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CLUB DU SAHEL/OECD

INTERNATIONAL FORUM FOR DEVELOPMENT IN THE SAHEL

(VIIth Meeting of the Club du Sahel Donors' Advisory Group)

"PREPARING THE FUTURE OF THE SAHEL WITHIN WEST AFRICA"

ANNOTATED AGENDA

Berlin
April 19-22, 1993

7 RÉUNION DU GROUPE DE RÉFLEXION
DU CLUB DU SAHEL
BERLIN - 19/23 AVRIL 1993

Foreword

This expanded version of the agenda is intended as a guide to 7th meeting of the Club du Sahel Donors' Advisory Group. It is presented in the order of discussions at the meeting as shown in the agenda itself. The executive summaries and issue papers it contains were written by the Club du Sahel¹ Secretariat with a view to stimulating debate at the meeting. These papers indicate where discussions are today and raise a number of issues that need to be examined more fully in the future. Additional reference documents are listed at the end of each paper².

The Monday afternoon session is devoted to the State and civil society. The Club Secretariat invited three consultants -- A.K. Boye, J. Giri and S.F. Moore -- to provide their views on this subject. The three consultants have different outlooks and offer three contrasting but complementary approaches to the issues involved. A summary of these three studies is given in this expanded agenda; the consultants' reports will be available at the meeting.

Tuesday will be devoted to regional integration in West Africa. The summary paper gives the state of advancement of ongoing work and presents the results achieved in recent years, as well as pointing to new issue that need to be examined further.

Wednesday and Thursday mornings will focus on environmental concerns in the Sahel. These concerns cannot be dissociated from questions of sustainable development. The summaries indicate that environmental action has implications that go far beyond the improvement of the ecological balance in the region, and cannot therefore be effective unless the social, economic and political dimensions of such action are taken into account.

A tab (Appendix 1) summarizes the main activities of the Secretariat of the Club du Sahel in 1992 and the first quarter of 1993.

¹ *Each session will be introduced either by donors, either by the Club du Sahel's or Cinergie's Secretariats. These papers do not necessarily correspond to these introductions.*

² *These documents will either be mailed or distributed during the meeting.*

"PREPARING THE FUTURE OF THE SAHEL WITHIN WEST AFRICA"
Berlin, April 19-22, 1993

TIME TABLE

Schedule	Monday 19/4	Tuesday 20/4	Wednesday 21/4	Thursday 22/4	Friday 23/4
9h00-10h00	Participants will arrive Sunday 18 or Monday 19/4	Lessons learned on regional Intégration Sahel/West Afr. Interdependence of sahellan countries and coastal countries Introduction : Canada	How can environment and development be reconciled in a contexte of rapid population growth ? Introduction : Netherland	Environment and development (continued) Presentation of the PATECORE project by the German cooperation	Special meeting on CILSS restructuration . results of CILSS Ministerial Council . Donors' financial support
<i>Pause café</i>					
11h00-12h30	Opening of the Meeting Approval of agenda Club Secretariat activity report	Regional integration (continued) From Lome I to Lome IV Evolutions of support to regional cooperation Introduction : CCE	Environment and development (continued) Land tenure, local natural resource management and decentralization Introduction : Switzerland	Environment and development (continued) What are the priorities for the Club ? Introduction : German	. direction of CILSS Plan for the next three years Introduction : Minister Coordinator
<i>Déjeuner</i>	<i>Lunch for Heads of Delegations</i>	<i>Buffet lunch</i>	<i>Buffet lunch</i>	<i>Buffet lunch</i>	<i>Buffet lunch</i>
14h00-15h30	State/Civil Society: Which repartition of their functions ? Which institutions ? Introduction : Secrétariat du Club	Regional integration (continued) What are the priorities for the Club ? Introduction : Cinergie	Presentation of the German Volunteers Service and guided visit of Berlin	Points divers (dont préparation de la réunion de Tokyo) Synthèse et Conclusions Fin de la réunion et départ de quelques-uns des participants	CILSS restructuration (continued) Cooperation Charter with the CILSS system Introduction : UNSO
<i>Pause café</i>					
16h00-17h30	What are the priorities for the Club? Introduction : Secrétariat du Club	The Club's priorities (continued)			Conclusions Departure of participants
<i>reception</i>	<i>reception</i>	<i>Dinner in Berlin</i>		<i>Free evening</i>	

MONDAY, APRIL 19

- 10:30** **REGISTRATION**
- 11:00-12:30** ***Opening session of Donors' Advisory Group Meeting***
- Approval of agenda
Presentation of the Club Secretariat Activity Report
- 12:30-14:00** ***Lunch for Heads of Delegations***
- 14:00-15:30** ***The State and civil society in the Sahel***
- Introduction: Secretariat of the Club du Sahel*
- Discussions and priorities for the Club³*

Power, society and development in the Sahel

Jacques Giri

This discussion of the relationships between power, society and development in the Sahel highlights the ambiguity of the Sahelian State today.

The period of "colonial democracy" that immediately preceded independence was too short to have a lasting effect and is in sharp contrast to the great colonial tradition of State authoritarianism that the Sahel has inherited from its former rulers. The Sahel has inherited a State that, despite its modern appearances, has tended to rule over subjects rather than citizens in a system that has had more in common with the *Ancien Régime* than republican values.

From colonial times, the contemporary State has inherited not only its outward appearances, its shell, but also its claim to an indivisible authority that is leading society along the road to modernity.

The post-colonial State may not have the same powers as the pre-colonial rulers, but it has a similar self-image and the same conception of its position in society. The old rulers played a metaphysical role, guaranteeing the harmony between society and the invisible forces -- and this role has probably not completely disappeared today. But the better organized of these old rulers also played an important role in the material world. They forcibly tapped the wealth of neighboring societies or levied duties on foreign trade. They did not accumulate their wealth but redistributed, gaining prestige in the process. They took very little from each

³ The "Club" is used in its broadest sense and includes all the partners at the forum : Sahelian States, CILSS, aid agencies and the Club Secretariat.

subject. Unlike the rulers of countries in other parts of the world, they did not organize society to create new wealth. They merely created and managed economic rents.

The colonial State never shed this rent management role and the new State then perpetuated it, quickly accommodating the specific values and mechanisms of Sahelian societies. One of the major roles of the State that has grown up in the shell inherited from colonization is to exploit natural rents, seek new ones by creating artificial scarcities, and redistribute at least part of the income. The system undoubtedly contributes to the cohesion of society. But it is thoroughly unfavorable to real development.

The ambiguity of the State can be seen in its relationship with "civil society". On the one hand, civil society is trying to escape the grasps of a State viewed as alien and predatory, and discreetly manages its own affairs as it has always done. On the other hand, civil society is keen to take part in the system whenever it can. The image of the State as a rhizome is perhaps quite fitting here: The aerial parts of the plant (the political institutions) are less important than the underground system with its roots in the life forces of society.

Are recent movements a sign that social mechanisms are really changing? Is society becoming more democratic? Do recent trends herald a new alliance between the power base and the life forces of society, an alliance that could lead to real development? Or is the system merely adapting to survive hard times and scarcer rents? Are hard times intensifying the struggle between rival political factions, and could that lead to widespread armed conflict?

The signs so far do not inspire optimism.

State and Civil Society in Sub-Saharan Africa

Abd-El Kader Boye

As a first step in examining relations between the state and civil society, the concept of civil society must be clarified. It seems fair to say that the term refers to a result of particular forms of social organization rather than these forms of organization themselves. More precisely, civil society is a phenomenon reflecting the capacity of individuals, through various types of social organization, to influence the decisions taken by the government in power and so affect the way society operates. Viewed from this standpoint, civil society in Black Africa exists only in embryonic form.

After independence, the African state took over the legacy of the colonial power, but at the same time developed its own operating logic. Wishing to take on its own shoulders most of the responsibility for development, in practice it strengthened and protected its own power through a centralized, hierarchical and hypertrophied administration, in which each civil servant struggles continually to hold on to his scrap of power and safeguard the various social and material benefits acquired over time.

In the early 1980s, the severity of the economic crisis marked a turning point in relations between the state and civil society. The indirect effects of the structural adjustment programs led local communities and population groups, intellectuals and some politicians to challenge the legitimacy of the existing states for the first time. But these sometimes violent movements have been aimed primarily at the personal nature of power and the many benefits that go with it. They do not incorporate any real reflection on the necessary conditions for true democratization.

This is doubtless why, although the state claimed to be remodelling itself on the "less government is better government" principle, this has only been very partially accomplished so far, despite pressure from population groups and donors. In practice, the reshaping of the state's mode of operation has only taken place on the fringes of the system, without shaking its foundations. The main result has been a rise in unemployment and a deterioration in living conditions which would have been untenable were it not for the informal sector acting as a buffer.

However, these problems have had the advantage of making an increasing part of the population aware of their ability to tangibly change their relations with the state. The result has been a stronger desire by different social groups to take their destiny in hand more completely, despite the refusal of the state to accept these changes and the great ingenuity it employs to prevent them.

What role should the aid agencies play with regard to these changes? Contrary to their initial intentions, the structural adjustment programs have not been able to shake the inertia of these states in view of the need for a strong and influential civil society. This is partly because the structural adjustment programs have not involved enough serious thought about the conditions that would create a favorable environment for proper implementation of the adjustments. Worse, the programs have often indirectly helped to strengthen the positions of the political elites in power.

To foster civil society today requires a genuine adjustment of state structures and the definition of a suitable legal and institutional framework. A genuine adjustment of state structures would imply the entire population understanding and accepting the rules by which the state operates. Even more imperatively, it would mean creating counter-powers capable of sanctioning any deviation by the government of the day. Defining a suitable legal and institutional framework will mean clarifying the incoherences of existing legislation and making up for its shortcomings. Above all, it implies genuine parliamentary debate over legislation.

Given the unavoidable difficulties of setting such a reform in motion, the aid agencies should coordinate and harmonize their policies towards the African states. A further precondition is to identify the groups that make up Africa's embryonic civil society and to understand their needs and their relations with the rest of society. Recognizing their legitimacy and lending support will necessarily help towards appropriate, well-targeted aid -- provided it is also possible to persuade the state to coexist on good terms with these newly emerging political forces.

Law, State and Civil Society in the Sahel

Sally Falk Moore

This paper is a preliminary reflection on some problems faced by the the Sahelian state and its agencies today , and on some of the circumstances that are special to the Sahelian milieu. In the present enthusiasm for the decentralization of development, and the emphasis on local organization, it is essential not to lose sight of two facts: (1) that the state not only will continue to exist , but is an essential factor in insuring the maintenance of the conditions under which peaceful local development choices can be made (see John V.D. Lewis, December 1992, pp.28-29 to this effect), and (2) that the state and its laws and institutions and personnel may themselves be a suitable target for development.

Since the countries of the Sahel are in the process of rethinking their political structures, it would be timely to undertake the review of certain aspects of their legal and judicial systems, noting the way these intersect with administrative systems, and the way they do or do not foster the general movement toward popular democracy.

Such a review might be initiated by giving attention to the following topics, selected because of their relevance to the issues of decentralization and democratization :

1) What is the legal environment for the creation, official recognition and regulation of "private" formal organizations, (from groups of agricultural and pastoral producers and marketing and credit organizations in the countryside having groupings local and supra-local, to political parties, to religious and educational organizations, foreign and indigenous development organizations, financial institutions and commercial enterprises in the towns and cities, etc.)

2) Giving special attention to the situation of rural populations, what is the situation of legal and quasi-legal institutions in the Sahel ? What is the position of the courts, their recent performance, records, procedures, and capacities? Who uses them and for what purposes? Attention should also be given to alternatives to the courts where these have legal functions: i.e. local or special-purpose administrative authorities, agencies of mediation, negotiation, arbitration, contractual settlement, etc.

3) What is the state of social knowledge of the law, the means by which legally related information is disseminated to the relevant publics, and the question of access to judicial and administrative officials.

Proposed: That a series of studies and workshops be conducted on the topic of law and society in the Sahel beginning with the themes suggested above. These would be carried out in those Sahelian countries that manifest an interest in mounting them. The purposes would be (a) to review the present situation in actual practice (not just in legal theory and/or in statutes on the books) (b) to stimulate broad discussion in receptive forums, and, (c) ultimately to make policy recommendations.

The overarching objective: The complementary division of responsibilities and resources, the technical capacity to deliver needed services, and the location of control as between the institutions of central and local government should be the subject of ongoing, long-term review and re-study as the situation in the Sahel changes. This would be a good time to begin the process where it is not already under way, and to enhance inquiry where such reviews are already being made.

Documents that can be read on State and Civil Society :

Fass S. "Democracy and political participation in the Sahel : the place of education" - August 1992 - Club du Sahel/OCDE - USAID.

TUESDAY, APRIL 20*What have we learned about regional integration in West Africa⁴ ?*

9:00-10:30 **Interdependence of Sahelian countries and coastal countries: What mechanisms are involved ?**

Introduction: Canada

The future of regional integration in West Africa has recently regained a prominent place in the declarations of the region's national leaders and in aid agency fora. The June 1991 Abuja treaty and the stance of the Global Coalition for Africa are evidence of this trend.

Since November 1986, the CILSS and the Club du Sahel have contributed to regional integration with innovative approaches developed on the basis of their work on regional cereals and livestock products trade.

Their initial observations, which were discussed at the Lomé seminar in 1989, have led them to widen their scope of observation to include **areas not strictly within the Sahel region**. Although the Sahelian countries form a coherent zone when dealing with the fight against desertification or the prevention of food crises, this zone is too restrictive when addressing markets or development in general.

Sahelian countries' place in West Africa

In the area of markets and development, Sahelian countries maintain close links with their coastal neighbors. To **take effective action** in CILSS countries, we must first **understand** what is happening in the **whole of West Africa**. Thus the CILSS and the Club du Sahel have decided to concentrate their efforts on:

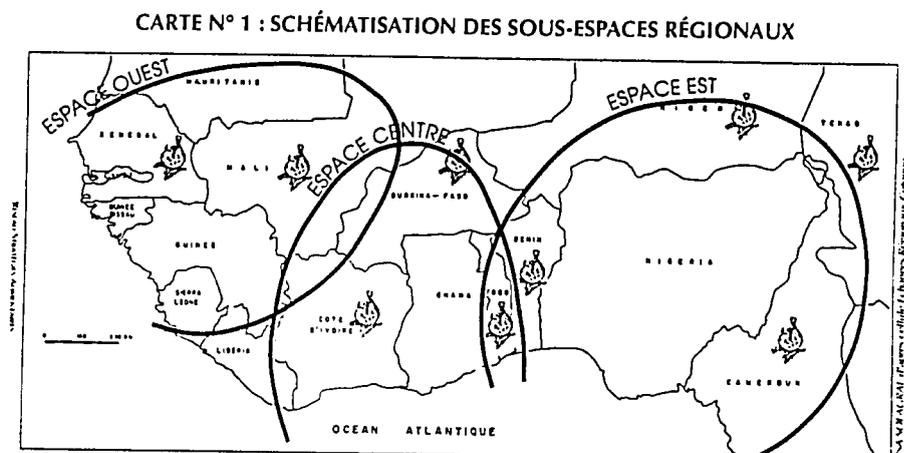
- 1) **studying the reality of inter-dependencies** in West Africa by undertaking research to understand the interaction of the principal players: governments, producers, traders and consumers.
- 2) **promoting opportunities for countries to discuss and coordinate** their respective policies. Efforts in this area have been made in the western sub-region ⁵, the central corridor ⁶ for livestock products, and the eastern sub-region ⁷.

⁴ *The following notes on regional integration are summaries of the document "Regional integration in Western Africa" March 1993 - Brah.M., Pradelle JM., D'Agostino V. - OCDE/Club du Sahel - BAD/Cnergie.*

⁵ *The western sub-region comprises Gambia, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Mali, Mauritania and Senegal. This area corresponds to Greater Senegambia, whose history has been described by Mr. Boubaour Barry.*

⁶ *This corridor includes primarily Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire and Mali. Trade links also exist with Ghana and Niger.*

(map of sub-regions)



The **Cinergie unit**, which was created to provide an active lobby for regional integration between the Sahel and the Coast, has helped the CILSS and Club du Sahel Secretariats in their efforts to promote these opportunities for discussion and coordination.

Since its creation, the Cinergie unit has woven many new networks that include political leaders and actors in civil society (members of parliament, scientists, entrepreneurs and journalists, in particular). Cinergie has also maintained close contacts with the principal fora in which regional integration in West Africa is discussed: the September 1992 meeting in Paris of the OECD's Development Assistance Committee, the West African Monetary Union Symposium in Dakar in December 1992, the Conference on regional integration and cooperation in Sub-Saharan Africa held in Clermont-Ferrand in December 1992, the IFPRI Conference on the integration of agricultural markets in West Africa held in Dakar in December 1992, the IDRC International conference on West African integration also held in Dakar in January 1993.

Together with the Secretariats of the CILSS and the Club du Sahel, the Cinergie unit has begun surveys on the private sector in general. Cinergie has prepared a summary of the initiatives of regional organizations, and it also directs the study of development perspectives in West Africa, which has clarified inter-dependencies within the region ⁸.

⁷ The eastern sub-region corresponds to the zone of Nigerian influence. It includes Nigeria and its neighbors.

⁸ The Cinergie project's progress report provides further details on these activities (March 1993).

All these efforts have shed new light on the true strategies of States with regard to regional integration ⁹, and has brought up questions concerning the real impact of integration within the region.

Trade relations between countries in the region and States' rent-seeking strategies

The work of the CILSS and the Club du Sahel brought to light the trade strategies actually implemented by West African countries, and the consequences of those strategies.

States have taken maximum advantage of the many opportunities for buying on world markets, and this has made it possible to meet the needs of urban consumers.

The work of the INRA-IRAM-UNB team has clearly shown that direct imports, as well as re-exports, are based on a *de facto* alliance between a handful of large traders involved in imports, and government officials. The latter establish regulations (quotas, licenses, access to foreign currencies, etc.). This alliance controls the market, which is thus not liberalized. Imports provide rents for national budgets, the traders involved and their "network" in the administration.

This state of affairs jeopardizes chances for boosting local production, which would otherwise respond to the sustained growth in urban demand.

Given this context, States have not coordinated their food policies with neighboring countries. Nevertheless, the existence of clandestine re-exports shows that some countries know how to profit from their neighbors' decisions. Certain States, in fact, "exploit" their regional environment, and their relationships with neighboring countries are more parasitic than symbiotic. Meanwhile, States' good intentions to develop joint strategies have for the most part remained just that.

The CILSS and Club du Sahel's work on the western sub-region illustrates the absence of dialogue and joint discussions between the various countries concerning regional development strategies for cereals.

The main conclusion of the Bamako meeting, which brought together the six countries of the western sub-region in June 1991, was to point out the **fragmentation** of the sub-region. Countries do not consult with each other regularly, even on a bilateral basis. Gambia, Guinea and sometimes Mauritania take advantage of the positions of their neighbors (particularly Senegal and Mali), which protect their cereals production and use the CFA Franc. However, countries like Senegal and Mali can also turn their own policies to advantage: re-export operations allow them to increase volumes of rice imports without endangering agreements

⁹ *In this document the notion of regional integration, or economic integration, is used to describe a situation in which the expansion of trade between the integrated countries is based on the development of complementary production systems in these countries. Integration thus guarantees the expansion of both regional outlets and regional sources of supply. Regional integration is different from simple market integration, which occurs whenever markets extend beyond national boundaries. Regional integration is based on coordination of economic and trade policies. It is the result of negotiation, and thus represents a high level of cooperation. Cooperation level 0 is the level of ignorance or conflict. Level 1 represents the establishment of dialogue, and level 2 is the level of regional cooperation, i.e., the establishment of organizations that provide technical services to several countries.*

painstakingly negotiated with donors. Re-exports also provide new sources of rent for traders, who are never far from the power center.

Recent work in the area of livestock products shows that trade between Sahelian and coastal countries has declined ¹⁰. Analysis of the Mali/Burkina Faso/Côte d'Ivoire central corridor clearly points to the causes of this drop. A number of obstacles have grown up between Sahelian supply and coastal demand: a drop in income in coastal countries, as a result of the economic downturn, changes in eating habits to the benefit of fish, fowl and pork, competition from cut-rate European products¹¹ and a rapidly growing productive sector in Côte d'Ivoire. In addition, exports from the Sahel suffer from the relatively low competitiveness of production systems and high transport costs.

Despite the existence of specialized regional organizations, States have only a partial knowledge of the worrisome situation Sahelian countries face. And dialogue between the countries' leaders has yet to be established.

By taking maximum advantage of this rent from trade, States are in sharp contradiction to their statements on regional integration and the various accords and treaties signed since independence.

State policy explains why efforts to set up protected zones have failed. Today most observers -- not only liberal economists -- agree that it is impossible to establish a protected cereals market in the region ¹².

These observations have brought up a series of questions:

- Given the changes occurring in the region's population and economy, can States continue to implement policies that are not beneficial to their food sector?
- Will the policies they adopt take the regional environment into account more than in the past?

¹⁰ See "Trade in Livestock Products: Problems Involved and the Contributions of Ongoing Regional Integration Initiatives", Dr. Seydou Sidibé, CILSS, and Dr. Henri Josserand, OECD/Club du Sahel, January 1993. Contribution to the IDRC/ECOWAS conference on regional integration in West Africa. See also the work of Badiane and Delgado (IFPRI) on Côte d'Ivoire as well as J. Egg (INRA-IRAM-UNB) on the Niger-Nigeria zone.

¹¹ Similar conclusions have been reached by a more recent and soon to be published study by Solagral/IRAM/INRA on foreign trade in livestock products.

¹² See, for example, the recent study by R. Hirsch that shows the current impossibility of establishing a single market for rice in the W.F.M.U. area.

What is the future of regional integration in West Africa, and what is at stake?

Countries in the region share problems such as changes in their settlement patterns, natural resource bases and economies. Yet integration would affect them very differently depending on the structures and the geographic and political heritages of each.

Integration would not affect the sparsely populated and fragmented western sub-region in the same way as it would affect the eastern sub-region, whose center of gravity is the most powerful country in Black Africa. In the western sub-region, markets are still largely unintegrated, but security problems could make bilateral consultation an urgent necessity. In the area around Nigeria, integration could involve wholesale absorption into Nigerian markets, or else it could take into account the national identities of countries such as Benin and Niger.

Several sectoral initiatives have recently been taken (cereals, livestock, etc.). These approaches emphasize:

- liberalization of markets and reduction of obstacles to trade;
- harmonization of policies to protect and regulate markets, or at least reduction of the damage countries' policies inflict on each other;
- the search for coherence in investment policies.

There are, however, several obstacles to the implementation of these approaches:

They are dependent upon changes in the national policies of the countries concerned: greater liberalization of markets, measures that increase trade flows (information, infrastructures, the lifting of institutional barriers), investment in zones with high potential, participation of actors in policy definition, etc.

These changes are already underway in some cases, but further progress cannot be achieved unless the way States alters radically to the benefit of their productive sectors¹³.

These approaches also depend on national policy harmonization by two or more countries. This condition may be harder to fill, because the negotiations needed would quickly outgrow their initial framework. Consider the example of livestock products. Côte d'Ivoire or Nigeria would only have reasons to make concessions to their Sahelian neighbors if a much wider

¹³ *The paper by the IFPRI presented at the CIRES seminar in June 1992 points out that promoting trade and regional integration are in no way substitutes for sound national policies, on either a sectorial or a macro-economic level. Stimulation of the agricultural sector requires both a devaluation of the real exchange rate through macro-economic reforms, and a decrease in the marketing costs through changes in sectorial policies. This decrease in costs is needed to make trade with partners in the region more attractive than trade with countries outside the region.*

Current national policies that tend to overestimate the real exchange rate, and policies that keep marketing costs high, should thus be the focus of future negotiations on regional integration. Otherwise, institutional efforts to encourage regional cooperation will have no more success than in the past, and trade will not expand.

perspective of land use planning¹⁴ were involved. In addition, the currency issue would quickly become a part of negotiations if the countries involved were not all in the CFA franc area¹⁵.

Finally, the development of these approaches is also hindered by a lack of appropriate frameworks. Large organizations of the WEAC or ECOWAS type are unsuitable because they cover too large an area, and they cannot adapt to the various types of situations encountered on a case-by-case basis. At the same time, flexible approaches (variable-geometry integration) are not feasible for purely political reasons.

Disparities between monetary systems must also be dealt with. Relations between French- and English-speaking countries, and particularly the future of relations between Nigeria and WAMU countries, are undoubtedly one of the keys to the problems of security and integration in West Africa.

Maintaining the security enjoyed by West Africa, in comparison with other parts of Africa, is perhaps the main potential benefit of regional cooperation in the region. This security is threatened by the risk of implosion of some States. The region benefits, however, from a number of outward-reaching factors found in its populations, traders and certain policy moves. These ferments of integration form a natural soil in which the seeds of regional cooperation can grow.

10:30-11:00 *Break*

11:00-12:30 *What approaches has the European Community adopted between Lome I and Lome IV to its efforts to foster regional cooperation in the Sahel and West Africa? Policy shifts, lessons from experience and outlook for the future.*

Introduction: Commission of the European Communities

¹⁴ *In their contribution to the CIRES seminar in June 1992, Badiane and Delgado point out aberrations in choices made by countries in the central sub-region: Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana are developing cattle-raising in their northern reaches, while Mali and Burkina Faso are developing rice and corn production in their southern zones. These changes are in opposition to regional integration, and there is a risk of alienation of Sahelian countries, if coastal countries see no reason to maintain relations with their neighbors to the north.*

¹⁵ *In fact, the problem is more complex. Delgado and Badiane have noted that Côte d'Ivoire imports fish and meat from the world market with strong CFA francs, and meat from the Sahel with expensive CFA francs.*

What are donors' intentions ?

This survey of donor thinking and action in the area of regional cooperation and integration in West Africa indicates that the subject is mobilizing not insignificant interest and resources on the part of many donors. While operating definitions of regional cooperation and integration vary somewhat, almost all donors are involved in regional activities in one way or another. However, this does not mean that donor positions are uniform. In fact, even within a donor agency there appears to co-exist different orientations with regard to regional cooperation and integration.

The EEC and Canada are the agencies that have verbalized the most emphatic support for a regional perspective on development activities in West Africa. In both their official positions and their actions, regionalism occupies the center stage. The EEC is actively involved in the international fora in which regional cooperation is discussed (such as the Global Coalition for Africa). Through the Lomé Convention accords it invests heavily in regional cooperation projects to improve regional infrastructure and communications, natural resource management and human resource development. There is also a group at the EEC involved with the more macro-economic policy issues related to regional cooperation and integration such as structural adjustment, monetary policy reform, etc. This last group appears to coordinate its thinking and activities with similar groups located at the French Ministry of Cooperation and at the World Bank.

The Canadian International Development Agency has wholeheartedly adopted regional cooperation and integration as a *modus operandi*. For West Africa the CADET strategy is aimed at increasing market integration, with an accent on French-speaking West Africa's English-speaking neighbors, specifically Ghana and Nigeria. CADET's Africa operations have been significantly revamped both in the field and at headquarters to correspond with its new regional vision for the continent. CADET has also imposed a "regional filter" on its project and program selection procedure. This will filter out activities which are inimical to regional integration, allowing only those that promote regional integration in the short-to-medium term to qualify for financing. CADET is the only donor agency that is placing a higher priority on regional cooperation and integration than on its bilateral activities.

The French Ministry of Cooperation, after undergoing a period of introspection and reorientation with regard to its development activities in West Africa has also surfaced in the regional cooperation and integration group. The AMI initiative, led by the BCEAO and backed by France since the start, is indeed a bold institutional move to create a solid Franc Zone block. While it has come under some criticism for being an attempt to bind the Franc Zone even more tightly with metropolitan France, it has received substantial support from both the World Bank and the EEC who strongly believe in the need for a strong regional legal and institutional environment as a condition precedent for market integration in the Zone. Other groups within the French Ministry of Cooperation and at the EEC and World Bank claim that this AMNIA scheme largely ignores the important macro-economic adjustments that will be required for the AMNIA to really stimulate economic growth. They also criticize AMNIA of being yet another top-down institution, a prototype of a "new generation" of inter-governmental organizations that is no more suited to solving regional production and trade problems on the scale of the Franc Zone than its predecessors were. The French Ministry of Cooperation has also marked a change in its regional development policy position with regard to the agricultural and cereals sectors in West Africa.

The World Bank also appears to have several different currents of thought with respect to regional cooperation and integration in West Africa. While some groups within the World Bank work closely with the French Ministry of Cooperation and the EEC on the AMNIA initiative, on regional structural adjustment programs and on other regional activities (such as the livestock trade liberalization action plan jointly supported with USAID), there are others who are generally pessimistic concerning the benefits to regional integration in West Africa. This group tempers general enthusiasm concerning regional integration by advancing a very trade-oriented vision of the region which is far from rosy. This group's position is that regional integration is not the most effective or efficient way of spending the limited resources available among the donors for development operations in West Africa. In addition, given the very high short-run political costs and the relatively small long-term benefits, regional integration is not a politically attractive option to African leaders. Because the political costs of the decisions needed to make regional cooperation and integration "work" are so high and because the benefits to such decisions will be deferred in time, either regional cooperation and integration will not happen at all, or it will happen with substantial donor support to cover the short-term costs.

Finally, the United States has its own regional cooperation and integration style. USAID has regional offices in Washington specifically responsible for regional programs in the field. For West Africa this office is involved in supporting a range of activities related to trade and investment in the region, private sector development, natural resource management and decentralization. USAID also has bilateral missions in West Africa that undertake regional projects or that include a regional perspective in their activities when it is felt necessary to achieve the objectives of the USAID mission's country strategy. The livestock trade liberalization action plan for the central corridor countries is an illustration of a bilateral mission's (Mali's) involvement in a regional integration scheme.

This survey of some of the major donors in West Africa leads to several broad conclusions about what is "in" and what is "out" in donor thinking and action in the area of regional cooperation and integration:

What's In?

1. Subsector-based integration schemes (*integration par filière*) featuring one commodity, two or three countries and an "action plan" spelling out a limited and well-defined set of obstacles to trade in that commodity and practical measures to remove those obstacles.
2. Mutually advantageous cooperation or integration schemes. As has been described in this paper, regional cooperation or integration schemes that produce winners as well as losers are highly unpopular and tend to crash and burn before they even get off the ground. The new focus among donors tends to be on cooperation and integration activities that are palatable to all countries involved. Given the charged political environment in many West African countries, this approach reflects a "new realism" as much as a "new regionalism".
3. For the French, institutional and legal reform are "in". The AMNIA initiative, not only is fast becoming the main thrust of France's regional cooperation activities in West Africa, but also it is attracting much attention and support among certain donors, especially among certain groups within the World Bank and the EEC.
4. Regional structural adjustment. This idea is relatively new. It is alluded to in documents of the EEC, World Bank, the French Ministry of Cooperation and others. The basic idea is that national structural adjustment processes are too inward-looking and largely ignore

the regional issues that can affect their outcome. Regional structural adjustment programs could eliminate this drawback and permit a certain coordination and surveillance of macro-economic policies at the regional level that would be difficult otherwise. Most donors agree with the concept in principle, although there remains little experience with regional structural adjustment in practice in West Africa.

5. Conducting policy reform in one's "own backyard". Many donor development experts maintain that national policy reform must go hand in hand with regional structural adjustment. These individuals argue that often the motor of regional integration stalls out when initiatives must be implemented at the national level. For these donor experts, national policy reform is a pre-condition to policy harmonization at the regional level. The argument is that it is folly to try to build regional integration on the shaky foundations of weak or ineffective national policies. First reform national macro-economic and sectoral policies before trying to coordinate them at the regional level.
6. Subsidiarity, i.e. dealing with a problem at the regional level only when it can be most effectively solved at this higher level, is "in".
7. Increased dialogue between French- and English-speaking West African countries in the area of regional integration. This has become an important element of Canada's regional integration strategy. The French/English-speaking division in West Africa has also been questioned in the context of membership in AMNIA.

What's Out?

1. Customs unions and organizations with general regional trade integrating mandates based on regional preferential tariff structures, high and permanent rates of protection, etc.
2. Large regional investment projects, except perhaps in the transport and communications sectors.
3. The proliferation of intergovernmental organizations to tackle regional cooperation and integration issues.
4. Strictly national structural adjustment programs are relatively "out", while regional programs are "in".
5. In analyzing the benefits of regional integration in West Africa, approaches which focus on the short to medium-run static "gains from trade" are "out", while those which incorporate longer run benefits (political stability, peace, the structural transformation of production, etc.) are "in". In other words, evaluating regional integration exclusively in terms of static gains from trade is "out". This does not apply across the board for all donors.
6. Regional protected markets (cereals, for instance) are "out", if for no other reason than the practical implementation problems presented by such schemes.

And so it appears that on the whole, donors are proceeding in the area of regional cooperation and integration much as they have in other development areas. Models have been tested and then rejected or kept, programs and projects have been implemented and then have revealed mistakes or promising leads, and strategies have been devised and then revised according to experience and a better appreciation of realities. While it is a relatively crude

process, the ultimate objective is to determine what works and what does not. The donors involved in regional cooperation and integration in West Africa appear to have reached some tentative conclusions on the lessons from the first round of trials.

A specific role for donors?

Aid agencies could provide West Africa with the experience and resources the region needs to prepare for its future integration.

Donor countries have wide experience in the process of integration. They have tested and developed tools that could be useful in Africa. The OECD, a framework within which developed countries freely discuss their national policies on the basis of high-quality information, was an outgrowth of the Marshall Plan. The organization was set up to guarantee that aid granted by the United States to Europe would be well used, properly distributed and concentrated on fields strategic to European development. An experiment of this type could be considered for West Africa.

Aid agencies have already begun working on several information projects that could provide foundations for regional construction. These projects have brought the CILSS valuable experience in agro-meteorology (Agrhymet), agricultural production and markets (Diaper) and demography (Cerpod). This experience should first be evaluated, and work should then be continued or even extended beyond CILSS boundaries.

Aid agencies hold another key to regional construction. They are in a position to devote funds to long-term investments on a supranational scale. States do not always have the resources to take on such projects alone, or are too occupied with short-term problems to see their importance.

With its experience, and its neutrality as regards the intra-regional consequences of integration, the international community could act as a forerunner to integration in an effort to foster economic development and regional security.

OECD countries are largely responsible for the depressed world markets for food products. Sounder policies by OECD countries would help to drive the development of food production in southern countries in general, and would probably be a positive factor in economic integration.

12:30-14:00 *Buffet lunch*

14:00-17:30 *Regional integration in West Africa (continued)*

What are the priorities for the Club?

Introduction: Cinergie

How can regional considerations be more easily taken into account ?

No progress toward regional integration can be made without a better information base and instruments for dialogue adapted to the region's needs.

In particular, the divergent interests of neighboring countries must be better stated if countries are to work together rather than against each other. National policies cannot be harmonized until continuing dialogue has been established.

A permanently updated, in-depth knowledge bank of the great regional changes affecting settlement patterns, land use and markets would constitute a common resource on which countries in the region could draw to adapt their national policies to the needs of regionalism.

More theoretical research would also provide a useful basis upon which countries' could make strategic choices as to their integration into the regional and world systems.

No progress can be made in the integration process unless private actors are involved in discussions and decision-making. Regional construction will not succeed unless the interests of States and of agricultural and industrial producers converge. The development of entrepreneur lobbies should be encouraged, and the media can play a useful role by bringing information and issues to the widest number of people.

Aid agencies can play a key role in preparing the region for integration. Their experience and resources could be used to serve the ends of African integration.

Conclusion

Leading West Africa toward regional integration is a longer and more complex task than the designers of the great integration schemes had imagined, and all of those great schemes have failed.

The region is currently undergoing a period of profound change which affects human settlement and land use. To what extent will this change influence local and regional markets? Will it encourage States to review their strategies, and particularly their food strategies? What will be the region's place in the world in the future?

Answers to these questions will not necessarily be uniform throughout the region. Countries that make up West Africa are very different, particularly in geographic and political terms. Monetary questions and relationships between WAMU countries and Nigeria are also keys to the region's future.

The real interests of West African States would not necessarily be served by integration. In fact, governments have tended to turn away from integration in the past. Yet integration can progress only with the commitment of the governments and populations of the countries concerned. Thus this commitment must be cultivated.

First and foremost, integration must be clearly distinguished from illusions of African unity. The region does not have the basic knowledge and instruments of dialogue that are absolutely necessary for regional construction. Priorities in these fields should be set quickly, so that countries can take their regional environment into account when making strategic choices.

Aid agencies could make a key contribution to paving the way for regional construction in West Africa. Developed countries have the experience and resources that are lacking in the region, where States are preoccupied with short-term concerns.

Documents that can be read on regional integration :

Brah M., Pradelle JM, D'Agostino V. "Regional integration within Western Africa" 1993 - OCDE/Club du Sahel - BAD/Cinergie.

Josserand H. and Sidibe S. "Trade in livestock products : Problems involved and contributions of ongoing regional integration initiatives" January 1993 - CILSS - Club du Sahel.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 21***How can environment and development be reconciled in a context of rapid population growth ?***

9:00-10:30 ***"Population, environment and development"***

Introduction: The Netherlands

With environmental preoccupations increasingly in the limelight, it seems useful to consider how best to approach the link between environment and development in the Sahelian countries, in a long term perspective. There are several ways of raising environmental questions in the Sahel, and the way they are raised does much to shape the kind of answer given.

Compared to the "world" debate on the environment, the Sahel is a particular case in several respects:

- ecological conditions are particularly unfavorable;
- the majority of the population still lives in rural areas (between 70% and 85% of the population in six of the nine CILSS countries¹⁶): natural resource management is therefore closely linked to daily life and to each person's individual strategies for the future;
- the region is undergoing major and very rapid structural transformations due to the combined impact of rapid demographic growth and other economic factors.

This process of structural transformation, though least visible in the short term, is none the less a very important trend, since the end result is to call into question the functioning of Sahelian societies in their totality. There are two main consequences that concern us here. On the one hand, it means that a "conservative" ecology, i.e. one aimed at halting or reversing the changes under way, has little chance of success: it is unlikely that every other aspect of life in the Sahel could change without any corresponding change in stocks of natural resources. On the other hand, it means that the search for an equilibrium must be a long term

¹⁶ Cape Verde, Mauritania and Senegal are the only exceptions with a urban population representing between 30 to 40%.

project. The structural transformation now going on in the Sahel countries is a very costly process. It puts the whole of society under very severe constraints. In these conditions, it is unlikely that natural resources, which represent an essential source of wealth, should not also be drained¹⁷.

Environmental policy should start off from these two observations, to examine the following question: what contribution are natural resources expected to make to the development of the region in the short and long terms? And, as a subsidiary question, how can this contribution be integrated with the imperatives of ecological management at the planetary level (biodiversity, greenhouse effect etc.)?

What, then, are the basic facts of Sahelian societies today?

Rapid population growth is creating a lasting imbalance in the region

The population of the Sahel has doubled over the past thirty years. Over the next thirty years it should at least double again, however effective the fertility control policies adopted (such policies are indispensable, but their effects on total population growth will only be felt in the long term).

This demographic expansion goes hand in hand with a sharp modification of settlement patterns, characterized by migrations from one rural area to another and, above all, rapid growth of the towns (an annual average of +6% a year across the whole region over the past thirty years). This restructuring is not yet finished; urban growth will continue, although the pace is gradually slowing down.

Despite rapid urbanization, the rural population continues to grow in absolute numbers in all the countries of the region. This means increased pressure on natural resources, because the entire rural population depends more or less directly on these resources for its income.

This pressure is further increased by the spread of the money economy and modern consumption patterns in rural areas, which lead to an increase in the needs perceived as essential for the individual¹⁸.

The traditional production systems are not capable of responding to society's changing needs

The Sahel's traditional production systems are essentially based on the exploitation of renewable natural resources. Soil minerals are renewed naturally, through spontaneous deposits from the atmosphere, the fixing of minerals from the air by certain plants, and the weathering of the bedrock below.

¹⁷ *Industrial countries experienced similar process at some periods of their evolution : one can refer to the American Dust Bowl in the thirties or to massive deforestation of european forests, which was at its highest level at the beginning of the 19th century.*

¹⁸ *These needs are those for which populations are willing to consume their productive capital.*

These mechanisms exist everywhere on earth, but in the Sahel they are particularly fragile, for two reasons: the extreme climatic conditions, especially the exceptionally long, arid dry season, and a very ancient bedrock, poor in minerals¹⁹.

Utilization and renewal of natural resources can be optimized in various ways (fallowing, integrated crop and livestock farming, use of leguminous crops, agro-forestry etc.); but these refined techniques, which are in fact often widely known among the local populations, cannot make up for the initial weakness of the natural processes by which soil minerals are renewed.

In several regions, the drain on natural resources is now greater than the capacity for natural renewal. Regardless of aggravating factors (foremost among which is erosion), farm production at this stage ineluctably uses up the stock of natural resources, rapidly leading to degradation of the environment and exhaustion of resources.

Because of the stocks of resources available in the soil, exhaustive resource consumption is not immediately reflected in a drop in production. Production shrinks gradually, then plummets after a certain length of time. Once that stage is reached, the process of restoring the soil and its stock of resources is very costly compared to the gains to be made from exhaustive cultivation.

The basic rationale of the production systems must change

This evolution is not an inevitable trend, however, despite the region's indubitable ecological limitations. The necessary technical know-how exists to enable sustainable farming at far higher production levels than at present, in many parts of the Sahel countries. This generally means a combination of external inputs (fertilizer, pesticides etc.) and techniques for maintaining soil quality (erosion control, maintenance of organic matter content in the soil, etc.) -- indispensable for making proper use of the inputs. Compared to the present situation, these systems are relatively intensive in both labor and capital, and far more productive than the average among existing farms.

But implementing these techniques implies a thorough reshaping of production methods, and more particularly a shift from managing only "renewable" natural resources to an overall management of soil fertility, aimed at a long term balance between inputs and outputs.

The shift to sustainable agriculture implies switching from management of a given stock of resources to an "input-output" type management, where everything removed from the soil is compensated by an equivalent input. That is a considerable change. It is an unavoidable change in the long run, if agriculture is to be sustainable. If one recognizes this necessity, the question then becomes: What rural population could put these systems to work, in which regions, for what products? And also: What is the best way to make the transition to this type of system?

Environmental operations cannot, then, be designed exclusively in terms of marginal alterations to existing systems, since these are obsolescent or condemned to become so in time. Any operation of this kind will do no more than gain a little time, exploiting more rationally and exhausting more slowly the stock of available resources. But it will make no more than a marginal contribution to the renewal of those resources. Long term management

¹⁹ See H. Breman's work on this matter, and his comparisons between Sahelian countries and other arid areas (China, Australia...).

of natural capital should therefore be understood as a factor to be taken into account in developing the necessary new production systems.

The conditions for change in agricultural production systems are unevenly distributed in most countries of the region

The main problem is therefore not a technical one, but rather to identify (a) the production systems that will enable an increase in output and better management of natural resources and (b) the conditions that will make it possible to introduce these systems.

A number of conditions will have to be met for these new systems to emerge:

- the necessary physical conditions, since not all regions have the same potential for sustainable agriculture;
- economic conditions, since purchase of inputs and sale of produce requires a stronger link between rural areas and the market and the rest of the economy; in this connection, farming is in competition with other economic activities;
- social conditions, since not all households have the same access to the land or to the capital required to make the changes envisaged;
- collective and institutional conditions, since the above criteria are not enough to determine a community's capacity to act and react in a given environment.

A very rapid examination of spatial variations in all these variables shows that the potential to switch to sustainable agriculture is fundamentally and profoundly uneven in all the CILSS countries. The inequalities are both geographical and social. In some cases, they could probably be counteracted by policy measures, but it is unlikely that this could be the case everywhere and at all times.

At the same time, it is quite clear that it will not be possible to employ 70% to 80% of the total population in productive, sustainable agriculture -- in particular, because intensification of cereals production is an important part of the process, and this requires gradual structuring of a consumer market. The process of changing agricultural structures, if it takes place, should logically involve the emergence of a minority of professional farmers and the increasing marginalization of the other producers, at least in terms of sale of surplus output.

In fact this process has, to a large extent, already begun. More than half of Mali's farm holdings are already net purchasers of cereals, while in Senegal's groundnut basin, more than half of rural incomes are non-agricultural. This process of diversifying sources of income is important for the development of agriculture itself: in Burkina Faso, for example, it has been found that loans for the purchase of farm equipment were repaid from the incomes of emigrant members of the family, more often than from an increase in agricultural production.

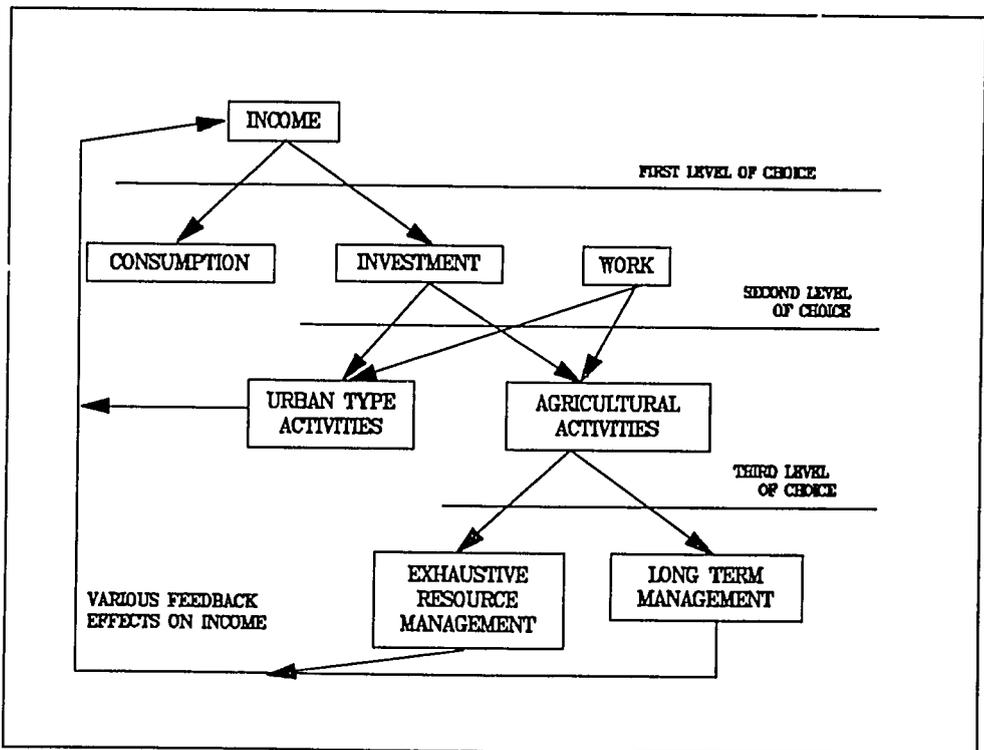
None the less, this transition phase apparently goes hand in hand with a marked social differentiation. It may be hoped that the transition will result in an occupation specialization of households, some becoming specifically agricultural while others gradually leave this field of activity. The available information suggests that it tends to be households that have diversified their incomes outside agriculture that have the best opportunities to invest in a more intensive type of agriculture, while the poorest households, on the other hand, hardly have any option but to exhaust their environment. If poverty is the main factor in degradation

of the environment, what strategy must be applied? To try to improve the situation of the poorest country dwellers where they live, or to try to offer these population groups new opportunities outside of agriculture?

Policy options

The objectives pursued by governments may be laudable, but that does not mean there is no competition among them. Gradual change in production systems is under way. It will happen, for better or worse, because it is inevitable. The best the governments can do is to go along with the change, speed it up here and there, guide it in some cases, or reduce its cost. They cannot act as a driving force behind it.

It is the individual that must made the focus of policy -- not treated as a constraint on the success of policies somehow external to him/her, but as the leading actor in development. Policies must facilitate his/her task and help to make his/her actions more compatible with long term aims. Individuals' strategies are complex: they imply a certain number of choices, as shown in the diagram below. Through their influence on certain parameters in rural people's environment, government policies can influence the various levels of choice made by rural households and partly modify their strategies.



With the limited means at their disposal, governments must decide what they want to do: either accelerate the necessary changes or allay tensions and reduce the social costs of these changes. This choice has to be made both in social terms (as regards individuals) and in terms of regional development potential (Sudanian regions versus Sahelian regions).

This ability to choose, to privilege one group to the detriment of another with a view to improving everybody's situation in the long term, assumes a minimum of national consensus. It may be that this consensus does not exist in the Sahelian countries. One may also wonder whether the aid agencies' policies help governments to make this choice, and whether they ought not to do so to a greater extent.

Conclusion

Natural resources are today under great pressure, as are all Sahelian societies. In this situation, it is unlikely that optimum management of natural resources can be achieved (with reference to purely Sahelian objectives and, all the more so, with reference to world-wide objectives).

Experience has shown that aid cannot be effectively targeted on ecological questions except in a few well defined areas; these areas interact closely with other development problems, and any specific operation will be diluted and denatured by the strategies of farmers, for whom natural resource management is not an end in itself but one channel for realizing complex personal or group strategies subject to considerable constraints.

Problems must no longer be attributed exclusively to poor policy decisions. Good policies will not solve all the problems. Some trends are major tendencies which policy can do no more than modify a little and, even then, only if the existence of the trend is recognized. Specific policies should stem from more systematic, broad policy lines that give a central place to the individual and his or her strategies. Governments must adopt realistic aims and systematically try to shape their incentives to individuals so as to encourage them to take better account of the long term.

At the present time, however, governments are in a weak position and are not greatly concerned with the long term. The aid agencies are for the time being the main force capable of taking a long term view, and they should be concentrating primarily on operations that will help to structure the future.

10:30-11:00 *Break*

11:00-12:30 *Environment and development (continued)*

Introduction: Switzerland

"Land tenure, local-level natural resource management and decentralization"

In May 1989, a regional roundtable on local level resource management in the Sahel was held in Ségou, Mali, attended by representatives of the Sahel states, farmers' organizations, NGOs and donors. Eight landmark issues for future work were identified, concerning the environment, local communities, decentralization, land tenure, savings and loans, women, information and training, and population and development.

Two of these issues were considered to be essential conditions for sustainable development: the land tenure question and decentralization, the latter with a view to establishing a more balanced distribution of power among the different actors in development, local communities particularly. Research into the two focal issues of land tenure and decentralization is still going on in the different CILSS member countries. They have also emerged as unavoidable questions for the "local level resource management" (LLRM) approach ²⁰.

One approach used in the research has consisted of working actively to solve conflicts over land rights, while at the same time covering all the problems existing in a locality, monitoring developments and then, wherever possible, creating the conditions for avoiding open conflict.

A regional conference is planned for March 1994, in Praia, Cape Verde, to convey the findings of this work to the different categories of local social agents. The *general aim* of the conference can be expressed as follows: "to promote and reinforce the redistribution of power and authority leading to democratic, participative and decentralized management of natural resources and public services in the Sahel." The conference will be a forum enabling all participants (Sahelian governments, donors, NGOs, rural organizations and entrepreneurs) to express themselves freely and democratically on the subject. The aim of this is not to reach a consensus on recommendations to be made, but rather to underscore the process under way in the Sahelian region.

These orientations respond well to the *need expressed by rural producers* to obtain greater security of tenure on the land and greater security for their investments. *None the less, this security cannot be achieved without a real transfer of decisionmaking and management powers. Decentralization is thus a prerequisite for any improvement in security of tenure.* Strengthening local institutions' functional abilities, legal status and ability to mobilize and manage internal and external financial resources (taxes, subscriptions, applications for funding, loans etc.) would be a big step forward for civil society in the local management and monitoring of land tenure problems.

Main findings of research since the Ségou regional roundtable

From the work undertaken on the basis of the Ségou landmarks, two observations stand out very sharply. On the one hand, land tenure situations vary very widely indeed from one country to another, and indeed from one region to another. The solutions required are therefore equally varied, and must be designed to suit the specific features of each situation encountered. On the other hand, it seems that governments alone cannot resolve all land tenure problems. For harmonious resolution of the difficulties that inevitably arise on this issue, it is indispensable to decentralize the power of decision over land tenure to the communities that use the land.

²⁰ *The "Gestion des terroirs" approach is a new one in development work, having been introduced in the late 1980s. It is a holistic approach geared to creating the necessary conditions for sustainable development to emerge at the local level. An essential aim of this approach is to have rural populations participate in and take responsibility for environmental management. The approach can be effectively applied if and only if it is backed up by a policy of decentralization.*

A broad range of land tenure situations

The surveys carried out have not only demonstrated the wide diversity of land tenure situations, they have also shown that land tenure problems often demanded different solutions in different localities. While there are acute problems in some regions, especially those where there is strong friction between farmers and herders²¹, this must not be allowed to shroud the relatively common situations where communities have found peaceful and often original solutions to their land tenure problems²². Researchers have found, however, that women, young people and recently-settled migrants²³ get very little benefit from land tenure arrangements, which are generally decided in favor of the men.

Inappropriate legislation

Since land tenure situations vary from one country to another, and often from one region to the next, one must beware of generalizing on the problems of land tenure. But the laws in force in the Sahel (on land tenure, forestry and state-owned land) reflect an institutional, state-centered logic based on an exogenous value system that is very different from the manifold, functional logic of those who use the land at the local level. These laws generally run counter to the interests of Sahelian farmers. However, it would be wrong to see farmers solely as victims of existing legislation. In many cases, local communities have taken advantage of particular laws to a remarkable extent, incorporating them into their traditional practices.

Enforcing the law also involves many problems. A certain number of limiting factors have been identified: lack of executive orders, loopholes in some laws, complicated procedures, contradictions, use of difficult legal jargon and ill-defined concepts, etc. This is all the more of a restriction where the introduction of a new production system²⁴ or changes in land use (especially with the pressure of urban expansion on the surrounding countryside) produce new situations to which neither traditional custom nor modern law yet have any clear answer.

²¹ *E.g. the bloody conflicts in Maradi, Niger, between Peul pastoralists and local farmers, which was an extreme case of land tenure conflict, and the lesser conflicts that regularly arise between transhumant pastoralists and sedentary farmers, in Chad and elsewhere.*

²² *In cases like this, decisions are very often based on traditional customs and habits and can also incorporate elements of modern law, where these coincide with the interests of the parties concerned.*

²³ *It is worth noting that in some villages in Burkina Faso, relations between farmers and Peul herders who have been settled there for several generations are entirely unproblematic; the Peul communities have been assimilated into the original community. The assimilation process is extremely slow, however.*

²⁴ *The introduction of cash crops such as cotton has led to changes in traditional practices. The use of animal-powered tillage, in particular, has greatly helped to extend cropland area to the detriment of the cattle rangelands.*

There is an urgent need to draw up short, simple, accessible, applicable legal guidelines. On the basis of these, more detailed regulations can be drawn up for local populations. Only flexible land tenure legislation can guarantee a favorable outcome to land tenure problems. It is essential that the legislation proposed be translated into national languages, to make them more understandable and communicate their content to the population as widely and as uniformly as possible. It is clear that modern law must also take account of the totality of land tenure situations, choosing solutions that draw on the responses of local populations and are capable of evolving over time. For governments, there are two challenges here: they must adapt to individual interests while avoiding encroachment on the rights of the community. In this respect, access to individual ownership may not be a panacea.

Decentralization as a solution to land tenure question

Working on land rights issues sooner or later raises the question of decentralization. Security for rural producers and their investments is inseparable from the transfer of decisionmaking and management powers to the communities concerned. The conclusions and recommendations of studies in this sphere show the need to design decentralized forms of local resource management (e.g. the possible option of a land tenure Charter, the contractual approach and transfer of responsibility to representative local organizations). In this regard, it is crucial to identify clearly the roles of those involved, redefine them and adopt a negotiated, contractual approach.

It is now a priority for development to reorganize the way the administration works, basing it on greater regional and local autonomy through simple, flexible institutions that are sufficiently representative of the populations and are endowed with adequate resources.

The role of each party concerned must be redefined. The responsibility of the government is fundamental for developing or maintaining true democracy. It will often have to change its own role to serve civil society more adequately. As one agricultural economist has said,

"In the sphere of natural resource management in the Sahel, the job of governments now is to shift from the role of a one-man band who lacks the resources to play all his instruments properly, to that of a conductor whose job is to see that all the orchestra members play their respective scores in harmony."

Sahelian governments must shift from a management role to one of *counselling and arbitration*. The rules of the game must be defined through a clear, precise, contractual, negotiated approach. It is vital to assist local populations who wish to strengthen their capacity for self-government and self-management. This contractual approach must define the rights and obligations of each of the parties concerned, must organize, if necessary, an equitable distribution of local resources among the different economic agents in the locality, and must provide ways of settling disputes and reconciling differences.

The importance of training and information in the emergence of counter-powers

In countries which, for the time being, have no democratic "habits", decentralization is no small matter. Unless counter-powers emerge that are capable of putting pressure on the government in power, decentralization will remain a dead letter. With this in view, training and the dissemination of information are major challenges which, if well handled, can only help to raise awareness on a massive scale.

Training is important at two levels:

A reorientation of training for magistrates, administrators and technical officers in land tenure matters. At the present time, magistrates, administrators and technical officers are imbued, through their training, with Western legal logic which renders them incapable of thinking in terms of any other framework than the state. Under these conditions, the contractual approach is almost inevitably destined to fail, since most government officers tend to employ concepts that are foreign to the local communities.

Training for local people, to enable them to negotiate on an equal footing with their interlocutors from government, NGOs etc. Such training cannot be restricted to land tenure issues alone. The aim is to increase the capacity of rural dwellers to take charge of development (self-management), individually on their holdings and collectively through their associations. This training would give priority, for example, to functional literacy, exchange of experiences, training on how associations and other types of collective organization work, etc.

As to the *dissemination of information*, this is often understood as a one-way process of conveying a message to rural populations. But here again, the message must also spark off a dialogue. For the farmers, any improvement in the land tenure situation implies having access to the legislation in force in simple, popular language (use of visual imagery and local concepts; translation into the vernacular; making any recordings available to all at low cost, etc.). Lastly, it is important that the findings of surveys and research work are in an accessible form when disseminated (with scientific terms translated into operational terms).

Conclusion

It must be realized that the decentralization issues that have begun to be discussed are far wider than the single issue of land tenure. While decentralization can only favor resolution of the land tenure question, it cannot solve it on its own: local land tenure issues also involve land development problems and the need for arbitration between individual and collective interests. On the other hand, decentralization is an indispensable prerequisite if local communities are to take on greater responsibility and genuinely democratic actions are to emerge.

The studies of land tenure and decentralization undertaken by the Club du Sahel and CILSS Secretariats have stressed the diversity of situations, inequality among the different social agents with regard to land tenure, and the shortcoming of modern law. They have also made it possible to identify land tenure problems with greater precision, revealing the processes at work in this sphere and the possibilities for finding solutions capable of continuous evolution. More, if equitable land tenure settlements can help towards sustainable natural resource management, it is not the only component in this, and solving land tenure problems on their own will not necessarily lead to sustainable resource management. These studies raise some new questions and reveal new problems.

The land tenure issue implies working on new legislation, appropriate to the situation and accessible to all. How can one take account of all situations, particularly the place of itinerant pastoral activities in areas where sedentary agriculture is predominant? To what extent can private property rights really respond to land tenure and sustainable development needs?

How can the imperatives of national development, deriving from a global overview, be reconciled with the imperatives local community and individual interests? How can the expectations of marginalized groups such as women, young people and migrants be met?

Decentralization raises the problem of identifying all the social agents, their spheres of competence and the power relations that govern their interactions. What can and must be the different levels of decentralization? Where do the responsibilities of government end and the responsibilities of local communities begin? How can a "local community" be defined? How can the decentralization process be financed? How can one encourage the emergence of counter-powers without nurturing "empty shells"? How can a balance be preserved between the government as arbitrator and the people? All these are questions that need to be examined if realistic, applicable strategies are to be developed.

12:30-14:00

Buffet lunch

Afternoon

Presentation of the German Volunteer Service

Guided visit of Berlin

THURSDAY, APRIL 22

Environment and development (continued)

9:00-10:00

Presentation of the PATECORE project by the German Development Agency

Evaluation of a local-level natural resource management project

10:30-11:00

Break

11:00-12:30

What are the priorities for the Club?

Introduction: Germany

Steps towards an environmental Aid Charter for the Sahel²⁵ ?

What would be the purpose of a Charter on environmental aid to the Sahel?

In Ouagadougou in April, 1992, the CILSS Council of Ministers formally asked the CILSS and Club du Sahel Secretariats to draw up a charter on environmental aid to the Sahel. There were two reasons for this:

²⁵ *This discussion paper on an environmental aid charter in the Sahel is one of the possible priorities for the Club.*

- (a) Natural resource management and the fight against desertification have been major development issues in the Sahel region for more than twenty years now. But, because of the lack of coordination and harmonization among the different agencies involved and the lack of connection between environment plans and other development objectives, the projects undertaken have been disappointing and often counter-productive. The foremost aim of the charter is to correct this state of affairs.
- (b) The request also coincided with a new awareness, on the part of the industrial societies, of the problems created by deterioration of the environment on a planetary scale. Their desire to take action on the issue pushed environmental questions to the forefront of geopolitics.

The experience of the CILSS and the Club in the spheres of desertification control, natural resource management and the charter

Since they were first formed, the CILSS and the Club du Sahel have been working continuously on the issues of desertification control and natural resource management. Secondly, it is part of the purpose of these organizations to provide a forum for discussion and reflection that can disarm conflicts and help towards a positive outcome to negotiations among the different parties concerned in the Sahel region's development. They therefore played a major part in drawing up the food aid charter.

The experience of the food aid charter is particularly significant. On the one hand, it is a good illustration of the scale and complexity of the process involved in drawing up a charter and, on the other hand, it has resulted in concrete, positive measures. So it is worth examining this experience in detail here.

It took nearly ten years of work for the food aid charter to see the light of day. First it was necessary to gather, analyse and synthesize all the information existing on the food security issue. There then followed a long process of discussion and follow-up aimed at harmonizing the approaches of the different operators, governments and aid agencies involved. Only when a common language for a shared strategy had been found could the charter be drawn up and approved. It has resulted in a number of simple recommendations whose application is permanently monitored. Drawing up a charter is a long and complicated process, then, and its scope is limited by the need for simple recommendations that will lead to appreciably better coordination among operations in a given field.

Needs in the environmental sphere are similar to the needs that led to the food aid charter, in that both are related, first and foremost, to coordination among projects and harmonization of plans. The world-wide implications also have some similarities with those of food aid. That it proved possible to draw up the food aid charter was largely due to the fact that the Sahel is not a vital commercial zone for the grain exporters²⁶. Similarly, as regards planet-wide environmental issues, the Sahel can hardly be held responsible for the greenhouse effect or attacks on biodiversity. On the other hand, it may prove far more complicated to work out a charter for environmental aid than was the case with the food aid charter. Compared to food aid, the problems affecting the environment are far harder to grasp since they go beyond strictly ecological issues and touch on development as a whole.

²⁶ *The Sahel represents only about 1% to 2% of the world grain market.*

What are the preliminary stages in drawing up a charter ?

There seem to be two fundamental lines of work before one can set about drawing up the charter properly speaking.

The first is easier to achieve in the short term: given the number and scale of their natural resource management operations and desertification control schemes, the CILSS countries have accumulated a wealth of useful lessons from their varied experiences. An appraisal of national and regionwide projects undertaken in this sphere can now help to draw out these lessons. However, one must bear in mind that:

- (a) the conclusions of an appraisal are heavily dependent on the evaluation methods used. It seems appropriate (i) to verify their relevance and validity and (ii) to harmonize the methodologies used by the different agencies.
- (b) Such an appraisal will doubtless be more helpful in assessing a certain type of know-how, essentially focused on the design and implementation of projects, than in providing detailed knowledge of environmental problems.

A real diagnosis of the problems remains to be drawn up: this is the second line of work. It must be based on a dynamic view of the environment, seen as one facet of development and considering individuals as the main actors in policy implementation rather than as additional constraints on the management of natural resources. At this stage, work is still at a very theoretical level, suggesting lines of reflection and highlighting possible orientations that need to be verified and corrected through a better knowledge of Sahelian realities²⁷. However, this work does lay the groundwork for reflection on strategy, concerning both local development problems and such global objectives as national development and the functioning of markets.

Strategic thinking is especially important in view of the numerous different questions involved in coordination and harmonization of operations for desertification control and natural resource management. How should responsibilities be shared between governments and aid agencies? How should operations be coordinated? A first step is to limit competition among different government departments concerned by environmental issues. But this measure will have no effect in the long term unless it is guided by an approach that views environmental preoccupations as an integral part of development in general. To achieve this requires consensus among the different agencies involved -- a consensus that would enable an environmental aid charter to be drawn up.

The charter and the International Desertification Control Convention

When the principle of an environmental aid charter was adopted in April 1992, the setting was somewhat different to today's. At the Rio conference in June '92, UNCED²⁸ took the initiative of drawing up an International Convention on desertification control, with strong support from African governments. The Sahelian countries see this convention as an opportunity to make their voices heard in a world-wide forum, in a field in which they have

²⁷ On this issue, see the World Bank's "nexus" approach and the note on "populations, environment and development" in this document.

²⁸ UNCED / United Nations Conference on Environment and Development

developed undeniable experience. At the request of UNCED, the Club du Sahel and CILSS Secretariats have already been involved in drawing up this convention, to disseminate the knowledge they have acquired in desertification control and natural resource management.

The Convention process would not seem to detract in any way from the sound reasons behind an environmental aid charter for the Sahel. It adds an international dimension, however, and raises other questions. For example, what features are specific to the Sahel regions and what points do they have in common, in agro-climatic and socio-economic terms, with other arid zones around the world? Can Sahelian experiences be shared and disseminated?

The lively debates at the Rio Summit revealed the diversity of conceptions about ecology. Western conceptions mainly concerned pure ecology, whether "deep" or "superficial" ecology or a compromise between the two²⁹. For the countries of the South, on the other hand, environmental questions come a long way behind the need for global, sustainable development, and are part of the broader context of a world market in which the competition is seen as unfair. How can these widely differing views be harmonized and reconciled? Will the process of the convention reflect the differences -- and indeed antagonisms -- that animated the discussions at the Rio conference?

One might also ask whether the convention will have any other consequences than to spark a debate over desertification control in an international forum. Given the timespan set for the process (the convention is due to be completed in 1994), can the CILSS/Club contribution reasonably go beyond an appraisal of desertification control and natural resource management operations?

Conclusions

An environmental aid charter for the Sahel is an ambitious project, because coordination of projects and harmonization of environmental plans must be combined with consensual strategic thinking if they are to be sustainable in the long term. This is not a matter simply of harmonizing and coordinating, it is a matter of defining the orientation and quality of operations better. But it is not always easy to reconcile the "better" with the "possible". A project like the charter can structure an approach and help it towards a successful conclusion. For example, should one provide for an intermediate stage, in the form of a local level natural resource management charter³⁰ that would help to put into practice the lessons of past operations? Or must one move on directly to drawing up the environmental aid charter, even if this implies a much longer-term process?

Given the existence of the convention, what part can an environmental aid charter play? Is it better to make it a parallel official process or to introduce it as an official recommendation at the end of the convention process?

²⁹ See Jacques Giri's working paper "Une charte verte pour le Sahel est-elle possible ? - Janvier 1993.

³⁰ The idea of a "Gestion des terroirs" charter followed the demand from the CILSS Ministerial Council for an environmental aid charter in the Sahel. It would mainly concern plan harmonization and projects coordination at a local level. Its implications are more limited than those of an environmental aid charter but have the advantage of being more rapidly and more easily elaborated and applied. Its realization would derive from a review of the "gestion des terroirs" and natural resource management experiences.

12:30-14:00

Buffet lunch

Afternoon

Other business. Preparations for the Tokyo meeting.

Summary of proceedings and initial conclusions

End of Donors' Advisory Group Meeting

Departure of some of the delegates

RAPPORT D'EXECUTION SOMMAIRE

DES ACTIVITES DU SECRETARIAT

DU CLUB DU SAHEL

EN 1992

Rapport d'exécution sommaire des activités du Secrétariat du Club du Sahel en 1992

"Mieux connaître le cadre institutionnel du développement"

"Alimenter la réflexion stratégique"

PROGRAMME	Amélioration de la connaissance	Sensibilisation	Dynamique de réseau	Autres résultats	Collaborations spécifiques
Suivi de l'APD	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rétrospective sur les années 80* • Accent sur éducation et infrastructures 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • au sein des agences de coopération 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • avec le CILSS/DEP
Constitution de bases de données	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • macro-économique • sur les échanges • sur la population 				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CILSS/INSAH/CERPOD
Etat/société civile : secteur privé	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Diagnostic sur le secteur privé au Bénin* 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Missions du secteur privé dans les agences d'aide 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Constitution du réseau des entrepreneurs ouest-africains • Préparation de la réunion d'Accra en 1993 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2 comités de pilotages 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CILSS/PPP/PROCELOS • Projet CINERGIE • USAID/AFR/ONI
Etat/société civile	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Trois contributions présentées à Berlin* 	Réunion de réflexion			
Etat/société civile	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Etude sur l'éducation dans le Sahel* 	septembre 1992			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • USAID/AFR/SWA
Etude prospective Afrique de l'ouest	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Constitution de bases de données • Rapport de 1ère boucle 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Réunion ouest-africaine (Abidjan 1/93) 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dossier de presse • Comité scientifique 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CINERGIE • Projet PNUD-NLTPS

Rapport d'exécution sommaire des activités du Secrétariat du Club du Sahel en 1992

"Développer le rôle coordonnateur du CILSS et du Club du Sahel"

PROGRAMME	Amélioration de la connaissance	Sensibilisation	Dynamique de réseau	Autres résultats	Collaborations spécifiques
Relance du CILSS				• Forte implication du Sec. du Club en 1992	• S.E. CILSS • INSAH • AGRHYMET
Réflexion sur le Sahel. Réunion de Berlin	• Dossier de la réunion				

38

36

Rapport d'exécution sommaire des activités du Secrétariat du Club du Sahel en 1992

"Une gestion durable des ressources naturelles dans le Sahel"

PROGRAMME	Amélioration de la connaissance	Sensibilisation	Dynamique de réseau	Autres résultats	Collaborations spécifiques
Environnement et développement au Sahel	• Rédaction d'un doc. de synthèse (pub. avril 93)	• Participation charte et convention	• Dynamique des groupes d'experts		• CERPOD
Gestion du foncier et de la décentralisation	• Etudes sur le Mali, le Sénégal et le Cap Vert (à publier) • Foncier/décentralisation/Gestion des ressources naturelles : l'intégration des femmes (note de travail)	• Atelier sur le foncier et la décentralisation au Burkina Faso	• Préparation de la Conférence de Praia en 1994		• CILSS/DPP/SEE • University of Wisconsin Land Tenure Center
Charte de l'environnement et Convention Mondiale de LcD	• Note de travail de R. Rochette sur environ. et gestion des terroirs	• Relations étroites avec Etats et agences d'aide • Réunion sur la contribution du Club dans la convention (6 avril 93)		• Contribution du Club au processus de la convention mondiale	• CILSS/DPP/SEE • Banque Mondiale AF/ENV • UNSO

36

37

Rapport d'exécution sommaire des activités du Secrétariat du Club du Sahel en 1992

"Production agricole et sécurité alimentaire"

PROGRAMME	Amélioration de la connaissance	Sensibilisation	Dynamique de réseau	Autres résultats	Collaborations spécifiques
Information sur la situation alimentaire		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Réunion du réseau de prévention 			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CILSS • FAO • Projet FEWS
Charte de l'aide alimentaire	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Evaluation de la charte* 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Réseau de prévention des crises alimentaires 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CILSS
La prise en compte de l'environnement régional	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Plusieurs publications sur les échanges de bétail* 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Séminaire de Nouakchott - mars 1992 • Réunion d'Abidjan et de Bamako 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Contacts entre Mali, Burkina Faso et Côte d'Ivoire 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CILSS
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bilans des travaux sur les espaces régionaux* • Analyse des approches des agences de coop.* • Préparation du diagnostic du sous-espace "est" 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Réunions nationales en Guinée et au Mali • Séminaires sur l'I.R. (CIRES, CAD, IFPRI, CRDI) • Préparation de la Rencontre de Cotonou (mai 1993) sur le sous-espace "est" 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Suivi programme ECDPM dans le sous-espace "Centre" 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Appui à la réflexion interne USAID et ACDI 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CILSS • Projet CINERGIE <p>(Préparation d'un projet régional du CILSS sur l'intégration régionale des politiques agro-alimentaires)</p>

18

38

Rapport d'exécution sommaire des activités du Secrétariat du Club du Sahel en 1992

"Diffusion de l'information"

PROGRAMME	Amélioration de la connaissance	Sensibilisation	Dynamique de réseau	Autres résultats	Collaborations spécifiques
Lettre d'information du Club du Sahel	• 2 numéros en 1992				
Publications	• Bibliographie				
Vidéos					
The "Networker" Le "	• 1 numéro en 1992				

* On trouvera en annexe la liste des publications indiquées par un astérisque

39