

# CRS Response to the Global Food Price Crisis

## Executive Summary

World food prices have gone from an all-time low in 2005 to record-high prices in 2008. These changes are the result of a doubling in fuel prices, record low food stocks and increasing world demand for food, which has given rise to a global food imbalance.

The resulting rapid food inflation is raising food expenditures for consumers around the world. The most damaging impact is on the poorest people in developing countries, who spend a far higher proportion of their income on food. In many cases, households were spending 40 percent to 50 percent of their incomes on food prior to the rapid inflation, and are now finding it increasingly difficult to afford basic rations.

One result has been demonstrations in more than a dozen countries, some of which have been violent. Most governments have contained excessive price increases through a combination of measures such as subsidizing basic food items, removing food import taxes, restricting food exports and increasing wages. While these measures have to some degree contained the problem, most analysts believe this will not be a short-term crisis, and in many cases governments will require assistance to support their poorest citizens.

The crisis provides an ideal opportunity for rich governments to reduce subsidies for farmers who are currently enjoying the benefits of record-high crop prices, and find new ways to link poor farmers from developing countries into more lucrative long-term markets with richer countries, so that they can also enjoy the benefits of higher incomes. Though this step seems to be opportune, governments in the EU and USA are taking a different perspective and are rather discussing ideas to maintain or increase subsidies to their own farmers and consider food self-sufficiency. Neither of these ideas will improve trade options for the poor and may increase their disadvantages in the global marketplace, making them less competitive and poorer.

The almost inevitable outcome of this crisis is that the poor will eat less and even the middle class in many developing nations will sell assets to pay for food. To cope, people will eat cheaper foods with less nutritional value. Overall health will decline. In the worst affected countries, children will stop going to school to save on school fees and may have to work for additional income. Crisis points will emerge in countries as a result of fuel shortages and poor harvests.

Emergency response to this crisis will fall upon agencies such as the World Food Program and on private voluntary organizations, such as CRS. However, the current high cost of food places these organizations under immense pressure. Delivering food aid has never been so expensive. To reduce costs, relief and development agencies are seeking more efficient response mechanisms by using more rapid and flexible methods of support, such as cash transfers, food vouchers and local procurement of food where food is available but too costly for the poor. These interventions are preferred as they support local production and market systems, providing local employment and income rather than distorting markets with supplies of subsidized food from external sources.

To address the food crisis, CRS is developing a portfolio of interventions. Short-term responses include vouchers and cash for work to enable urban families to feed themselves while mitigating the potential effects of known cyclical disasters such as hurricanes, cyclones and drought. These measures include health and hygiene as well as provision of bed nets to reduce illnesses such as malaria, and prevent diarrhea. Additionally, CRS is investing in seeds, fertilizer and other inputs for subsistence farmers ahead of the next planting season in an attempt to boost production and thus reduce food prices of basic staples.

In the medium term CRS is planning expanded social safety nets, increased investment in agriculture and market infrastructure as well as reduction of post-harvest losses, all coupled with simple health and hygiene measures, and a heavy emphasis on disaster risk reduction to help communities prepare for and cope with cyclical emergencies.

Over the longer term, CRS continues work with other development agencies to advocate for additional and more flexible means of support from the US Government and other donors to assist those in need.

## CRS Response to the Global Food Crisis

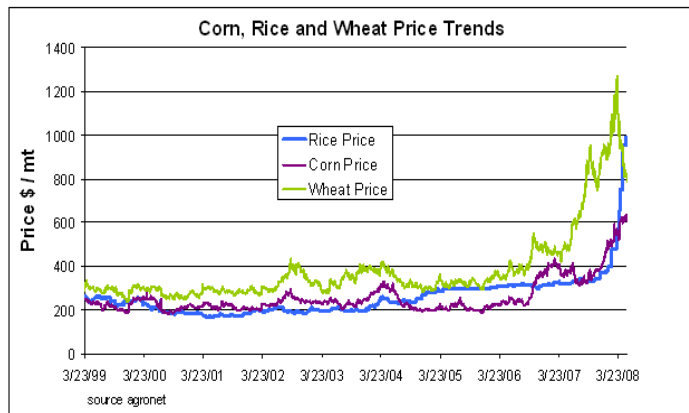
World prices of many staple foods have almost doubled in the past two years, leading to a major food crisis affecting hundreds of millions of poor people throughout the world. The causes of the crisis are complex, involving a number of factors, many of which have built up over the past four to five years (see table at right). The combination of increasing demand for food and energy at a time of low food stocks, poor harvests and weak credit have led to record prices for oil and food products. A weak dollar and market speculation have further fuelled the price surge, which is now higher and likely to be more sustained than the oil crisis in the 1970's. Analysts suggest that due to the structural differences between 1970 and now, the crisis is likely to last for at least 5 years.

Major Drivers and Causes of the Food Price Crisis	
Growing demand	Now 6.6 billion people
Fuel prices	\$135/barrel (new record 5/08)
Biofuel	30% US corn crop FY 08
Rising incomes	Brazil Russia India China others
Changing diets	Increased meat consumption
Declining global food stocks	Lowest on record
Drought and climate variability	Climate change
Falling dollar value	Lost 40% against Euro
Export bans	Beggar thy neighbor
Market speculation	Overvalued fuel and food
Under-investment in Ag Science	No new technologies

### Scope and Severity of the Crisis

A typical sudden onset crisis, such as the Myanmar cyclone, has a clear cause and devastating impact on the lives of people within a defined area. But the effects of the escalating global food price crisis are less easily observed, affect more people and are more pernicious.

The scale of the crisis is also unparalleled (see list of vulnerable countries in **Appendix A**). While most emergencies affect one country or a cluster of countries in a particular region, this food crisis globally affects more than 37 countries, many of which have suffered from serious and violent protests against the sudden rise in food prices (see **Appendix B**).



Given that the poor were spending 40 to 50 percent of their income on food before the crisis, it is not difficult to appreciate that as food prices increase at a rate of 20 to 30 percent per year,

**A greater focus on the urban poor**  
 The current food crisis changes many of our existing perspectives. Up to half of the world's poor in some developing countries now reside in urban areas. With steadily falling food prices over the past 20 years, farming communities have received lower incomes and many people have drifted to urban slums to take on low-wage jobs. Most long-term development work is focused on rural areas. With food prices doubling the situation may change, in that the urban poor will suddenly not be able to afford their food needs and casual labor incomes will not make ends meet.

consumers are unable to keep pace with their rising food bills. Those who are struggling to pay for their normal food basket will initially cope by purchasing lower-cost food items. As prices continue to increase they will be forced to liquidate basic assets and at some point, will be unable to buy sufficient volumes of food to maintain minimum caloric requirements. The food price crisis has been called a "silent tsunami," as it is not a crisis

that journalists can easily capture on film, but one that will affect urban and rural populations in numbers not seen since the 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami. As people become desperate, they turn to a multitude of negative coping mechanisms, including violence as observed in a recent spate of urban food riots across the developing world.

For an agency like CRS, the global food price crisis poses several new challenges in terms of scale, location and response. Over the past 20 years the majority of CRS' work has focused on providing support to rural communities. In contrast, this crisis is likely to affect the urban poor first. There are approximately one billion urban slum dwellers in the developing world, and this very large number of consumers will be less able to buy food as prices go beyond their means.

Whilst CRS' first response is likely to be in support of the urban poor, interventions will not be confined to urban areas, as rural populations, who may at first benefit from increased crop prices, are likely to suffer when their harvest is consumed and they are forced to purchase food at an increased cost. Many farming families are net consumers and therefore early gains may be lost in subsequent buying. Future production levels will also suffer as the cost of fertilizer has doubled in the past year, meaning that many poor farmers will not be able to upgrade their production technologies.

For the US Government that traditionally provides support to CRS and its partners in developing countries in the form of food, the high and growing cost of food crops has already reduced the availability of US commodities for developmental food aid. Shipping rates are also at record highs, adding further costs to transportation. Even with a doubling of the food aid budget, the US Government will only be able to provide food at a modest level.

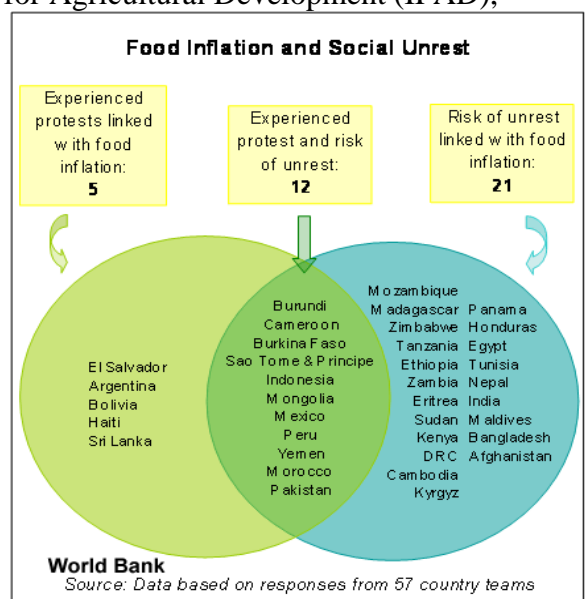
Despite these constraints, CRS is working with partners in the US, Europe and the developing world to monitor this crisis as it unfolds and to find ways of addressing food security problems where and when they arise and to the greatest extent possible, to provide interventions before the situation becomes critical.

### **Factors to Consider in Developing a Response**

Given that the global food price crisis is different from most types of emergency, for reasons of magnitude and structure, planning a coherent response requires consideration of several factors including, who, where, how and when to respond to problems as they arise and also how long an intervention should be in effect. Factors that need to be considered in planning include:

**Co-ordination and planning:** The unprecedented coverage of the food price crisis through world media is being addressed through a series of high-level planning meetings being hosted by the World Bank (WB), Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), World Food Program (WFP) and the International Foundation for Agricultural Development (IFAD), who are working with governmental organizations to quantify the problem and find solutions. These proposals may assist in gaining traction for interventions in the short to medium term and CRS is working actively to attend these meetings to provide our voice in the planning process.

**Targeting:** The WFP and FAO are developing lists of countries that are having problems or that are at-risk from the food crisis (see **figure** at right). To date, only Haiti has suffered a major political setback due to protests, but many governments are providing unsustainable levels of support to ease the effects of inflation. Many highly vulnerable countries are also no longer receiving US food assistance and therefore may only benefit from short-term emergency assistance, if that is available.



Within countries, CRS will prioritize response to the most vulnerable: HIV positive, pregnant and lactating women, infants and children under 5 years old, and any people displaced by natural or man-made disasters. Another area of concern is stability in urban areas prone to violence and civil unrest, so there will be priority given to response in countries with this profile. Where feasible, CRS will build on the work already being done by the Missionaries of Charity and similar partner institutions in urban areas. Wherever possible, programming will include disaster risk reduction and mitigation elements.

Subsistence farmers who have the potential to increase production in the coming planting season and who are currently facing a choice between seeds and food will also receive priority attention in the short term. Accordingly, CRS is mapping the planting cycles in the most affected countries, in order to ensure that support to increasing agricultural productivity and market intelligence is timely.

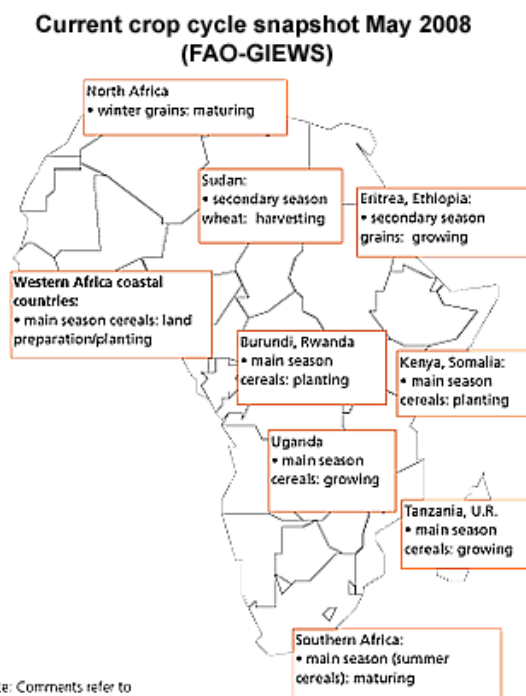
**Sequencing:** Responses to the crisis will be determined by local events across many countries, with support going to those who are least able to meet their needs and are most vociferous. An initial analysis would suggest that governments are therefore likely to support the urban poor first. Urban dwellers cannot grow their food and are highly visible if marching on the streets. In contrast, rural communities produce a large percentage of their food, and because they live in remote areas, are a less visible and therefore have less voice.

At first it is likely that farmers will benefit from the increase in food prices as they earn more in the local markets through product sales. However, a large proportion of farmers in Africa are net food buyers. They sell their goods to the markets at harvest and buy back produce through the inter-harvest period. Given this scenario, it is likely that the urban poor will suffer first, but that both rural and urban poor will face significant food insecurity in the next “hungry period.” In addition to the rural-urban distinction, the countries that are most vulnerable to food insecurity will be those that already depend upon the importation of food aid.

**Cropping calendars:** At this point in the crop calendar, South African summer crops are maturing and East and West Africa are planting their main crops (see map at right<sup>1</sup>). The Government of Kenya has approved an importation of 270,000MT of white maize to reduce immediate needs. However, the next critical hungry period will be from January 2009 onwards.

The other category of vulnerable countries is those who have poor crop prospects in the coming season, such as those as in the Horn of Africa: Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somalia and Kenya, countries that are affected by drought and those countries that have insecurity problems, such as Sudan, Democratic Republic of Congo and Chad.

CRS’ response should take into consideration first the needs of the urban poor, using options such as cash and/or food vouchers, and then also be prepared to assist rural food needs with cash, food vouchers and food aid. Support to farmers



<sup>1</sup> GIEWS Food <http://ftp.fao.org/docrep/fao/010/ai465e/ai465e00.pdf>.  
<<http://www.fao.org/giews/english/index.htm>>.

in the coming planting season is also among the first responses required. These responses must be coupled with simple health and hygiene measures to ensure that the poor can remain productive and can minimize the risks of common illnesses.

**Entry and Exit strategies:** One of the gravest difficulties with this crisis is the question of when to intervene, which instruments to use and how to exit from what maybe a long term process. Given that in most countries the food price crisis is an expenditure problem, the provision of cash will be most flexible, but this option is the most limited. In all interventions, CRS will need to use financial and nutritional / health indicators, to determine when to start and stop payments when market prices either re-stabilize at a new and higher level, or decline.

**New initiatives, New funds:** The final question is how to financially support new initiatives. The US Government has made appropriation requests in FY 09 for a doubling of the USAID Title II budget. However, this will probably support less food aid than in FY 07, due to the rise in costs of food, shipping and local handling. Therefore a concerted effort will be required to raise significantly more funds to make a sustained effort across a large number of countries; this requires careful planning and judicious use of new funds should they become available.

### **Government Responses to the Crisis**

At this point in the food price crisis, many governments are bearing the strain of inflation, and have responded in various ways to offset the price surge and support agricultural production:

- *Banning exports:* India, Viet Nam, Cambodia, China, Egypt and Zambia have banned certain commodity exports.
- *Agricultural support:* China, Pakistan, Malawi, Zambia, Mexico and Argentina have introduced agricultural production support programs, including input subsidies.
- *Food subsidies or other social protection programs:* Bangladesh, Thailand, Malaysia, Senegal, South Africa, Zimbabwe, Ethiopia, Peru and Ecuador have provided subsidized commodities or developed safety net programs for vulnerable groups, including raising local wages for public sector workers.
- *Import tariff reduction or elimination:* The Philippines, Liberia, Cote d'Ivoire, Tanzania, El Salvador, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Honduras, Brazil, Peru and Bolivia all reduced or eliminated price import restrictions on certain agricultural goods.<sup>2</sup>

Of these interventions, banning exports is seen as least helpful, as pulling commodities off the market only exacerbates price increases elsewhere. Most of these interventions are considered short term and many analysts believe that they cannot be maintained if this crisis continues into the medium term (i.e., for more than 6 to 12 months).

### **CRS Response Plan**

CRS works in 23 of the 29 WFP listed countries (**Appendix B**) most affected by the global food crisis and 9 of the 10 countries on the WFP watch list of additional countries that are also vulnerable. As part of CRS' response to the crisis, the agency's technical team has developed the following list of potential disaster risk management<sup>3</sup> interventions for the short and medium

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<sup>2</sup> *Crop Prospects and Food Situation*, No. 2, April 2008, FAO.

<sup>3</sup> *International Strategy for Disaster Reduction Terminology: Disaster Risk Management-The systematic process of using administrative decisions, organization, operational skills and capacities to implement policies, strategies and coping capacities of the society and communities to lessen the impacts of natural hazards and related environmental and technological disasters.*

term. Some of these are already being implemented, while others are in the planning stages. The list is not comprehensive; other interventions will be added.

CRS' response will focus primarily on the following four categories of activities:

- Safety net activities for vulnerable populations unable to work
- Cash/Food for Work or vouchers for productive urban poor (to create community assets)
- Support for HIV affected communities (increased access to food, income diversification)
- Agricultural productivity: seed vouchers/fairs, CFW/FFW for soil and water conservation.

All activities will incorporate appropriate health and hygiene measures; some will include disaster risk reduction interventions in the face of cyclical disasters.

#### **Short Term - next 6 months:**

- Implement cash transfers/food vouchers programs for the most vulnerable urban, landless and rural poor populations in countries of the greatest need, where food is available
- Invest in seeds, fertilizer and other inputs for subsistence farmers ahead of the next planting season to boost production.
- Develop and expand programs that strengthen market information services<sup>4</sup> in vulnerable countries to monitor market access and market failure and improve targeting of responses.
- Incorporate disaster risk reduction where feasible through the creation of community assets including soil and water conservation; all interventions should include health and hygiene measures, such as provision of bed nets and access to clean water, soap, and messages on exclusive breast-feeding.
- Develop and expand urban social safety net programs using imported food aid where food supplies are insufficient, and incorporating public works to reduce the impact of cyclical disasters, as well as appropriate health and hygiene measures and activities to diversify incomes
- Advocate for an increase of both food aid and cash for Title II for FY09, as well as increased OFDA funding to cover cash transfers and seed and fertilizer voucher programs. The FY 09 Title II minimum must be at least \$2.5 billion to maintain 2007 tonnage levels, the lowest in many years; if more food aid is required the appropriation will have to be increased.

#### **Medium Term - 1 to 2 years**

- Continue cash transfers or food vouchers to the most vulnerable urban, landless and rural poor populations to those in need where food is available. Increase the use of vouchers for local food products such as cassava, sweet potato and beans to complement food aid and support local production systems.
- Provide fertilizer and seed vouchers or subsidies to target areas and/or cropping systems.
- Provide support to projects that focus on increased production of basic staple food crops.
- Consolidate market information services in vulnerable countries and link market information and market intelligence to support food security mapping and domestic and region trade.

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*This comprises all forms of activities, including structural and non-structural measures to avoid (prevention) or to limit (mitigation and preparedness) adverse effects of hazards.*

<sup>4</sup> *Market information includes the collection and dissemination of prices, volumes and demand prospects for basic food products in the major markets for each country to support farmer trading and food security monitoring.*

- Expand nutritional and health options to all programs addressing agricultural production and social safety nets.
- Develop and implement post-harvest handling initiatives in vulnerable countries to reduce losses and protect quality of harvested crops.

CRS is actively working to formulate projects to support the short term activities with an immediate focus on cash and vouchers for food to support the urban poor in Afghanistan, Haiti and Burkina Faso, and is also working to develop a multi-country rice production project starting in West Africa. A proposal for expanded urban and rural feeding in Ethiopia is under development to meet the needs of some of the more than 3 million people just added to the already 2.1 million highly vulnerable malnourished people in that country. Projects are also under development to ensure that poor communities with a high proportion of HIV-affected populations maintain adequate access to food and transportation to facilities for medical care.

### **Conclusion**

The global food price crisis is a new phenomenon. It will have the gravest effects on the poor in developing countries. The causes of the crisis are complex, and are based on fundamental changes in the global marketplace. The Economist<sup>5</sup> heralds these changes as “The end of cheap food,” in recognition of a consensus that prices will not return to 2005 levels. The situation presents severe challenges for poor consumers, but also offers great opportunities for producers in developing countries if they have better access to local and regional markets, and if global agricultural policies, particularly those related to tariff and non-tariff barriers, will allow their participation in foreign markets.

As the food price crisis situation evolves, there will clearly be winners and losers. The losers will be countries with a high import to foreign exchange earning ratio, such as Ethiopia and Tanzania, and those with poor harvest prospects. Winners will be countries with net food exports such as Vietnam, Uganda, Argentina, Brazil, Australia, Canada and the USA.

One of the suggestions that many observers have made is that with the record high prices for agricultural produce in rich countries, this is an ideal opportunity to (i) cut government support to well-off farmers, (ii) review policy support to biofuels and (iii) open rich country markets to agricultural products from the developing countries.

There are many options for CRS as this crisis unfolds. The agency has a number of comparative advantages, as it works in virtually all of the affected countries, through a broad range of local partners who can implement development and relief programs in both rural and urban settings and respond relatively quickly. Our local partners are an integral part of the communities in which we work. We need to be vigilant and prioritize in order to offer vulnerable communities support that is both meaningful and effective. At this stage in the process, it is important that all country offices are aware of the problem and where possible are linked to local monitoring systems and response initiatives. Similarly, at the global level, CRS is working to be present at major meetings to learn how other organizations are planning to respond so as not to duplicate efforts, to share ideas and identify those with and whom we can partner with in terms of financial and programming support to increase impact and create synergy.

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<sup>5</sup> *The end of cheap food.* Economist Dec 6th 2007. Rising food prices are a threat to many; they also present the world with an enormous opportunity

CRS has a basic list of intervention possibilities and is developing concrete plans for specific activities using both private and public funds. And CRS continues to campaign for further support to address this crisis.

As the food price crisis is likely to be long term and will require short- and medium-term interventions, the solutions will be a combination of safety net, production support, market development, health and disaster risk reduction, as well as advocacy for policy change. Longer term solutions may require major changes in how CRS and its partners undertake aid, and may require significant changes in the current architecture of foreign assistance. However, in the short term, CRS should focus on responses identified by CRS field programs and local partners, prioritize interventions that can mitigate the crisis and address the critical needs of the most vulnerable.

## Appendix A

### Hot Spot Countries (Reuters - listing)

#### *Significant Food crisis related incidents across the world*

Country	Event related to food crisis
<b>AFGHANISTAN</b>	In the eastern Afghan city of Jalalabad some 300 protesters took to the streets in April over prices.
<b>ARGENTINA</b>	Argentine farmers went on strike for three weeks until early April over tax policies and other government measures, including export bans, to reduce food price inflation.
<b>BANGLADESH</b>	In April factory workers rampaged at Fatullah, 12 km (8 miles) east of the capital, Dhaka, in protests against rising food prices, leaving at least 50 people injured. Retail prices of wheat, edible oil and pulses had doubled over the previous 12 months.
<b>BURKINA FASO</b>	Unions called a general strike in April over soaring costs of food and fuel that triggered riots in February. The government extended a suspension of import duties on staple foods. A further general strike was scheduled for May 13, 14, and 15, with an unauthorized protest called for Wednesday, May 14, in Ouagadougou
<b>CAMEROON</b>	At least 24 people were killed in protests that erupted in February and were linked partly to rising living costs. Human rights activists put the death toll at 100. The government raised state salaries and suspended customs duties on basic foodstuffs.
<b>EGYPT</b>	As Egyptian bread prices have continued to escalate, the Government has increase the subsidy, bread is now one tenth of the world market price. Government has also raised payments to public sector workers by 30%
<b>HAITI</b>	Protests in Haiti over high rice prices brought down the prime minister in April. At least six people were killed in two weeks of riots and demonstrations in the poorest country in the Americas.
<b>INDIA</b>	Indian Government has banned futures trading of key staple food crops in response to the climbing food inflation. Analysts indicated that this would fuel inflation.
<b>INDONESIA</b>	Government subsidizing fuel prices to offset the rapidly rising food costs, rice has increased by 60%.
<b>IVORY COAST</b>	Police in Ivory Coast fired teargas at the end of March to disperse demonstrators protesting against steep price rises in the commercial capital, Abidjan.
<b>MOZAMBIQUE</b>	At least six people were killed in Mozambique in protests that erupted in February over high fuel prices and living costs. The government agreed to cut the price of diesel fuel for minibus taxis.
<b>PERU</b>	More than 1,000 women protested outside Peru's Congress on Wednesday, banging empty pots and pans to demand the government do more to counter rising food prices. Farmers upset by rising fertilizer costs and seeking debt relief had blocked rail and road links in February. They said a free trade deal with the United States would flood markets with subsidized agricultural imports.
<b>RUSSIA</b>	Thousands of people protested against rising food prices across Russia on Thursday, highlighting one of the biggest challenges that will face Dmitry Medvedev when he takes over as president.
<b>SENEGAL</b>	More than 1,000 people, some carrying empty rice sacks, marched through Senegal's capital Dakar on April 26 to protest against rising food prices.
<b>SOMALIA</b>	A man was shot dead when thousands protested in Mogadishu on 12 <sup>th</sup> May over Somali traders' refusal to accept old currency notes amid spiraling inflation.
<b>SOUTH AFRICA</b>	Thousands of members of South Africa's powerful labor federation marched through Johannesburg in April to protest against higher food and electricity prices.
<b>SYRIA</b>	Government has also raised payments to public sector workers by 25% to meet rising food basket costs.
<b>VIETNAM</b>	Vietnam moved to quell panic over rice supplies on April 28, banning speculation in the market after a "chaotic" buying binge highlighted growing global fears about food security.

## Appendix B

WFP List of Countries Most Affected	WFP Watch list of additional countries that are also Vulnerable	GIEWS countries listed by vulnerability	Country with Reported Civil Unrest related to food prices	FFP long-Term Country Programs <sup>6</sup>
<b>Afghanistan</b>	Central African Republic	<b>Exceptional shortfall in aggregate food production/supplies</b>	<b>Afghanistan</b>	Bangladesh (2009)
Angola	Rwanda	Lesotho	Argentina	Burkina Faso
Benin	Comoros	<b>Somalia</b>	<b>Bangladesh</b>	Chad
<b>Burundi</b>	<b>Uganda</b>	Swaziland	Burkina Faso	Ethiopia
<b>Chad</b>	Tanzania	<b>Zimbabwe</b>	<b>Cameroon</b>	Guatemala
<b>Congo, DR</b>	<b>Bangladesh</b>	Iraq	Egypt	Haiti (cont.)
<b>Eritrea</b>	Togo	Moldova	<b>Haiti</b>	Liberia (2009)
<b>Ethiopia</b>	Pakistan	<b>Widespread lack of access</b>	India	Madagascar (2008)
Gambia	<b>Cameroon</b>	<b>Eritrea</b>	<b>Indonesia</b>	Malawi (2009)
<b>Guinea</b>	<b>Indonesia</b>	Liberia	Cote d'Ivoire	Mauritania
<b>Guinea-Bissau</b>		<b>Mauritania</b>	<b>Mozambique</b>	Mozambique
<b>Haiti</b>		<b>Sierra Leone</b>	Peru	Niger (2011)
<b>Kenya</b>		<b>Afghanistan</b>	Russia	Sierra Leone
Madagascar		DPR Korea	<b>Senegal</b>	Uganda (08/11)
Malawi		Myanmar	<b>Somalia</b>	Zambia (08/11)
<b>Mauritania</b>		<b>Severe localized food insecurity</b>	South Africa	Ethiopia (cont.)
<b>Mozambique</b>		<b>Burundi</b>	Syria	Afghanistan
Myanmar		Central African Republic	Vietnam	Burundi (cont.)
Nepal		Chad		DR Congo
<b>Niger</b>		Congo		Mali (cont.)
São Tomé and Príncipe		Côte d'Ivoire		
<b>Senegal</b>		<b>Democratic Republic of the Congo</b>		
<b>Sierra Leone</b>		<b>Ethiopia</b>		
Somalia		Ghana		
Tajikistan		<b>Guinea</b>		
Timor-Leste		<b>Guinea-Bissau</b>		
Yemen		<b>Kenya</b>		
<b>Zambia</b>		Sudan		
<b>Zimbabwe</b>		Uganda		
		Bolivia		
		Ecuador		
		<b>Haiti</b>		
		Nicaragua		

\*countries in **bold** are included in two or more warning lists

<sup>6</sup> From USAID FY08 Congressional Budget Justification. Country names are followed by funding end date.