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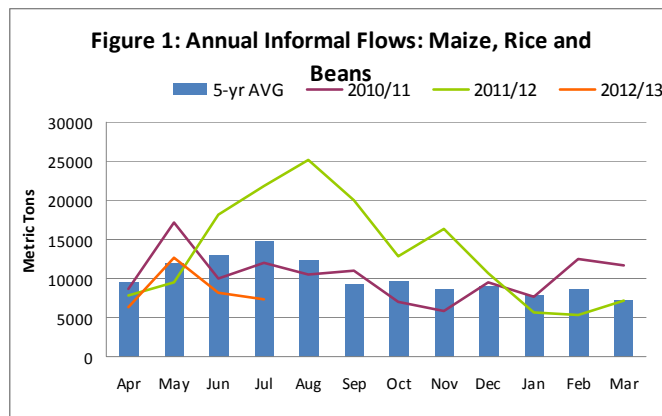
Informal Cross Border Food Trade in Southern Africa

Issue 78

August 2012

Summary

- Observed informal monthly trade volumes since the start of 2012/13 marketing year are at lower levels when compared to the same period last year. Total volumes captured between April and July have declined by 40 percent, with maize trade experiencing the highest drop. July 2012 total of 7,390 MT is 66 percent below the 21,778 MT recorded in July 2011.
- Cumulative volume of informally traded maize dropped 53 percent from 51,264 MT last year, to 24,186 on account of the drastic drop in outflows from Malawi (a major exporter last season). While rice trade has significantly been higher compared to last year (142 percent increase from 2,474 MT to 5,987 MT), trade in beans dropped marginally - falling from a cumulative volume of 3,485 MT last year to 3,394 MT.
- July year on year price trends were varied; some sites recorded increases while in others prices fell. A 48 percent increase was observed at Milange border (Mozambique/Malawi); while Muloza (Malawi/Mozambique) registered a 13 percent increase. Monitored sites elsewhere registered drops ranging from 5 – 11 percent. Reasons for these variations include ease of availability of supplies, and prevailing prices at main destination points.



Informally traded volumes of maize, rice and beans declined further in April 2012 but picked up considerably in May, increasing just over 100 percent from a total of 6,303 MT to 12,702 MT. However, since then, trade has been declining steadily; the June total was down to 8,126 MT, while July totals dropped further to 7,390 MT. Compared to the same April – July period last year, total trade is 40 percent down (34,521 MT compared to 54,224 MT last year).

Maize trade dropped significantly, falling 53 percent compared to the April to July period last year. This continues to be a response to the export ban in Malawi which the government put in place in December 2011 as a precautionary measure to stem the huge outflows of maize due to increased trader activity to supplied export markets in East Africa and Zimbabwe. Before the ban, monthly volumes of traded maize were well above the 5-year average and last year's levels. Rice trade on the other hand has been well above the levels that were traded in the April – July period last year, with an overall increase of 142 percent. Most of this trade (72 percent) has been outflows from Malawi to Tanzania. Bean trade has maintained the same levels that were recorded last year; dropping marginally (3 percent) from a cumulative April – July total of 3,485 MT to 3,394 MT. Maize remains the most traded commodity accounting for 70 percent of total informal trade captured since the beginning of the current marketing year (Table 1).

Table 1: Summary of 2012/13 informal Trade Flows (MT)

	Total 2011/12	April 2012	May	June	July	Cum. Total 12/13
Maize (Incl. maize meal)	139,243	4,480	9,083	5,839	5,738	24,186
Maize meal (only)	6,859	539	735	587	384	2,245
Rice	8,485	1,047	2,544	1,363	1,033	5,987
Beans	12,690	776	1,075	924	619	3,394

Inside this issue:

- Summary and Overview 1
- Summary of Maize trade flows 2
- Summary of rice trade flows 5
- Summary of bean trade flows 6
- Annex 1: Historical summary tables and Map 7

A Technical Steering Committee (TSC) of the Cross Border Food Trade Monitoring Initiative, with funding from USAID, has prepared this report based on data collected by a network of border monitors based at selected border points. The border monitors record data on a daily basis, and transmit it to a central location for collation and analysis. Currently, the informal cross border trade monitoring system includes 29 borders, with new borders are added as necessary. The Alliance for Commodity Trade in Eastern and Southern Africa (ACTESA) has since March 2011, been collaborating with WFP and FEWS NET on this initiative. Please address comments/suggestions to the following e-mail addresses: pmdlada@few.net; joao.manja@wfp.org; or cmwila@comesa.int



Summary of Maize trade flows

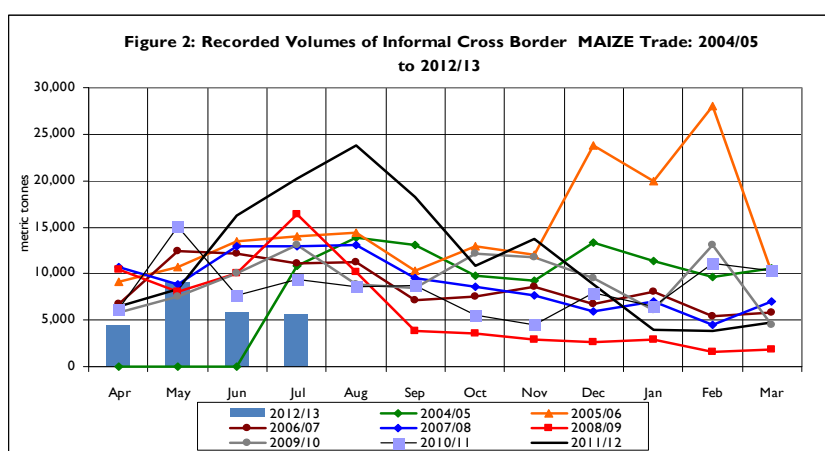
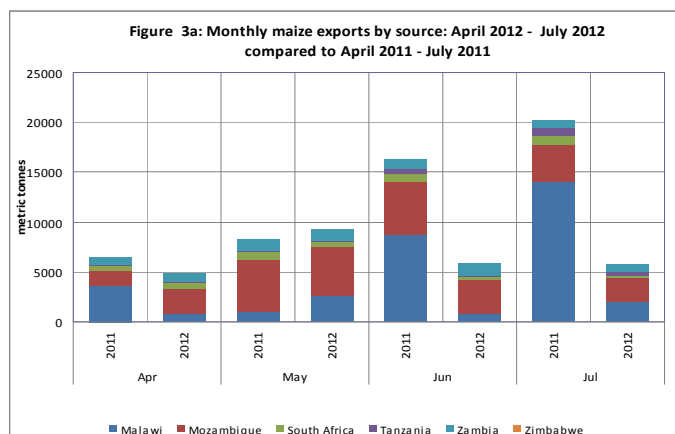
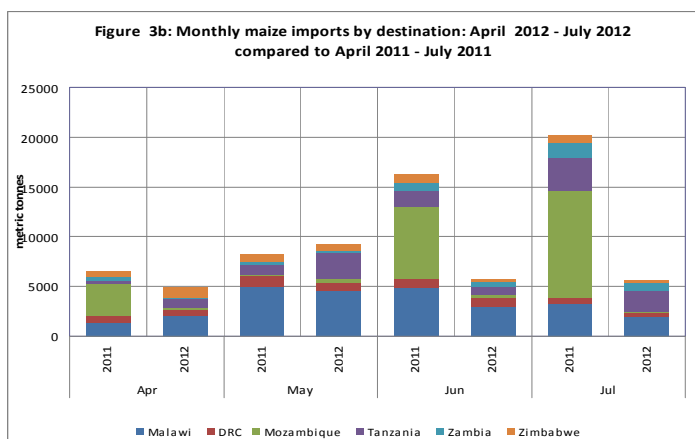


Figure 2 shows trends in volumes of informal maize grain and maize meal trade among the monitored countries while Figure 3 (a and b) shows trade flows by source and destination. Monthly volumes of informally traded maize increased markedly between April and May - rising from 4,480 MT to 9,083 MT. However, a marked drop was recorded in June when volumes dropped to 5,839 MT; July trade volumes were almost similar (though marginally lower at 5,738 MT). Apart from the May trade totals, this year's monthly trade is the lowest on record since monitoring began (Figure 2). Contributing to this drop is the export ban in Malawi, and the generally lower levels of surpluses in monitored countries (Zambia, Malawi and

Mozambique). Outflows from Mozambique to Malawi for example have dropped by 20 percent this year, dropping from a cumulative 14,509 MT last year to 11,600 MT this year. Contrary to the observed reversal in maize flows between Malawi and Mozambique in 2011/12 where flows were flowing out of Malawi into Mozambique, this year, Mozambique is once more coming out as the main maize exporter into Malawi - which has been the normal trend observed since monitoring began. There are several contributing factors to this return to the norm; one of which is the more widespread/ severe food shortage in the high consumption deficit areas of southern Malawi that benefit from Mozambican exports. Other factors (all within Malawi) include: the reduced overall maize surplus in 2012/13; and the continuation of the export ban in place since December 2011. The total cumulative informally traded maize meal volume for the 2012/13 marketing year amounted to 2,245 MT of which 1,093 MT (or 49 percent) constitutes trade between South Africa and Zimbabwe (Table 3).



Exports: In the period April - July 2012, Mozambique has informally exported the largest volume of maize amounting to 13,143 MT (or 54 percent of the total); 11,600 MT of these exports went to Malawi. This was followed by Malawi with an export volume of 6,307 MT of which 91 percent (5,708 MT) went into Tanzania. The Tanzania exports are in response to the demand from East Africa, and are supplied from Malawi's surplus central and northern regions. Zambia's informal exports have remained lower than expectations, although April - July cumulative totals this year are higher (13 percent) than at the same time last year. South Africa and Tanzania exported lower volumes this year when compared to last year (Figure 3a). Low informal trade volumes from Zambia and South Africa could have been influenced by the larger volumes of formal exports reported in both countries. South Africa's share is also limited by the restrictions on GMO imports especially to Zimbabwe.



Imports: Malawi's informal imports over this period were the highest, with a total share of 48 percent, followed by Tanzania (27 percent), DRC (11 percent), and Zimbabwe (9 percent). The DRC's informal maize imports from Zambia have declined 14 percent from 3,162 MT last year to 2,730 MT; one of the reasons for this drop is the strict controls instituted by Zambia Police on maize trade since last year at Kasumbalesa which continues to discourage many traders. Zimbabwe's maize imports comprise mainly of maize meal from South Africa, very little grain is imported informally into the country. Mozambique and Zambia had the lowest share of imports (4 and 7 percent respectively).

Table 2: Informal cross border MAIZE trade by source and destination country (MT)

Source	Destination	Total 05/06 season	Total 06/07 season	Total 07/08 season	Total 08/09 season	Total 09/10 Season	Total 10/11 Season	Total 11/12 Season	Jul 2011	Jul 2012	Cumulative Apr 2011 - Jul 2011	Cumulative Apr 2012 - Jul 2012
Malawi	Mozambique	133	591	3,755	203	6,124	27,209	59,388	10,665	93	21,152	489
Malawi	DRC	0	0	300	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Malawi	Tanzania	944	2,928	1,581	239	6,031	7,073	17,252	3,332	1,904	6,023	5,708
Malawi	Zambia	81	202	1,779	129	315	444	990	85	14	160	110
Malawi	Zimbabwe	0	0	306	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mozambique	Malawi	71,218	77,394	56,078	54,223	60,399	23,557	30,356	3,252	1,933	14,509	11,600
Mozambique	Zambia	49	1,269	2,113	865	4,462	8,341	4,602	467	427	1,307	940
Mozambique	Zimbabwe	5	2,085	11	178	1,761	55	10	0	0	1	1
South Africa	Zimbabwe	1,688	49	47	2,663	1,135	9,430	8,232	816	333	2,968	1,346
Tanzania	Malawi	84,862	1,888	1,073	2,910	89	261	27	0	0	27	0
Tanzania	Zambia	13,556	6,260	4,980	2,449	3,730	5,034	6,573	835	293	1,538	306
Zambia	DRC	4,682	9,481	33,424	4,589	9,861	12,754	9,652	571	413	3,162	2,730
Zambia	Malawi	419	378	2,500	5,388	546	515	0	0	0	0	0
Zambia	Mozambique	55	2	0	60	130	583	1,239	76	75	240	415
Zambia	Tanzania	0	7	4	15	257	307	897	70	253	156	542
Zambia	Zimbabwe	182	299	433	350	28,493	0	0	0	0	0	0
Zimbabwe	Mozambique	85	294	129	2	8	10	0	0	0	0	0
Zimbabwe	Zambia	0	0	166	207	345	508	24	16	0	22	0
Total Traded (MT)		177,959	103,127	108,679	74,470	123,685	96,081	139,243	20,184	5,738	51,264	24,186

Note: Volumes of maize meal trade are estimated in grain equivalent and added to the volumes of informally traded maize as presented in Table 2 above

Table 3: Informal MAIZE MEAL trade flows by source and destination (MT)

Source	Destination	Total 09/10 season	Total 10/11 season	Total 11/12 season	Apr 2012	May 2012	Jun 2012	Jul 2012	Cum total (Apr- Jul)
Malawi	Mozambique	91	383	608	34	44	20	20	118
Mozambique	Zimbabwe	25	51	5	0	0	0	0	1
Mozambique	Malawi	0	540	1,010	0	0	0	0	0
South Africa	Zimbabwe	904	5,327	2,036	299	341	255	198	1,093
Tanzania	Zambia	104	545	94	3	5	2	3	12
Zambia	DRC	1,895	1,446	1481	150	178	146	83	557
Zambia	Mozambique	11	63	409	0	115	90	35	240
Zambia	Tanzania	24	37	93	52	51	74	45	223
Zambia	Zimbabwe	9,200	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Zimbabwe	Zambia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total Traded (MT)		12,254	8,392	6,859	539	735	587	384	2,245

Total informally traded maize meal was up 13 percent (at 2,245 MT) compared to 1,995 MT last season. South Africa - which is the main exporter of maize meal (all of which is to Zimbabwe) saw its volumes rise 25 percent from 876 MT last year to 1,093 MT. Flows into Zimbabwe are expected to increase further as the year progresses in response to reported increased food deficits due to lower harvest estimates compared to last year (Table 3). Zambia is the only other country to record significant maize meal exports (to the DRC, Tanzania and Mozambique).

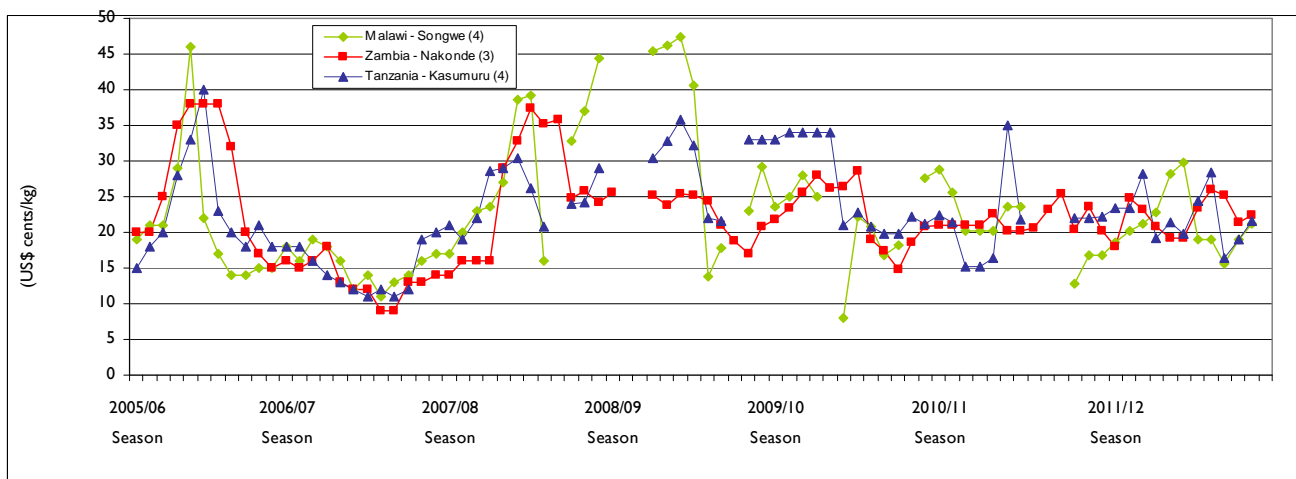
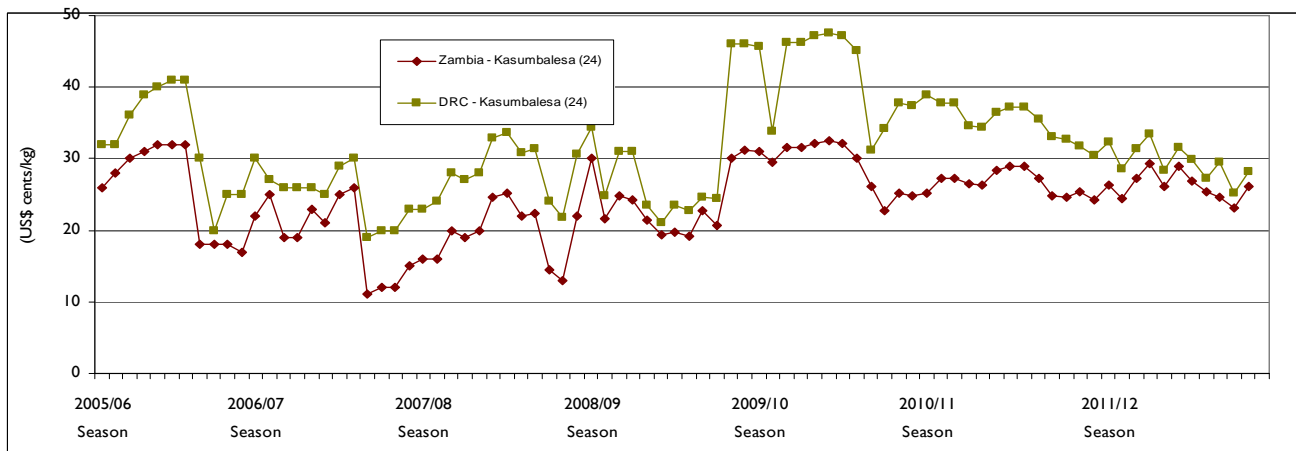
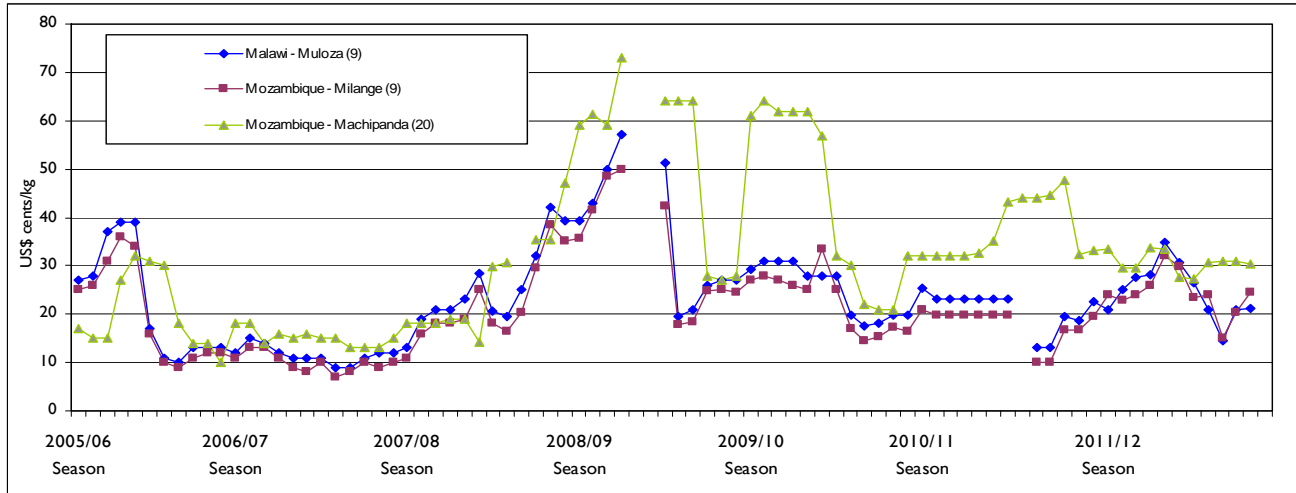
Nominal maize grain prices at source and destination points:

Figures 4 a to c (page 4) present monthly nominal maize grain prices (in USD equivalent) for selected border points, while Table 4 shows the monthly percentage changes for the current marketing year as well as the year on year change for the period ending July 2012. Prices fell almost across the board between April and May (drops ranged between 3 – 37 percent); the only exception was at Kasumbalesa (DRC/Zambia) where an 8 percent increase was recorded. Price drops in this period are typical since both months mark the start of the main season harvest. However, this season, a marked devaluation in the local Malawi Kwacha has exacerbated the price drop in USD equivalent as seen in the 31 and 37 percent drops in Muloza and Milange. Prices continued to drop between May and June on most sites except southern Malawi, where a sharp upturn was recorded on account of rising inflation levels and an increasing concern on food shortages. Year on year trends are varied, some sites show a decline (mainly those located in surplus areas), while others recorded increases (in large deficit areas). A significant 48 percent increase was observed at Milange border (Mozambique/Malawi); other borders registering increases were Muloza (13 percent) and Kasumbalesa (on the Zambia side). The remaining monitored sites registered drops ranging from 5 – 11 percent).

Table 4: Percent change in nominal maize grain prices at source/ destination points (USD cents/kg)

Price at Source (S) and Destination (D)	Apr '12	May '12	% change	May '12	Jun '12	% change	Jun '12	Jul '12	% Change	Jul '11	Jul '12	% Change (year on year)
Moz/Mal: Muloza (D)	20.95	14.38	-31	14.38	20.90	45	20.90	21.13	1	18.75	21.13	13
Moz/Mal: Milange (S)	23.95	14.98	-37	14.98	20.27	35	20.27	24.65	22	16.71	24.65	48
Moz/Zim: Machipanda (S)	30.77	30.92	0.49	30.92	30.81	-0.37	30.81	30.52	-0.93	32.33	30.52	-6
Zam/DRC: Kasumbalesa-Zam (S)	25.32	24.67	-3	24.67	23.21	-6	23.21	26.18	13	25.42	26.18	3
Zam/DRC: Kasumba-DRC (D)	27.26	29.52	8	29.52	25.15	-15	25.15	28.20	12	31.78	28.20	-11
Zam/Tan: Nakonde (S)	25.97	25.30	-3	25.30	21.49	-15	21.49	22.38	4	23.54	22.38	-5

Figures 4a-4c: Retail MAIZE prices in selected border points (USD cents/ kg)



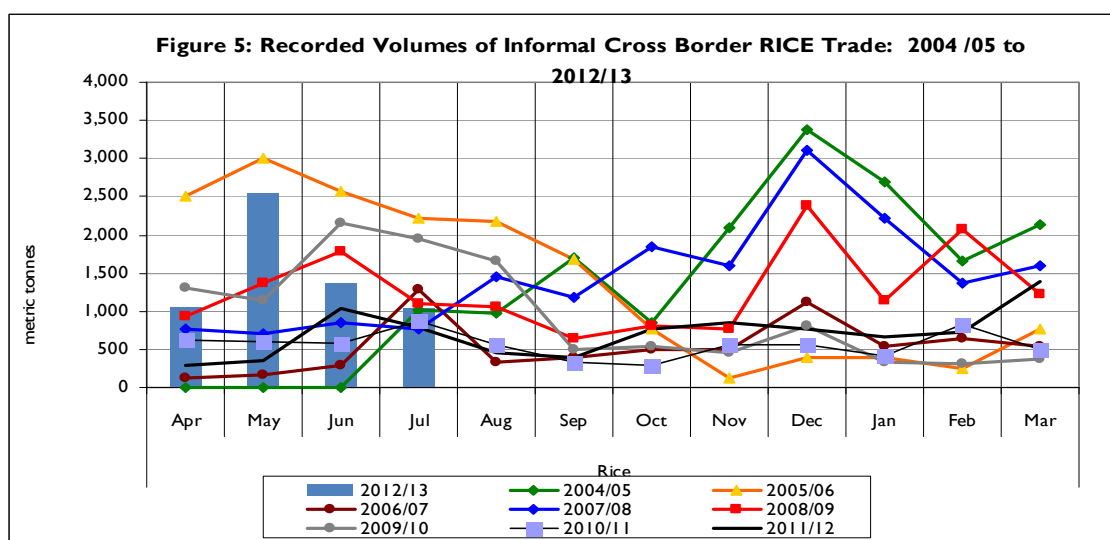
Summary of Rice trade flows

Table 5. Informal cross border RICE trade by source and destination country (MT)

Source	Destination	Total 05/06 season	Total 06/07 season	Total 07/08 season	Total 08/09 season	Total 09/10 Season	Total 10/11 Season	Total 11/12 Season	July 2011	July 2012	Cumulative April 2011 - July 2011	Cumulative April 2012 - July 2012
Malawi	Mozambique	12	1	822	58	518	921	1,677	134	2	194	133
Malawi	Tanzania	135	1,217	1,568	291	1,909	403	1,648	335	624	763	4,286
Malawi	Zambia	31	74	2,360	990	2,607	201	0	0	0	0	0
Malawi	Zimbabwe	0	0	405	0	630	0	0	0	0	0	0
Moz	Malawi	1,691	1,718	444	690	588	250	1,104	0	54	372	130
Moz	Zambia				3	4	15	26	2	2	8	8
Moz	Zimbabwe	399	850	1,028	1,958	276	148	143	14	11	56	37
RSA	Zimbabwe	64	82	33	25	215	1,254	914	57	43	210	231
Tanzania	Malawi	912	4	100	154	0	320	0	0	0	0	0
Tanzania	Zambia	641	557	397	374	549	753	1,408	90	207	328	723
Zambia	DRC	12,629	1,697	6,746	9,333	3,660	1,839	1,274	140	70	452	375
Zambia	Malawi	0	0	30	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	0
Zambia	Tanzania	0	0	3	6	9	10	9	1	1	4	4
Zambia	Zimbabwe	106	803	3,312	1,387	568	595	281	19	19	86	60
Zimbabwe	Zambia	0	0	185	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total Traded (MT)		16,620	7,003	17,434	15,268	11,541	6,708	8,485	791	1,033	2,474	5,987

Table 5 and Figure 5 summarize informal cross border rice trade trends. Volumes of traded rice have been fluctuating throughout this period, depending on available supplies and market opportunities. Despite the marked fluctuation, the cumulative total traded between April and July was 142 percent higher (at 5,987 MT) than last year's total trade in the same period of 2,474 MT (Table 5). The volume of trade recorded in May 2012 (2,544 MT) was the highest for the year, making up 42 percent of cumulative trade thus far. Trade flows (ranked in order of volumes) in this period were notable between Malawi/Tanzania, Tanzania/Zambia, and Zambia/DRC. Malawi is the major source of rice this season with a total share of 74 percent, followed by Tanzania (12 percent). Elsewhere rice trade volumes were low (below 4 percent of the total). Tanzania was the largest importer over this period, receiving over 70 percent of the total traded. Zambia came in a distant second with a 12 percent share. Flows into the other countries were quite minimal.

Trends in Volumes of Rice Traded by Month and Year



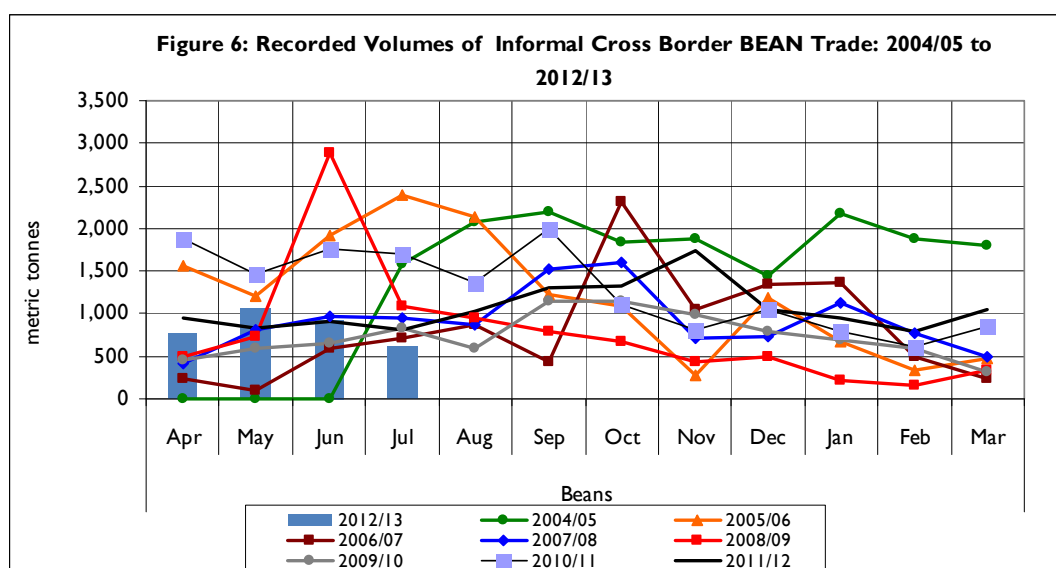
Summary of Bean trade flows

Table 6. Informal cross border BEAN trade by source and destination country (MT)

Source	Destination	Total 05/06 season	Total 06/07 season	Total 07/08 season	Total 08/09 season	Total 09/10 Season	Total 10/11 Season	Total 11/12 Season	July 2011	July 2012	Cumulative April 2010 -July 2011	Cumulative April 2012 - July 2012
Malawi	Mozambique	76	269	149	19	328	12	240	0	2	0	36
Malawi	South Africa	0	0	270	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Malawi	Tanzania	0	0	169	6	6	423	10	0	0	0	0
Malawi	Zambia	19	268	338	124	52	91	81	12	11	28	29
Malawi	Zimbabwe	0	0	480	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mozambique	Malawi	2,741	2,798	2,375	3,045	2,619	6,950	3,419	210	1	931	895
Mozambique	Zambia				151	152	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mozambique	Zimbabwe	4	8	13	29	38	106	5	0	1	0	4
South Africa	Zimbabwe	325	83	11	6	17	255	141	11	6	53	31
Tanzania	Malawi	2,459	3,646	3,468	2,749	622	1,460	2,956	59	49	402	304
Tanzania	Zambia	472	588	1,058	946	1,099	1,775	2,751	210	326	982	938
Zambia	DRC	8,231	2,422	2,487	1,880	3,548	3,788	2,547	255	168	932	942
Zambia	Mozambique				0	90	188	154	16	10	50	44
Zambia	Tanzania	0	2	0	0	86	122	281	16	38	60	143
Zambia	Zimbabwe	16	69	170	280	143	209	106	15	7	49	28
Total Traded (MT)		14,343	10,153	10,988	9,236	8,800	15,380	12,690	803	619	3,485	3,394

Table 6 and Figure 6 summarize informal cross border bean trade trends. Bean trade remains at relatively lower levels similar to those recorded throughout the 2011/12 marketing year. The April – July cumulative total of 3,394 MT is about 3 percent lower than the amounts traded over the same period last year. As with rice, trade volumes fluctuated markedly from month to month with the highest volumes (1,075 MT) also recorded in May. MT. The July 2012 trade (at 619 MT) is 23 percent lower than the July 2011 trade. The reasons for the lower traded volumes of beans this season are not immediately evident, but it could be that many households harvested stocks that are just adequate for own consumption. Current trends show dominance in bean flows between Tanzania/ Zambia, Zambia/DRC and Mozambique/Malawi borders. Elsewhere beans traded at much lower volumes (below 200 MT). Tanzania had the highest export share (45 percent), followed by Mozambique (27 percent), and Zambia (24 percent). The largest informal importer of beans with a total share of 35 percent was Malawi; most of these were from Mozambique and Tanzania. Zambia and the DRC followed with import shares of 28 percent each. Zambia's imports were from Tanzania, while those to the DRC were from Zambia.

Trends in Volumes of Bean Traded by Month and Year



Annex 1: Trade Tables

Table 7 Informal Cross Border trade in Maize (MT)

Source	Destination	2005/06 Season	2006/07 Season	2007/08 Season	2008/09 Season	2009/10 Season	Apr-Jun 10	Jul-Sep 10	Oct-Dec 10	Jan-Mar 11	2010/11 Season	Apr-Jun 11	Jul-Sep 11	Oct-Dec 11	Jan-Mar 12	2010/11 Season
Tanzania	Zambia	13,556	6,260	4,980	2,449	4,103	1,388	1,891	1,235	520	5,034	702	2,299	3,125	447	6,573
Zambia	Zimbabwe	182	299	433	350	15,726	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Zambia	Malawi	419	378	2,500	5,388	533	182	334	0	0	515	0	0	0	0	0
Zambia	Tanzania	-	7	4	15	288	106	81	68	52	307	86	188	254	369	897
Malawi	Zambia	81	202	1,779	1,293	311	111	114	125	93	444	75	713	102	100	990
Zambia	DRC	4,682	9,481	33,424	4,588	11,126	3,288	3,793	3,063	2,610	12,754	2,591	2,817	2,415	1,829	9,652
Mozambique	Malawi	71,218	77,394	56,078	54,223	49,137	11,887	9,333	1,423	914	23,557	11,257	8,439	5,587	5,073	30,356
Malawi	Tanzania	944	2,928	1,581	239	7,718	2,364	4,077	351	281	7,073	2,691	11,851	1,849	861	17,252
Tanzania	Malawi	84,862	1,888	1,888	2,910	89	14	0	85	162	261	27	0	0	0	27
Mozambique	Zimbabwe	5	2,085	11	178	1,810	1	51	3	0	55	1	2	5	1	10
Mozambique	Zambia	49	1,269	2,113	864	5,539	943	3,223	3,261	914	8,341	840	1,647	1,799	316	4,602
Malawi	Mozambique	133	591	3,755	203	7,144	556	1,510	5,386	19,758	27,209	10,487	31,666	16,244	992	59,388
Zambia	Mozambique	55	2	0	60	204	230	78	101	174	583	165	189	167	719	1,239
Zimbabwe	Mozambique	85	294	129	2	12	0	4	6	0	10	0	0	0	0	0
South Africa	Zimbabwe	1,688	49	47	2,663	3,122	2,277	2,159	2,660	2,334	9,430	2,151	2,387	1,831	1,863	8,232
Total Traded (MT)		177,959	103,127	108,679	75,426	106,862	23,347	26,647	17,767	27,812	95,574	31,081	62,215	33,377	12,570	139,243

Table 8: Informal Cross Border trade in Rice (MT)

Source	Destination	2005/06 Season	2006/07 Season	2007/08 Season	2008/09 Season	2009/10 Season	Apr-Jun 10	Jul-Sep 10	Oct-Dec 10	Jan-Mar 11	2010/11 Season	Apr-Jun 11	Jul-Sep 11	Oct-Dec 11	Jan-Mar 12	2011/12 Season
Tanzania	Zambia	641	557	397	625	549	179	192	193	189	753	238	304	399	467	1,408
Malawi	Tanzania	135	1,217	1,568	291	1909	229	174	0	0	403	429	441	203	576	1,648
Tanzania	Malawi	912	4	100	154	0	0	320	0	0	320	0	0	0	0	0
Zambia	DRC	12,629	1,697	6,746	9,334	3660	731	393	339	376	1,839	312	358	348	255	1,274
Zambia	Malawi	0	0	30	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Malawi	Zambia	31	74	2,360	990	2607	62	79	60	0	201	0	0	0	0	0
Zambia	Zimbabwe	106	803	3,312	1,386	568	126	163	201	106	595	67	62	90	62	281
Mozambique	Malawi	1,691	1,718	444	690	588	226	15	0	9	250	372	4	4	724	1,104
Malawi	Mozambique	12	1	822	58	518	34	160	268	460	921	60	224	962	431	1,677
Mozambique	Zimbabwe	399	850	1,028	1,958	276	20	62	37	29	148	43	35	35	30	143
South Africa	Zimbabwe	64	82	33	25	215	198	202	301	553	1254	153	185	338	238	914
Total Traded (MT)		16,620	7,003	17,434	15,511	10,898	1,804	1,761	1,397	1,722	6,684	1,682	1,622	2,388	2,792	8,485

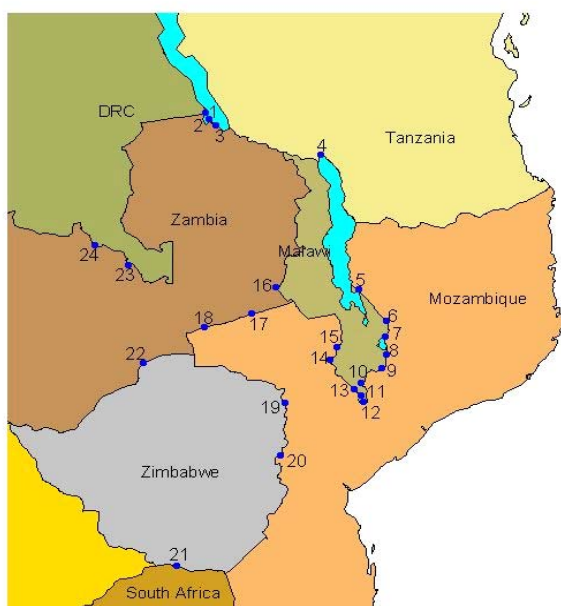
Annex 1 (continued)

Table 9: Informal cross border trade in beans (MT)

Source	Destination	2005/06 Season	2006/07 Season	2007/08 Season	2008/09 Season	2009/10 Season	Apr-Jun 2010	Jul-Sep 2010	Oct-Dec 2010	Jan-Mar 2011	2010/11 Season	Apr-Jun 2011	Jul-Sep 2011	Oct-Dec 2011	Jan-Mar 2012	2011/12 Season
Tanz	Zambia	472	588	1,058	946	1,099	641	342	397	396	1,775	772	696	749	534	2,751
Zambia	Tanz	0	2	0	0	86	34	26	27	36	122	45	56	86	95	281
Zambia	DRC	8,231	2,422	2,487	1,881	3,548	1,296	1,026	779	686	3,788	676	760	569	542	2,547
Malawi	Moz	76	269	149	19	328	2	3	7	0	12	0	1	188	51	240
Zambia	Zim	16	69	170	207	143	47	61	56	45	209	34	34	24	15	106
Moz	Malawi	2,741	2,798	2,375	2,321	2,619	2,452	2,681	1,273	544	6,950	720	876	1,076	746	3,419
Malawi	Tanz	0	0	169	6	6	122	262	0	38	423	0	0	0	10	10
Moz	Zim	4	8	13	29	38	1	102	3	1	106	0	1	3	1	5
Malawi	Zambia	19	268	338	124	52	25	25	27	15	91	16	24	27	14	81
Tan	Malawi	2,459	3,646	3,468	2,749	622	399	392	302	367	1,460	343	613	1,290	710	2,956
RSA	Zim	325	83	11	6	17	25	87	54	89	255	42	28	41	30	141
Total Traded (MT)		14,343	10,153	10,988	8,288	8,558	5,043	5,006	2,926	2,217	15,192	2,683	3,131	4,101	2,776	12,690

ACTESA -COMESA, Lusaka, Zambia; UN World Food Programme Regional Bureau for Southern Africa, Johannesburg South Africa and FEWS NET Regional Office, Pretoria South Africa

Cross - Border Monitoring Sites, 2007



NAME OF BORDER

- | | |
|----------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Mulungu / Kigoma | 13. Marine |
| 2. Zombe / Kasesya | 14. Mkumaniza |
| 3. Nakonde / Tunduma | 15. Mwanza |
| 4. Songwe / Kasumuru | 16. Mchinji |
| 5. Kalanje | 17. Marowela |
| 6. Nayuchi | 18. Chadiza |
| 7. Naminkhakha | 19. Nyamapanda |
| 8. Kolowikho | 20. Machipanda |
| 9. Muloza | 21. Messina / Beitbridge |
| 10. Sankhulani | 22. Chirundu |
| 11. Tengani | 23. Mokambo |
| 12. Marka | 24. Kasumbalesa |

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