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UNILEVER INDUSTRIAL PLANTATIONS IN CAMEROON

G. COURADE
ORSTOM Geographer

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UNILEVER INDUSTRIAL PLANTATIONS IN C A M E R O U N OR The growth of a multinational firm in a marginal region

By

Georges COURADE
ORSTOM Geographer

Translator : TAKU J. ENOW

NGOH NKWAIN (editor)

IMPORTANT : The author is not to be held responsible for the way the text has been translated. The ideas expressed in the original version in French are what to be taken seriously.

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Abstract : Unilever industrial plantations in Cameroon

Les plantations industrielles d'Unilever au Cameroun (Plantations Pamol du Cameroun Limited) ont été étudiées en deux temps. Dans un premier temps, nous avons décrit la naissance, les atouts et les handicaps de la compagnie par l'analyse de son histoire, du milieu dans lequel se trouvent ses domaines, de la politique menée depuis les années soixante et de l'atmosphère dans laquelle vivent ses salariés. Dans un deuxième temps, nous avons tenté de saisir les rapports existants entre la compagnie et la région où elle se trouve et les modifications qu'elle a engendrés dans le monde rural. Le bilan apparaît ainsi comme largement négatif en raison de la structure même de ce type d'entreprise.

The Unilever industrial plantations, situated in one of the least developed zones of Cameroon represent an economic force which is not to be neglected at the national level with their 10,000 ha cultivated and 3,500 workers. Unilever has known how to use the historical opportunities in order to become the owner of the various estates making up at present "the Plantations Pamol du Cameroun Limited" and, in spite of unfavourable environmental conditions achieve considerable profits owing to a clever management. This has also been possible thanks to a paternalistic policy towards the employees. However, the importance of the annual hemorrhage of the labour yet recruited in English-Speaking Cameroon is a problem for the future. The life conditions of a labourer on the plantations are not very attractive. Finally, at the regional level, the consequences of the labour migration are far from positive for, although estates attract a shifting population, they do not allow the local peasant economy to develop. We may therefore ask if it is useful to develop today this kind of enterprise, whether private or estate owned, in neglected zones ?

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I N T R O D U C T I O N

The Plantation sector of UNILEVER in CAMEROON operates under the name of " PLANTATIONS PAMOL DU CAMEROUN LIMITED " and shall be referred to in this work as Pamol (1). As a fraction of Unilever's total business figures, Pamol accounts for 1/2000th of its turnover ranking among Cameroon's leading six private companies (with a turnover of nearly 2 thousand millions francs CFA and 3.500 permanent salaried labour force). A point worthy of notice here is that the company's economic potential is concentrated in one of the most isolated areas of the country : NDIAN Division at the extreme South West of Cameroon bordening the all powerful NIGERIA. In this area, the company is a force to reckon with, making up for Government's absence in several important domains of activity.

This important company was not created ex nihilo as were the famous " agro industrial complexes " of the colonial period whose creation was a response to the necessity for the economic independence of the country in the sectors where this could be carried out, such as the production of sugar or of palm oil. On the contrary, the history of Pamol is intimately linked to the political and economic history of English-speaking Cameroon. It is still one of the most valued assets of the former British Coloniser. However the take - off of plantation activity started only fifteen years ago ; the Company having been concerned at first with commercial trading and import - export activities. It serves as a remarkable example of reconversion worth noting in a world where this type of production was already considered as outdated.

The analysis with which we are concerned is limited to the study of some aspects of Pamol. In order to bring out the originality of this

(1) The author wishes to thank the entire staff of Pamol, especially the Director Mr. T.R. PAGE and all Estate Managers for their cooperation in the realization of this work. However, the author is solely responsible for all opinions expressed here.

plantation company we have attempted to see how it took advantage of the opportunities offered by the political changes of the country. At the same time, we will evalutate the obstacles and handicaps resulting from a localisation conditioned by the economic system started at the beginning of the colonial period. Having understood the structural weaknesses, what was left was to record the means found to remedy them.

To judge the evolution of this company it was necessary, above all, to study man's place in this strange environment, and to consider both the positive and the negative changes brought about by the plantations in a surrounding marginal background and in a relatively non dynamic region.

It was not however possible to fully understand the relationship that exists between UNILEVER and PAMOL and the colossal obstacle faced by the subsidiary branch in Cameroon through being integrated in one of the world's leading multinational companies. To do this would have meant carrying out inquiries in Calabar, Lagos, and London, with the required authorisations and financial means.

Groups of industrial plantations constitute the characteristic element of the landscape in the whole region of Mount Cameroon. To the South and East of the Cameroon Mountain, the estates or the plantations of the Cameroon Development Corporation (C.D.C.) cover the whole area in which some native reserves fit in. The four estates of Pamol are on the other hand isolated in the North-Western part of the region (Fig. 1) surrounded by vast expanses of forest, marshy or cultivated by people little attracted by agriculture. The present study concerns geographically isolated areas which however portray the original features of industrial plantations.

A surprise awaits whoever arrives at Lobe Estate, after having passed through the Kumba-Lobe road with its vestiges of tar on the section

of the road macadamized just before independence and numerous ravines on the earthy section.

After having gone through an area covered by thick forest, sometimes surmounted by single trees where inextricably intermingle all sorts of tropical, commercial and subsistent plants, sometimes covered by secondary forests impenetrable by reason of their dense underwood, the visitor is struck by the meticulous arrangement of the oil-palm trees, a cleared under-wood, well cleaned paths with deep trenches for drainage. Standing on high ground, the eye takes in the whole vastness the estate covering an area of more than 3.000 ha. Arriving at the Gendarmerie Station, one sees the oil mill sending out its cloud of black smoke which has a choking tenacious odour. On the frontage there is a large grassy expanse of land which is the football field. In all directions, is found a line of small identical bi-coloured houses extending for several dozen hectars. Behind the oil mill one finds, on a large expanse of land covered with shady trees, dominating the site, large bungalows with their attached " boys' quarters ". All this, forms a glade in the mass of palm - trees, run through by a dense network of paths. A bit apart are found the hospital buildings, the management buildings as well as the school buildings. There, the space is carefully delimited and of optimum use.

Nothing here calls to mind the amiable fancy of the villages, the apparent disorders of peasant agricultural exploitations. We are in a foreign environment in the African Context, but this environment asserts itself strongly on the geographical landscape.

I. VESTIGES OF THE U.A.C. EMPIRE IN ENGLISH - SPEAKING CAMEROON FROM TRADING ACTIVITIES TO PLANTATIONS

The History of Pamol starts with the installation of Walter D. WOODIN, Shipping Commissioner in Victoria in 1888, when he founded the

AMBAS BAY TRADING COMPANY LTD.- a branch of W.D. WOODIN and Company of Liverpool.

Faced with competition from its British and German counterparts in a territory that had become an official German colony in 1884, it was successively incorporated into the Miller brothers, who were in turn bought up by the African and Eastern Trading Corporation (1919). In 1929 this corporation joined the United Africa Company (U.A.C.) managed by Lever Brothers, Nigeria's strongest trading Commany.

This eventful history, typical of the wild capitalism of the conquering phase of the colonial system, explains the various names which stood for the same interest : AMBAS BAY TRADING COMPANY ; W.D. WOODIN and Co; AFRICAN AND EASTERN CORP. HAMBOURG and then Calabar (A.E.T.C.), UNITED AFRICA Co. (U.A.C.) PAMOL (Nigeria) Ltd., PAMOL (Cameroon)Ltd. and since 1968, Plantations Pamol du Cameroun Limited.

a. Factories of WOODIN and Co. and of the African and Eastern Trade Corp.

The founder of the U.A.C. Empire did not have any of the bad qualities of the tyrannical settler such as the latter's unscrupulous brutality towards the rural communities which provided both the land and the labour. Nothing in his career is reminiscent of the German pioneers who established, by force alone, estates all around the Cameroon mountain, at the cost of thousands of dead natives. (1) and sometimes with disregard for their own lives.

Anglo-Saxon on a Germanic territory, he played for time, contented with draining the local riches useful to the metropolis - palm produce in particular - towards the trading settlements he had established far into the estuaries and the navigable rivers.

On the other hand he sold all types of colonial products from

printed loin-cloth to arms (ammunitions). He constructed thus a dense network of factories in the pacific sector of the south of the present English-speaking Cameroon. However, it is around the Rio-Del-Ray Delta (Fig.1) that he occupied a predominant position, rivalled only by the German firm " Deutsche Westafrikanische Handelsgesellschaft " (D.W.H.).

The factories, numbering 6 to 7 for each of the two companies, were centred for WOODIN at the Rio-Del-Ray and for D.W.H. at Mbonge Marumba. The History of these two companies is linked : two of the four estates owned today by Pamol - NDIAN and LOBE .. were, in effect, inherited from the D.W.H. The British firm owed its luck to the victory of her Majesty's troops in 1915 and from the changes of management in the D.W.H.

During the German period, WOODIN and Co. acquired two small plantations producing Cocoa and Rubber, one in 1895 in BWINGA on the BIMBIA Creek, the most western navigable arm of the Wuri Delta; and the other in Bai, in 1910 - 12, at the point where River Meme ceases to be navigable because of water falls. The first was bought from the BAKWERI natives during the period of splendour that marked the beginnings of colonisation characterised by the absence of any rules concerning the monopoly of land, while the other was bought up from Portuguese farmers. These were rather small estates whose area was evaluated in 1912 to be 500 ha. of which 200 were planted with Cocoa. At the same period, 18.240 ha. were cultivated into big plantations in the whole of German Cameroon of which 13.580 ha. were in the region of Mount Cameroon alone. This shows the insignificance of the plantation sector of WOODIN and Company.

The most valuable assets of the Company were their factories. WOODIN settled in Victoria some 19 years after its compatriot JOHN HOLT,

(1) As an exemple, the Missellele plantation registered in 1912 deaths which amounted to 26.8 % of the African Workers.

and established, as from 1903, a second Warehouse at Rio-Del-Ray in the mangroves of the delta of the Cross River, while JOHN HOLT developed its network on the Mungo (Mundame) and the Wuri (Yabassi). Until 1920, the two trading bases of WOODIN were Victoria and Rio-Del-Rey. With the attachment of the English-speaking Cameroon to Nigeria, the stores of Mamfe and Nsanakang occupied a vantage position in the purview of A.E.T.C. Table 1 gives an idea of how much business was transacted in the factories of WOODIN and Co. in Rio-Del-Rey during and after the German colonisation.

Table 1 : Volume of business transacted in the factories of WOODIN / A.E.T.C, of the Rio-Del-Rey region (1913 - 1924).

Factories	Turnover 1913	Turnover 1924	Palm Oil 1913	Palm Oil 1924	Palm Products 1913	Palm Products 1924	Cocoa 1913	Cocoa 1924	Kola 1913	Kola 1924
Rio-Del-Rey	2.240	5.258	13	17	27	51	-	25	-	6
Ndian	995	1.258	-	84	-	110	-	-	-	30
Moko	-	760	41	19	38	38	-	1	3	18
Makombi	1.070	1.584	38	46	41	74	-	2	5	11
Meme	2.934	7.639	33	152	57	367	-	32	2	20
Boa	154	912	19	-	25	30	1	7	-	1
Ikang	-	6.248	-	283	-	333	-	6	-	-
TOTAL	7.393 Pounds	23.659 Sterling	144 Engl.	601 tons	188	1003	1	73	10	86

Source : Kumba Division report 1924.

During the whole German period and until the second World War, WOODIN and Co., A.E.T.C and U.A.C. drew their profits from three different sectors : trade in the border region of Nigeria, Cocoa rubber and palm plantations and finally Timber industry (1). Because of the economic con-

(1) WOODIN and Co. constituted the Company known as African Mahogany Association Limited, in order to carry out trade in ebony. One finds U.A.C. exploiting the forest at Tombel in 1933, making use of 950 labourers and extracting 400 to 500 tons of timber a month.

juncture and the facilities resulting from politics, the Company operated in all these three domains of business, since the plantations, brought in only small profits for a long time.

b. Acquisition and improvement of the German booty.

The arrival of the British in the Western part of Cameroon in 1915 gave a fresh impetus to the company.

The new masters confiscated all property belonging to the Germans, such as plantations and auctioned them in 1922 and 1924. Most of the estates came back to their former owners who now acted through British agents. In the Rio-Del-Rey region, the D.W.H. owned, according to the 1922 land catalogue, 19.800 ha. but had neither the entitlement to land ownership, nor plans proving the authenticity of the most part of these acquisitions, and the respect of the laws enacted in 1904 for the constitution of native reserves. The Germans, in fact, faced with the brutal plundering of the land of the natives, had thought it necessary to reserve 6 ha. per house in addition to the space built on, taking into consideration, in a wider extent, the quality of the soil, and the major activity of the population. The German land commission in charge could carry out only part of the work between 1912 and 1913, and the English finished it in 1925 - 27 attributing 10 ha. per taxable person or adding 6 ha. per house in addition to cultivated land.

The sale and, later on, the survey of estates and reserves slowed down the improvement of the plantations. It should be added that the investments and the labour force necessary for the clearing and equipment of these estates in a zone more difficult than the Mount Cameroon region, explains the slowness and the difficulties of the undertaking. Problems particular to each estate added to these setbacks.

The A.E.T.C. was able to acquire in 1924 the estate of NDIAN at

the centre of which was found a village, without a native reserve, inhabited by 10 taxable persons. However at the confluent of rivers Bulu and Ndian, were found two landing areas, one of them generally used by traders and Ibibio fishermen and the other private, belonging to A.E.T.C. In 1925 the Ndian reserve with an area of 300 acres, was created just behind the landing points of canoes and launches. Strangers, most of them traders settled in this reserve.

In 1933, there were 244 strangers as against 11 natives. There was much friction between U.A.C. which opened the plantation in 1928, and the inhabitants of the reserve controlling a strategic point. After some long negotiations U.A.C. succeeded in 1935 in evacuating the natives for a sum of £ 400 as compensation.

At this time, U.A.C. owned only the land constituting today the divisions of Ndian - central and Mundemba. The D.W.H., was exploiting her estate of Mbonge, leaving to a representative branch, the Gesellschaft Sud Kamerun, the task of managing the Ikassa estate, a task which the latter accomplished with little interest. As for the Lobe estate, belonging to the pre-war D.W.H., bought by someone in 1922, resold to the D.W.H. in 1927, it came into the hands of the U.A.C. in 1932 who improved it only in the fifties.

The period between the wars saw the exploitation of the Ndian Plantation and the maintenance of the activity in Bai and Bwinga.

At Ndian, everything had to be created. From 1928, the U.A.C. undertook the repairs of the old workers' camps, the creation of 25 miles of motorable roads, the building of a concrete house for a European. Between 1928 and 1933, 6.459 acres were cleared and planted with palms (Elaeis Guineensis). In 1934, a narrow gauge railway was put into use and in 1935 an oil-mill extracting 1.000 tons of oil a day was also created.

In the years that followed the water supply, the hospital and the school were completed.

In 1938, the Ndian Plantation was considered the most modern in the Southern part of Cameroon, and the most advanced from the social point of view.

The company which employed 1.142 African workers in 1928, exceeded 2.000 in 1932 (of whom 1.776 were at Ndian), fell to 800 in 1933 and later increased to reach 1.600 in 1939. The area cultivated was 200 ha. in 1912, 2.600 ha. in 1932, and reached 3.600 ha. in 1939. The workers were lodged in concrete houses and received in addition to their salary, a ration of food. In 1937 a labourer could earn 5d. and receive a weekly food supply of 4.5 kg. of yams 1 kg. of salt, $\frac{1}{2}$ kg. of rice and a kilo of fish. At Ndian, the death rate for 1932 was 7 %

c. Unilever Strategy for the Contemporary period.

After the second World War, the plantation sector of U.A.C. gave up trading activities and Pamol (Nigeria) Limited coordinated in 1949 the activities of the Cameroon based plantation of Bai, Bwinga, Lobe, and Ndian, and the Nigerian based ones of I.K.P, Sapele, C.O.P.E. and C.O.W.A.N. with Calabar as its general headquarters. U.A.C. became a trading firm with warehouses in all the major towns of the country : Victoria, Tiko, Kumba, Mamfe and Bamenda.

Until independence she took an active part in the collection of Cocoa, Coffee and palm products. She made use of the services of the Ibos in this field just like in the fields of retailing of construction material, cloth, beer etc... Any enquiry carried out among the Ibos of the English-speaking Cameroon lays emphasis on the part played by the U.A.C. in the formation of this class of small middlemen without whom the towns in the English-speaking Cameroon would have not been what they

are today.

The fifties were marked by the expansion of industrial plantations in response to the British demand for tropical products, notably bananas, and because of the new interests taken in over-seas territories by Labour Governments of the post-war period.

Pamol, in a cautious and slow way, began the innovation of her plantations by clearing a new estate (Lobe), the expansion of already existing estates, an activity limited to the " banana boom ". Not being as much of a point of interest to the British officials as the C.D.C. (1), which a team of research men let by Ardener and Warmington came to examine(2), she did not venture into the paths of the rapid modernisation of economic infrastructures and social realisations. For exemple, it is worth mentioning here that the Oil-Mill at Ndian functioned for 40 years before being replaced and that while C.D.C. progressed quite fast with the installation of a dynat rubber factory, the latex factories of Bai and Bwinga, have never quite advanced beyond the technical level of German factories of 1939.

The financial balance sheet of Pamol, as much as one can judge, has been marked by regularity in profits and productive investments, and limited indebtedness as compared to that of C.D.C. Less involved in the exportation of bananas to Commonwealth countries, she was not to suffer the consequences of reunification which brought a brutal stop to the reign of the " green Pope " (3), the United Fruit Company known here as ' Elders and Fyffes '. As from 1959, Pamol started to reconvert her two banana estates - Lobe and Bwinga. The difficulties of this cultivation, notably at Lobe Panama disease, violent storms at the end of the rainy seasons,

(1) Cameroon(s) Development Corporation : British Society created in 1946 grouping all the former German plantations.

(2) ARDENER (E.W.), ARNENER (S.G.), WARMINGTON (W.A.), 1960 - Plantation and village in the Cameroons. Some Economic and Social Studies.Nigerian Instituteof Social and Economic Researoh, O.U.P. London,435 p.

limited riches of the soil needed a careful reconversion.

The UNILEVER tradition has no doubt played off. Her restricted experience in handling banana forced her to return quickly to her two battle horses : oil palm and rubber; the first on poor soils and windy areas, the second on deep soils and sheltered areas;

UNILEVER manifested there also a keen sense of economic prospection, investing more on oil palm production than on rubber. The last fifteen years have shown that this was the only profit earning choice, because of the low prices of natural rubber and the price fluctuations which affected them even after the sharp increase in the prices of oil in 1973. It is necessary to add here that Unilever can transform her palm oil herself. And it seems interesting to have a multinational firm supplying itself with raw materials, as is the case with the rubber plantations controlled by Michelin or Firestone in tropical Africa.

II. An Unconducive Environment.

The four estates belonging to Pamol in their present settings cover a total area of 10.179 ha. : only 7.3 % of the total area cannot be put into use because of its swampy nature. This is very negligible compared to the land the C.D.C. cannot cultivate because of the steep hills of Mount Cameroon, the lava flows on which no soil can be found and the wide expanses of marshy land found in the large patrimony bequeathed by the Germans.

However, the dispersion of the estates, the small size of two of them, the poverty of a greater part of the soils, and a tropical humid climate which is particularly severe, negatively counterbalance the preceding advantage to such an extent that one can talk without exaggeration of an unconducive environment.

(3) M.A. Asturias.

a. A Monsoon Climate " of concentrated paroxysm " (Fig. 3).

We borrow from J.B. SUCHEL (1) this expression which characterises well the pluviometric regimes of the meteorological stations of the four estates belonging to Pamol. In these stations, in fact, the monthly precipitations rise to more than 350 mm. for three months at least, for a period lasting a winter which explains the impressive totals of more than 3 metres reached in the four stations except in Bai. This distribution of rainfall is explained both by the influence of the ocean flux of the South-West and by the presence of mountains - the Cameroon Mountain - which constitute an obstacle and receive a large part of the rainfall on the exposed surface.

These four estates belong to the same rainfall zone, but their respective situations with regard to the flow of the South-West and of the mountains, takes into account the disparities in rainfall clearly seen in Fig. 3. Thus, Bai, still sheltered from the South-West flow by the screen of the Cameroon mountain receives only 2.5 m. of rainfall annually. On the contrary, Ndian found at the foot of the first hills of the Rumpi mountains, although of low altitude, and receiving frontally the South-West winds, registers rainfall 2 to 3 times heavier.

On the level of climatology, we would have had the most favourable conditions for the cultivations of palms and rubber if sunshine was not insufficient especially between May and October, and if the monthly rainfall was relatively lower, and the end of season storms less violent. This has to explain, among other things, the reason why the harvests obtained are poorer than those foreseen by the research institutes of the industrial plantations.

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(1) SUCHEL (J.B.) 1972 -" La répartition des pluies et les régimes pluviométriques au Cameroun ". CEGET, TALENCE, 287 p. (pp. 202 - 230).

b. Location : Outside Areas of Recent Volcanic Soils.

The environment in which the estates of Pamol are situated would not have had any thing repulsive if the soils were formed on layers of recent volcanic deposits as is the case with most of the C.D.C. estates. Only the estates of Bai and Bwinga have rich and deep soils. Elsewhere, the soil has been constituted by tertiary sedimontary formations (Lobe) or even on chalky sandstone and socle formations (Ndian) with basalt intercalations.

Not having carried out pedological analyses except at Lobe, it is fifficult to draw any definite conclusions on the degree of productivity of the soils.

One would think however, as the acquired experience seems to indicate, that exacting and delicate cultivation such as that of bananas, can be correctly developed only on " bruns entrophes " soils and on alluvial soils formed on volcanic deposits. They are the best soils of the region, chemically very rich and having a good capacity of water retention, which have developed on recent deposits of cinder lapillis and basalt. At Bai and Bwinga, one finds these types of soils formed on alluvial and volcanic deposits.

(1) DUMORT(J.C.)- 1968: Notice explicative sur la feuille Douala-Ouest 69p. Imprimerie Nationale Yaoundé.
HOLLIER (p)-1952: Lobe Estate Oil Survey 12.Mult.
VALLERIE (M)- 1968: Notice explicative-Carte Pédologique du Cameroun Occidental au 1/1.000.000° 70 p. Mult. ORSTOM, Yaoundé.

At Ndian, typical ferrallitic soils on acid rocks, occupy a great part of the plantation. In the Ikassa sector these same soils have developed on cretaceous sediments. Oilpalm trees and rubber trees can grow there if they are supplied with organic material and manure spread on the land. Rubber plants however, need deeper soils in order to take firm root.

At Lobe, we find much hydromophous soils near the Meme and yellow ferrous soils on sediments of a sandy, clayish, or grave-like texture depending on the sectors.

The present distribution of cultivation among the four estates suits perfectly well the aptitudes of the soils. Palm-trees are found planted on the poorest lands, rubber on the richest, deepest and the most scheltered lands. The importance of fertilizer consumption at Ndian should, nevertheless be noted : to the tune of 400 kg. par ha.

c. Blind Alley Estates.

While the estates are situated on relatively flat lands with the few elevations necessary for the implantation of villas for the estate Managers, their geographical situation is not by itself extremely favourable.

Links with the outside world are vital for industral plantations depending on regional or world markets for their supplies of all kinds and for the sale of their products.

At the beginning, estates were installed near a navigable water way : Bimbia Creek, Meme, Lobe Creek, Ndian. Through waterways, they were in contact with themselves and could carry out exchange with the outside world. The construction of roads and motorable tracks has sent this type of transport to the background - except for those in Ndian. The slowness of launches at the "ruptures de charges" have no doubt played an important

role in abandoning this transport system in spite of this low cost.

At the present moment, Bwinga is 1 or 2 hour(s) drive from Douala, while Lobe and Bai are 3 or 4 hours; but from Ekondo Titi to Ndian one takes about 6 to 8 hours by launch. From Calabar, where Pamol had warehouses, the transport system was not at all better : While Ndian was less isolated, everything, however, had to pass by water to reach the three other estates. Since no branch of public road had ever passed through any of the said estates, Pamol had to build her own ports at Ndian and Ekondo Titi, and maintain her access roads to the plantations.

The construction of the Ekondo Titi-Ndian road undertaken in 1975 by the Highways department came fortunately to open up acces to the most important and most isolated estate of Pamol, enabling her to modify her strategy with regard to the transport system.

d. Nearness to Populated Regions

The opening up and exploitation of an industrial plantation presuppose an abundance of labour force. Thus during the period of exploitation 3.000 ha. of adult palm trees need about 700 persons. The same workers are used on 1.000 to 1.200 ha. of productive rubber trees. As for the clearing period in areas where the vegetation cover is very dense, a reasonable number of workers is necessary to carry out felling. It is therefore necessary to be able to draw on an important reserve of labour and, if possible, nearby. Pamol established her estates in an underpopulated sector, near the large region of great population density of Eastern Nigeria.

The estates are situated on the lands of rather unprolific groups of people - Ndian at the meeting point of three small groups of people, the Korup, the Bima and the Balondos; Bai in the Bamboko and Ekumbe areas; Lobe on the Barombi and Balondo land, Bwinga on Bakweri area. If we exclude the Bakweris, the other groups have never had up to 5.000 inhabitants each.

This demographic weakness has allowed for an easy monopoly of lands

and the moving away of the villages implanted inside the estates, which, of course is very painful to them. On the other hand the natives, because of their numbers and the resentment they have towards those who had seized their lands, have never whole-heartedly accepted, to work in plantations. It was therefore necessary to search elsewhere, which has never been easy, even at the time when colonial administration served more or less openly, as a recruiting agent.

Pamol has nevertheless been lucky - if we can use the word - to be the only employer in an economically marginal zone and situated in close proximity to the over-populated regions of Nigeria. It has thus been relatively easy for her to find labourers among the IBOS and the IBIBIOS while attracting at the same time young adults of the isolated groups of the Rumpis Mountains (Ngolo, Batanga, Balue) and of the South of Manyu (Ejagham, Banyan). It is true that the abundance of the annual replenishment of the labour force renders the problem difficult as soon as the volume of the male population getting to old age reaches a very weak threshhold.

Neither too badly placed in relation to the sources of obtainable labour, nor actually well situated, as a result of the historical circumstances, Pamol has more or less been able to meet up with her needs up to the present day. The increasing monetarisation of the retarded zones of English-speaking Cameroon and the level of scholarisation attained since some ten years ago, are changing the nature of the problem.

III. Objective : Profits on the revival of neglected estates (1)

Unilever has somehow abandoned, for quite a long time, her estates in English-speaking Cameroon; satisfied with maintaining what was existing without going ahead with important investments. It is true that the profits expected did not justify the grant of enormous funds necessary in

(1) The reader will find annexed detailed statistical tables on the age and the yield of the plantations, production, sales, exploitation charges and the cost price of produce.

in this sector. The Ndian estate alone required attention of leading urgency. Since the second World War, especially after independence, the terms of economic reckoning have changed : world-wide scarcity of oleaginous products a fall in profits and political difficulties in import - export activities have caused Unilever to reconsider its position with regard to its estates.

a. The Insignia of Palm and Rubber (Fig. 4) (1).

It is not by accident that the emblem of the Company bears groves of palm and rubber trees whose sap is being collected in a cup. It is however the oil palm (Elaeis Guineensis) which occupies the greatest area : 81 % of the cultivated surface as against 55 % for the C.D.C. plantations.

Out of the 7.500 ha. of palms planted, 55 % of the total number was planted between 1958 and 1962 and 29 % between 1968 and 1972. The oldest palm-trees are 20 years old and can still produce remarkably for another ten years. The best yields of fresh fruit bunches (12 to 14 tons per hectare) are got from plantations of more than 6 years old. The average results obtained at Lobe and Ndian in 1974 do not go beyond 11 tons per hectare with a culmination at Ndian which yields 13.7 tons per hectare for palms planted in 1960. We are far from the average of 14 t/ha supposed to be attained as from the fifth year of exploitation according to the I.R.H.O. (Institut de Recherche sur les Huiles et les Oleagineux), a French Research Body.

Rubber trees (Hevea Brasiliensis) have an average age higher than that of oil-palm trees. At Bai, 55 % of the rubber trees were planted between 1957 and 1960, and at Bwinga, all were planted between 1959 and 1962. Here also the yields are relatively average : 1.2 tons to 1.4 tons per ha. Where some fields attain a yield of 1.7 tons per ha. it is the

(1) We shall not go into details of agricultural techniques, methods of cultivation and factory processing of produce which are well known. Unilever has, however, published, on this subject a series of vulgarisation works, well done and diffused free-of-charge by the "Education Sector" of the group.

exception. In South-East Asia, the ideal land for this type of plantation, the results are better. The soils being good, should we attribute this to poor and careless tapping as it is often said, and to the number of rainy days which hinder the flow ? Did I.R.C.A. (Research Institute on Rubber in Africa) not obtain in its experiments average total yields?

From the financial point of view the redemption of investment costs for these two crops is complete 20 to 25 years after the trees have started yielding, but exploitation starts only after 4 years for the palm tree, and 6 years for the rubber tree. Because of the abundance of investments necessary for the creation of estates of economically convenient dimensions (presently 4.000 ha. for palms and 2.000 ha. for rubber trees) this type of business is no longer within the reach of small expatriate or national capitalists. Only State-supported organisations which can obtain international loans, or multinational firms are in a position to carry out such business.

An Oil-Mill indeed is very expensive : in 1966, a factory processing 24 tons of fresh fruit bunches an hour cost about 700 millions Frs.CFA. With this capacity, the mill could process bunches from an estate of 4.000 to 5.000 ha. in full production.

As for rubber on the other hand, the use of small units for the processing of latex is always necessary for the production of R.S.S. (Rubber Smoked Sheets) from non-coagulated latex. However, a new technique is being developed - notably in the C.D. and in SAFACAM - enabling the use of non-coagulated latex; this is known as " Polybag tapping " or "Cumulative bleeding". The latex is collected in plastic bags where no anticoagulant is added, and a large guantity can be processed in a single factory producing crumb rubber .

We see the whole economic interest of this technical progress : increase in the productivity of the tapper as a result of the absence

of temporal constraints usually met with in traditional tapping, presentation of a unique product instead of a scale of variable quality, reduction of the cost of transport within the estates, possibility of processing, in one place, the product of a very extensive area.

This processing has not been adopted by Pamol. Is it because their estates are too small to justify this supplementary investment or it is because of the disappointments that the C.D.C has suffered in the experimentation of new factory material that the Managers have adopted a very cautious approach ? An explanation to this will no doubt be found on the margin of benefits : palm-oil pays more and its price increases rapidly in the local market. Rubber prices, depending on chemical multinational firms and on world economic conjuncture, keep fluctuating. The Company however however carries out a policy of plant selection, for these two speculations of fertilizer experimentation and of the education of labourers in charge of collection.

Thus, Pamol policy consisted in carrying out the replanting or planting of a large part of their estates in the sixties, and in constructing new factories (Bwinga, Lobe in 1966-67) or in modernising those that already existed (Ndian and Bai outstanding) while at the same time giving priority to the oil-palm trees over the rubber trees. This was a brilliant policy and, no doubt, attributed to the long term economic analyses made in the London Headquarters.

b. <u>The Problem of Transport</u>.

Owing to the situation of her estates, the Company has always had transport difficulties. She has also had a problem in looking for a less burdensome solution in order to maintain the competitive nature of her products.

Inside the estates, Pamol has chosen road transport to the detriment of the narrow gauge railway which she has preserved only in Bwinga. She has thus 481 km. of road of which 325 are found in the estate of Ndian alone. The collection of fruit bunches and of cisterns of liquid latex is

done by tractor except at Bwinga where small carriages adapted for the job are used. In fact, it seems that cost of exploitation of railway lines installed a long time ago is less, but they have preferred, for ten years now, to develop road transport because of its easy use.

For external transportation the company uses 22 tippers of Bedford make, and 11 engine boats of which 4 are used exclusively for the transportation of palm oil and two for dry goods. When the weight to be transported is above the capacity of the Pamol fleet, she asks for help from Elder Dampster.

Presently, the evacuation of products from the place of production to the place of sales is done in the following ways:

- palm-oil from Ndian is transfered by boats of 90 tons to Ekondo Titi and sold on the spot like that produced at Lobe;
- palm-products are channelled first of all to Ekondo Titi by launches then transported by lorry to Kumba, to be packed later on in the train to be carried to Douala, for exportation to Europe ;
- as for rubber, it is taken by lorry to Douala before being parcelled overseas.

Of recent, the company has used the ports of Bota and Tiko, making use of the stocking facilities provided by the C.D.C. for the passage of their palm-oil and their rubber en route overseas. From 1967, when the railway line linking Mbanga - Kumba was finished, palm products were all sent to Douala.

Until around 1965, the company used the port of Calabar where Pamol Nigeria Ltd. had her warehouses. The disappearance of this possibility has increased transport costs. Boats reached Calabar after 6 hours of sailing from Ndian and 12 hours from Lobe, across the arms of the deltas of the Rio-del-Ray and the Cross River. No rupture of cargo was involved and harbour costs were negligible. For Lobe and Bai, the amount of transport

costs via Cameroon ports and Calabar showed, in 1969, only a small difference (10 to 20 % less by passing through Calabar). For Ndian, the cost doubled practically when going through the Cameroon ports.

This reckoning could equally apply to the evacuation of produce as to the channelling of equipment. In 1968-69, Pamol bought 4.690 tons of supplies of which 1.800 tons were fertilizer and 1.540 tons, were motor-fuel, and nearly half of this tonnage was to be carried to Ndian. This shows the importance of the problem to the company. Nevertheless, if she still exported almost 10.000 tons of palm-oil in 1968-69, she succeeded in 1972-73 in disposing of it totally on the sport with a consequence of a less acuteness of the transport question.

c. The Local Market : Less Dependence on the uncertainty of the International Market (Fig. 5)

Luck smiled on the manufacturers of palm oil with the spectacular development of a local market after independence. In 1964, Pamol sold more than 1.000 tons on the spot and in 1973-74 almost 15.000 tons. Before this the whole production was exported. Still in 1967, palm products comprised 17,5 % of the total exports of English-speaking Cameroon, but the region still imported 970 tons of oil from Nigeria to satisfy their wants.

The opening of this market has rendered double service to the plantation : it has enabled them to become less dependent on an international capricious market, giving them on-the-spot remunerative prices which are constantly rising, and it has saved them the trouble of transporting palm oil. Presently, the company's financial equilibrium is based on two areas : the local market, where she realises sales of more than 1 billion francs C.F.A. due to palm oil, and the international market with which trade amounts to 700 million francs C.F.A. from the sales of palm produce and rubber. In 1968-69 the local market represented but a quarter of the total returns.

Everything goes to encourage the development of the company's local sales : prices which have doubled in five years, increased needs due to the preference of the customers for rich and well refined oil, and favourable government policy. For the Cameroonian consumer, industrial palm oil, because of its price (4 times less than that of groundnut oil), its richness and its qualities, faces no serious competition.

Lorries belonging generally to Bamileke traders come to Lobe to load barrels of oil. These barrels are later on sold in the whole of the Western province and at Douala. In Kumba market for example, Pamol palm oil is sold by some fifty or so women grouped in a cooperative - the Kumba Area Women C.P.M.S. The oil is then transfered into tins of 7 litres each and sold in litres to customers with a profit of 5 to 10 francs CFA, per litre. The Ibos ar found wanting in this trade; they are, on the other hand, remarkably organised in the town : Bafaw and Bakossi women predominate in this oil trade.

While the considerable increase in local returns enables the company to have a better financial stability, it also has as a consequence : its further integration into the local economy. A whole transport and commercial activity is engrafted on the production activity. The number of people living from the sales of 15.000 tons of palm oil is not negligible. It is also important to remark that this oil enables women-sellers of this product almost everywhere - to acquire some financial independence and even to show a spirit of cooperation, as in Kumba.

IV. <u>The Chances of Pamol : Employers and employees or "l'esprit maison"</u>

The foreign observer as soon as he enters the Pamol estates is struck by the absence of conflicts in labour relations. It is not that everything there is perfect, but it seems the conditions for the settlement of individual and collective conflicts are flexible enough for relatively satisying solutions to be found. Let us precise however that the reconciliatory spirit

of the British Managers and the weakness of the collective organisation of the labourers, facilitates greatly the creation of what can be termed "esprit maison". A comparison with what is observable in an industrial plantation in a French-speaking country enables one to understand immediately the phenomenon. Here, "hard" conflicts are relatively rare and the numerous professional or extra-professional grievances are examined carefully.

a. A Pyramidal and Rational Organisation of Work.

At the head of each estate there is an estate manager assisted by an assistant. Each estate is also divided into sections comprising generally of a group of workers lodged in a camp and working in a defined sector. In this way, the Ndian plantation is divided into four sectors covering the whole estate : Mundemba, Centre, Ikassa, and Mana/Makeke. Each section is put under the responsibility of a field assistant. The workers working in a section are divided into gangs which are under the responsibility of a headman. Each gang is made up of 10 to 25 men. The gangs are put under the supervision of supervisors when it concerns non-agricultural work, and under overseers when it is farm work. Workers in factories and repairs and maintenance workshops are supervised by foremen. At Ndian, 71 persons make up this group of middlemen for a working force of 1.200 workers. At the higher level, besides the estate manager, his assistant and the four field assistants, there is also a Chief Engineer, a Doctor, and among them, three expatriates.

To complete this roll of officers, it will be necessary to add to the list the various clerks occupying important posts, from beach clerks right up to wagon clerks. On the whole then in each estate, we find an organisation which is such that every worker is constantly being watched by some one in charge of reporting any weakness in the service and increasing the output of each worker.

Higher production while at the same time improving the quality of the products, is the permanent concern of the senior staff. There exists therefore, besides a series of advantages destined to encourage workers to increase their output, a research section working both in the field and in the laboratory, whose task is to establish production statistics, to observe the behaviour of workers at work, and to analyse finished or harvested products. The study of the movement of the tapper or the harvester of fresh fruit bunches is the object of special attention. The tapper is carefully selected, trained for one or two months during which all his performance is registered in a trainee progress report form, and sent to the field with a "senior" before he is recruited. The tapping of rubber, in fact, is a delicate operation and it is necessary that the persons concerned with this job be well versed in the techniques of collection.

The introduction of such a system of personnel management, both well tailored and of a quasi - military nature contributes as much towards the originality of the industrial plantations as towards the geometrical landscope which characterisesthem and which springs from this organisation.

b. A Whole-Heartedly Accepted Paternalism.

The most curious thing finally, has been found out to be the reaction of men towards this sort of organisation which is so remote from their usual way of living. Just by reading the newspaper of the employees of the Company one realizes that the Commany has won their esteem and their respect by its multiple forms of intervention in their social and family life. Extracts from this newspaper published in appendix give an idea of the nature of the relationship existing between employers and employees.

The Company makes great effort to satisfy the needs of the employees in lodging and health as well as in education and leisure. In these spheres, the Company makes efforts greater than those of the first public

employer of the country. It is concerned with compensating its old employees by delivering long service certificates, and those who have served for fifteen years, are offered a wall clock or a watch during a solemn ceremony. It had, since a long time ago introduced a system of retirement adapted to the life expectancy of its workers. It is surely the reason why the national system of Social Insurance promulgated by YAOUNDE, and fixing retirement age at 60, was not received wholy welcome. Finally, family allowances are distributed to workers having children.

All of these advantages are evidently meant to keep back the employees and to create a spirit of competition among them since they are graduated according to their professional standing.

The typically British type of social organisation contributes strongly towards the creation of a community with its own type of living. Each estate has its social clubs set up largely where — the workers go to relax themselves after work. In each camp, there is a provision store where the most basic commodities are sold at relatively low prices. Play grounds are situated on the outskirts of the camps or clubs. The Senior Staff attend all the feastings, sporting and traditional activities.

At work, each person knows, or is supposed to know, the internal regulations of the company. But numerous meetings are organised by the the senior staff and trade union representatives to throw light on certain points, listen to grievances settle labour disputes and bring help to a person in difficulty. If a mistake is made, there is no verbal violence, as it is the case in French-speaking countries. The worker is asked to defend himself before a committee made up of representatives from the management and the trade union, and if he is found guilty, he generally receives a warning letter which will be put in his file. A more serious sanction, or dismissal is announced only after deliberation between the social members has taken place.

The social advantages accorded the worker, the planning and easy application of the rules, partly explain the relaxed atmosphere that exists in human relations. The isolation of Pamol workers and their devotion to their company also account for the existence of this type of atmosphere.

c. 24 Hours a Day in Pamol.

The labourer employed by the company lives permanently in the plantation. From 6 a.m. to 2/3 p.m. in general, he is at work in the company's fields. In the afternoon, he has his lunch in a room allocated by the company in a camp. He can then go to a workers' club of his category to have a drink, or to a neighbouring village to work on a small " chop farm ", or he goes to the foot-ball field for practice in preparation for the next match to be played against another estate. He can also simply take a rest or converse with his neighbours on the veranda. In the evening, he could have a meeting of the traditional tontine (Njangi, Esusu, etc.) or a modern one (Credit Union) to which he belongs, or he will go to a tribesman's house where there is a party celebrating the birth of a child, the death of a relative, or even that of an elder of his clan. The occasions for meetings are numerous - the return of a tribesman who brings latest news from the village, the preparation of a religious feast by one of the many sects, participation in a traditional association, the monthly dance organised by the company with the participation of a local orchestra.

On the 15th or 30th of the month, the animation is greater. The bars of the clubs are full, and because of British solidarity, Guinness is top. The Irish brewery is not on the wrong path preparing games and attractions to increase its local sales figures. This is on pay days. The labourers assemble to organise the sending of presents in cash or in kind to their family back in the village : their parents, their brothers and often their wives and children. The market, usually droll

held on a piece of land given to them by the company, is on these days very active : the Ibos, hawkers in loin-cloths,are there, prestigious foodstuffs such as yams are present and they replace garri (cassava-made foofoo) which is frequent in the meals of the workers. It is equally on these days that the free girls of Ekondo Titi or even of Kumba come to Ndian on board " Madam Rio" - the old boat of the company, guarded by uniformed men who would appeal to film - producers,- to cheer up the unmarried workers.

Despite this effortsmade to forget the monotony of existence and solitude,home sickness remains strongly hooked on each one of them and is much more heavier on those who come from the open and humanized Grassfields.

The junior staff, a greater part of them from the ranks, follow the tune of life of the company of which they are the living symbol. Old obsequious workers who have been raised to the ranks of headman or foreman, or young incitingly elegant secondary school leavers from Mission Secondary Schools in English-speaking Cameroon make up this category and benefit from the privileges which the Company reserves for her good and loyal workers-terms of probation at U.A.C. in Nigeria, more spacious houses, clubs with tennis courts,profitable loans to buy SUZUKIS. Dispite these attracting advantages in a such a limited society they interfere in the lives of labourers as well as in those of the senior staff. The difference which the exercice of certain powers authorises, exists, but it is not a good idea for a gap that allows for class antagonisms to develop. Nevertheless, ethnic solidarity favours these relations. We shall see further that the ethnic composition of each estate depends largely on the ethnic origin of the Manager and his assistants.

Among the senior staff or expatriates, one finds both the "vieux

routiers" of U.A.C. or of the UNILEVER empire as well as men from the rank and file, who have gone through all the levels. There are few intellectuals from higher schools of agriculture. Only the technicians have an adequate training from the start. Unilever prefers spirited people to people of knowledge, training them herself progressively and in a pragmatic manner. An estate manager does not need to be a trained agronomist, he just needs to know the essential agricultural techniques and to be an excellent leader of people.

The life of a senior staff/workers is sacrificed entirely to the company. Staying in a large isolated bungalow, surrounded by a well-cared - for garden, he has acces to a service car (the coccinelle Volkswagen), regularly,/frequents every evening, the senior service clubs, and supervises all that happens in his estate irrespective of the section. He has to be permanently available in order to settle problems of all natures and he is being represented at all times. There is never a single important ceremony where he does not preside and where he does not make a speech. At the disposal of all the employees of the estate, he is called upon to say the final word on all disputes. As the company's public relations officer, he takes part in all meetings organised by the local administration and he is at the same time called upon by chiefs of neighbouring villages to hear requests which are sometimes difficult to fulfill. All these activities do not stop him from going every morning, as soon as it is dawn, to the fields to see to it that the harvesting is done correctly before going back home around 9 o'clock to take his breakfast. He goes to DOUALA or CALABAR very rarely, and when he does, it is generally for the business of the company. This explains perhaps the resentment of plantation life by the wives of expatriates.

Life in Pamol has not got anything particularly attracting for the employee, for the labourer torn from his native country or for the isolated manager.

Work takes up almost all the time and the frequent boredom is drowned in alcohol.

V. Weaknesses of Pamol : Instability of her Man-power.

While Pamol has carried out inside her estates, and consensus favourable to the growth of her productivity and her activity, we still find that, like other industrial plantations, she experiences each year a drain of Man-power which is such that the search for labourers has become the major preoccupation of the management of the company.

Despite technical progress, a large labour force is always necessary to carry out the work in a plantation. On the 30th of July 1974, Pamol had 3.200 workers, about the same number as in 1959. But more important is the fact that among this mass 80 % were labourers, men without qualification, assigned to simple tasks not requiring any training or, at most, a short term of probation. The men are thus interchangeable in their posts and one cannot say that interest in work or material gains are strong reasons to hold them back for long. It is for this reasons that the plantation companies appear as giants, with clay feet. More than 1.000 persons were occupied with harvesting palm nut bunches or latex. Maintaining this same number of labourers in this sector appears vital for Pamol.

Table 2. Distribution of Man-power according to activities

(30th June 1974)

Type of activity	Labourers	%	Subordinate Staff	%	Total	%
Harvesting of produce	1.111	44.6	82	11.8	1.193	37.4
Other field work	516	20.7	24	3.4	540	16.9
Transport	118	4.7	99	14.2	217	6.8
Factory	150	6.0	108	15.5	258	8.1
Studies	71	2.9	37	5.3	108	3.4
Health	27	1.1	58	8.3	85	2.7
Administration	7	0.3	107	15.4	114	3.6
Regene.& Develop.	160	6.4	10	1.4	170	5.3
Sundry	331	13.3	172	24.7	503	15.8
TOTAL	2.491	100.0	697	100.0	3.188	100.0

a. Youth and Instability of Man-power.

Half of the employees of the company are 20 to 29 years of age. The labourers are younger while the senior and junior staff members are much older. Less than 10 % of the working population is above 45 years. This total age structure varies however according to the estates : Ndian has a younger population than Bwinga. It is true that the recent work for the regeneration of palm fields at Ndian necessitated the employment of supplementary workers.

Geographically, the other differences are to be mentioned. The Nigerians form the oldest group . Those from Bamenda (Manchum and Mezam) form the youngest group while the natives of Ndian and Manyu are situated between the two. This reflects both the changes experienced in the recruitement policy since 25 years ago and the differential faithfulness to the company.

Pamol has for long looked for her Man-power among the inhabitants of Eastern Nigeria, only to get them out later from nearby zones (Manyu and Ndian) and finally run back to the high density area of Bamenda. Each of these categories of people does not have the same reaction towards the plantations ; those from the forest zones have had a tendency of remaining there longer, no doubt, because of their geographical proximity and the ecological similarities.

Table 3. Degree of seniority of Man-power in %

	Pamol 1975	Safacam 1965
1 year and below	24	29
1 to 2 years	10	8
2 to 3 years	6	7
3 to 4 years	7	5
4 to 5 years	6	6
5 to 15 years	39	24
16 years and above	8	21
T O T A L	100	100

The study of the date of recruitment of employees indicates the

importance of the annual replenishment of the Man-power. The instability of workers is in general, the same as in Safacam, the rubber plantation of French-speaking Cameroon having at her service 4.000 persons. There is no doubt therefore that a quarter of the labour force has at most one year of service, and that 70 % of the total Man-power has been there for less than 10 years.

This instability in the Man-power has multiple causes, which can be explained in the first place, both by the strategy of the individuals and the groups attracted by a regularly remunerated job but rebuffed by a way of life so opposed to their traditional life. Why in fact, come to work in such a compelling and boring atmosphere, if it is not to gather a certain sum of money necessary to carry out a short term project, or to gather the sum for a bride-price, to sponsor a relative in school, to provide for the financial needs of someone close or for some other reason ? And the individual is bound to leave, being a young man dependent on others and without any hope of progressing where he is born,as a result of the poor background, the rules for land distribution, or the impossibility of freeing himself from the guardianship of older members of the family. In this case, work in the plantation appears to be a step towards urban migration when weariness takes hold of one and one is attracted by the apparently easy ways of town life.

There are also those who, being free during the period of rest from farm work, come to the plantations, with the consent of their parents,to gather some cash which is meant, more often than not to improve the comfort of the home and who return to the village as soon as it is the season for harvesting cocoa or coffee.

What do we then say of these young Nigerians from an over-populated area, brought along by their fellow countrymen and spurred by the desire to make some money with a view to starting off a small business or to settle as farmers in the English-speaking sector of Cameroon so widely

open to their business ? As soon as the sum of money is gathered, they proceed to the towns and cities or go to strangers' villages of the region around the Cameroon mountain to try their luck in petit trading, hawking or in plantation agriculture.

The mobility of Man-power appears therefore to be inevitable in this type of undertaking by reason of its very structure - hierarchically organized, coercive, entirely cut from the traditional society, and heir to the forced labour of the colonial era, but also as a result of the disorder which occured amongst the neighbouring people. Salary attraction is counter-balanced by the profits which one can get from export crops or by the easy gains which one can realize from intermediary economic activities which demand neither regular effort nor a break with ones socio-cultural origin. Work in the plantation appears quite often to be a useful step towards the acquisition of a certain economic and social independence.

b. Cameroonisation of Recruitment.

Since independence, and despite some indulgence, the recruitment policy of the company has been resolutely nationalistic. As from 1962, the state imposed on the company to employ preferentially Camerounians in her estates. Up to 1962, the total labour force had been made up almost entirely of Nigerians. In 1961, with the exception of Bwinga estate where Nigerians constituted only one third of the total number of workers, the other estates counted 5 Nigerians out of every 6 workers. Ndian especially, has always had the highest number of Nigerians because of its nearness to the border and the available contact facilities.

Table 4. Proportion of Nigerians among the low grade workers in 1961, 1969, and 1974 (in % of the whole)

Estate of	12/1961	12/1969	6/1974
Bwinga	30.7	-	-
Bai	79.0	22.9	13.1
Lobe	77.9	27.7	11.3
Ndian	87.9	29.4	14.2
Headquarters	92.7	6.9	5.0
P A M O L	80.3	24.3	11.8

This importance of Nigerians - Ibos, Ibibios and Tivs - was due mainly to the Management preference for these already acclimatised groups of people, who were familiar with oil-palm and rubber cultivation, and who had acquired experience in these fields in the U.A.C. estates of Nigeria. Truly speaking, there was no doubt the idea that they were more integrated into the modern world than the Cameroonians of English expression, so lightly and so lately touched by education and cash crop economy. In fact, recruitment was made from junior staff and control agents and it was necessary for these persons to have some rudiments of the English language in which directives were given. How could such employees be found in a population whose average rate of literacy was only 25 % at the time of independence ?

It was therefore necessary to carry out recruitment at a regional level. The near-by zones were therefore explored and the company succeeded very well relatively, taking into account the pressure already being exerted there by the C.D.C. Gradually, with the help of junior African Staff, the company succeeded to create, ex-nihilo, an area of recruitment. Practically no Francophones, who are difficult to assimilate in an organisation carried out by the British; but solid points of support were found in Ndian, Manyu, Mezam and Menchum Divisions. Certain villages such as Ewelle in Manyu Division, Toko in

Ndian or Bu in Menchum take the lead in the number of Pamol workers who come from there. This explains the effect of enthusiasm created by the presence of natives of the village in posts of responsibility since some time.

The results of this policy are recorded in table 4 : in a space of 13 years, the proportion of Nigerians in the total labour force has fallen from 80 % to 12%, varying from plantation to plantation. It is a conversion achieved in figures, but a new population for plantation work which should be stabilised.

c. What should be done to keep back Labourers ? Should they be brought along Married ?

This is the question which is constantly troubling the management. It is evident that the possibilities of solution are situated at two levels and are complementary : it would be necessary to render the work more attractive in its remuneration as well as in its execution, but one quicklyclashes with the ways and imperatives of income, and it would be necessary to try to reconstitute the " social fabric " to allow for the full blooming of the individual during lessure hours. This will necessitate a good knowledge of the societies from which the workers originate, and the will to leave them develop a way of life suitable to their wishes.

All this is utopian and does not conform to the traditional conception of personnel management in plantations. The only effort made consists in trying to settle complete families in camps. Married workers with children seem to be more attached to the company because of their family responsibilities, and they hesitate to leave work so easily as would the bachelors. But what has been planned for the women ? There are no possibilities of employment in the company, no land for subsistent farming.

Only 36 % of the labourers are married as against 70 % of the junior staff and what is more some of the wives do not live with their husbands in the camps, but have remained in the village to bring up the younger children or to do farming. How can one be astonished at the instability of the labour force after what has just been said above, and knowing that the family wishing to settle down cannot acquire ownership of a house built by the company, or acquire a piece of land to live on. On the other hand, it is rare to find married people amongst those recruited for the first time. It is therefore during their first stay that it is important to make them realize the advantages of plantation life in order to induce them come back to settle there with their families. However, they will need to wait for a relatively long lapse of time to hope of having promotion inside the service.

The instability of Man-power seems therefore to be a structural problem and there is every reason to think that it will increase in future as a result of progress in education in the villages and the attraction of the towns. There is little probability that any short term notable changes will take place in the working and living conditions of the workers since this would be against the principles of the system under which industrial plantations work.

VI. Man in the Industrial Plantations : a Misfit.

Despite all attempts to integrate the worker into this specific way of life, and to establish him there firmly, the observer is obliged to declare that he remains a misfit. This worker is above all a ruralperson and he is obliged to work according to industrial norms and to live in a camp which is not very much different from the military camp, with other people who are,partially or totally, foreigners to him.

a. Neither Town nor Village : a Bastard World.

A camp, in fact, is neither a village nor a town. Of the village, it has only the agricultural surrounding and the low population.

It has a certain number of commodities which are only found in towns- water supply, electricity, health services, schools. It is characterised finally by a great ethnic diversity. However, everything distinguishes it from these two models of settlement : a strictly geometrical plan, monotonous reproduction of the same type of concrete buildings of two or several rooms with a prolongation of a veranda, same basic collective equipment (sanitary blocks, kitchen blocks, rubbish incinerator, space for the preparation of garri, clubs, football field etc..), no fancy in the architectural planning.

The localisation of the camp, its size, are in direct response to the needs of production. Each of the 24 camps of Pamol is built in the centre of a plot of crops or near a factory, and the number of rooms available correspond to the need in Man-power.

The only considerable differences arise from the period of construction and from the size of the camps. Several camps can be grouped together : thus, at Lobe Kokundu, the 8 camps comprising 813 rooms are situated near major equipment of the estate. At Bai or at Ndian on the other hand, dispersion remains the rule. Duty in the company plays an important role in the distribution of lodgings : a labourer has a right to one room, a headman to two, and an overseer has a right to three rooms. It is in this way that it is done and no consideration is given to the number of children.

At the end of 1974 in Bwinga camp, unmarried labourers were living two in a room, but married ones having more than three children had only a room each. In Ndian estate, in 1971, it was recorded that 2.7 persons lived in one room and 4.600 persons were supposed to use 388 water taps (that is 14 persons to a tap).

The workers enjoy a level of comfort relatively higher than that of the rural area, but nothing compensates this impression of anonymity

which arises from a habitation devoid of warmth. It is impossible to make gardens around the houses because of the little space available. Pamol has however not provided for her workers the possibility of owning a house or a plot to build.

Nothing in the housing reveals the set-up of a community creating its own social norms. The company has built camps using minimum space, allotting to each person a space of an area of limited m^2 without taking into account the specific needs of individuals, and without creating, apart from Clubs and football fields, space for traditional encounters on which a society is fashioned.

b. Constraints of the Industrial Wage-System : Work and Salaries.

This type of dwelling shows, indeed, the proletarisation of the working mass.

We have already seen the pyramidal organisation of work with the multiple controls exercised by "small leaders" and the research carried out on the behaviour of persons in charge of harvesting the produce. The well defined areas of work and a carefully proportioned remuneration contribute to locking up the worker in an extremely rigid corset when there is no room either for personal initiative or for real responsibilities.

Working in a great mechanised agricultural estate, the labourer makes up for the absence of adequate machines for collecting agricultural products or maintaining the estates.

It is only in the Ndian plantation that we saw 90 domains of work among which are divided the 1.223 employees of the plantation (excluding the management). Agricultural production occupied 528 persons and oil-milling 108. The other half of the workers were concerned with maintenance, transportation, planning, research, administration and gene-

ral service. There does not seem to be an excess in workers, each individual having a precisely defined job. Thus, in the production section alone - still at Ndian - we found almost 250 harvesters, more than 100 weeders some 80 or so sprayers, and 60 carriers. These figures do not take into account the reserve of labourers for the loading of tractors or for various jobs, plus some wood-cutters and labourers in charge of the nurseries. All the operations are controlled by team leaders. Everybody has his working tool : matchets for weeders, a kind of sickle fixed at the end of a relatively long handle for harvesters, balancers (two baskets fixed on a piece of stick) for carriers, pulverizers for sprayers.

At each transfer and transformation of the product, a small control card measures the performance of each worker and that of the fields, to be repeated at the level of the section, the estate, and the Plantation, daily, monthly, annually. Everything here is measured - climatic variations, strewed fertilizers, output, yields of the various sections, cost of production, final product obtained. Each employee has his report sheet or file in which his origin, his medical and intellectual situation and his carrier are all detaily recorded.

The industrial plantation produces a lot of red tape without the help of an army of bureaucrats. Here, the link with the soil is essential and ensures the smooth running of the whole. There are few shirkers in air-conditioned offices, and there is permanent contact with the base.

Everything is so organised as to leave as little place as possible for the unseen, for personal initiative or imagination. All these controls are supposed to see to it that there are progressive results obtained, and that there is a regularity of rythm, in the work even that which depends on climatic hazards. In this context the worker is a piece of machinery among others, one of the factors of production. He is a more

controllable factor than climate.

The remuneration of the employee is based on the following : a basic salary varying with qualification and long service, and allowances depending on diligence and performance. The basic salary is fixed by the State and it is calculated hourly. It happens that the majority of the labourers and junior staff are task - workers. Only 14 % of the junior staff are monthly-paid.

For the beginning of 1975, table 5 gives the basic rates per hour, and the mass of wage-earners concerned with these rates.

Table N° 5. Basic hourly rates and wage-earners concerned
(1/1975)

Hourly Basic rates (F.C.F.A.)	Wage-earners concerned in % of the total.
25 - 34	50.0
35 - 44	33.2
45 - 54	4.3
55 - 64	3.6
65 - 74	2.6
75 - 84	1.2
85 - 94	1.7
95 -104	1.0
More than 105	2.4

From this table we notice that 8 employees out of 10 received 25 to 45 Frs.CFA per hour of work. A labourer who had worked for a whole month had a monthly wage of between 5.000 and 11.000 Frs.CFA; this amount included the basic salary (wage), overtime, incentive allowance and seniority bonus. Among the junior staff, the monthly salary ranged between 10.000 Frs and 50.000 Frs CFA, with an average of 20.000 Frs CFA. The incentive allowance often attained 1/4 to 1/3 of the total salary. This shows its importance to the workers and its role in the company.

Relatively, these salaries are far from being attractive if they are compared to those paid in the administration taking into account the

amount of work needed. The various advantages, (lodging and free social services, low prices of foodstuff sold in the company stores)cannot greatly alter this situation. In spite of all the burden of the salaries weighs heavily on the total cost of exploitation : 32 % in the palm - products, but 56 % in the rubber plantations. From this arises the attempt to check the rise in salaries in a period when the cost of all the other factors of production increase considerably, notably that of fertilizers or fuel.

c. Counterparts in Detribalisation.

What can be the reactions of the worker confronted with a situation so strange to him ? Many answers can be possible : absenting frequently from work, coiling up oneself and escaping from this type of existence as soon as the feeling of frustration becomes too strong, joining with fellow countrymen of the same ethnic group or same village to form traditional meetings to dance, save, or simply to chat, or take part in more formal meetings having a house of their own,such as trade unions, churches, or the various clubs.

Absenteeism is relatively low : less than 5 % as in the C.D.C; while it reaches much higher figures in SOCAPALM at ESEKA. (TJEEGA - 1974) where the labourer is divided between his personal farm work and the work in the industrial plantation.

Participation of a greater fraction of workers in the activities of associations contribute in integrating them in the plantations, at the same time serving as a derivative to the problems of adaptation to their labourer conditions. However, it is necessary to distinguish traditional groupings created by the sole will of the workers from those which have come from outside and which recruit adepts. Some are constituted on the basis of ethnicity while the others group together different ethnic groups. The former appear as if desired, the latter as if unlooked

for. Participation from the base is really constructive in the " Njangi " and the various traditional meetings; it remains marginal in the trade unions, the party or the churches. In the modern kind of association one pays a subscription because it is almost obligatory and one attends meetings of information or ceremonies, not to express one's feelings but to learn something from there : trade union strategy, political thought, bible or Gospel.

The activity of the various religious congregations is singularly important since they contrive to have contact with the population globally, by age and sex groups, adapting themselves to each people in order to pass on their message, combining religious teachings, general and pratical education, and sporting activities. This is why the various missions live more often in symbiosis with the plantations : they find there a more welcoming audience than that of the rural area, more at one's disposal than in town, a society in quest for identity.

Settled much earlier and often led by a European, they maintain good relations with the estate manager, sometimes even on the economic point of view. The oil-mill at Ndian processes the production of 25 ha. of oil palms belonging to the IKASSA mission. At Lobe, the Catholic Mission and Pamol are helping with the exploitation by peasants of selected oil-palms.

While there has not been any appearance of new syncretic religions, as in the other coastal regions of Africa, many foreign sects have succeeded in creating an audience among the Pamol workers since ten years ago, such as the Apostolic Church or the Seventh Day Adventist Church. This portrays, no doubt, the confusion of these working masses, transplanted into a foreign universe, and having lost the frame of references offered by their native society.

The cohesion of Man-power is reinforced by means of the modern associations supported by the state, and approved by the company. In this

sense, it can even be said that the "Unified" trade Union is useful to the company in the sense that it gives to the whole of this population, so dissimilar, the feeling of having common problems to which they have to find adequate solutions to the benefit of everyone.

In counterpoint, there exist the " meetings " grouping together a limited number of persons of common origin. The object of these meetings is sometimes very vague. It however enables the worker to find himself once more in the village atmosphere which he has left : there he speaks in his language about the people and things he knows and of his personal problems. Of course, these meetings have an economic role of mutual aid or savings. When extended to several ethnic groups, as is the case with certain " njangis ", these meetings have a strictly economic function : savings and insurance.

In fact, the company offers to her workers only substitutes to compensate for the loss of the traditional socio-cultural organisation, and these substitutes do not succeed in replacing it at the psycho-sociological level; and their wish, of course, is that it should not be completely replaced.

VII. Direct Effects of the Plantations on the Region.

Pamol plantations have provoked, in the region in which they are found, important transfers : transfers of men, money, property, and perhaps even of ideas.

a. Massive Demographic Puncture among the Young Men of Marginal zones.

1. Geographic and Ethnic Origin of the Workers. (Fig. 8-9-10).

Table 6. Geographic origin of workers in %

Zone of origin	Pamol Total	Labourers	Junior Staff	Estates of Ndian	Lobe	Bai	Bwinga
Ndian	252	255	243	373	177	170	82
Menchum	157	182	74	140	151	160	239
Mezam	151	154	142	100	137	257	179
Manyu	127	103	207	71	194	121	229
Nigeria	125	153	33	145	119	150	-
Meme	58	43	107	41	81	72	47
Bui	49	49	50	80	37	5	39
Momo	43	31	82	30	67	42	39
Donga Mantung	18	20	11	4	12	10	107
French Speaking Cameroon	13	8	29	9	15	11	32
Fako	7	2	22	7	10	2	7
T O T A L	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000

Table 6 has been established from the inspection and careful study of some 2.800 documents. It brings out the importance of workers from Ndian (1/4 of the total number), the division where the bulk of Pamol's gross potential is concentrated. This is all the more remarkable in that up to 1962, Pamol got her workers largely from the eastern region of Nigeria. The proximity of this division, and her unfavourable economic situation can explain this preponderant position. Population exodus in this region is not something new ; in 1928 already, natives of Ndian constituted a group of more than 2.000 persons in the plantations around the region of the Cameroon mountain.

Next come the divisions of the Grassfields of Bamenda : Menchum and Mezam forming 30 % of the total. These are however two different situations : Menchum a poor division, little schooled menchum ; Mezam a rich division but of high density. Manyu division and Nigeria supply another quarter of the labour force : Manyu, a nearby division, and little spoilt by nature and its peculiar situation; the Eastern region of Nigeria, overpopulated and

finding it difficult to recover from the Civil War of 1967 - 1970. Small groups of workers arrive from other zones. The weak number of Francophones, who were so many between 1900 and 1939 should be taken note of.

Pamol recruits, in a radius of 300 km., the greater part of her Man-power, and she has strongly established locally, notably in the Ndian estate where 37.3 % of the workers come from the same Division. There is nothing of the sort in the C.D.C. where heterogeneity is the rule in the fourteen estates.

In Lobe, people from Manyu form the most important group; at Bai, they are those from Mezam, finally in Bwinga, there is equality in numbers between those from Menchum and those from Manyu. Thus, each estate shows some discrimination in the recruitment of personnel within Pamol (Fig.9)

The origin of the staff no doubt strongly influences the ethnic composition of the labour force. The presence of one of his people at the head of a gang a section, or an estate only assures the security of the labourer who comes for the first time to an industrial plantation.

The map of the origin of the junior staff does however coincide with that of the origin of labourers (Fig. 10): the Ejagham and Ngolo-Batanga coast areas are priviledged; the North-West province is less well represented. This reveals both the seniority of recruitment and the zonal disparities in the rate of schooling : While Menchum and Manyu dominate in the number of those recently recruited, (Fig. 7) for Manyu and Ndian, the number of "anciens" is relatively higher. Menchum is moreover the least schooled division of English-speaking Cameroon. Nigerians, for political reasons, are fewer in the category of junior staff.

Table 7. Comparative ethnic structure of the African labour force : C.D.C. June 1972 - Pamol January 1975.

% of the total Labour force (M.O.T.)	P A M O L Ethnic groups Number	% of the Total labour force.	C. D. C. Ethnic groups number	% of total L.F.
10 % and above	1	14.8	-	-
5 to 10 %	5	29.7	2	14.5
33 to 5 %	6	23.0	13	47.0
1 to 3 %	13	21.4	15	27.0
Less than 1 %	33	11.1	32	11.5
T O T A L	58	100.0	62	100.0

From the ethnic point of view, Pamol reaches all the groups in English-speaking Cameroon, plus three Nigerian groups (Ibibio 6 %, Ibo 1.5 % and Tiv 1.7 % of the total Man-power). She recruits from the same groups as the C.D.C. with great differences however (Fig. 8). She has little influence on the Fako and Donga Mantung people, and a narrower ethnic representation than in the C.D.C. Six groups each have more than 5 % of the entire Man-power, on the total 44.5 % of Pamol workers (Table 7). In the C.D.C, only two ethnic groups attain the same percentage, but they constitute only 14.5 % of the total Man-power.

Another very minor difference between the two companies is the importance of French-speaking Cameroonians and of Nigerians. In the C.D.C, 4.3 % of the employees come from over the Mungo as against 1.4 % in the Pamol. Inversely, Nigerians are five times more in the Pamol estates. The geographical situation of the estates accounts for these disparities. The existence of the cultural boundary of the Mungo explains the low representation of Francophones, moreover less attracted by the agricultural system of wages since they enjoy a better standard of living than anglophones.

Table 8 : The first ten ethnic groups in Pamol (in % of the total Man-power).

Ethnic groups	Pamol Total	Labourers	Junior Staff	Estates of Ndian	Lobe	Bai	Bwinga
Ngolo-Batanga	14.3	15.6	9.4	23.7	5.2	8.8	5.4
Kom	6.6	7.3	4.2	5.0	4.8	10.4	9.3
Bafut	6.5	7.1	4.5	4.3	8.6	10.0	3.6
Ibibio	6.0	7.5	1.1	5.1	7.2	9.5	-
Ejagham	5.3	3.9	9.9	3.3	10.1	2.8	7.9
Ngemba	5.3	5.3	5.3	2.2	3.3	14.4	3.9
Fungom	4.7	5.6	1.9	6.9	4.5	0.5	4.6
Ibo	4.5	5.1	2.2	7.4	2.4	2.9	-
Banyang	4.1	3.1	7.0	2.0	6.1	4.1	7.5
Balue	3.3	3.1	4.2	2.0	5.5	4.9	0.7
T O T A L	61.1	63.6	49.5	61.9	57.7	68.3	42.9

Among the ten most important ethnic groups supplying workers to Pamol, there are six from the forest region of which two are Nigerian. The other four are from the high savana plateau of the centre of Bamenda : Kom, Bafut, Ngemba, and Fungom. Among the C.D.C. personnel, we find only five of these groups among the first ten : Fungom, (8.4 %), Bafut (4.3 %), Banyang (4.2 %), Ngolo-Batanga (4.0 %), Balue (3.2 %); In addition to these there are the Bakweris (6.1 %), the Beba-Befang (4.2 %) and three ethnic groups from Momo division (Ngie, Meta, and Ngwaw).

The two companies compete in the zones of traditional emigration, but they single themselves out by the place occupied by certain groups such as the Kom, the Ibibio, and the Ibo in Pamol. Each ethnic group can have a different position according to the estates or professional category. Among the junior staff, Ejagham, Banyang, and Ngolo-Batanga are at the same level. While being very many at Ndian, the Ngolo-Batangas have nothing but a modest number in the other estates. At Lobe, the Ejagham and Bafut come first while at Bai, Ngemba, Kom, Bafut and Ibibio are above

10 % each. Bwinga is unique as a result of the absence of Ibos and Ibibios, and of the place occupied by the Koms, Ejaghams and Banyangs.

2. Regional Impact of this transfer of Men.

Pamol does not recruit with the same intensity in the whole region and considerable time variations have been noticed in the sources of labour. She gets her workers from amongst the young male adults of the rural areas, thus depriving peasant, traditional or modern agriculture of an important part of its labour force.

Table 9. Ages of workers : Pamol (1/1975) SAFACAM (7/1965)

	P A M O L	S A F A C A M
15 - 19 years	8.3	4.7
20 - 24 years	25.2	12.8
25 - 29 years	23.4	21.9
30 - 34 years	15.0	17.0
35 - 39 years	13.3	14.7
40 - 44 years	8.1	8.2
Above 45 years	5.7	20.7
T O T A L	100.0	100.0

If one compares the ages of Pamol workers tothose of Safacam workers, one remarks the youthfulness of those of Pamol : 49.6 % between 20 and 29 years as against 33.7 % in Safacam.

The rural male population of this age group in Anglophone Cameroon could be estimated, in 1964, at 48,000. C.D.C. and Pamol could have had during the period of expansion, a figure corresponding to 1/6 of this population with the strength varying according to zones. This already gives us an idea of the demographic puncture carried out on this age group.

However, the constant replenishment, and by large contingents of personnel from more or less the same zones, prompts us to think that this

is a minimum estimation.

With the available demographic information, one could estimate for the following four zones, the following report :

Number of workers in plantation -
number of men of over 15 years old residing in the zone.

	PAMOL	C.D.C.	ENSEMBLE
Ejagham	1/35	1/15	1/10
Ngolo-Batanga	1/6	1/5	1/3
Balue	1/25	1/6	1/5
Banyang	1/46	1/12	1/9

These four tribes have a common geographical situation. Situated in the central forest zone, away from the present main routes of communication, they have, at best, mediocre soils. Their periheral situation, compared with areas put into use during German colonisation, has been reinforced recently with the imposition of the boundary between Cameroon and Nigeria. As from the time of German colonisation, these tribes have constituted reservoirs for Man-power with the establishment of forced labour, and this has continued till today. For the rest, no effort has been made to hold back the youths in these tribes : no development scheme apart from the building up of the Kumba-Mamfe road which indeed facilitated emigration.

The recent efforts of the Mamfe cooperative Farmers Association created in 1951, to develop cash-crops, (cocoa, Robusta coffee, oil palm) have been slow, and if the volume of crops harvested by the cooperative has increased, this is mostly due to the departure of private sollicitor agents, driven away by economic depression persistent in the area. The demographic situation, the absence of paths for harvesting and mediocrity of the soils are some of the many obstacles to the expansion of these crops.

What could be the dynamism of villages inhabited with old people children, and women, where one spends one's time waiting for "dashes"

from outside, and where sullenless is drowned in palm wine. These little contralised segmentary societies are moreover incapable of mounting even the least resistance to individuals wanting to emigrate. Nevertheless, extensive land is available, access to the soil is easy and demographic presure is low.

Lands very widely opened to the modern world and for such a long time that they do not have the feeling of being on the margin, they are condemned to waste away without remedy, since they are those who suffer the greatest drain of young adults.

b. Transfers of Money and Property from the Estates to the Regions.

Pamol distributed a salary of 323 million Frs. C.F.A. to her 3,200 employees in the year 1973 - 74. Only part of this important amount is spent on the spot from day to day, essentially in the buying of provisions, drinks, and clothing. A not negligible part returns to the village of origin, in kind, in the form of presents, perishable goods and articles of consumption, sometimes even in form of equipment for the house or for agriculture (1).

As in all the plantations of the region, the workers make a great effort towards savings. It should not be forgotten that it is because they wanted to amass a certain sum of money that most of them came to work there. This saving is carried out first of all to prepare against any mishap that may befall - illness, accident, death, etc... It is a savings bank which serves immediate needs. Saving for the purpose of education, is on equal basis with that destined for the payment of a bride-price. The buying of durable goods such as bicycles, wireless sets etc.. equally needs heavy sums. A very small number of the

(1) A precise enquiry on the quantity, methods and forms of this transfer would have over-charged this analysis considerably. All we are doing here is releasing information obtained during conversations with the workers.

workers indulge in longer saving with a view to building a house, starting off a small business or opening a farm.

The duration of the saving period very rarely goes beyond one year, and one profits from the reserve when one does not borrow to send presents home to parents or to an uncle, to finance the travelling of a member of the family, to help sponsor a school-child. Traditional saving organisations (Njangi and meetings) absorb a major part of the money kept aside. The modern systems (banks, post office saving banks) are not locally represented. In any case, their management by a meddling bureaucracy would be enough to discourage the most confident investor. Also, it is not by post that sums of money are sent to people living away from the plantations : a trustworthy person is entrusted with the duty of delivering the presents to the persons concerned, when he has to go to the village.

Generally, transfers of money and articles from the estates to the village should be relatively important, but to us, it plays a very little part in its economic development. These presents are distined mostly to ameliorate the living conditions of a great number of people and this fractioning of aid is of no profit to the community. The workers do mostly a job of assistance ; those who invest are quite few and the hoarding capacity of an individual can be nothing but low, taking into account his resources.

c. Transfer of Ideas.

The demographic investigation of 1964, underlined the relative importance of men of 35 to 54 years returning home to the village :

12.5 %

in the rural zone of the North West Province. The authors of this investigation stated " no doubt, for a greater part, it concerns former plantation workers who, as soon as they amass a little money, return to the village. These important forward and backward movements between zones and between regions surely play a part in the evolution of the country and notably in the acquisition of new ways of life, alimentary and others." (Service de Statistique générale, 1969, tome 1, p.284.)

One may wonder what workers having lived in the plantations are capable of bringing back home to their village of origin, and if their return is accompanied by the introduction of new ways or simply of habits more European inclined. They have been in contact with a more mecanised agriculture using all the knowledge of agricultural sciences. What have they retained from this ?

In the absence of any enquiry carried out on a representative sample of old workers, we can only nourish our reflexion by examining their respective situation in the plantations and on their return to the village. We have been able to observe in the regions of Kumba and Muyuka groves of palms, cocoa farms and rubber fields exploited by plantation staff as personal property, using methods very near those used in the industrial estates : paid labour, selection of plants, use of fertilizer etc...

At the level of the small farmer transfer seems more delicate; it presuposes adaptation in most cases. And it is not true that technology, lucrative at the industrial level, is same in a small family farming estate. On the other hand, how can a labourer, confined to a repetitive and limited type of job, have a good knowledge of methods used and their importance without any training, and in the absence of any mobility of labour ?

There is therefore little probability that there would be a direct

technological transfer between the industrial estates and the peasant farmers.

On the other hand, the worker having lived in an industrial plantation has acquired new habits : a much more varied diet where imported products are introduced, a better hygenic system, use of drinkable water, electricity and alcoholic drinks. Having returned to the village, will he not introduce these habits, and is this always progress ?

The danger finally is to find in him the behaviour of the ex-service-man, a picturesque outlook of the francophone villages, getting his authority from his pension and from his entrance into the whiteman's universe, and showing contempt for the local ways and customs. This is contrary to what should be done by a development agent, who is supposed to be perfectly integrated in the milieu to make it run.

It should be kept in mind that the objective of the company is not to train men but to use them to the best of her interests. It would have been a good thing if the men obtained from passing through such hands, personal profits with positive effects on the region. This does not seem to be the case, and it will be unjust to reproach the company, since even the public companies do not do better.

VIII. The Induced Effects of Plantations on the Surrounding Areas.

The presence of these islets which are a product of the technology of a multinational capitalist firm has acted as a magnet in this poor region which has never received full attention from Government.

Involuntarily, or with the help of external agents, the plantations of the company have thus modified their surrounding environment at the demographic, economic and social levels.

a. The"Duplicates" of the Camps : Towns for Marginal Men and Traders (Fig. 11 and 12).

The estates have attracted around them a whole heterogeneous popu-

lation which has contributed in transforming the nearby villages of the natives. It is in this way that the market towns of Bai Kuke, Bekora, Ekondo Titi, Idian village and Mundemba were born.

At the beginning, nothing distinguished these villages from the others. The installation of an estate on the neighbourhood changed their outlook greatly.

Fig. 11 indicates well in what ways they differ from each other from the point of view of demography, and from populations living in the camps, and those of rural areas. As in the estates the population is mostly male with a pronounced gap for the 20 - 30 year-olds and a sizeable contingent of women of the same age, while the rural areas have a sex-ratio favourable to women, notably those of 15 - 45 years old. For these rural areas affected by emigration, the age-pyramid shows the weight of the old and young children as well as the low number of adults of working age (15 - 60 years).

In these towns, just as in the Camps, " strangers " dominate : 84 % of taxable people at Bai Kuke, 78 % at Bekora. And in this allogeneous population, Nigerians from the greater part. They represent nearby 2/3 of the total population at Bekora, which is 5 times more than in the company. Have they been previously employed at Pamol, and have they settled nearby hoping to serve again in the estates ? Did they come there, attracted by the profit to be got from the company workers, who buy provisions and employ workmen ? In fact, the two strategies are complementary. While waiting for a wage-earning job, they cultivate, trade, tap palm-wine with a view to procuring fresh money. Evidently, the big amount of salaries distributed by Pamol has also attracted traders, artisans and prostitutes. At Bekora in 1974, there were 29 traders, 30 artisans, and 18 prostitutes excluding the 10 occasional traders, for a population of 2.000 inhabitants. (P.A.I.D. - C.A.R. 1974).

The inflow of an important mass of immigrants into these villages did not take place without provoking irreversible changes in the society and the economy of these small communities. Access to land,,easy since 20 - 25 years, has been limited for strangers. Today, in order to obtain permission to cultivate a piece of land for a season, one needs to pay a sum of money and quite often give part of the harvest to the owner. It is not possible to plant fruit trees - what you need is just some land to grow some tubers or some plantains.

The " strangers " therefore occupy an unconfortable position in the agricultural life of the village. It is at most a question of waiting, for an uncertain duration, before returning to the plantation, emigrating towards the towns, or returning to the village. In order to have permission to build, the accord of the Chief and of the Counsel of elders is necessary, against payment of a certain sum of money when it concerns a plank-house, or the throwing of a party if it is a traditional house in mud and thatch.

At Bekora in 1974, 29 % of the houses were in plank and 37 % had a corrugated iron roof more or less rusted. These were evident signs of accomplished progress. There were not less than 15 different religious sects; and "animists" represented only 18.6 % of the population. 40 % of the male adults had been to school, and 7 % had gone through secondary school. (P.A.I.D. - C.A.R. 1974)

These market - towns therefore lack homogeneity at the economic and social levels : the better settled natives cohabit, thanks to their mastery of the land and to the various traditional dues; traders and artisans prosper due to the salaries of the company, and finally, the mass of the marginal, men,sometimes more educated than the others who take refuge here rubbing along waiting for luck to smile on them and keeping up the religious sects. There is however no clear cut division

between the natives and the strangers : no separate quarters between them with a fence all round showing the boundary as in the Bakweri land. Cohabitation seems therefore not to be so conflicting.

In two cases, Ekondo Titi and Mundemba, territorial administration and her multiple branches has come to establish itself there, benefitting notably from the equipment and services provided by the company, particularly her transport service between Ndian and Ekondo Titi.

All these is seen in the land-scape. Fig. 12 shows for the lower Meme region, the main characteristics of such a landscape. 5.000 ha. of land are cultivated in the C.D.C. and Pamol estates. The central part is occupied by the C.D.C. estate of Mbonge taking up the meanders of the Meme river navigable up to the falls found at Ekumbe Waterfall. On both sides are found the two estates of Pamol - in the North, Lobe linked to the Ekondo Titi wharf, to the South, Bai, accessible only by boat. A private motorable road, well maintained serves the vast extense of land exploited by the companies. The main villages are closely attached to the estates and they shelter a good number of strangers. As for the villages of the natives, they are of a small size, accessible for the most part on foot, and having but limited exploited land. They belong to eight different ethnic groups and still harbour some "strangers". They lie quietly, away from the zones of activity, not having completely recovered from the trauma suffered during the German colonisation during which they could not resist the appetites of the D.W.H. settlers who took over all the useful lands. Around the estates and settlements, subsistence and perennial farming occupy a large space and reflect the dynamism of the populations living there, whose constant renewal and difficulties in living a comfortable life increase the spirit of competition.

b. A Scoffing Economic Enthusiasm.

Pamol lodges in her camps 1/5 of the continental population of Ndian division (fish towns of Rio-del-Ray excluded). One could ask, seeing her place in this marginal administrative district, in what way she has created a certain economic flight around her.

Ndian division is composed of two different sectors : a deltaic zone, the Rio-del-Rey, and an interior forest sector. The Rio-del-Rey is inhabited intermittently by Oron, Ijo, Ibibio fishermen from Nigeria who have settled in about a hundred "fish towns". The forest part greatly divided up by the relief, shelters thirty-five thousand people spread over an area of 4.800 km^2, belonging to 9 ethnic groups not always related to each other and residing in some 150 villages. Two ways of life and two dynamics completely different : As much as the deltaic portion is lively, integrated to the monetary economy, rich in potentialities, the interior (the continental side) is less gifted, depressed, declining, with the departure of her lively forces.

The circulation of the creeks (1) by engine - pulled canoes is permanent between Oron, Calabar, Mbonge, Ubenikang, Ekondo Titi - transport of persons going and coming between Cameroon and the Calabar region, of provisions and drinkable water for the fishermen, of smuggled goods from both sides of the boundary. Offshore oil resources, acts of robbery carried out by Nigerian soldiers demobilised after the civil war (1967 - 1970), have compelled the Cameroonian Government to send forces of order to check the sector and to implant a whole series of administrative posts all along the Nigerian border. Fishing practised according to relatively modern methods remains the exclusive occupation of fishermen from the Nigerian coast if we exclude some dozen or so Balundu, Isangele and Bakolle fishermen.

Dried or smoked fish is conveyed by the Ibibios towards the Urban

(1) Name given to delta arms where the tide rises separeted by islands or presqu'iles, more or less stabilised by the mangrove forest.

markets of the coast (Calabar, Kumba, Victoria, Tiko and Douala) and towards the plantation zones of Pamol and C.D.C. These fishermen must in return buy the rest of their food on the coast and in the Kumba area. Not being able to plant food crops in their fish-camps, and being for the most time alone, they are dependent on plantains, "garri" and tubers from the coastal peoples. This situation explains the rise in prices of basic foodstuffs demanded by both the fishermen and the Pamol workers on a limited market supply. Around Lobe, an average bunch of plantains cost 2 to 3 times dearer than around Kumba.

This high demand has not given rise to an equal development of a food market around Rio-del-Rey and the estates, due to lack of strength and of initiative, no doubt. Some few Ibos and civil servants have understood what it means to take part in this conjuncture. For the same reason Ndian estate by far the most unconducive - has to import the greatest part of his provisions from Kumba and its surrounding. The company has left this in the hands of the Ibos to whom it grants transport facilities.

In order to supply enough palm-nuts to the Lobe oil-mill, which is far from working fully, the company has tried, in collaboration with the Catholic Mission of Mbonge, to launch native palm fields.

In order to do this, she has supplied plants, given advice to village cooperatives constituted under the Dutch Missionaries. She takes charge of the harvesting of bunches and plays the rôle of a bank. This operation started in 1962, has succeeded in the Balundu country, and around Lobe to a small extent. A dozen villages situated at the periphery and on the south of Lobe form part of the " Balundu Area Agri. Cooperative " or " Nakeke Fe ". In the best of cases 1/4 of the taxable men take part in the project and the area of the palm plantations is not more than a dozen ha. in the village. The land obstacle constitutes

the major check to the progression of experience. The natives alone have the right to practise perennial farming and this limits the number of participants in the villages populated with strangers who would have been the most dynamic associates of this project. The total weight of bunches of palm nuts sold to Pamol has greatly increased, from about 100 tons in 1965 to 750 tons in 1973/74. This represented 1/40th of the tonnage extracted from the industrial estate of Lobe. This supplementary production is not enough to enable the oil-mill work fully, and the extension of the estate to more than a thousand ha. is being envisaged.

This attempt of cooperation between the plantation and traditional peasantry shows clearly the limits of this type of experience in the local context. A relatively long period is needed to convince the peasant and remove existing obstacles, and it is possible to succeed with those who have a mastery of land and who are not necessarily the best agriculturists. Moreover, the productivity is less than in an industrial estate where a whole coercive and inciting organisation has been started. The"small holders schemes" of the C.D.C. have experienced the same negative changes so much so that industrial plantation societies, who cooperate in the realization of these projets, do not have any hopes in them on a short term. They do not have community development officers and their staff trained in industrial schools cannot be the ones to carry out these experiments. For the moment, it is a question of alibis vis-à-vis the technocrats of the plan who are still hoping to associate the "small" peasant to the "big" planter.

In the main, the economic impact of the company on the surrounding areas is derisive and does not compensate the population losses suffered by the areas most affected by emigration.

= C O N C L U S I O N =

Are these prosperous industrial estates, this powerful company, carrying out a rear-guard battle as some people think ? The economic contribution of Pamol in such an isolated sector is undeniable. All these industrial plantations represent capital of first class importance for the whole country, capital which needs good handling so as to be preserved and improved. We have seen the social price paid for the achievement of such results, but we know that it is same with the State. We have brought out the weak effect of training that the industrial plantations manifest at the regional level. However, much better than in the past, they integrate themselves into the local economic circuits thanks to the sale in the national market of all the palm oil produced. At the present time, Pamol produces 1/8 of the rubber and 1/3 of the industrial palm oil of the country. With all this what can be the future of the company ?

It depends both on the attitude of the Cameroon Government and on the choice of the plantation department of Unilever Ltd. of London.

On the Camerocnian standard, the leaders chose on the one hand, the establishment of agro-industrial complexes, where it was necessary that the battle of production be quickly won, and on the other hand, the obviously slow and uncertain but socially beneficial improvement of small peasant farming. The country runs two risks following this channel : that of leaving the management of agricultural combines to an inordinate administrative machinery, with the loss of all sense of income, and that of indefinitely subsidizing improductive agricultural sectors - a Soviet problem in the first case and a French problem in the second. We have not yet reached that point.

The State has started or is starting companies of mixed economy in order to increase the production of palm oil and rubber. It is in this way that SOCAPALM and HEVEACAM came to be. The solution got in the two cases consists in creating large industrial estates managed by technicians; several estates of 4.000 to 5.000 ha. for oil palms, an estate of 15.000 ha. for rubber. In order to do this, pedologic, and technological studies, and also studies pertaining to finance have not been left out. No deep study of the human problem has been made.

Concerning palms, experts had arranged for the creation of groves of selected palms and their repartition among usufructuary farmers staying permanently surrounded by agricultural advisers. The natural inclination of the central administration has triumphed : the State farm has had its preferences because of the easy controls (1) at all levels. The French trained civil servant in fact understands only the hierarchical and authoritative relation clearly. How could he in good faith, think of a system which would take the place of order, advice, note of service, explanation, coercion, and education ? To associate peasants to a development program of this nature is an extremely complex and delicate project for which a staff with special qualities is imperative.

In this context, Pamol has its place. Immediately one adopts and develops the agricultural wage system, takes income capacity as a criterion for management, and considers profit as the major motivator of the economy, there is no obstacle in the way of the company's activities in its development plans. She has plans, moreover to render

(1) Relative ease afterall.... Thus we learnt on the 8/1/77 that the Manager of SOCAPALM - MBONGO (Dizangué District) had embezzled nearly 4 million Francs C.F.A. (CAMEROUN TRIBUNE of 8/1/1977.)

her factories more profit-earning, by extending her palm plantations at Lobe (1.400 ha.) and even at Ndian. Taking into account her experience, she does not expect an important supply of palm nuts from the peasant farms unlike the lever plantations of Kwilu based on the extraction of bunches from natural palm trees (NICOLAI, 1963), the Company has speculated here on industrial estates. On the contrary, she manages a huge labour force from all over - the Achilles' tendon of this form of organisation. The planned expansion of industrial plantations runs the risk of being thwarted by the difficulties of finding the numerous contingents of labour presently supplied only by the most remote and marginal sectors. What will happen when the present sources will have been exhausted ?

Situated outside the main centres of the country's economic activities, in an amorphous rural area, the company cannot appeal to the technocrat itching for nationalisation. She follows the palm plan and knows how to remain discret on publicity and social aspects. It has nothing in common with the C.D.C., obliged to present itself all over in order to obtain international loans. There are therefore no major obstacles to her expansion. Unilever Ltd. would not hesitate, in any case, to give up a small less profitable business, if it was the case, without caring about problems involved. An in the event of nationalisation, would the multinational not be able to find a reason permitting him to maintain excellent positions as consultant for marketing or as associate manager ? She will thus leave the work of solving labour problems to the state, selling her management methods and her know - how. It is in this way that SAFACAM is associated to the HEVEACAM project. We should finally emphasize that nationalisation without any objectives is nothing but a substitute for the capitalist by the master-state, which does not necessarily bring about improvement in the manage-

ment or innovation in the social sphere.

YAOUNDE, January, 1977

G. COURADE.

Appendix to Chap, III.

Table 1 : Age and Yield of Plantations
(11 months of the year 1974)

a.) Oil Palm

Date	ha. Ndian	Fresh fruit bunches Kg/ha. Ndian	ha. Lobe	Fresh fruit bunches Kg / ha. Lobe
1956	98	10.800	70	11.400
1957	139	11.100	-	-
1958	363	9.700	-	-
1959	567	12.300	395	10.300
1960	789	13.700	607	10.500
1961	279	11.800	653	12.200
1962	96	11.500	458	12.000
1963	-	-	214	11.700
1964	-	-	20	
1965	126	12.200	3	
1966	88	8.900	18	10.900
1967	175	11.900	46	
1968	235	12.300	52	8.300
1969	311	8.000	89	
1970	761	6.900	10	5.500
1971	360	4.700	-	-
1972	430	-	-	-
1973	176	-	-	-
1974	-	-	-	-
Total in Production.	4.387	10.300	2.635	11.100

b. Rubber.

Date	ha. Bai	Latex: Kg/ha. Bai	ha. Bwinga	Latex : Kg / ha Bwinga
1946	95	1.322	-	-
1948	50	1.251	-	-
1955	20	1.821	-	-
1956	-	-	-	-
1957	123	1.018	-	-
1958	159	1.168	-	-
1959	214	1.474	182	1.133
1960	128	1.575	275	1.174
1961	67	1.328	70	1.305
1962	9	1.741	116	1.303
1963	-	-	-	-
1964	-	-	-	-
1965	-	-	-	-
1966	40	1.707	-	-
1967	45	1.113	-	-
1968	21	995	-	-
1969	35	-	-	-
1970	31	-	-	-
1971	-	-	-	-
1972	35	-	-	-
1973	51	-	-	-
1974	-	-	-	-
Total(in production).	971	1.351	643	1.200

Table 2. Evolution of Production from 1960 to 1973/74.

a. Rubber (In metric tons)

	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969
B a i	519	466	440	583	702	859	956	1056	1142	922
Bwinga	-	-	-	-	-	50	233	401	422	529
TOTAL	519	466	440	583	702	909	1189	1457	1564	1451

	1968/69	1969/70	1970/71	1971/72	1972/73	1973/74
B a i	1040	950	1059	1182	1232	1304
Bwinga	462	602	755	750	873	897
TOTAL	1502	1552	1814	1932	2105	2201

b. Fresh fruit bunches.

	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969
Ndian in	20.396	19.925	20.350	25.866	33.444	42.179	35.762	39.664	42.352	30.708
out	297	334	316	337	388	225	411	463	660	287
Lobe in	-	-	-	5.538	11.069	11.815	23.553	?	17.562	?
out	-	-	-	-	-	130	3	?	181	?
TOTAL	20.693	20.259	20.666	31.741	44.901	61.349	59.729	?	41.659	?

	1968/69	1969/70	1970/71	1971/72	1972/73	1973/74
Ndian in	37.051	35.723	37.831	31.374	31.574	41.387
out	471	508	470	638	662	856
Lobe in	27.681	30.997	30.354	29.146	31.294	30.669
out	69	166	192	382	586	759
TOTAL	65.272	67.394	68.847	61.539	64.116	73.671

c. Palm Oil

	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969
Ndian	3418	3384	3408	4534	5933	6847	6514	6833	7195	4928
Lobe	17	25	65	381	1392	2856	3662	5110	6427	4713
TOTAL	3435	3409	3473	4915	7325	9703	10176	11943	13622	9641

	1968/69	1969/70	1970/71	1971/72	1972/73	1973/74
Ndian	6.221	6.198	6.832	5.708	5.968	8.248
Lobe	5.437	5.982	5.878	5.848	6.466	6.431
TOTAL	11.658	12.180	12.710	11.556	12.434	14.679

d. Palm Kernel

	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969
Ndian	1494	1418	1394	1781	1912	2127	1831	2183	2091	1593
Lobe	-	-	-	4	-	107	631	1393	1693	1293
TOTAL	1494	1418	1394	1785	1912	2234	2462	3576	3784	2886

	1968/69	1969/70	1970/71	1971/72	1972/73	1973/74
Ndian	1742	2059	2440	1999	2036	2583
Lobe	1436	1594	1482	1512	1783	1904
TOTAL	3178	3653	3922	3511	3819	4487

Table 3. Evolution of tonnage of Sales (1960 - 1973 - Metric tons)

a. Rubber.

	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969
Local	?	443	?	?	?	?	?	-	16	?
Export	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	1379	843	?
TOTAL	?	?	?	?	667	912	960	1379	859	?

	1968/69	1969/70	1970/71	1971/72	1972/73	1973/74
Local	89	110	9	-	-	-
Export	1532	1368	1799	1750	2223	2300
TOTAL	1621	1478	1808	1750	2223	2300

b. Palm Oil.

	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969
Local	-	93	81	212	1173	?	1033	1743	2258	4000
Export	?	3339	?	?	6167	?	9398	8904	3192	5650
TOTAL	?	3372	?	?	7340	8954	10431	10647	5450	9650

	1968/69	1969/70	1970/71	1971/72	1972/73	1973/74
Local	4675	4706	6752	9096	12722	14998
Export	9695	6111	5795	3335	-	495
TOTAL	14370	10817	12547	12431	12722	15493

c. Palm Kernel.

	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969
Local	?	?	?	19	-	?	631	483	394	?
Export	?	?	?	?	1882	?	1611	2658	800	?
TOTAL	?	1225	?	?	1882	2185	2242	3141	1194	?

	1968/69	1969/70	1970/71	1971/72	1972/73	1973/74
Local	-	-	-	-	-	-
Export	4300	3205	3558	3702	3989	4408
TOTAL	4300	3205	3358	3702	3989	4408

Table 4. Evolution of amount of Sales

1. Total Sales (Gross) M F CFA

	1968/69	1969/70	1970/71	1971/72	1972/73	1973/74
a. Palm Oil						
Local	261.261	271.774	427.968	715.345	844.025	1.029.180
Export	409.084	399.482	445.602	353.355	-	80.250
TOTAL	670.345	671.256	873.570	968.700	844.025	1.109.430
b. Palm Kernel						
Export	176.886	143.074	162.188	142.184	143.218	290.385
c. Rubber						
Local	2.512	5.613	204	-	-	-
Export	166.192	199.277	203.568	175.014	221.473	321.236
TOTAL	168.704	204.890	203.772	175.014	221.473	321.236
d. Total						
	1.015.935	1.019.220	1.239.520	1.285.878	1.208.716	1.722.051
2. Average selling price per ton						
a. Palm Oil						
Local	55.884	57.750	63.383	78.643	66.343	68.621
Export	42.195	65.370	76.894	75.968	-	162.121
b. Palm Kernel						
Export	41.136	44.641	45.884	38.407	35.903	65.876
c. Rubber						
Local	28.224	51.419	22.666	-	-	-
Export	108.480	145.670	113.156	100.008	99.628	139.667

Table 5 : Exploitation expenses (%)

a. Oil Palm Plantations

Sector	1968/69	1969/70	1970/71	1971/72	1972/73	1973/74
Maintenance, harvesting	30.3	21.3	24.5	24.0	24.2	28.4
Oil Milling	10.6	14.7	12.1	13.1	12.2	11.3
Transport	6.4	6.3	6.6	5.0	5.5	5.9
Medical care	5.9	6.4	6.2	5.9	6.1	5.7
Administration	1.9	1.8	1.9	2.1	2.4	2.4
General expenses	2.2	2.3	2.8	4.1	3.2	4.2
Social Activi.	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.4
Sundry repairs	8.4	11.4	11.9	11.5	10.8	9.4
Depreciation	19.4	20.8	20.3	20.4	21.9	19.1
Indirect Expenditure	14.2	14.4	12.8	12.7	11.9	11.7
Buying fruit bunches	0.4	0.3	0.5	0.9	1.4	1.5
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Charges in 1000 F.CFA	543.371	517.827	546.673	590.264	581.438	669.789

b. Rubber Plantations

Maintenance & tapping	44.5	45.8	48.9	46.2	44.9	46.4
Factory processing.	10.1	8.5	9.5	10.7	11.1	11.7
Transport	4.9	5.4	5.1	4.2	5.0	4.6
Medical care	4.3	3.7	3.3	3.5	3.7	3.3
Administration	1.8	1.6	1.5	1.8	1.9	2.1
General Expenses	1.5	2.5	2.7	2.6	2.5	3.1
Social Activi.	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.5	0.5
Sundry repairs	6.7	6.9	6.5	8.1	6.9	8.0
Depreciation	13.8	13.3	13.0	13.8	13.6	12.3
Indirect Expenditure.	12.1	14.0	9.2	8.7	9.9	8.0

Total charges in 1000 Fr.CFA	127.911	142.819	152.127	147.970	154.516	176.435

Table 6 : Cost price of palm oil and factory processed rubber (out-of-plantation-and station expenses not included)

F. CFA per Kg.

	1968/69	1969/70	1970/71	1971/72	1972/73	1973/74
Palm Oil	41.018	36.972	37.330	44.344	40.535	39.579
Rubber	85.160	92.022	83.863	76.589	73.404	80.161

Appendix to Chap. IV.

Extracts from " Pamol News ", the quarterly Newspaper of Pamol Workers.

Document N° 1 : Employment in Pamol (Pamol News N° 17, October 1974 pp. 14-15)

... the search for labour becomes an inevitable and painful fact. Most labour seekers have turned more attention to the North West Province, and rightly too, for in that vast region lies a large unemployment force.

Plantations Pamol du Cameroun Limited is no exception. It is generally known that the Company spends large sums of money in ensuring the success of the recruitment exercise. This phenomenon has come to stay so long as scientists and engineers continue to study the best methods of replacing men with machines.

Arrival at final destination : The first month of a recruit is any undertaking are dismal. Therefore immediate integration plays a vital role in achieving a position result. We do not fall short in this aspect. Old employees help a lot in resettlement. The existence of a free feeding scheme is commendable. As the saying goes "one cannot do an excellent job with an empty stomach".

Introduction to Company rules and regulations : Normally, every employee is entitled to a copy of the "Internal Regulations" in force. There is ample justification that "a new sheep without shepherd easily goes astray". Immediately recruits arrive, they are taugt their obligations to the Company during their induction period. This grease enriches their knowledge of the Company as a whole, thereby increasing their efficiency at the job site.

Social benefits : Free medical facilities, housing, workmens' compensation, family allowance etc... to mention a few, are fringe benefits immediately he/she is employed after having been medically examined by one of our competent doctors. But for family allowance that one is expected to acquire the requisite qualification, the rest are automatic.

The Credit Union Movement also plays an assertive role in securing members' savings. There are two registered Credit Unions (Bai and Lobe) and two discussion groups (Ndian and Bwinga). As more employees realise the usefulness of this organisation, there is no doubt that they shall be regis-

tered in due course. This system of savings has become part and parcel of employees objective.

Film shows and dances feature monthly. There are nice clubs in all Estates and many other recreational facilities.

There is no tangible reason why employees should feel at home under the canopy of the Company. Once people get to know us, they become our friends for the whole of their working life, sharing together the honour of the dignity of systematic work and the leasure of recreation and entertainment.

Document N° 2 : Daily Prayer For Pamol (Pamol News, N° 17, October 1974 pp.26)

Oh! Pamol, how often I long with you ;
Whose life is full of new experiences ;
Whose buttocks are n'er tired of sitting,
Whose ears, to listen ever wide are ;
Whose eyes to see and peroeive every
anxious ; and whose
Brains' duty is to receive and produce ;
Oh! how I wish to work and live with you.
Oh! Pamol, how I wish to work with you
Whose life is as peaceful as the doves,
Whose time is planned to be used,
Whose daily life is governed by numerous rules,
Whose problems are those of self discipline,
Oh! how wonderful it is to work with you.

How wonderful it is to remember your admired Company
Whose groups go in attractive uniforms ;
Who grumble by the sound of the work bell or hoot ;
Who by the approach of yearly leave rejoice to the best ;
Oh! how marvellous it is to work with Plantations Pamol du Cameroun Limited.

Document Nº 3 : Extracts from 1970 New Year speach adressed by the Managing Director (about the 1969 fall of production).

How can employees help to offset the losses the company has had ?

Firstly, by elimination of waste through carelessness or work badly done. Harvesters must pay more attention to the picking of loose fruit and must not cut unripe bunches. Tappers must collect all cup lump, tree lace and bark scrap. In the mills and factories all concerned must see that unnecessary breakdowns are avoided through due care and attention to machinery. In transport, drivers must avoid unnecessary mileage and time wasting. Artisans must take more care of the materials they use. Every employee who is issued with tools to do his work must take care of this tools. Those responsible for organising work must give more thought to planning in order to avoid the waste of time that results from poor planning ; for time wasted by any employee is money lost !

Secondly, we can offset our losses by improving performance over - all. The Company expects a high standard of performance. We cannot affort to employ harvesters or lorry crews or tappers or weeders or artisans or general labourers who only do half a day's work. Do such employees expect half their leave entitlement, or half a medical service or half a roof over their house ? The tasks and standards of quality which are set for all work within the Company must be achieved by all who wish to retain their place in the Company.

Thirdly, we must care. Perhaps this is the centre of the problems we have to overcome. We must care enough to want to work hard and so protect our families by looking after the interests of the Company. We must shake off the last remains of bad feelings that have held down performances in some of our work in 1969. We must care about the Company's future.

We are all in the Company's canoe. We should all do our best to paddle the canoe in harmony towards reaching a safe port. Those among us

who are afraid to make the journey should leave the canoe.

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Key to fig. 13 : LE CAMEROUN ANGLOPHONE-ENGLISH SPEAKING CAMEROON.

a. limite de province	Provincial boundary
b. limite de département	Divisional boundary
c. limite d'arrondissement	Subdivisional boundary
d. limite de canton	Customary Court area boundary

CARTE ADMINISTRATIVE - ADMINISTRATIVE MAP

FAKO

1. MUYUKA
2. BWINGA
3. MODEKA
4. TIKO
5. BONJONGO
6. BUEA
7. MUEA
8. VICTORIA

MANYU

9. ASSUMBO
10. BOKI
11. MBULU
12. MESSAGA
13. TAKAMANDA
14. BAMUMBU
15. BECHATI
16. FONTEM
17. FOSSUNGU
18. BACHUO-AKAGBE
19. EKWE
20. KEAKA
21. MAMFE
22. OBANG
23. TINTO

MEME

24. BANGEM
25. ENYANDONG
26. BAMBOKO
27. BAKUNDU KOMBONE
28. BAKUNDU NDOI
29. KUMBA
30. MBONGE BEKONDO
31. MBONGE MARUMBA
32. ELUMBA
33. FOWUNG
34. MANYEMEN
35. MUNGO NDOR
36. NGUTI
37. NGUSI
38. NYANDONG

NDIAN

39. BAMUSSO
40. BALUE
41. EKONDO TITI
42. NDIAN
43. TOKO

BUI

44. DZEKWA
45. OKU
46. KUMBO
47. MBIAME
48. NKUM
49. NONI

DONGA / MANTUNG

50. MBEMBE
51. MBIYEH
52. MBOT
53. MISAJE
54. NDU
55. NKAMBE
56. MBAW
57. MFUMTE
58. YAMBA

MENCHUM

59. BUM
60. KOM
61. ABAR
62. BEBA-BEFANG
63. ESIMBI
64. WUM
65. ZOA

MEZAM

66. BAFUT NJINTEH
67. BAFUT TUBAH
68. BALI NYONGA
69. MANKON
70. SANTA
71. BALIKUMBAT
72. BAMUNKA

MOMO

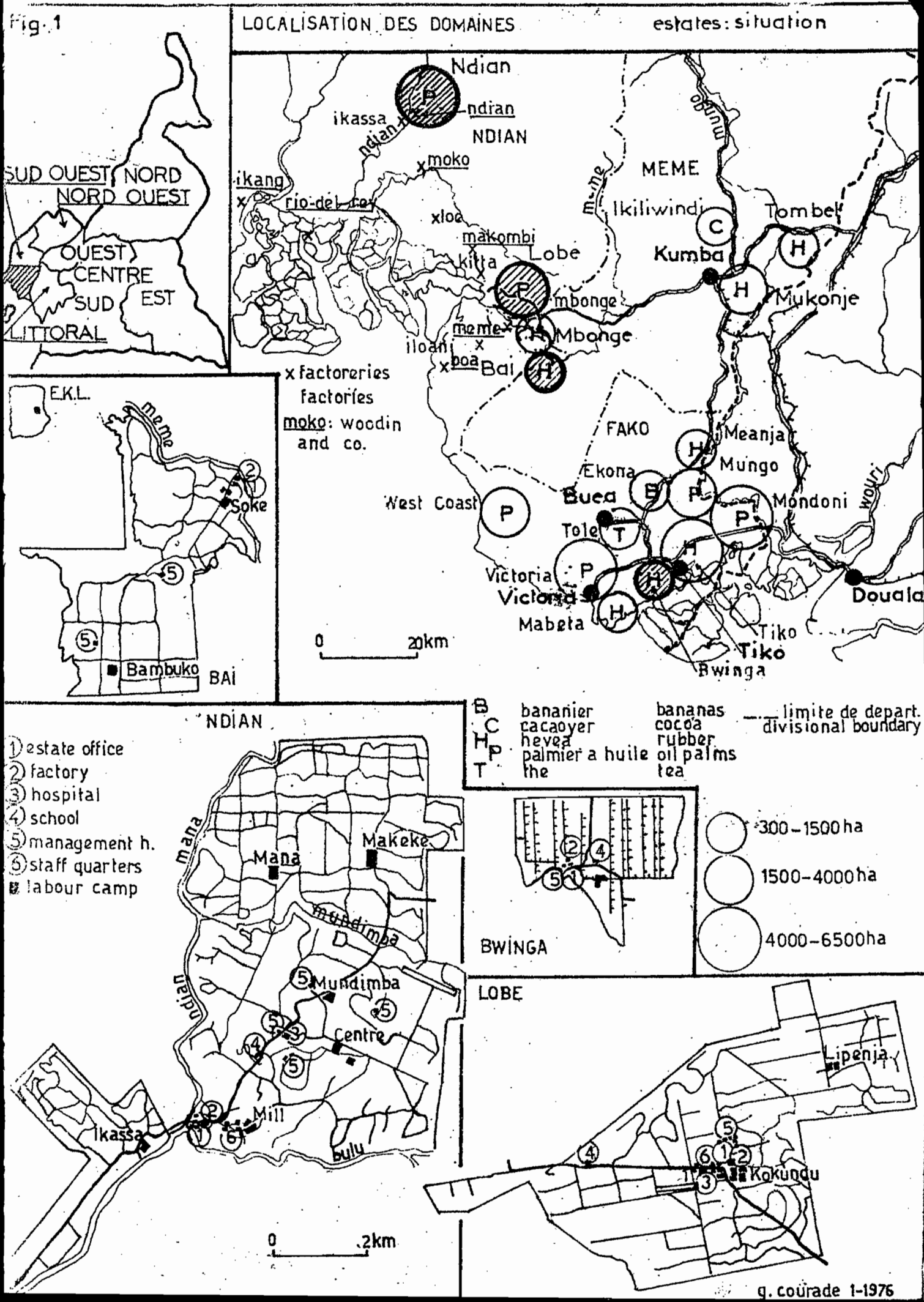
73. BATIBO
74. MENKA
75. WIDEKUM
76. META TUDIG
77. NGIE ANDEK
78. NGWAW

CARTE ETHNIQUE - TRIBAL BOUNDARIES

COASTAL BANTU	BANTOIDS FROM THE FOREST	BANTOIDS FROM THE CENTRAL PLATEAU	BANTOIDS FROM THE NORTHERN PLATEAU
1 Bakweri	18.Anyang	33.Aghem	45.Mbembe
3.Bamboko	19.Banyang	34.Bafut	46.Mfumte
BALUNDU-MBO	20.Boki	35.Bum	47.Misaje
4.Bafaw	21.Ejagham	36.Fungom	BALI CHAMBA
5.Bakossi	22.Ekot Ngba	37.Kaka(Yamba)	48.Bali
6.Bakundu	23.Korup	38.Kom	BAMILEKE
7.Balondo	24.Menka	39.Mbaw	49.Bangwa
8.Balong	BANTOIDS FROM THE	40.Ndop	50.Mundani
9.Balue	WESTERN PLATEAU	41.Noni	IBIBIO
10.Barombi	25.Beba-Befang	42.Nsaw (Nso)	51.Isangele
11.Bassossi	26.Esimbi	43.Nsungli(Wimbum)	
12.Batanga	27.Meta(Menemo)	44.Oku	
13.Bima	28.Moghamo		
14.Ekumbe	29.Ngemba		
15.Mbo	30.Ngié		
16.Mbonge	31.Ngwaw		
17.Ngie	32.Widekum		

Bafaw : Groupe dispersé - dispersed tribal group.

Fig. 1



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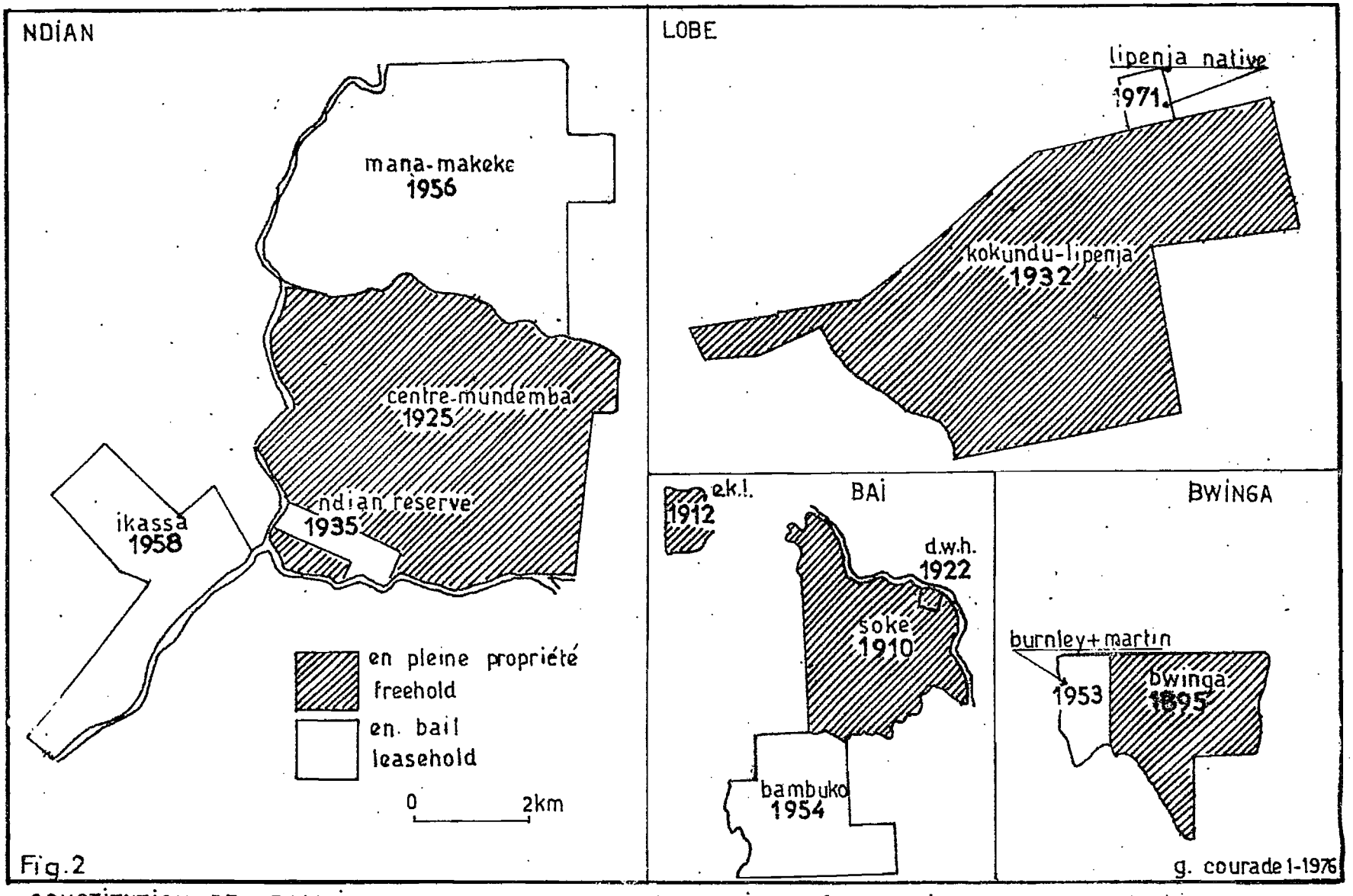

Fig.2

CONSTITUTION DES DOMAINES ACTUELS

formation of pamol estates

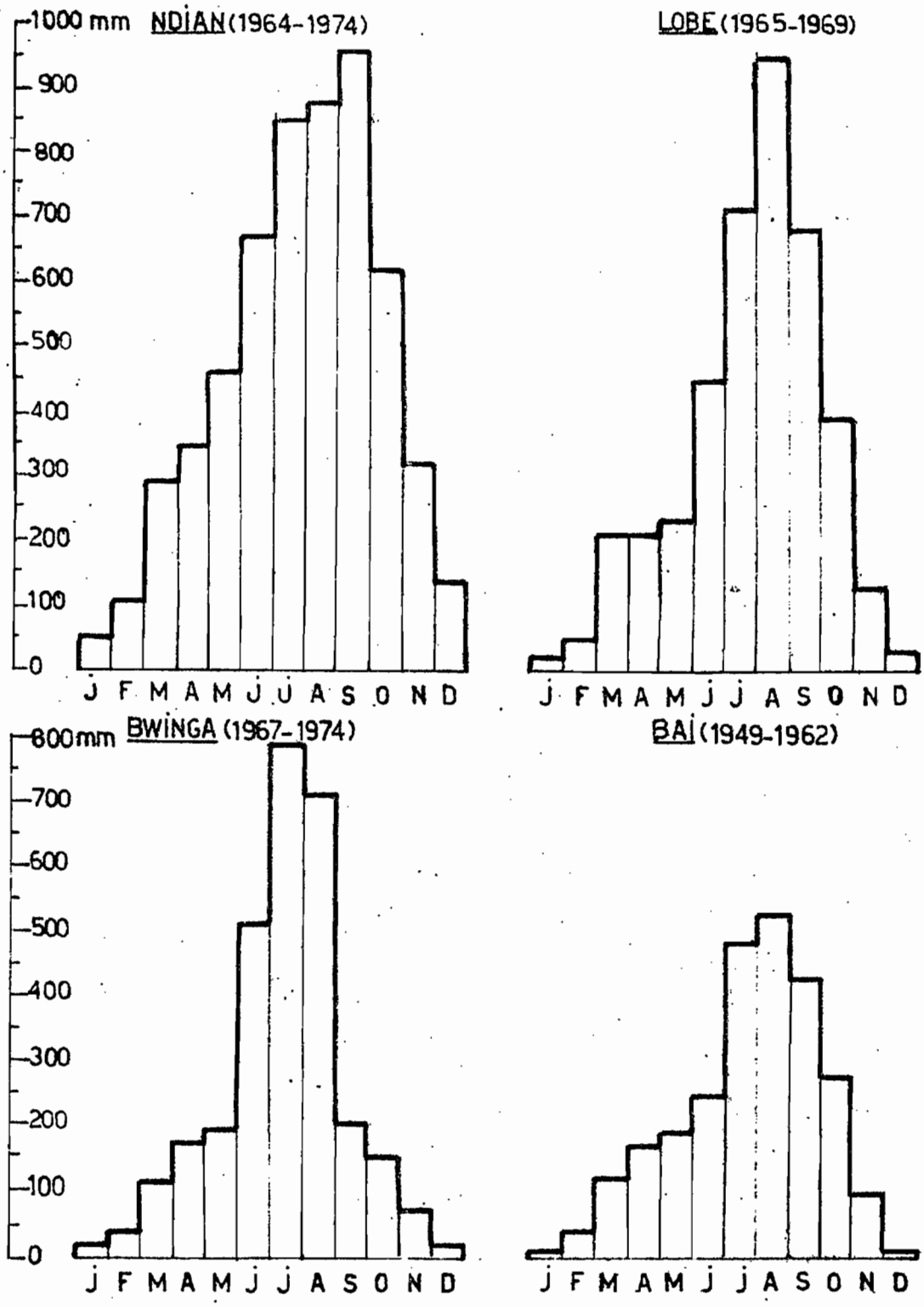

Fig. 3.

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PLUVIOMÉTRIE MOYENNE MENSUELLE mean monthly rainfall

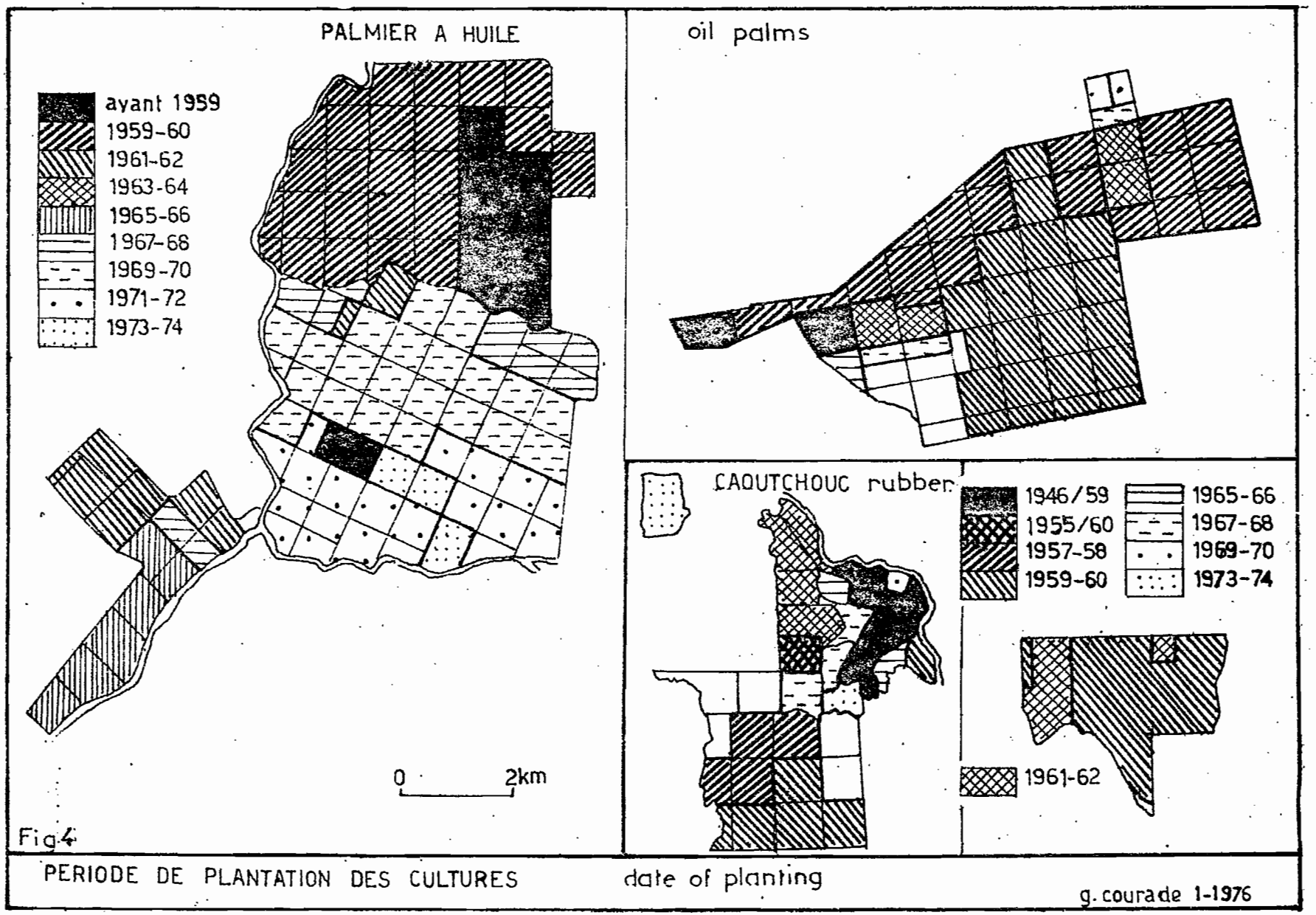

Fig 4

PERIODE DE PLANTATION DES CULTURES date of planting

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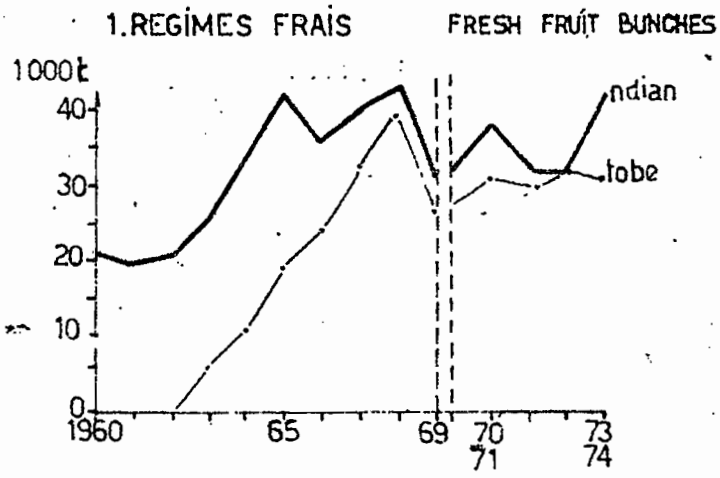
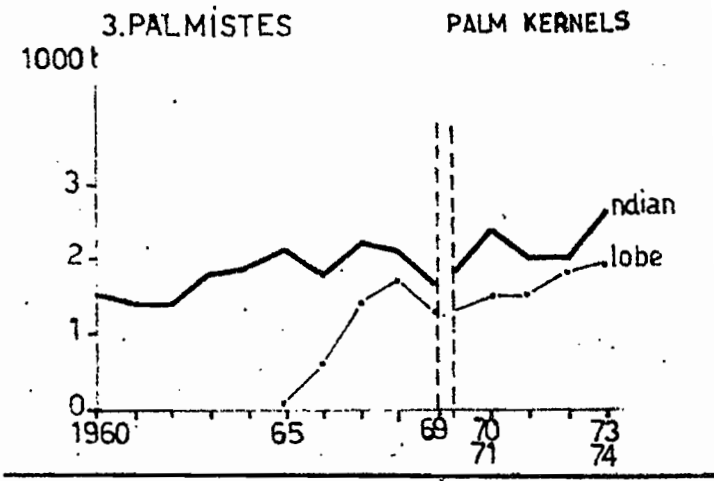
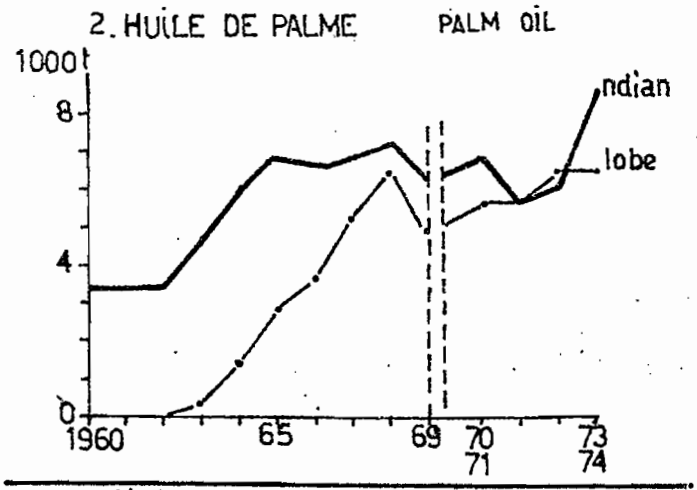
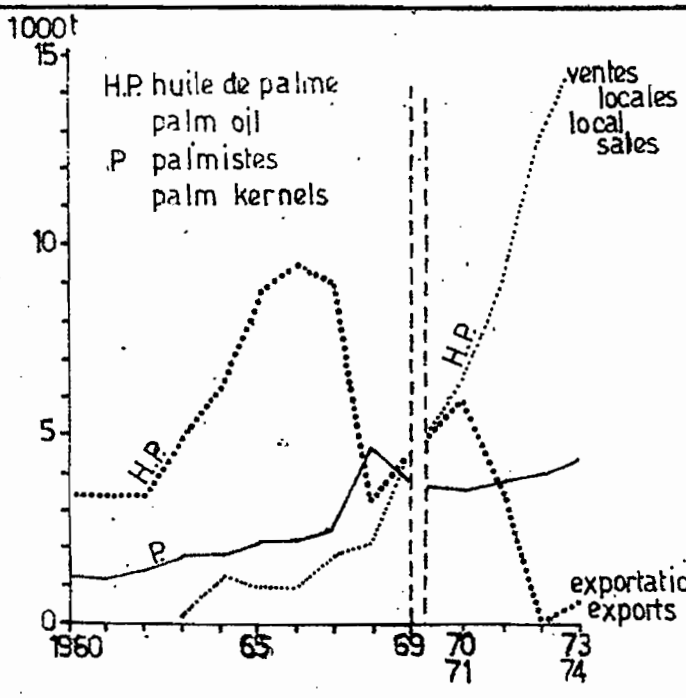


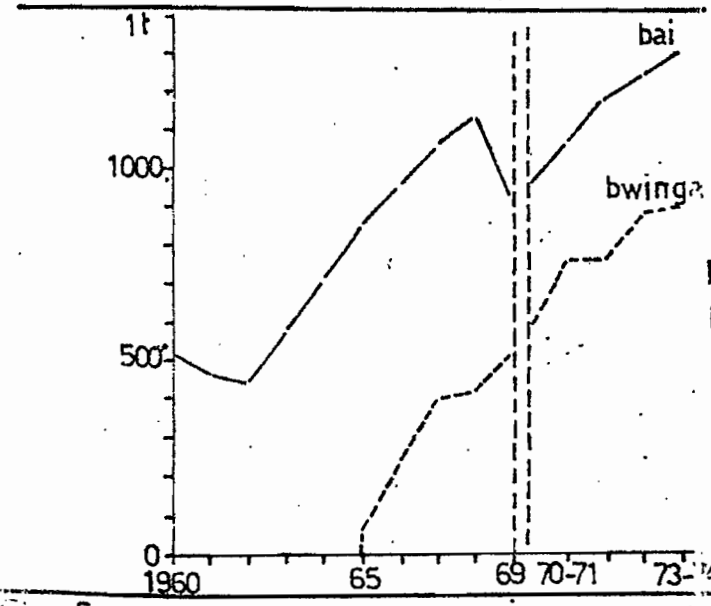


PALMIER A HUILE: PRODUCTIONS
OIL PALMS : PRODUCTIONS





PALMIER A HUILE: VENTES
OIL PALMS : SALES



HEVEA : PRODUCTION
RUBBER : PRODUCTION

g.courade 1-1976

Fig. 5 PRODUCTIONS ET VENTES DEPUIS 1960
productions and sales since 1960

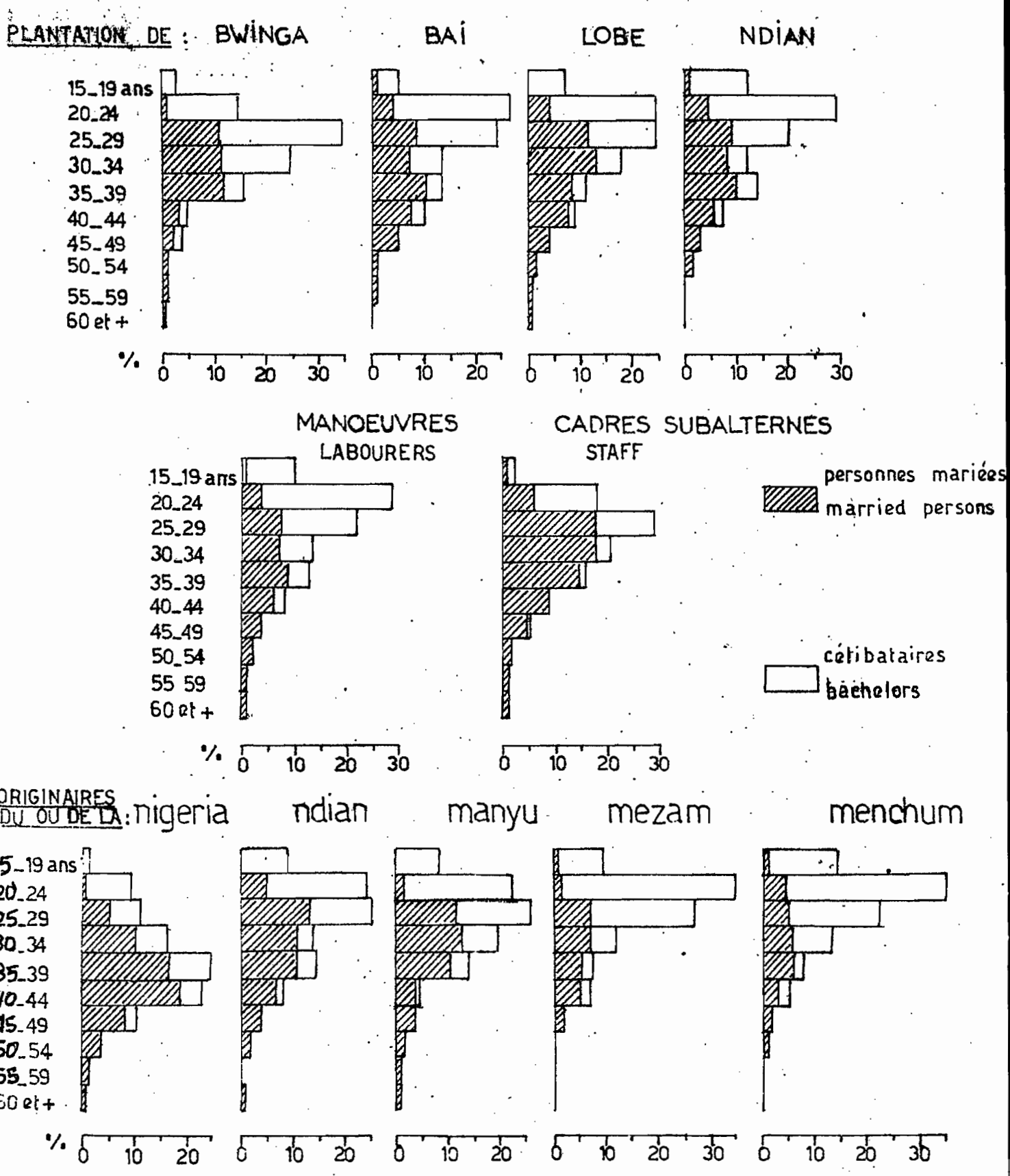


Fig.6.

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PYRAMIDES DES AGES ET SITUATION MATRIMONIALE DE LA MAIN-D'OEUVRE
age pyramids and married condition of the labour force

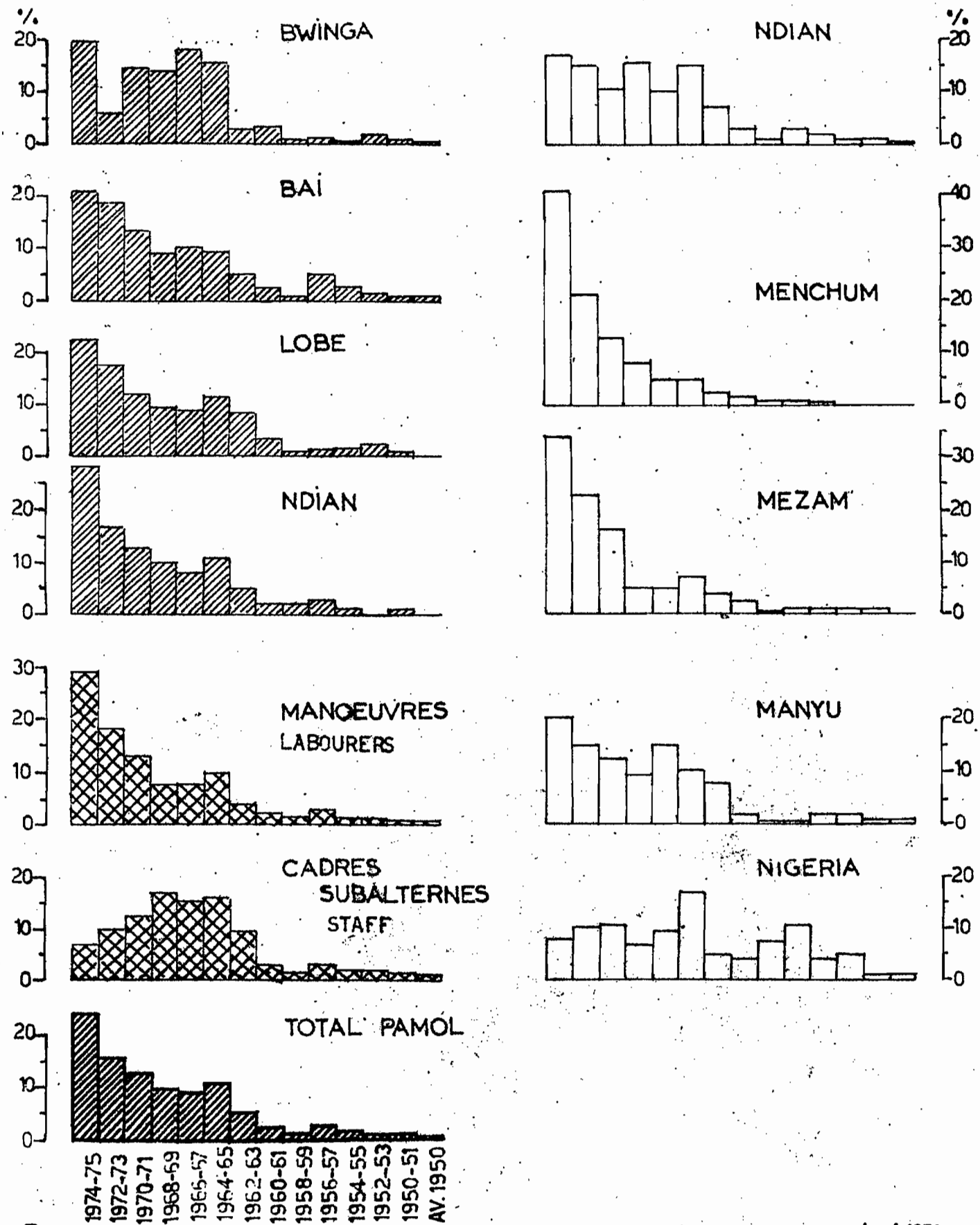

Fig. 7

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DATE DE RECRUTEMENT DE LA MAIN-D'OEUVRE date of engagement of the labour force

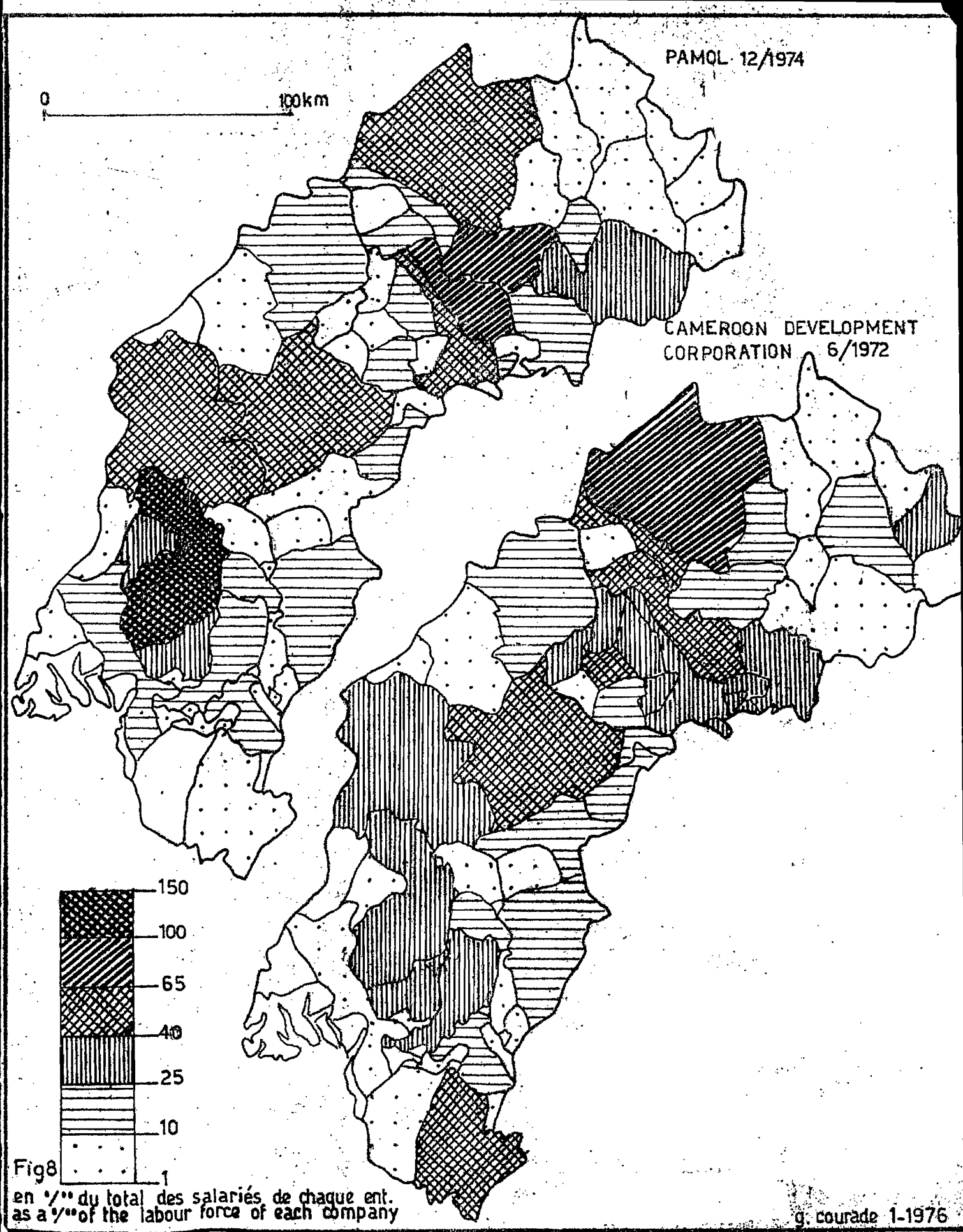
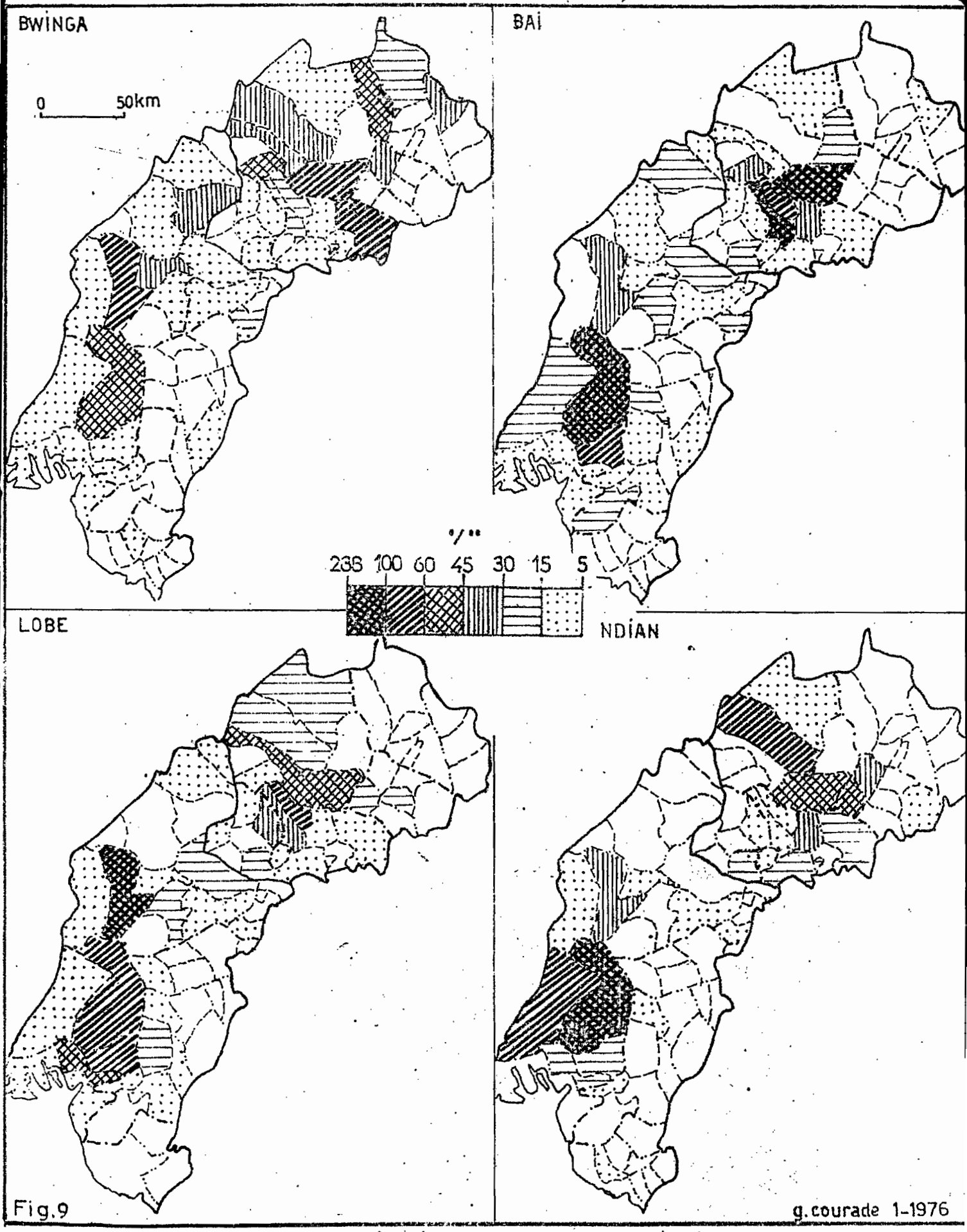


Fig8

ORIGINE ETHNIQUE DE LA MAIN-D'OEUVRE DE LA PAMOL ET DE LA C.D.C.
Tribal membership of pamol and c.d.c. labour forces



ORIGINE GEOGRAPHIQUE DE LA MAIN-D'OEUVRE DE CHAQUE DOMAINE
geographical origin of each estate labour force

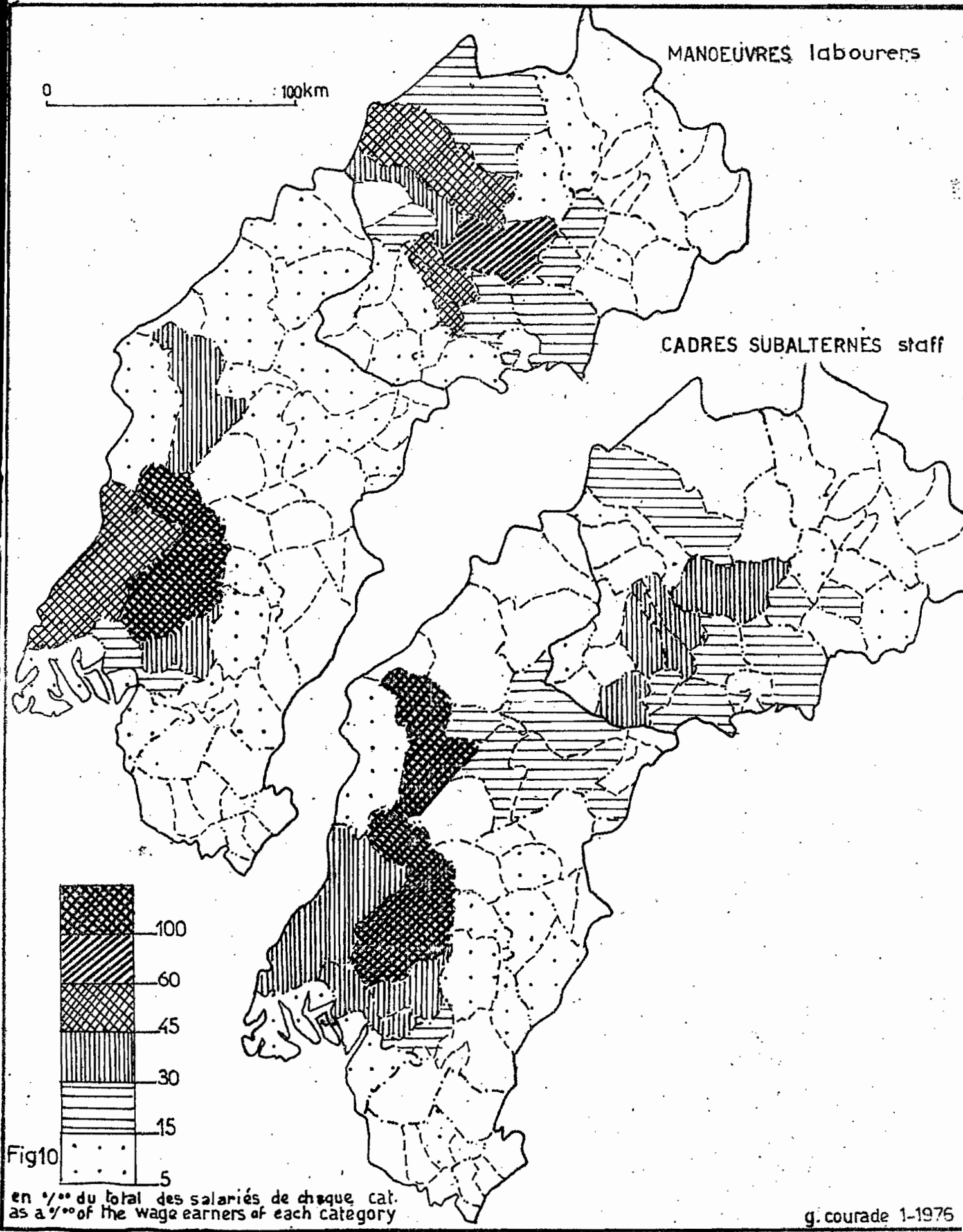


Fig10

ORIGINE GÉOGRAPHIQUE DE LA MAIN-D'OEUVRE PAR CATÉGORIE DE TRAVAILLEURS
geographical origin of the labour force according to category of workers

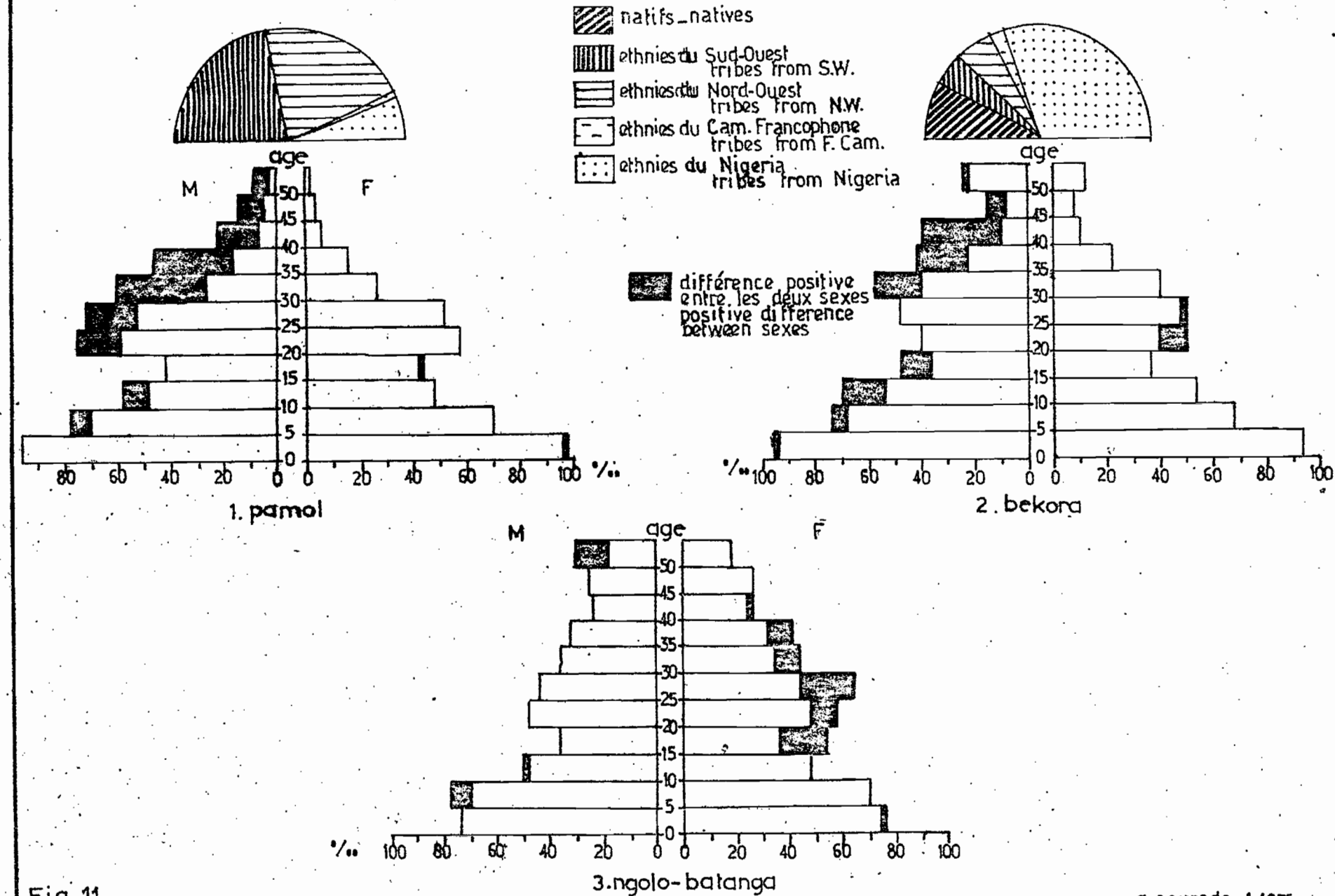


Fig. 11.

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STRUCTURES DEMOGRAPHIQUES : population résidant (1) dans les camps de la pamol (2) dans le bourg de bekora (3) dans le groupement ngolo-batanga (toko) — pyramide des ages et composition ethnique

DEMOGRAPHIC STRUCTURES : population living (1) in pamol camps (2) in bekora strangers settlement (3) in ngolo-batanga (or toko) village group — age pyramid and tribal composition

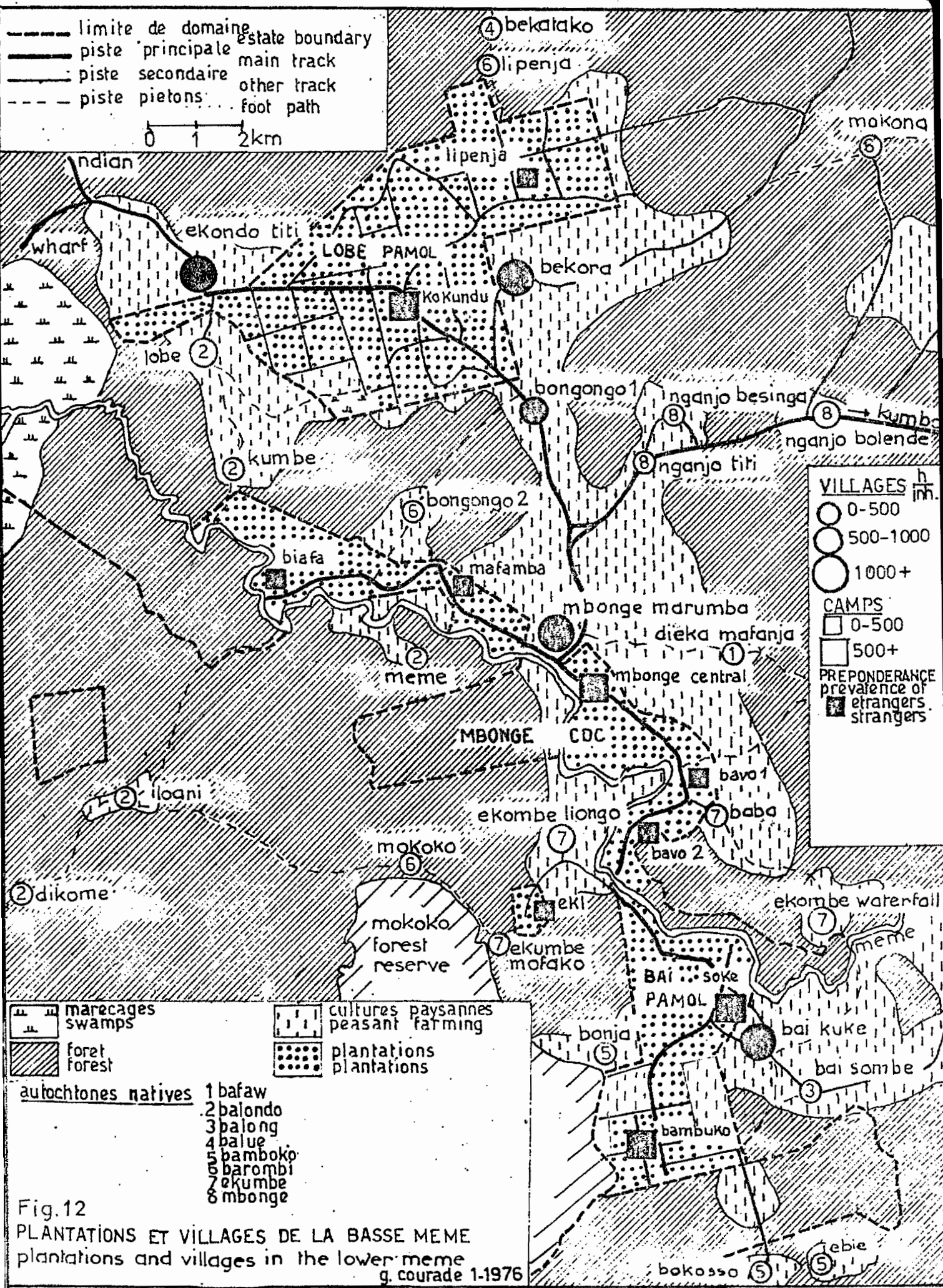

Fig. 12
PLANTATIONS ET VILLAGES DE LA BASSE MEME
plantations and villages in the lower meme
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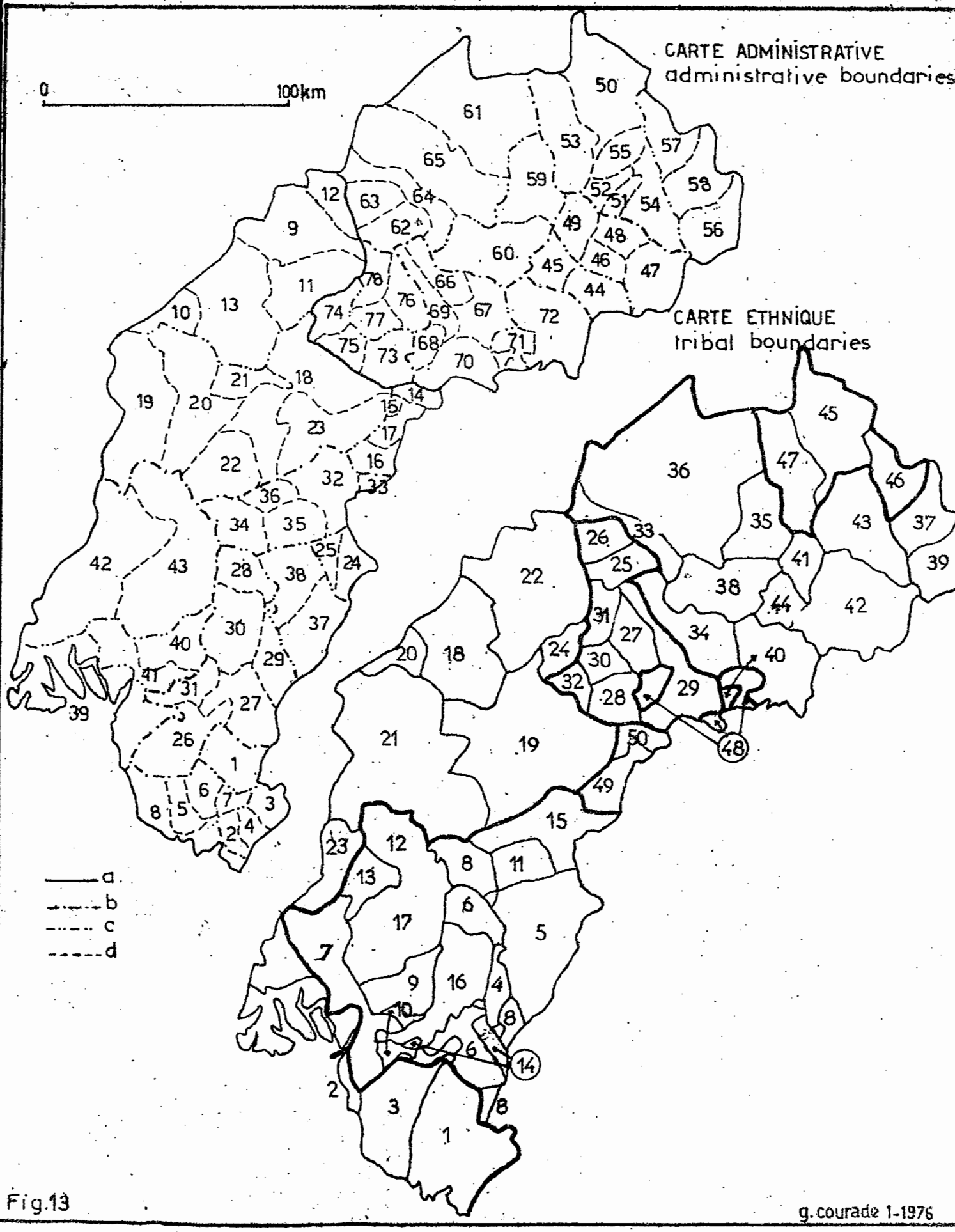

Fig.13

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LE CAMEROUN ANGLOPHONE

english speaking cameroon