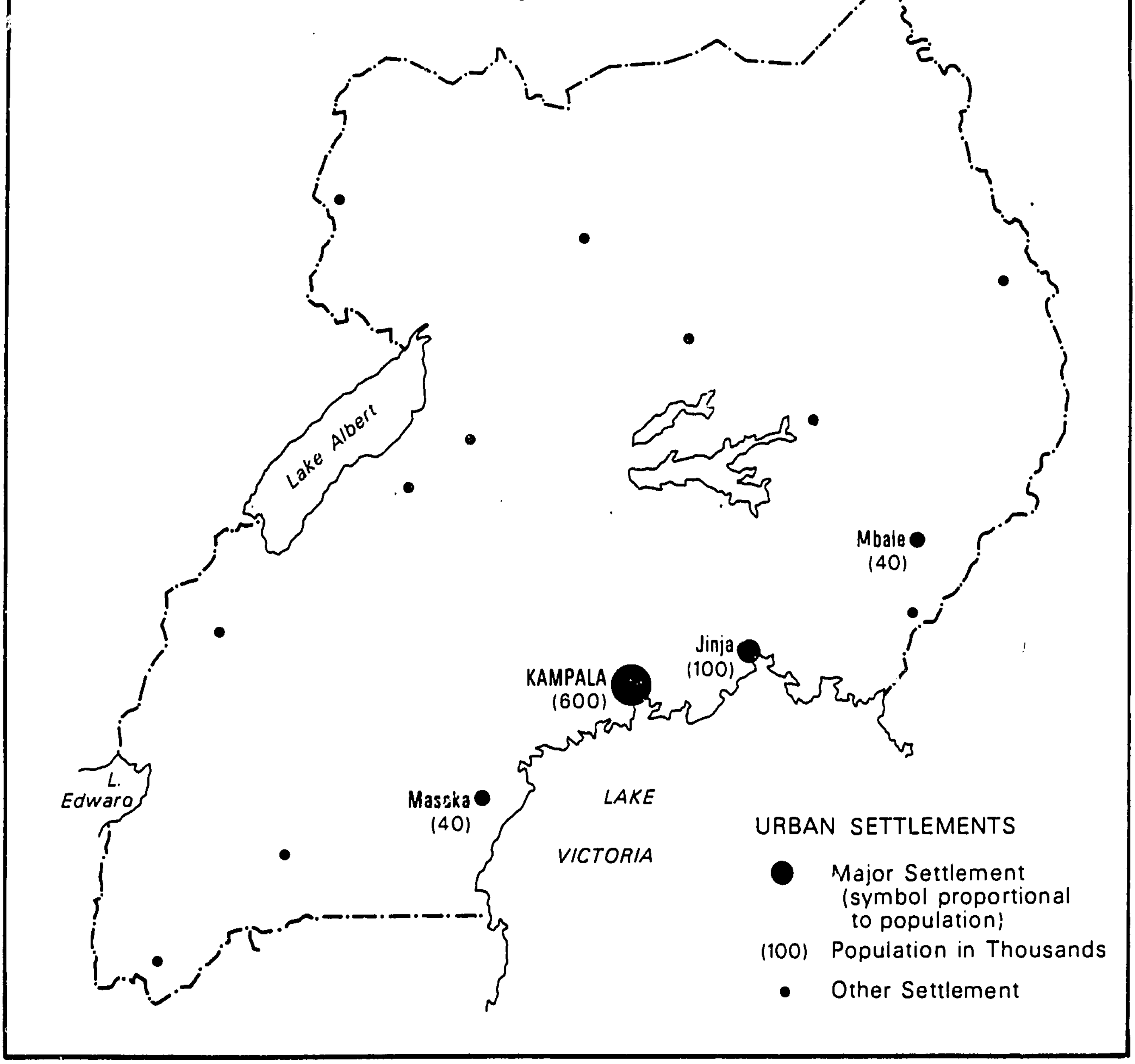
Kampala grew up in the early 20th century adjacent to Mengo, which was already the focal point of the Buganda Kingdom. It quickly became the center of the Uganda space economy developed under the British, even though the administrative headquarters were 30 km away at Entebbe and it was becoming the base for all large-scale trading activity throughout the colonial period. At independence its pre-eminence was reinforced by the transfer of most administrative functions from Entebbe. At the 1969 census it still had a population of only 330,000, or 3.5 percent of the Uganda total, but by then it accounted for 35 percent of all recorded wage employment in the country.

The political traumas of the past 16 years caused Kampala to grow more slowly than Dar es Salaam and Nairobi, but its population is now probably over 600,000 and there is no evidence that its pre-eminence in the space economy has declined. Its economic life has been profoundly affected by the expulsion of the Asian community and the collapse of much large-scale activity, but the growth of the parallel magendo economy has also been most intense in Kampala.

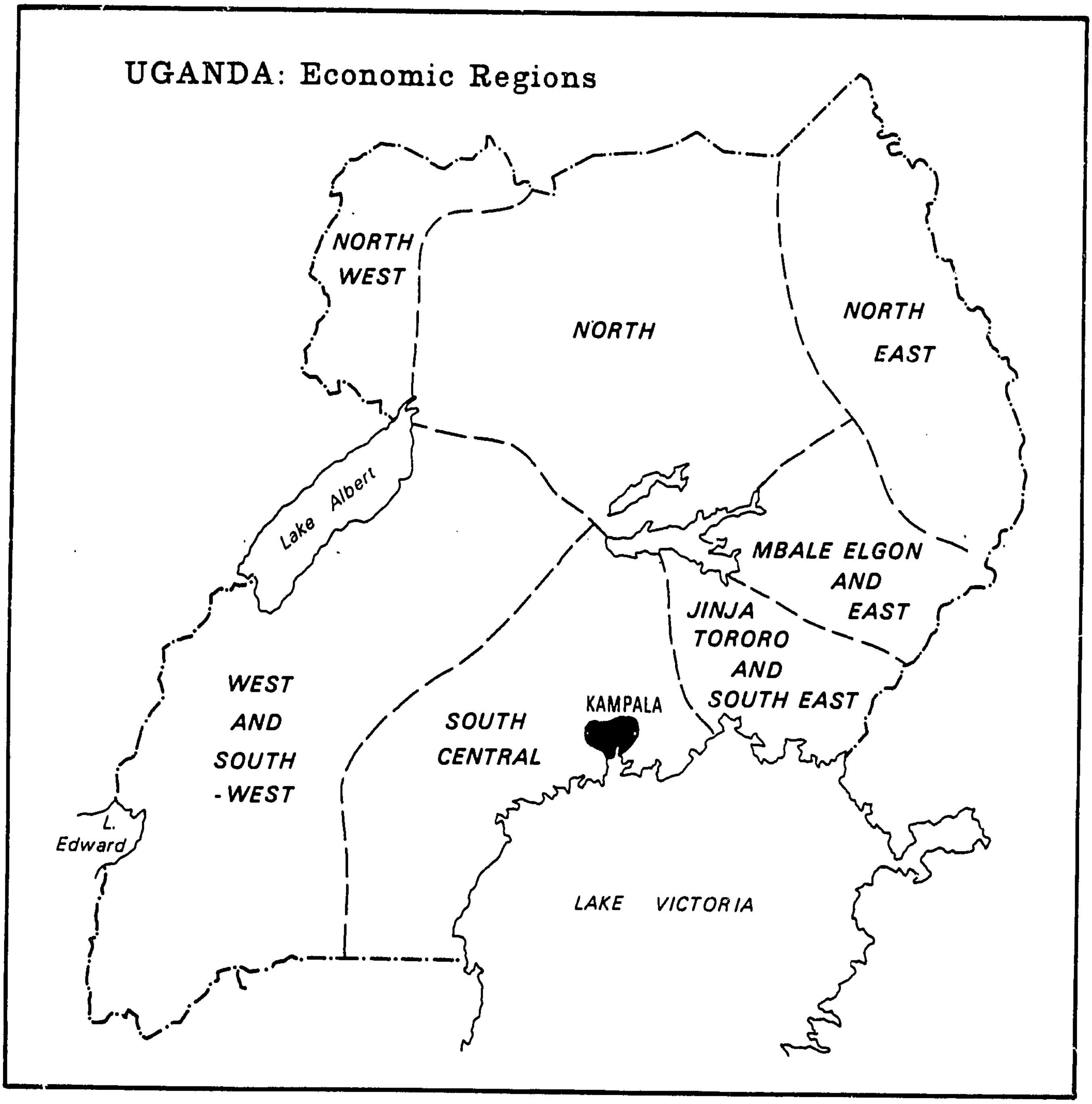

UGANDA: Population Density
Lake Albert
L. Edward
LAKE
VICTORIA
POPULATION PER
SQUARE MILE
Under 10
10 - 100
Over 100
Major National Park
or Forest Preserve

160

UGANDA: The Urban System



UGANDA: Economic Regions



There is no doubt that the city will continue to dominate trade throughout southern and western Uganda, but its role in relation to eastern and northern Uganda has always been more uncertain. The overseas exports and imports of these regions, legal and illegal, sometimes pass through Kampala and sometimes move directly across the Kenya border. The same applies to the substantial imports of goods manufactured within Kenya, when these are destined for consumers in the east and north.

South-Central Uganda

The rural areas surrounding Kampala are the most prosperous in Uganda, with an economy based on small farmer production of bananas as the staple food and coffee as a cash crop. In most districts this economy has survived the political upheavals, but to the north of the city is the infamous "Luwero triangle" where the army wreaked havoc in anti-guerilla campaigns during the second Obote regime. The destruction in the Masaka area during the military operations that removed Amin has had a less profound impact, but this area is distinctive in terms of its close contact with the adjacent, and economically similar, Bukoba area of Tanzania. (Before independence much of the external trade of Bukoba passed through Kampala, but most was deflected to Dar es Salaam in the 1960s.)

Jinja, Tororo, and the Southeast

East of the Nile, rainfall becomes rather too seasonal for coffee, and cotton takes its place as the main cash crop. This brings poorer returns, and production decline in the 1970s was more severe than for coffee; but in some places farm incomes can be augmented by sales of basic food crops. In the extreme southeast there may be some cross-border trade in foodstuffs with Kenya. Jinja, 80 km east of Kampala, is Uganda's second city and the location of the country's largest manufacturing enterprises. Tororo is important mainly as the point where road and rail routes converge just before crossing the Kenya border, and it is perhaps surprising that urban growth here has been so modest in scale. It is perhaps significant that the Southeast Region is occupied by diverse, small ethnic groups that have played no major part in Uganda's troubled politics.

Mbale and Mount Elgon

Mbale is the third largest urban center, and serves as a focus of trade for much of eastern Uganda. Cotton is the main source of farm income throughout the surrounding lowlands, but on the fertile and well-watered slopes of Mount Elgon, east of Mbale, arabica coffee brings a higher income to the densely-settled Gisu people. Control from Kampala is weaker here than in the Ganda heartland, and in recent years much of this coffee has been smuggled into Kenya rather than sold to Uganda's Coffee Marketing Board. A wide range of goods are brought in from Kenya in exchange and have thus been more readily available here than in most parts of Uganda.

Western and Southwestern Uganda

This is an area of great diversity, including the Western Rift Valley, the Ruwenzori Mountains, the sparsely settled territory of the Nyoro, and the densely settled territory of the Kiga near the Rwanda border. Some areas are suitable for coffee, but the crop spread here much later than around Kampala largely due to poor accessibility. Kabarole District includes the main area of tea cultivation in Uganda, while there is a copper mine at Kilembe in the Ruwenzori foothills and one of Uganda's main National Parks just to the south. In the extreme southwest a subsistence economy very largely prevails, and there is a tradition of out-migration with remittances becoming an important source of local income. However, some communities in various parts of the southwest benefit from transit traffic passing to and from Rwanda and eastern Zaire. When political conditions permit, this forms the main route for Rwanda's external trade, while there have been some fortunes made from movements of gold and ivory across the Zaire border.

The Northwest

The former West Nile District has always suffered from its isolation in terms of the Uganda space economy, although it has produced some cotton and tobacco to provide cash for a few essential purchases. In the 1970s and 1980s it has also suffered from even more intense and prolonged turmoil than most parts of Uganda. Idi Amin came from an area very close to the meeting point of Uganda, Zaire, and Sudan, and his supporters retreated to this area after his downfall. During one period of heavy fighting, the main local town of Arua was almost entirely abandoned, and the local economy continued to be very severely disrupted. Cross-border trade may well play a part in this local economy, but it is almost entirely unrecorded.

The North

Large parts of northern Uganda are rather sparsely settled by the Lango and Acholi people, who in earlier generations were mainly pastoralists but who now combine cattle keeping with cultivation of millet and sorghum as staple foods and cotton as a cash crop. Incomes are very low and this whole area clearly forms part of the periphery in terms of the national space economy. While people from these districts, including former President Obote and many Acholi military officers, have played central roles in Ugandan politics, they have had to do this from the south. There are close cultural ties between the Acholi and various groups in southern Sudan, and many refugees from Uganda have crossed this border; but the economy here is so largely subsistence-oriented that the volume of trade across the border is normally very small.

The Northeast

Moroto and Kotido, which together formerly made up Karamoja District, have a much lower rainfall than the rest of Uganda, and they are occupied at a very low density by people who are primarily pastoralists. There have been some efforts to organize marketing of livestock and of hides and skins from this region, but many people elsewhere in Uganda would really prefer to "disown" the Karamojong. Law and order posed great problems in this region even when the rest of Uganda was peaceful, and the problems have been intensified by a proliferation of guns supplementing the traditional spears. Severe famine conditions prevailed for a while in the early 1980s and, at some stages, famine relief could only be provided by international agencies through Kenya.

THE DYNAMICS OF THE EAST AFRICAN SPACE ECONOMY

The preceding discussion was based essentially on static spatial patterns of economic activity, albeit patterns that are constantly changing. A necessary complement to this is a consideration of dynamic systems of spatial interaction. Flows of people, goods, money, and information, both within countries and across their borders, are vital elements of the space economy. On certain flows in East Africa, data are readily available, but regarding many others only informed guesses can be made.

The flows include millions of movements everyday that involve both people and goods, such as the journeys made by rural dwellers to fetch water and fuelwood. Frequent trips are also made on foot to local periodic markets, along with occasional movements to carry harvested crops such as coffee or cotton to the nearest buying point. However, while these and many other local flows of people and goods are worthy of study, and often constitute a burden that should be eased, attention here will be concentrated on longer-distance movements.

Flows of People

Medium- and long-distance migration in East Africa has been the subject of much academic study (e.g., by Sabot, 1979), based both on census data and on special surveys. There are some long-established traditions of labor migration from one rural area to another, such as from southwest Uganda to the coffee zone fringing Lake Victoria or from western Kenya to the large-farm areas. In certain cases these are somewhat in decline, for instance as a result of the contraction of sisal as a plantation crop in Tanzania.

An increased proportion of East African labor migration is now from rural to urban areas. Basically the flows conform to the urban hierarchy, the two main destinations from most rural areas being the local district headquarters and the national capital city. However, there are some deviations that should be noted. In Kenya, many people from Machakos and Kitui, and even some from the far west, seek work in Mombasa rather than in Nairobi where competition from the local Kikuyu is more intense. Within the western part of Kenya both Kisumu and Eldoret are emerging as important places of employment for people from well beyond the local district. Similarly, in Tanzania both Mwanza and Mbeya are increasingly important migration destinations for larger areas than the local district or even administrative region.

Rates of out-migragion differ greatly from one area to another, and in this respect it might be argued that center periphery relations in Kenya concern, say, Nairobi and Kakamega district far more than Nairobi and Turkana or Wajir districts. Much of northern Kenya might thus be regarded as lying beyond the effective periphery. This is in marked contrast to Tanzania, where people are drawn to Dar es Salaam to a much greater extent from every part of the country.

Migration patterns are also useful indicators of how far the space economy of each country constitutes a "closed system." At the time of independence there was much more labor migration among the three countries than there is today. The flow from western Kenya to Jinja and Kampala, for instance, largely ceased in the 1960s; that from northeast Tanzania to Mombasa slowed in the

1970s. During the colonial period there were also movements across other borders, as from Rwanda into Uganda, and from Tanzania to the south; these also have largely ceased. Of course, by no means is all migration for employment. Cross-border movements since independence have included that of refugees from Burundi into Tanzania in the 1960s and from Uganda into Sudan in the 1970s. Internal rural-urban migration increasingly involves whole families, although the towns offer far fewer employment opportunities for women than for men. At the same time, much return migration continues; while census data indicate a net flow of 20,000 to 25,000 people a year into both Nairobi and Dar es Salaam in the 1970s, we might guess that this resulted from gross flows of over 60,000 in and 40,000 out.

Furthermore, flows of people involve not only migration but also the short-term visits that follow from it in societies where kinship ties are highly significant, together with journeys to schools or hospitals and on business. Unfortunately, there is no means of documenting most of these movements, though sample surveys of long-distance bus travel could be of great value here. Data on air travel do exist in unpublished form, and even the much more accessible data on scheduled air services give some hints on interaction patterns despite the small numbers that can afford to use them.

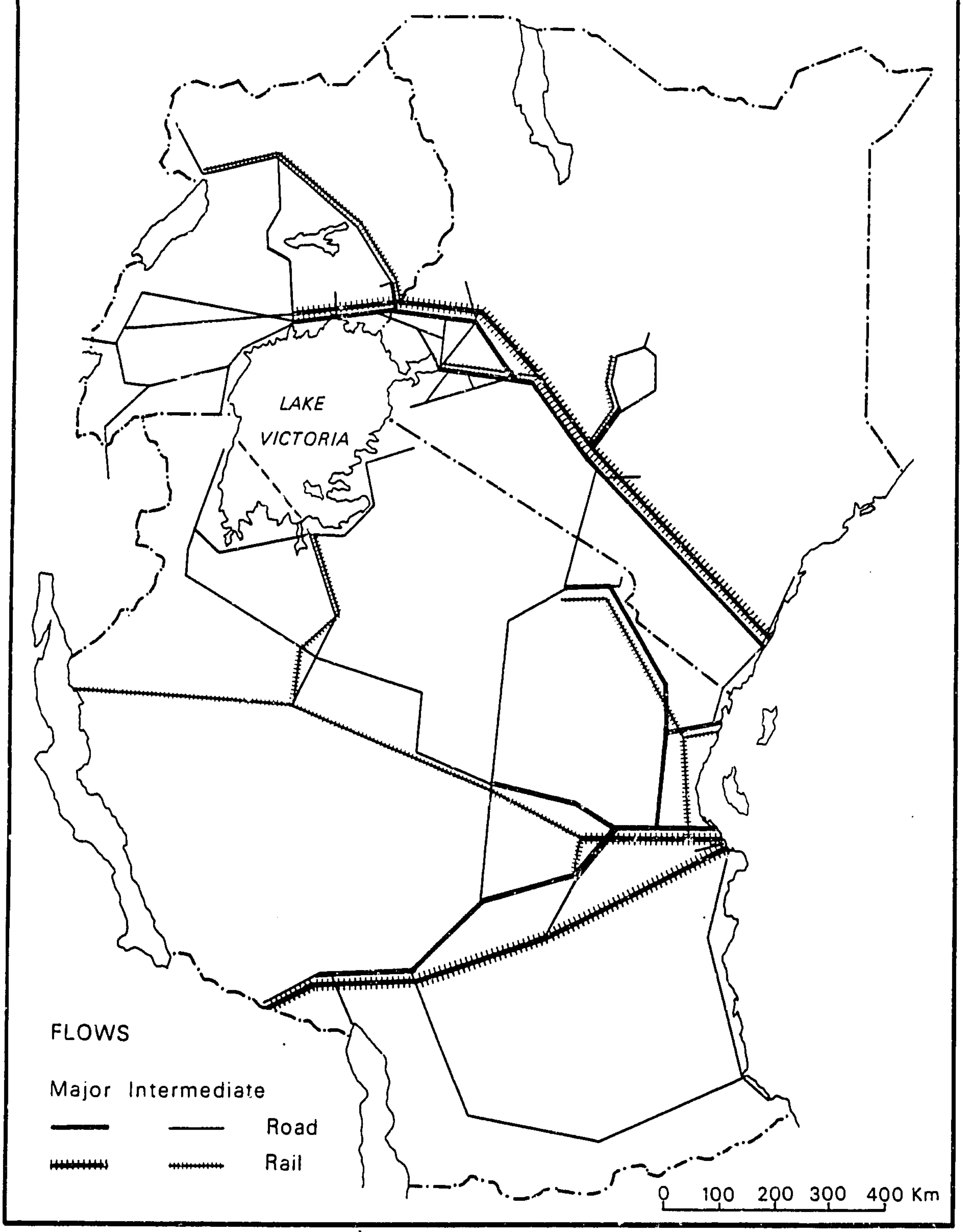
Flows of Goods

Equally important in the functioning of the space economy are the movements of various goods, only a small sample of which can even be mentioned here. The best documented were the main export crops, such as coffee. In this case the picture for Kenya is very simple, for everything moves by road and/or rail through Nairobi to Mombasa. That for Tanzania is much less simple, for the coffee from Bukoba was once shipped across Lake Victoria to be railed from Kisumu to Mombasa, while much of that from Kilimanjaro was also exported through Mombasa. After independence these flows were diverted to Dar es Salaam, but more recently much Tanzanian coffee has been smuggled into Kenya. For much of the period since 1971 an even higher proportion of the Uganda coffee crop has been sold illegally in Kenya, some of that from Bugisu being carried round the north of Mount Elgon.

Even guesswork about patterns of flow is much harder for staple food crops than for export crops, partly because these vary much more from year to year. As long as inter-district trade in commodities such as maize was officially a government marketing board monopoly in both Kenya and Tanzania, much data on these flows must have existed in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam, but none has ever been published. Increasing quantities of maize moved from the southern highlands of Tanzania to Dar es Salaam in the 1970s, assisted by a policy of paying uniform prices everywhere regardless of transport costs, but this is only one element in a highly complex national picture. In addition, there were always some privately-organized movements of basic foods, and with an easing of restrictions these are now increasing; but it is not clear whether any attempt will be made to monitor them.

A special case of foodstuff flows has been famine relief, though fortunately not on the scale required in neighboring Ethiopia and Sudan (and now Mozambique also). Famine in northeastern Uganda in 1980, resulting from a combination of drought and politics, necessitated international relief efforts channelled directly across the border from Kenya rather than through Kampala or even Tororo.

EAST AFRICA: Traffic Arteries



The livestock sector is one in which distribution patterns in a static sense are quite well known, but flows are not. All three national atlases show just where cattle are kept in what numbers, but only a very general indication of stock routes can be given. We know that large numbers of cattle are moved in Kenya along a route from Wajir through Isiolo and Nanyuki towards Nairobi, but published sources provide no information on movements across the Somali and Ethiopia borders.

While movements of grain and of cattle involve both state and private enterprise, those of fish from landing-place to consumer take place almost entirely outside government control. Smoked fish from ocean or lakes reach almost every corner of East Africa, providing a valuable source of protein, but there is scope for much expansion of this form of trade. For those who consider that the private sector should play a much larger role in marketing in East Africa, especially the small-scale (or "informal") sector, the present network for handling fish might provide an appropriate case study.

All the movements so far mentioned originate in the rural areas, and in many cases involve urban destinations. Many other goods flow primarily in the reverse direction, often down the urban hierarchy from the capital cities through regional or district cities to local trading centers. These are mainly manufactured goods, of which the bulkiest are petroleum products. Large- scale flows of these should be relatively easy to document, since they take place by pipeline, by rail, or in special vehicles working from a limited number of storage depots. They can help us to identify the main arteries of the East African circulation system that are in fact also used for most other manufactured goods such as cement or textiles, whether they are produced within East Africa or imported.

The earlier discussion of flows of people mentioned air routes but not railways, since the latter depend on freight for well over 90 percent of their revenue. Detailed records must exist for all rail movements, comparable to those used by O'Connor (1971) to trace all Uganda rail freight traffic in 1960. This included 90,000 tons of petroleum products moving from Mombasa to Kampala, 70,000 tons of coffee Kampala-Mombasa, 67,000 tons of copper concentrates Kasese-Jinja, and so on. However, even long-distance haulage of bulky goods now takes place increasingly by road, and even periodic traffic counts yield no information on this.

Flows of goods across the borders with Somali Republic, Ethiopia, Sudan, Malawi, and Mozambique are very limited in extent, and those to and from Zaire are not much greater. In absolute terms, the same is true of Burundi and Rwanda, even though most of their overseas exports and imports must cross East Africa to or from Mombasa or Dar es Salaam. The most substantial transit traffic by far is that between Zambia and Dar es Salaam, which includes a large but varying share of Zambia's copper exports and all of its imports of petroleum products.

Other Flows

A critical element in the space economy that is particularly difficult to study is the circulation of money. In theory it should be possible to discover how much is held in bank accounts in each part of East Africa, and how much is transferred from one place to another. Where private banks are in competition they are normally unwilling to release this type of information, but at least this problem should not arise in the state-controlled banking system of Tanzania. The spatial dimension of money circulation in East Africa includes substantial remittances sent or taken by rural-urban migrants to their home areas It has been suggested that at least 10 percent of all personal earnings in Nairobi are remitted to rural areas in this way, and there are certainly some rural areas in which such proceeds of labor migration are the chief source of cash income.

Other spatial flows of finance take place within the workings of government, but these are no easier to unravel in East Africa than anywhere else. Governments are often accused of "urban bias" in their expenditures, but it is very hard to determine whether there is a net flow of resources in Kenya, Tanzania, or Uganda from rural to urban areas or vice-versa. Are taxes on petrol revenues obtained from urban or rural dwellers, and to which should expenditures on inter-district roads be credited? What is certain is that government finances are to a very high degree centralized, so that most expenditures within each district are allocations from central government rather than generated by local governments.

In Uganda the distinction between official and private funds has sometimes become very unclear in recent years, but this is hardly an easy subject to investigate. Vast sums of cash have circulated "informally," and efforts to control this have included substitutions of one currency issue by another that have rendered worthless the holdings of people in remote areas with no access to any bank.

The circulation of information and messages by post and by telephone is perhaps less important than the circulation of people, goods, and money, but it can provide a very valuable indication of the structure of the space economy. No study has ever been made of movements within the postal system within any of the three countries, or among the three, or between them and neighboring countries; but all should be both possible and useful. On the other hand, several geographers have studied the pattern of telephone calls - though none recently. Of course, only a very small proportion of East Africans ever use a telephone, but it can be argued that the mapping of long-distance calls indicates a pattern of spatial interaction undertaken on behalf of the population as a whole. The dominant feature that emerged from the studies undertaken in the 1960s was the degree of focusing upon Nairobi, Dar es Salaam, and Kampala, and in many cases the extremely limited extent of interaction among the provincial towns of each country. Some regional sub-systems existed, such as around Lake Victoria in northwestern Tanzania, but in most areas these were to a remarkable degree lacking, suggesting a general dearth of spatial integration except in relation to the capital city.

Conclusions

Four key points emerge from this consideration of the dynamic aspects of the East African space economy.

Firstly, they produce a picture that differs markedly from that presented by the spatial patterns of economic activity. From the latter perspective Mombasa might seem part of a coastal zone which extends south into Tanzania, quite detached from the zone of intense activity extending westwards from

Nairobi; but in terms of flows and interaction, Mombasa is linked far more strongly to Nairobi than to Tanga and Dar es Salaam. Similarly, the Mwanza area of Tanzania seems in one sense to be part of a zone of intensive activity totally surrounding Lake Victoria, separated from Dar es Salaam by much unproductive country; yet it has much closer ties to Dar es Salaam than to either Kampala or Kisumu.

Secondly, the colonial inheritance remains highly significant. Colonialism superimposed on pre-existing structures macro spatial systems that are in some ways far simpler than those of a European country. Thus, there is a very evident "spine" or "trunk" across Kenya, with branches leading off it. Spatial economic interaction in Uganda is very largely a combination of flows converging on the Kenya border around Tororo and flows converging on Kampala. In Tanzania, a pattern of convergence on Dar es Salaam has actually been intensified since independence, especially since the re-inforcement of the major "corridor" through the southern highlands to Zambia. However, there is some danger of oversimplication, especially through an emphasis on exports and imports; spatial patterns of internal trade must also be considered, and these are generally more complex.

Thirdly, an examination of flows indicates the great extent to which the entire space economy is structured by the urban hierarchy. As well as being administrative capitals, Nairobi, Dar es Salaam, and Kampala are the focal points of the three national space economies. They are linked to the rural areas through a series of district headquarter towns, many in all three countries being very similar in their range of functions. In Tanzania, regional headquarters, or cities, serve as intermediaries, especially the larger ones such as Mwanza and Mbeya; and in Kenya, Mombasa, Nakuru, and Kisumu do likewise. The urban system is certainly a critical agent of national integration, although how far the towns bring benefits to the rural areas and how far they are agents of exploitation is an open question. Formal linkages among the countries, and with neighboring countries, are also channelled mainly through urban centers, but some of the "informal" linkages, such as smuggling, deliberately avoid them.

Fourthly, patterns of interaction indicate how far East Africa constitutes a single spatial system or three separate systems. During the 1960s and early 1970s separation increased under the pressure of economic nationalism, culminating in the break-up of the East African Community in 1976 and the start of seven years of official border closure between Kenya and Tanzania. Recorded trade among the three countries was greatly reduced, but the extent of illegal trade was such that in some ways a single integrated space economy clearly persisted. Over the last four years formal interaction has been partially restored, while the incentives for smuggling have been reduced. The extent and nature of relationships across the borders, and across those with neighboring countries, have varied so much in recent years that a proper understanding of the current situation could be obtained only from field investigation.

THE EXTERNAL BORDERS OF EAST AFRICA

The following brief discussion of the borders of Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda is a general appraisal of interactions across the borders of East Africa. The purpose is to suggest where future research might be concentrated.

Tanzania-Mozambique. The extreme north of Mozambique is well populated near the coast but very sparsely settled inland. It is extremely remote from the capital city, Maputo, 1800 km to the south, and it has no large urban centers of its own. The Ruvuma River forms the boundary for over 500 km, and at least up to the mid-1970s there was not even a ferry crossing. The road systems north and south of the border are totally unrelated to each other, and there are no reports of trade.

Tanzania-Malawi. In Malawi, the far north is regarded as the most remote area, and while well populated it is lacking in urban centers or much commercial activity. Tanzania's political relationships with Malawi have long been cooler than with either Mozambique or Zambia, and there is dispute over whether Tanzania has a share of the waters of Lake Malawi/Nyasa. Very little trade crosses the lake, and no roads cross the short land boundary, even though settlement is dense on the Tanzania side of Kyela. However, closure of the rail routes from Malawi to Mozambique ports, as a result of civil war there, has recently led to some interest in conducting external trade through Dar es Salaam, which is reached through Tunduma on the Tanzania-Zambia border.

Tanzania-Zambia. These countries have a short, 200-km, border, but one which is crossed by more traffic than any other around East Africa. It is mainly long-distance traffic passing between Lusaka or the Copperbelt and Dar es Salaam by rail, road, or oil pipeline. Local trade is discouraged by the sparse population of northeastern Zambia, and Tunduma is not even an officially-recognized urban center. Traffic may in fact be greater at the western end of the border, in the vicinity of the small Zambian town of Mbala.

Tanzania-Zaire. Lake Tanganyika separates these two countries, and it is wide enough to be a major barrier to interaction. In general, settlement is sparse along both shores, but Kigoma in western Tanzania is a railhead and a regional headquarters city with 50,000 inhabitants in 1978, while Kalemie in eastern Zaire is also a railhead and has an even larger population.

Tanzania-Burundi. Population is dense both on the Burundi side of this 300 km border and on parts of the Tanzania side, yet there are only three road crossings, none of which seem to be heavily used. Formal trade between the two countries takes place mainly through the shipping line on Lake Tanganyika that links Kigoma with Bujumbura, the Burundi capital. Most of the traffic using this route, however, consists of Burundi's overseas exports and imports, using the port of Dar es Salaam and the railway across Tanzania.

Tanzania-Rwanda. Ngara, mentioned above, is also close to the Rwanda border, but no road leads across it. The Kagera River forms the boundary, and for much of its length it widens into lakes and swamps. The area to the west is the only part of Rwanda that is sparsely populated, most being designated as the Kagera National Park and totally devoid of settlement.

Uganda-Rwanda. This border runs mainly through deeply-dissected highlands whose slopes are very densely settled. Kabale, a Uganda district headquarters city with 30,000 inhabitants, lies close to it; and Kigali, the Rwanda capital, lies only 100 km south of it. There is a long tradition of population movement northwards across the border, and there has been some friction recently regarding the nationality of many people of Rwanda origin living within Uganda. With ever-increasing population pressure throughout most of Rwanda this problem may become more severe. Meanwhile, most of Rwanda's overseas exports and imports pass through Uganda, politics permitting, en route to and from Mombasa; and Rwanda provides a potential market for some Ugandan manufactured goods if production of these can be fully reactivated.

Uganda-Zaire. This is a long and highly diverse border, part following the crest of the Ruwenzori Mountains at heights up to 5000 meters, parts dividing the rift valley lakes, and a section in the north cutting through the well-settled plateau area that extends from Zaire's Orientale Province into Uganda's West Nile District (now subdivided into Arua and Nebbi). Both Orientale and Kivu provinces of Zaire are very remote from Kinshasa, over 1500 km to the west, and have long conducted some trade with and through Uganda, some legal and some illegal. It is reported that impending charges of gold smuggling against Idi Amin prompted him to seize power from Milton Obote in 1971. During the colonial period shipping services operated on Lake Mobutu (then Lake Albert), and the western Uganda railway to Kasese was built partly to handle transit traffic. Recently, interaction has been greatest in the north, where marauding soldiers have caused many people from Uganda to flee into Zaire, at one time leaving almost deserted the district headquarters city of Arua, which lies only 15 km from the border.

Uganda-Sudan. Flows of refugees in both directions have been the main feature of this border for the past twenty years. Several roads cross it, as do scores of bush tracks through areas of sparse to moderate settlement. The people of southern Sudan feel remote from Khartoum, culturally as well as physically, and feel closer bonds to those of northern Uganda who migrated there from Sudan in past centuries. Even in the colonial period some suppliers for this region came in from or through Uganda, and the need for this has increased during subsequent periods of civil war in Sudan. A major problem, of course, is the lack of surplus produce from the region to move out in exchange.

Kenya-Sudan. Most sources indicate this border following mainly latitude 4 1/2 N, but Kenya sources portray it as curving well north of this to include the whole Turkana grazing area. Apart from the movement of these nomadic pastoralists, direct overland contact between Kenya and Sudan is very slight.

Kenya-Ethiopia. This much longer border also passes through very arid country, occupied by some nomadic pastoralists in the east and almost unoccupied in the west; but the middle section has enough rain for some subsistence cultivation, especially on the Ethiopian side. A recently-improved road links the two countries, however, little information is available to discern the types of interaction taking place between the small Kenya settlement of Moyale, located right on the border, and Sidamo Province of Ethiopia. This applies also to Mandera, in the extreme northeast corner of Kenya, although this small district headquarters settlement lies equally close to the Somali border, and a 20 km road within Somalia provides access to the main road that links Mogadishu and Addis Ababa.

Kenya-Somalia. Somali claims to a large part of Kenya have long strained relations between the two countries, though there has not been outright war as between Somalia and Ethiopia. Some exports from Kenya to Somalia are recorded in the official trade statistics, but these move mainly by sea from Mombasa to Kismayu and Mogadishu. There is, however, much contact between the pastoral Somali peoples living either side of the border, and probably a substantial net flow of livestock from Somalia into Kenya, apart from regular seasonal movements that totally ignore the border.

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There are numerous relevant books on specific topics, such as:

Livingstone, I. (1986) Rural Development, Employment and Incomes in Kenya, Gower, Aldershot.

Sabot, R.H. (1979) Economic Development and Urban Migration: Tanzania 1900-1971, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Other relevant documents include census reports, notably the 8 volumes on the 1978 Tanzania census; the reports of several regional planning teams in Tanzania; and a complete series of District Plans in Kenya. Recent material on Uganda is limited, and material providing spatial disaggregation non-existent.