

UNITED NATIONS
ECONOMIC
AND
SOCIAL COUNCIL



Mexico City
1.220
Distr.
GENERAL

E/CN.5/346/Add.13
3 June 1964
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: FRENCH

SOCIAL COMMISSION
Fourteenth session
Item 3 of the provisional agenda

REPORT ON THE WORLD SOCIAL SITUATION

Planning for balanced social and economic development
in Senegal

Bureau of Social Affairs
Department of Economic and Social Affairs
United Nations Secretariat

Note: This is one of a series of case studies on planning for balanced social and economic development that are being published as annexes to the 1961 Report on the World Social Situation.

64-12156

...
C.R.S.T.O.M. Fonds Documentaire
N° : 11201
Cote : B

E/CN.5/346/Add.13

English

Page 2

This study was prepared in December 1962 by Mr. Yvon Mersadier of the French Institute for Central Africa.

Report on Planning for Balanced Social and Economic
Development in Senegal since 1945

	<u>Page</u>
<u>Introduction</u>	4
<u>Part I.</u> The French plan for the economic and social development of the overseas Territories.. . . .	9
1. Origin of the plans	9
2. Financing and implementation	12
3. Content of the plans	16
4. Implementation of the plans in Senegal	25
<u>Part II.</u> The experience of Senegal	34
1. Preliminary studies and preparation of the plan	36
2. Structural reforms	47
3. The plan	55
4. Financing of the plan and technical assistance	66
<u>Conclusion</u>	71

Introduction

From 1895 to 1958 Senegal formed part of the Federation of French West Africa, the capital of which was Dakar. Until 1958 the capital of Senegal continued to be the old city of Saint-Louis. The Federation was headed by a Governor-General and the colony by a Governor. Each colony was divided into cercles and these into sub-divisions, each headed by a French administrator. Although the basic administrative structure remained virtually unchanged until 1957, a process of political liberation began in 1946. This took the form, on the one hand, of an increase in the number of members elected to the French assemblies and, on the other, of the attribution of increasing importance to the local assemblies: the "Grand Council" of the Federation, and the "General Councils" - later becoming territorial assemblies - of the "colonies", which in 1946 were renamed "Overseas Territories".

The loi-cadre of 1956 marked the culmination of this process of liberalization for it granted internal self-government through the establishment in each Territory of a Government Council, which was a true local executive presided over by the Governor. Later, in 1958, the Federation was superseded by the Community, within which total independence was granted. It should be borne in mind that Senegal underwent an additional stage in this process, namely, an attempt to form a Federation which was designed to combine several former Territories but which was ultimately reduced to two; this experiment lasted only until August 1960.

As regards finances, the administrative structure of the Federation of French West Africa comprised nine budgets: the general or Federation budget and eight territorial budgets. The allocation of expenditure and receipts among the territorial budgets and the general budget, which had been determined by an Act of 1904, was often adjusted to meet current needs. In the beginning, the general budget covered only those bodies, services and activities which were common to all Territories, but, as part of a trend towards the centralization of expenditure between 1938 and 1945, all social and welfare services came under the general budget. In 1945, there was an opposite trend towards decentralization; the territorial budgets were debited for some services but not credited with the corresponding receipts. The excess of income over expenditure in the general budget was redistributed among the various Territories in proportion to the real

production and consumption representing the basis of their various taxes. Because of the economic importance of Dakar, Senegal had for many years received the largest share of such sums, but around 1955 the Ivory Coast was receiving an equal amount.

As regards receipts, the territorial assemblies fixed the amount of whatever duties or taxes were needed to defray expenditure under the local budget, except for those reserved to the general budget (proceeds of import and export duties in French West Africa, purchase taxes, taxes on transactions, registration fees and stamp duties).

The situation became even more complex when capital budgets were instituted. Until 1955 France financed its development plans exclusively through the Federation, but as such financing ultimately affected the Territories, the latter also had to establish special capital budgets. Moreover, certain expenditure considered to be of general interest was defrayed directly from the French budget. This included operational expenditure (administrative, judicial and military personnel, etc.) and capital expenditure. Thus, because of the strategic and economic importance of Dakar, the Federation's capital, the greater part of the considerable work undertaken there after 1945 was financed directly from the French budget. This explains why it is difficult to analyse any particular Territory of the Federation and why the beginning of part I of this study deals more with French West Africa than with Senegal itself.

Present-day Senegal, which is situated on the western extremity of the continent of Africa, is bordered on the north and east by the Senegal River and its tributary the Falémé, which separate it from Mauritania and Mali. It is bordered on the south by the former French Guinea and by Portuguese Guinea. It is almost cut in two from west to east by the United Kingdom enclave of Gambia; this has to a certain extent isolated the Casamance area, which has developed a certain degree of particularism in consequence.

Senegal has a total area of 197,161 square kilometres. Its population, which was 3.1 million in 1961, is very unevenly distributed. Twenty per cent of the population live in communities of more than 10,000 inhabitants. The Cape Verde peninsula, where 60 per cent of the country's urban population is concentrated in the towns of Dakar and Rufisque, contains 11 per cent of the total population.

/...

Although regions with a high rural population density (thirty to forty inhabitants per square kilometre) constitute only one-quarter of the total area, they contain more than two-thirds of the total population and three-quarters of the rural population. Areas of low population density (ten inhabitants per square kilometre) or very low population density (two to three inhabitants per square kilometre) comprise three-quarters of the land area but only 20 per cent of the population.

There are several different ethnic groups, the three principal ones being the Wolofs (36 per cent), the Serers (16 per cent) and the Fulani (17 per cent), the last-mentioned being semi-nomadic herdsmen. Approximately 85 per cent of the population is Moslem, and 85 per cent of the people live in rural areas.

Agriculture in Senegal, as everywhere else, is affected by the climate, which in this case is Sudanic or sub-Saharan and is characterized mainly by the existence of two very distinct seasons: a rainy season, and a dry season when not a drop of rain falls. This two-season climate has a profound effect on agriculture since the length of the so-called "agricultural season" is determined by the duration of the rainy period. Thus, except for the regions of greatest rainfall in the south, some irrigable areas and some low-lying lands which retain moisture, the crops consist of those with a short growing season. Millet is the main food crop, except for rice in the more humid zones.

However, the most striking feature of agricultural development in Senegal is the cultivation of ground-nuts, which are virtually the mainstay of the economy. The first recorded export of a few tons took place in 1841. Since then, exports increased rapidly to 180,000 tons fifty years later, 230,000 tons in 1910, 540,000 tons in 1930 and 640,000 tons in 1939. In 1961 more than 800,000 tons were exported. Although these increases were achieved mainly through an expansion of the cultivated area, they were also partly due to the research carried out by agronomists and geneticists who selected seeds and determined optimum growth conditions. While the selected seeds came into practically universal use, growing methods changed more slowly. The soil, after being impoverished by several years of cultivation, is rehabilitated by being left fallow for a long period. Simple traditional tools gave way but slowly to more sophisticated equipment, and the fact that some animal-breeders specialize in particular kinds of domestic animals makes

it difficult to introduce animal-drawn farm equipment and to combine stock-raising with agriculture.

The universality of ground-nut cultivation has been achieved at the expense of food crops. Foreign-trade statistics show rising imports of rice destined mainly for the urban population, which has grown since the war. This imbalance in the production of food crops is one of the main problems facing Senegal today.

Ground-nuts have also been responsible for the first steps towards industrialization, oil-pressing plants having been built and enlarged during and after the war. A large part of the ground-nut output is now exported in the form of oil. However, France continues to be virtually the sole purchaser, at prices considerably above those prevailing on world markets.

Other processing industries, such as the textile, cement, milling and brewing industries, have been established, particularly since the war. Only recently, a very promising fish-preserving industry was introduced.

The main elements of the country's infrastructure completed before 1945 are, firstly, the railways - the "Dakar-Niger" network, which extends to Bamako, the capital of Mali, is 1,679 kilometres long - secondly, the construction of the port of Dakar, which was enlarged and modernized after the war; and, lastly, a network of dirt and macadamized roads, which had become virtually impassable after the war because of lack of maintenance.

In the social field a Herculean effort was made by military medical officers during the pre-war period to eradicate yellow fever, and the establishment of the Pasteur Institute at Dakar led to the complete eradication of that disease (the last epidemic occurred in 1927). Curative and preventive medicine, while making less rapid progress, nevertheless began to reach into the interior. In 1939 there were in Senegal three hospitals, four "medical centres", forty-two dispensaries or maternity hospitals, ten "rural consultation centres" and several leprosaria.

With regard to education, the policy outlined by Faidherbe between 1854 and 1864 was not acted upon to any great extent, and education remained primarily in the hands of the religious missions until 1904. There were, to be sure, some twenty "bush schools", but their enrolment was small. School enrolment in 1899 amounted to approximately 3,000 (including students attending "evening courses" only), mostly in the towns.

/...

The efforts made between 1904 and 1939 to increase school attendance began to bear fruit. In 1939, there were 18,000 pupils enrolled in primary schools, representing an attendance rate of about 6 per cent, and approximately 1,000 in the two secondary schools at Saint-Louis and Dakar. A first attempt at higher education was made with the establishment of the William Ponty Teacher-Training School, which trains teachers and administrative clerks and from which many of the present leaders of French-speaking West Africa graduated, and the Dakar School of Medicine, which was established in 1918 and trains auxiliary medical personnel and midwives.

An appropriate solution is still being sought for one very important problem, namely, the advancement and leadership of the peasant class. While it is true that the development of ground-nut cultivation and the income it produces have done much to enable part of the Senegalese peasantry to escape from their centuries-old routine, the transition from food-crop farming to commercial farming has not been accomplished without some disruptions. The planter must be educated. Various experiments have been tried, and the "provident societies", whatever their defects, have helped to improve ground-nut cultivation and prevent shortages in the period between harvests. Since they are run by the government, however, they have never enjoyed the whole-hearted support of the planters.

Senegal's economic progress, which has been due to the favourable market for ground-nuts, has been paralleled by its progress in trade. Some important trading companies, both French and other, have profited from this expansion. The trade pattern is a typical one as is shown by the foreign-trade statistics: ground-nuts in one form or another represent 80 per cent of the exports, whereas consumer goods account for 80 per cent of the imports.

As the statistics show, capital goods became increasingly important after the war, and, as a result of the economic policy initiated by the development plans of the period 1946-1958, which we shall deal with in part I, some public works were undertaken. Part II of this report will be devoted to the plan drawn up after Senegal's independence.

Part I

The French plan for the economic and social development
of the overseas territories

Origin of the plans

For a proper understanding of the action taken by the French Government immediately after the war to draw up a "plan for the economic and social development of the overseas Territories", it will be necessary to call to mind several political and economic facts.

In 1945, France adhered to the United Nations Charter, which provides in Article 73 that the former colonizing nations shall undertake, with regard to the dependent territories, to ensure their political, economic and social advancement and to develop self-government.

The Constitution of 1946 reaffirmed that obligation by proclaiming, at the end of its Preamble: "France forms with the people of its overseas Territories a Union based upon equality of rights and duties without distinction of race or religion. The French Union is composed of nations and peoples who wish to place in common or co-ordinate their resources and their efforts in order to develop their civilization, increase their well-being and ensure their security."

The principles set forth in the Constitution had to be put into effect with due regard for the economic situation resulting from the war. In France itself, basic facilities had been destroyed, and there was an enormous need for raw materials which under normal conditions the former colonies could have furnished. In the Territories themselves, productive resources were poorly utilized and unfavourably situated. Basic facilities as well as trails, roads and railways had been subjected to intensive use but could be given only a minimum of upkeep so that their condition in 1945 left much to be desired. Moreover, emphasis was placed on the inadequacy of the measures taken by metropolitan France before the war on behalf of its colonies, no doubt in order to promote a greater effort.

The rapporteur on the bill "for the establishment, financing and execution of the plan to organize, equip and develop the Territories within the jurisdiction of the Ministry for Overseas France" (Mr. Gaston Monnerville) provided the following information:

/...

"For an area of 9,150,000 square kilometres with a population of 51 million, there exist no more than rudimentary facilities which at present comprise:

39 ports with 12,945 metres of docks
11,067 kilometres of railways
139,630 kilometres of roads and trails
No heavy industry
83,152 hospital beds
21,438 primary schools
87 secondary and intermediate schools
No university

"By contrast, for a population less than four fifths as great and an area scarcely 6 per cent as large, metropolitan France has:

169,000 metres of docks
84,000 kilometres of railways
631,000 kilometres of roads
1,450,000 kilowatts of hydroelectric energy
More than 400 heavy industry establishments and more than
300,000 manufacturing establishments
81,340 primary schools
1,008 secondary schools and 17 universities

"This goes to show how much remains to be done; it also goes to show that we did not do enough in the past, for we all know of countries which have overcome an even greater handicap in a much shorter time."

Although the report introducing the bill dealt only briefly with the social field,^{1/} the first article in the text of the bill itself gave it priority. It provided that "within a period of six months the Minister for Overseas France shall formulate ... plans for economic and social development over a ten-year period. These plans shall provide for the transformation of the Territories into

^{1/} "The work of development cannot be limited to the economic field, for duty and interest converge to act with the same vigour in the social field."

modern countries in all matters concerning publicly and privately owned capital equipment and shall comprise the production, processing, distribution and utilization of the Territories' resources. They shall aim, first and foremost, at satisfying the needs of the indigenous populations and making general the conditions most favourable to their social progress, and, secondly, in conformity with the plans drawn up by the General Planning Commission, at facilitating the implementation of programmes for the economic recovery and development of the French Union with respect both to metropolitan France and to international trade ..."

This bill, which was passed on 30 April 1946, also provided for the means of financing the plans.

As to the plans themselves, they were intended to be part of the plan drawn up by the mother country, this procedure being, moreover, in harmony with the principle of sharing and co-ordinating resources established by the new Constitution. A Commission for the Modernization and Capital Development of the Overseas Territories was set up within the General Planning Commission. This body, which was composed of specialists in overseas questions, prepared a report - although not until the beginning of 1948 - setting out the major production and modernization objectives for the original ten-year period.

2. Financing and implementation

The principal problem continued, however, to be financial and was dealt with in the Act of 30 April 1946 and a decree of 5 July 1946. These were both subsequently amended, in particular, by the Decree of 3 July 1949.

Article 3 of the Act of 30 April 1946 provided that:

"The financing of the plans shall be ensured by an Investment Fund for the Economic and Social Development of Overseas Territories (FIDES), which shall be supplied with funds:

"(a) By a grant from the metropolitan country which shall be fixed each year by the Finance Act;

"(b) By contributions from the Territories concerned or by permanent or special revenues derived from taxes ... or from long-term advances which the Territories shall be able to request from the Central Fund for Overseas France within the limits of amounts necessary to carry out the approved programmes.

"The aforesaid contributions of the Territories shall be voted by the local assemblies ..."

The assets of the Central Fund for Overseas France, which, moreover, had the right of issue in certain Territories, were derived primarily from advances by the Treasury of metropolitan France. The Act of April 1946 also authorized the Central Fund to make direct provision for the publicly-held share of capital of semi-public companies in which the State or an overseas Government sub-division was the majority shareholder.

The powers of the French Minister for Overseas France in the implementation of the plans went even further, since he was authorized (article 2 of the Act of 1946) to "make subject to prior approval the establishment or expansion of enterprises directly or indirectly affecting the implementation of the plans; to make the management of such enterprises subject to the supervision of the government authorities".

The key planning and executive machinery was centralized in the governing body of FIDES, a sort of board of directors established by decree in July 1946 and presided over by the Minister for Overseas France. It was composed of five representatives from various Ministries, the director of the Central Fund, four

members of the Parliament, one representative from the Assembly of the French Union and two persons selected for their special knowledge of economic conditions in the overseas Territories. Its function was to participate in "preparing, carrying out and supervising the operations of the investment fund". In particular, "it shall give its opinion on the plans and supervise their implementation... It shall each year examine the portion of the programme for economic and social development to be carried out in the course of the following year... It shall propose the amount of expenditure to be included each year in the State budget as a grant for the implementation of the plans, and, after such grant has been authorized, shall propose how it should be apportioned among the Territories concerned... It shall estimate the amount of foreign exchange that must be requested ... It shall authorize the Central Fund to carry out the operations provided for in the Act of 30 April 1946... It shall specify the conditions under which the Central Fund shall manage FIDES...".

This concern for centralization, if not in the hands of one man, at least in a "directorate" and going so far as to supervise private enterprise, was indicative of the Government's desire to enforce very strict planning. It was justified, moreover, by the magnitude of what had to be done with only limited resources. The report^{2/} stated:

"It should be a well-established fact that private enterprise alone is incapable of assuring the economic and social development of the overseas Territories. The lessons of the past, and simple logic as well, prove that private interests, be they French or indigenous, are opposed to the broad concepts which permit the progress of peoples, since the tasks to be accomplished are not always immediately profitable... Hence, the idea behind this development, as well as its direction and control, must originate with the Government".

But, as from 1949, this scheme underwent two significant changes.

The idea of "annual programmes", implicit in the earlier texts, was explained as follows: "The implementation of the economic and social development plans of the overseas Territories...entails the preparation of programmes... Each programme includes all the projects for the period from 1 July of the year of the programme

^{2/} G. Monnerville, Report introducing the Act of 30 April 1946.

until not later than 30 June of the fourth year thereafter. The programme should be completed by the latter date. It gives the total expenditure for each project and the estimates of the corresponding annual outlay".^{3/}

Furthermore, an important distinction was made within the programmes themselves. There was a "general section" comprising those projects which, by their nature or effect, concerned both the metropolitan country and the Territories as a whole. The entire cost of those projects was met by the State subsidy to FIDES, whereas the "overseas sections" (one section for each Territory or federation) comprised estimated costs relating particularly to those Territories or federations.

The "general section" was prepared and presented by the Ministry for Overseas France, then discussed and decided on by the governing body of FIDES.

The "overseas sections", also called "local sections", were prepared and presented by the head of the federation or Territory. That was the essence of the reform: the plan became to a greater extent "negotiated" between metropolitan France and the Territories. However, the governing body of FIDES continued to play a key role: it always had a say in procedural matters, from the preparation of the programmes to their implementation.

That procedure was, in outline, the following:

A. Discussion of the programme by the assembly of the Territory or group of Territories;

B. Opinion of the governing body of FIDES, to which the draft programme was submitted. If the opinion was favourable, the decisions of the assembly were declared mandatory;

C. If the governing body of FIDES considered that changes should be made in the programme submitted to it, the programme was sent back to the assembly; if the assembly approved the requested changes, its decision was final and became mandatory.

D. If it did not approve the changes in whole or in part, the procedure was started all over again.

^{3/} Decree of 3 June 1949, articles 1 and 2.

Obviously, there was a danger that this passing back and forth might become time-consuming. Actually, by successive approximations, the portion of the programmes directly affecting the Territories was worked out most adequately.

It has been pointed out that this development in the forms of the plan for the overseas Territories was "the counterpart of the development which was taking place concurrently in the metropolitan plan...which had become a continuous and therefore evolving process...and had been modified to conform to this new target during the period 1949-1952. By force of circumstances, the idea of a four-year plan, intermediate between long-term planning and short-term programmes, was gradually being introduced".^{4/}

As regards the overseas plan, there was, at the same time, an awareness of the difficulties (due to lack of familiarity with the specific economic circumstances of the overseas Territories and lack of knowledge of the exact cost of the proposed operations) involved in preparing estimates covering a ten-year period; the study of ten-year plans was not abandoned, but extended.

Pending completion of that study, an interim framework for planning was established covering the period up to the date when United States aid would stop. A transition was therefore made from the ten-year plan to a four-year plan, implemented in the form of annual programmes.

The Decree of 11 December 1951 reaffirmed that development by providing for the preparation of a four-year plan covering the period 1953-1956.

/ Pierre Soudet, "Les Plans d'Investissements Outre-Mer" ("Overseas Investment Plans") Revue d'Economie Politique, No. 5, September-October 1952, p. 813.

3. Content of the plans

In May 1949 the French High Commissioner in French West Africa presented to the high council of the Federation the ten-year plan for that group of Territories, which served primarily as general guidance since the stage of the four-year plan and annual programmes had already been reached.

In the presentation report,^{5/} the emphasis is first placed on production: "the production effort should be intensified to the maximum extent for it conditions the economic development and hence the social development of the Federation. Everything possible should be done to promote production: scientific and technical research, mechanization, concentration of effort". "Concentration of effort" means that "the development advocated in the plan is less a matter of encouraging many activities in each Territory than of developing the basic activities for which the Territory is best equipped". The targets to be reached are thus the following:

" - at the Federal level, to increase agricultural output, in particular, rice production, so as to avoid imports from abroad ...

- at the level of the French Union, to provide the metropolitan country and certain overseas Territories with tropical produce and oil-seeds ...

- at the international level, to increase the production of goods in demand, chiefly timber, industrial diamonds, cocoa and in the near future, ores ...".

Second item: equipment. "An extensive programme is being launched in this field not only because public capital equipment should be developed in terms of present production plans, but also because, even before the war, this equipment did not adequately meet the needs of economic activity."

With regard to social development, the report continues: "The machine has become a necessary factor in increasing wealth, but its yield is commensurate with the skill of the individual who operates it. It would therefore be futile to embark on the economic development of a country unless it was shortly to have cadres, supervisory staff and skilled labour at its disposal.

^{5/} Rapport de présentation du plan décennal de développement et d'équipement économique et social de l'Afrique Occidentale Française, Dakar, 14 May 1949
(mimeographed document).

"Thus, mass education will be the policy and the Territories will have to increase the number of primary schools. At the same time the teacher-training schools will be reorganized and pilot schools will be established to improve the quality of instruction. This instruction, directed along practical lines, will prepare the people for the technological change, which will, moreover, be facilitated by the establishment of a large number of apprenticeship centres. Agriculture and forestry artisan, trades and the building industry are suffering from a notorious lack of skilled labour which can be remedied by the opening of vocational schools. Thus, the training of indigenous technicians will keep pace with the economic development of the Territories and vast opportunities will be opened up for young people. The Plan also makes ample provision for secondary education, which will be extended by the establishment of new high schools and colleges. That will facilitate access to administrative and professional careers.

"But too often, in this immense, but sparsely populated Territory, initiative is discouraged by the lack of skilled labour. It is therefore essential to ensure that the existing labour force enjoys good health.

"The improvement in housing, environmental sanitation, the campaign against endemic, epidemic and social diseases will help to reduce mortality and increase the birth-rate. The eradication of social scourges such as sleeping sickness, plague and leprosy and the improvement of the peoples' level of hygiene are the sine qua non of any economic progress or demographic expansion in the Territory.

"Thus, there is clearly a close interrelationship between economic and social progress. They are inextricably bound together. But it should not be forgotten that, in the last analysis, economic development provides the means for social progress, that the social situation of the Territory is dependent on its economic situation and that it would be extremely dangerous for the social balance of a country which is potentially self-sufficient to forget the dependence of social advance on economic development."

In the matter of education, therefore, the plan is not concerned with primary schooling. The Territories bear responsibility for the construction and maintenance of schools. Provision has been made for the construction of a pilot school in each

Territory out of FIDES funds for teacher training. In addition, provision has been made for the completion of the University of Dakar, the building of high schools and colleges, teacher-training schools, technical institutes, apprenticeship centres and centres for the accelerated training of skilled labour.

The Federation's ten-year plan, as submitted to the high council of French West Africa, called for an expenditure of 134,000 million francs CFA, i.e. an annual outlay of approximately 13,000 million, at 1949 prices; 80.5 per cent was allocated for economic development, 18.35 per cent for social development and 1.15 per cent for scientific research.

Taking into account the participation of France, which had just decided to assume 50 per cent of the economic development costs, 66.66 per cent of the social development costs and 100 per cent of the costs of scientific equipment, the presentation report assessed the changes in the financial burdens involved in executing the plan.

Those burdens are of two kinds: financial costs arising from loans provided by the Central Fund for Overseas France; and maintenance and operational costs of completed projects. They are estimated at 1,400 million francs CFA in 1952, 3,650 million in 1956, 5,100 million in 1959, the last amount representing a 50 per cent increase in the French West-African budget. "Thus, the income of the Federation, most of which will come from exports, would have to double in value ... Since there can be no guarantee that income will grow simultaneously with and in direct proportion to increases in financial costs, a policy of strict economy is necessary..." That reasoning led to the conclusion that "it is necessary to postpone the implementation of projects which are not immediately economically viable, or are not socially indispensable.... It is absolutely essential to establish priorities ... Each part of the budget must be drawn up with strict regard to economic viability or the most urgent social necessity."

This policy of caution was regarded as reasonable by the authorities at the time. But perhaps it might have been risky to leave the responsibility for developing primary education to the local communities, Territories or groups of Territories in view of the increase in the costs already incurred in the implementation of non-social projects.

By comparing the 1946 estimates and the projects completed by 1952, the following balance-sheet (for all the overseas Territories) may be drawn up for the first part of the four-year plan:

Apportionments^{6/}

	<u>Estimates</u> (Percentage)	<u>Projects completed by 1952</u> (Percentage)
Scientific activities:		
Scientific research	1.7	1
Cartography	1.9	1.2
	<u>3.6</u>	
Infrastructure:		
Harbours	9.7	9.6
Roads	15.5	23.3
Railways	11.7	12
Navigable waterways	1.7	0.9
Air transport	4.2	2
Communications	4.8	3.2
Meteorology		0.3
Total	<u>47.6</u>	<u>51.3</u>
Production:		
Agriculture	15	10.8
Livestock	2	2.3
Forests	0.9	4.4
Mines	1.5	5.1
Electricity	2.8	8.3
Miscellaneous	0.8	0.3
Total	<u>23</u>	<u>31.2</u>
Social sector:		
Health	10.7	4.7
Education	9.6	5.2
Town planning and housing	5.5	5.4
Total	<u>25.8</u>	<u>15.3</u>

6/ Depending on the sources used, there may be discrepancies in the amounts or percentages for a given sector, owing largely to the fact that some projects may be classified variously in one sector or another. For the tables and figures in part I of this report data have been taken from many different sources, which we sometimes had to combine in order to make the presentation as accurate as possible. However, the discrepancies which may be noticed in comparing this table with other documents are trifling and have very little effect on the three main categories - infrastructure, production and the social sector./...

It was easy to criticize, especially since there were already indications that as regards agricultural production, even if complete failure was avoided, at least the results would fall far short of expectations in some large sectors of mechanized farming. While there were increases in some exportable products, such as coffee, cocoa, butter and ground-nuts, the disequilibrium in the production of food crops continued. The editor of the magazine Présence Africaine, a virulent (and not always objective) critic of FIDES, wrote: "... being compelled to produce for export, the African peasant is becoming increasingly more dependent on the economy of trade. If world prices drop sharply, his coffee, his cocoa and his ground-nuts bring him ridiculous prices, and poverty spreads all the more quickly because the traditional crops have been neglected in favour of new and particularly lucrative crops; and also because the peasant has long been cursed with debts, the Senegalese peasant's harvest of ground-nuts is sold long before it emerges from the ground; the African peasant buys on credit ... so that he and his family may live. He therefore lives from hand to mouth for twelve months of the year."^{7/}

With regard to education, the planner was criticized primarily for having left the construction of primary schools to local financing, even though it was recognized that the local authorities had not done too badly since the school attendance rate for all of the overseas Territories had risen from 11.6 in 1946 to 20.4 in 1954. Moreover, the same critics partly contradicted themselves when they complained about the inadequate number of teachers because they were in fact blaming the planner for not having put the cart before the horse.

Similarly, in the social sector, it was easy to compare the relatively abundant supply in the population centres to the dearth of amenities in the bush and to draw a distinction between medical attention and bush medicine without attempting to compare the difficulties involved.

The growth in investment in the infrastructure was undoubtedly due to two causes, the effects of which were interrelated. Firstly, there was the desire to which we have already referred, to carry out some spectacular projects or at least projects, the results of which would be immediately apparent. The shortage of oils and fats at that time was a compelling argument for the rapid modernization of the

^{7/} FIDES, Présence Africaine, new series, February-March 1957, pp. 148-149.

road and railway network, to transport ground-nuts as well as goods from the port of Dakar. Secondly, the cost of the work had been underestimated at the outset, since the European engineers and entrepreneurs had not yet acquired sufficient experience of the particular limitations that tropical climates impose upon working conditions.

The failure of the large mechanized agricultural enterprises was also partly due to the inexperience of their initiators. It was not, however, a complete failure, because the experience gained led to the development of more efficient farming techniques, the effects of which were to be felt several years later.

The widening gap between the towns and the countryside had not escaped the attention of the drafters of the second four-year plan. It was also apparent that the increase in production had not been proportionate to investment; the considerable sums expended on the maintenance and operation of economic or social projects had not been accompanied by an equivalent expansion of the economy. That was why an attempt was made, in the second plan, firstly to give priority to the development of production and, secondly, to bring social advances to the interior of the Territories. These two efforts were interrelated; they both favoured the "rural push". One of the main objectives was to raise the level of living of the rural masses. However, agricultural advancement is a slow process and large investments do little to accelerate it. It requires a very advanced agricultural sector and the organization and education of producers, the short-term results of which are often deceptive. That is why, ultimately, the investments planned for agriculture during that period will continue to go to the staple exportable products and, in the case of Senegal, to ground-nuts.

While it was decided that there would be a considerable reduction in infrastructural programmes in the second plan, the apportionment for power and mining were increased sharply and the social sector absorbed 20 per cent of the budget. Priority in public health was given to preventive medicine. The innovation, regards education, was that FIDES undertook responsibility for primary education, and it was made very clear that primary education should be essentially practical, give priority to the rural populations and, lastly, make ample provision for primary

schools for girls. The following table shows the apportionment for the different categories of education for the overseas Territories as a whole:

	<u>Per cent</u>
Higher	4
Secondary	13
Primary	28
Technical	11.5
Trades and homecrafts	16
Private education (subsidies)	26
Libraries	1.5

However, many modifications were made in the second plan in the course of its implementation. Thus, while it was originally estimated that 33 per cent of the grants given under the overseas sections of FIDES would go to the rural economy, that figure was raised to 40 per cent in April 1954 and the grants made to other sectors had to be reduced accordingly.

The complete balance sheet shows that the total investments which were made for the whole of former French West Africa during that period - namely those financed from the two sections of FIDES, those financed from local resources and those financed through the Central Fund for Overseas France - were distributed among the various sectors, as follows:

	<u>Percentage</u>
Scientific and technical research (including a geological map and mining research)	1.3
Mining	6.5
Hydroelectric plants	.8
Rural economy	22.3
Transport and communications	32
Equipment for social services	22.2
Non-programme investments	16.2

Before any analysis can be made of the implementation of the plans in Senegal, attention must be drawn to an institution peculiar to French West Africa, which is known by the initials of the special fund set up to finance it: the Fonds d'Équipement Rural pour le Développement Économique et Social (FERDES).

An official publication described the role of the new institution (founded in 1950) as "an extensive programme of small projects, the only one that could bring progress into the innermost bush, which has been handicapped for centuries by a lack of means; this was the instrument which would enable traditional Africa to reach the take-off point and supplement the FIDES plan, the achievements of which would serve mainly as an example, although their effect on the masses could only be a long-term one."^{8/} This was a roundabout way of saying that FIDES had missed the main point.

The system was based on the initiative and financial participation of those concerned, who undertook responsibility for part of the work planned and secured financial and technical assistance from the Administration to carry it out. Such assistance was given only for community projects but the community was not defined; it could be a village, a tribe, an age-group, a provident society, an agricultural co-operative, or a civic or religious association.

The community was in principle expected to put up one third of the financing, but it was agreed that the initial contribution might be in the form of an equivalent contribution of working days or local materials brought to the construction site. Some important projects were carried out in this way without involving the rural community which they were designed to benefit in any cash expenditure. One half of the remaining two thirds was to be financed from the territorial budget and the other half from the general budget.

In comparison with the investments of FIDES, the work of FERDES is insignificant: 3,500 million francs CFA from 1949 to 1957, of which Senegal received 748 million. This total was divided as follows:

Bulletin d'Information de l'Afrique-Occidentale Française, No. 106,
16 June 1951, p. 2.

	<u>Per cent</u>
Land improvement, dams, roads, bridges	1.3
Wells, well-drilling, water supply system	53.1
Warehouses, silos	28.4
Markets and community installations for selling or processing products	9.8
Schools	1.6
Dispensaries	1.6
Miscellaneous	4.2

The significance of these projects lies less in their scope than in their nature and source. Their economic and social impact, when compared with the sums invested (the cost of no operation ever exceeded 15 million francs), was considerable. Moreover, since the initiative for the project came from small communities which were participating financially or materially in the work, the value of each project was the greater in the eyes of the people concerned, who were in this way associated with Senegal's development efforts.

Implementation of the plans in Senegal

The first fact which emerges, when the balance sheet of investments in French West Africa during this ten-year period is drawn up, is that Senegal received the largest share - 39,000 million francs CFA out of a total of 155,000 million, i.e. 25 per cent of the total invested in eight Territories. There are two main explanations for this special treatment:

A. Firstly, Senegal was the seat of the federal capital and, as such, Dakar received sizable special grants, many of which came from the general section of FIDES, financed entirely by France.

B. Secondly - and this is largely a consequence of the first reason - the income from the local budget of Senegal was much higher than that of the other Territories. In 1956, for example, the principal taxes contributing to the local budgets (poll tax, tax on industrial and commercial profits, general income tax, licence duties) produced 13,800 million francs CFA for the Federation as a whole and 3,200 million or 23 per cent for Senegal alone. However, over half the French residents of French West Africa lived at Dakar or elsewhere in Senegal and most of the commercial companies and public works enterprises had their main offices there. The increased volume of work undertaken resulted in a growth in tax revenue.

If we consider only the investments made with FIDES funds, there is a distinct disproportion between Dakar and the rest of Senegal, particularly in the case of the first plan when 43 per cent of the allocations were for operations undertaken at Dakar. This percentage drops appreciably to 25 per cent in the second plan but is nevertheless high.

This is how the FIDES apportionments were distributed between the three main sectors - production, infrastructure, social - in the first and second plans:

- First plan (14,459 million)

Dakar received 43 per cent of the apportionments, which were divided as follows:

Production: 6 per cent, i.e. 9.4 per cent of the total apportionments
for the sector

Infrastructure: 63 per cent, i.e. 49.6 per cent of the total
apportionments for the sector

Social: 31 per cent, i.e. 76.4 per cent of the total apportionments
for the sector

/...

The rest of Senegal received 57 per cent of the apportionments, which were distributed as follows:

Production: 44.5 per cent, i.e. 90.6 per cent of the total apportionments for the sector

Infrastructure: 48.3 per cent, i.e. 50.4 per cent of the total apportionments for the sector

Social: 7.2 per cent, i.e. 23.6 per cent of the total apportionments for the sector.

- Second plan (10,283 million)

Dakar received 25 per cent of the apportionments, which were distributed as follows:

Production: 4.9 per cent, i.e. 2.6 per cent of the total apportionments for the sector

Infrastructure: 24.3 per cent, i.e. 27.0 per cent of the total apportionments for the sector

Social: 70.8 per cent, i.e. 63.7 per cent of the total apportionments for the sector.

This left 75 per cent for the rest of Senegal, which was distributed as follows:

Production: 63.7 per cent, i.e. 97.4 per cent of the apportionments for the sector

Infrastructure: 22.5 per cent, i.e. 73.0 per cent of the apportionments for the sector

Social: 13.8 per cent, i.e. 36.3 per cent of the apportionments for the sector.

This gave the following figures, in percentages, for the whole of Senegal:

	1st plan	2nd plan	Total
Production	27.9	48.7	36.6
Infrastructure	54.6	23.0	41.4
Social	<u>17.5</u>	<u>28.3</u>	<u>22.0</u>
	100	100	100

These figures can best be explained by a rapid glance at the projects completed. The 6,232 million invested at Dakar under the first plan can be broken down as follows:

/...

Harbour	3,276
Slaughter-houses	200
Livestock laboratory	180
Suburban roads	62
Telecommunications	583
Education	524
Hospitals	513
Water supply system	587
Sanitation and garbage disposal	507

Justifying the volume and allocation of these investments, the author of an evaluation of Senegal's first two plans wrote as follows:

"The peninsula of Cape Verde, with the urban centre of Dakar, its harbour and the railway terminus, occupied and still occupy a special place."^{9/}

It was the need to modernize this area which created an imbalance between the volume of investments in the Dakar urban area and those placed elsewhere in Senegal. This imbalance, which was justified at the time by stressing the special importance of Dakar, federal capital of former French West Africa, where industry, trade, transport, communications, administrative and cultural services and facilities serving several Territories were concentrated, is still greater if the other sources of financing are taken into account. The general budget and the local budget provided almost 3,500 million francs CFA for the construction of administrative buildings and housing for public employees and 550 million for various land improvement schemes in the Médina districts. In addition, the Central Fund issued loans and shares to the semi-public building societies (about 700 million) and local industries (almost 1,000 million) for their contribution to the work and improvements at Dakar.

Finally, the modernization of the Dakar-Yoff airport was financed entirely and directly from the State budget. Private investment has concentrated mainly on the Cape Verde peninsula.

^{9/} Territory of Senegal, Planning Section, Bilan des deux premiers plans d'investissement et de développement économique et social. Mimeographed document, April 1957, pp. 5-6.

However, it must be realized that the importance attached to Dakar was due, during the first four-year period, to the major works carried out in the harbour.

A more accurate picture of the distribution of investments is given in the table below, which shows the three main sources of financing: local budgets (budget of Senegal and general budget, FERDES), FIDES (local sections and general section), Central Fund for Overseas France (loans to the public and private sectors). The "Non-programme" category covers mainly the construction of administrative buildings and housing, at Dakar and in the rest of the Territory.

Within each sector, the break-down by sources of financing is as follows:

	Budgets	FIDES	Central Fund	TOTAL
Production	8.6	89.6	1.8	100
				(10,101 million francs CFA)
Infrastructure	19.7	78.5	1.8	100
				(13,070 million francs CFA)
Social	29.1	52.9	18.0	100
				(10,272 million francs CFA)
including				
education	(32.2)	(67.8)	-	100
health	(19.9)	(80.1)	-	100
town planning	(32.0)	(36.9)	(31.1)	100
Non-Programme	95.1	-	4.9	100
				(38,634 million francs CFA)

This table shows that a relatively greater contribution to the social sector comes from the relevant budgets than from FIDES, especially if the social objective of the non-programme investments is taken into consideration: housing for public employees. But it is precisely these urban development, civic and housing programmes which are the most important part of the social programme: 15.4 per cent as against 11.2 per cent for health and education. Urban sanitation and housing improvement should be important aspects of a social programme but, if they are limited to a few major centres, their effect may be lessened by the

/...

resulting social imbalance. In particular, the attraction of the comforts of urban life causes an expansion in the urban population out of all proportion to the importance which the towns were intended to have. In 1957, we wrote about the phenomenon commonly known as "family parasitism":

"It is, of course, economic in nature: the main advantage of the town in the eyes of the rural population is that it is a place where money can be got. Unaccustomed to having money but knowing the use which can be made of it, the farmer is attracted by paid employment which will enable him, even if he is unskilled, to earn in one month sometimes as much as he would earn in a whole year if he stays in his village... If he has come only 'on a visit', this visit may last for ever: in any case, his level of living is much higher in the town. We have often met such 'parasites', who when asked 'Why did you come?' replied 'To get treatment'. However, this treatment had often lasted over a year and there was no intention of leaving." 10/

The population of Dakar rose from 150,000 in 1945 to 230,000 in 1955. This largely explains why the proportion of investments devoted to this "sub-sector" remained roughly constant and why the Central Fund continued to help the building societies. However, in 1961, Dakar already had 380,000 inhabitants, and industries are still being established there, because they cannot find the same infrastructure anywhere else in Senegal.

The volume of investment reaching the social sector during these ten years is certainly the optimum, considering the capacity of the budget of the Territory to pay the operating costs^{11/} and the bottleneck in primary education caused by the lack of trained teachers. However, over-centralization of this investment undoubtedly lessened its impact and the rural population ultimately derived little benefit from the capital invested in the agricultural sector.

10/ Y. Mersadier, Budgets familiaux africains. French Institute for Central Africa, Dakar, 1957, p. 45.

11/ In 1950, operating costs for health and education accounted for 35 per cent of over-all operating costs. This percentage had hardly varied since 1948, because the operating costs of the other sectors had also increased considerably as a result of the FIDES investments, abnormal administrative "inflation" and the transfer of certain services from the general budget to the local budget. Between 1948 and 1958, Senegal's operational budget grew from 1,700 million to over 8,000 million francs CFA.

Sector	Budgets			FIDES			Central Fund			Total
	1st Plan	2nd Plan	Total	1st Plan	2nd Plan	Total	1st Plan	2nd Plan	Total	
Production	7.2	8.0	7.6	27.9	48.7	36.6	35.5	2.3	7.3	26.2
Infrastructure	2.0	40.9	22.7	54.6	23.0	41.4	0.8	10.7	9.2	33.8
Social:	29.8	23.2	26.3	17.5	28.3	22.0	63.7	75.0	73.3	26.6
comprising										
education	(6.2)	(4.3)	(5.2)	(2.8)	(7.9)	(5.0)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(4.7)
health	(7.5)	(1.6)	(4.4)	(4.7)	(12.8)	(8.1)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(6.5)
town planning	(16.1)	(17.3)	(16.7)	(10.0)	(7.6)	(8.9)	(63.7)	(75.0)	(73.3)	(15.4)
Non-programme	61.0	27.9	43.4	-	-	-	-	12.0	10.2	13.4
Total	100 (5,319m)	100 (6,048m)	100 (11,367m)	100 (14,459m)	100 (10,283m)	100 (24,742m)	100 (380m)	100 (2,145m)	100 (2,525m)	100 (38,634m)

Since 1957, political problems have been taking precedence over economic considerations; nevertheless, a third four-year plan is in course of preparation with the local assemblies participating more actively. Since 18 May 1957, Senegal has had a Government Council composed of eleven ministers, the President of which is the Governor and the Vice-President, Mr. Mamadou Dia.

In a report to the Senegalese territorial assembly on the general activities of the Government Council from June 1957 to June 1958, the Vice President outlined the targets of this third plan.

In the agricultural sector, the targets are: development of the Senegal valley, improvement in ground-nut cultivation to increase the farmers' earnings from the same cultivated areas, greater food production, and reform of the mutual aid and co-operative systems.

In the infrastructural sector

"an acute problem has arisen recently - the maintenance and conservation of roadways built up patiently over ten years. Outside the Cape Verde peninsula, the road network is still inadequate and more than 4,000 million francs CFA have been earmarked in the third plan, as a matter of extreme urgency for completing essential links in the North and Centre...

"Projects in the social sector, mainly concerned with education and health, involve infinitely greater difficulties, for here operating expenses must be added to the cost of upkeep. Considerable care must therefore be taken in determining what projects are to be carried through. In order to meet the needs of secondary education, the institutions already in existence or remaining to be constructed under the second plan will be enlarged, and boarding-schools will be systematically developed.

"The present rate of primary-school attendance is 22 per cent. Thirty new classes a year, or 120 in four years, will be necessary simply to maintain this rate, owing to the growth in population. Provision for a considerable increase in the tempo of school construction has therefore been made in the third plan. The four-year programme provides for 1,045 classes and should come close to attaining the 40 per cent rate of attendance set up as the primary objective.

"Hospital facilities are still very inadequate. This situation is being remedied in stages, and an effort will be made under the third plan to complete the establishments begun under the first two plans. The need for bringing medical care to the rural population is self-evident, but rather than build up a deceptive facade of more field health centres, it seemed preferable to direct local and FIDES funds more toward social and preventive medicine through the provision of rural maternity homes and maternal and child welfare clinics. Their work, in line with the fight against infant mortality and malnutrition, is directed toward the future and will guarantee the harmonious development of the Territory's population.

/...

"Municipal administration, housing and water have been grouped under a new heading called the 'betterment of living conditions', and this comprises all forms of action conducive to this end: water supply, electricity, drainage, refuse disposal, land allotment, public safety and housing.

"The third plan will tend more and more to decentralize these activities for the benefit of the small rural communities. It seems, moreover, highly desirable to improve rural living conditions by simple means and with the very active participation of the local communities. This is why an important grant is requested from FIDES for the purpose of familiarizing the rural population with improved construction materials and methods and of providing for the local training of qualified workmen.

"Special attention must be accorded to the great centres of Dakar and Saint Louis where the problems of municipal administration and housing appear on a much larger scale than in the smaller centres. The solution of these problems, which is of prime importance for the economic and social equilibrium of these centres, will call for a considerable amount of funds, for which provision has been made in the draft in conformity with a constant concern for stringent economy.

"The distribution of the most urgently needed public investments among the three sectors of production, infrastructure and social welfare is thus as follows:

Sector	Entire programme		FIDES portion	
	Total	Percentage	Total	Percentage
General surveys	472	2.0	440	3.2
Production	11,456	48.1	5,629	41.7
Infrastructure	5,306	22.3	3,106	23.0
Social welfare	<u>6,576</u>	<u>27.6</u>	<u>4,342</u>	<u>32.1</u>
Total	23,810	100.0	13,517	100.0

"These investments will, however, be 'allotted' to the principal economic regions in such measure as will reconcile the need to ensure financial soundness - by giving priority to the productive regions - with the need to satisfy the essential requirements of the less developed areas." 12/

*

* *

12/ Government Council of Senegal, Report on the general activity of the Government Council and on the progress of public services in the territory, submitted to the Territorial Assembly by the Vice-President of the Government Council, June 1957 - June 1958, Dakar, 1958, pp. 68, 69 and 71.

Although these projects are actually nothing more than a beginning, they do bear witness to an interesting trend deriving not only from previous experience but also from the fact that economic and social policy was becoming more and more a matter for the States themselves. As Senegal comes to be regarded more and more as a whole and less and less as only part of a whole, there is a growing realization that the morewide-spread social measures become, the greater is their long-term efficiency and that extensive economic investments can have important social consequences. It is true that as regards the large centres the main effort had been accomplished during the preceding ten years, so that the improvement or addition of facilities as these centres grow should suffice. It is also true that these programmes are presented with reservations which are a proof of realism: the social aspect must not take precedence over the economic. This, however, is merely a stage along the way to the "global development" which independent Senegal will make its goal.

Before it prepares its new development plan, the Senegalese Government will have to draw up a complete balance sheet of the accomplishments of these ten years. Professor R. Badouin, describing Senegalese economy, stated that on the eve of independence "the term 'Senegalese economy' was erroneous because it was non-existent." He said that Senegal was faced with:

"1. A subsistence economy having for frame of reference and for centre the straw hut or the concession, the village at the most, but certainly not Senegal;

"2. A ground-nut economy dependent on French outlets the existence of which was closely linked to colonial political ties;

"3. A Dakar economy dependent upon the political grouping represented by French West Africa."

He concluded by saying that:

"With the breaking-off of political ties, the latter two economies are endangered, and the first is incompatible with the exigencies of economic development. The persons responsible for the first development plan must therefore re-examine the entire economy of their country." 13/

This restriction and its social implications will be the principal theme of part II of this report.

*

* *

13/ R. Badouin, "Senegal's Economy at the Time of Independence", Revue de l'Economie Méridionale, Vol. IX, No. 33, January-March, p. 85.

Part II

The experience of Senegal

The changed political context explains the distinctive Senegalese concept of development as contrasted with the concept that was prevalent during the preceding period. FIDES and the plans or programmes which it made possible had been conceived in terms of the growth and equilibrium of a vast political-economic unit the French Union or Community or, in any case, the franc zone. The transition to a smaller and more homogeneous political and geographic frame of reference, the Senegalese State, brought about a change in perspective. A new ideology, African socialism, has given rise to a new concept of development. This is to be "integral" and "harmonized", and, in particular, the balance between the economic and the social is no longer to be merely a matter of statistics, for all economic progress is to be translated into social progress and all social progress into economic. The plan must, of course, express this progress in terms of objectives and specific means but cannot of itself be the criterion for this balance; it represents an extension of reflections on socialism and development, of research on problems peculiar to Senegal, of a body of structural reforms which supplement it and inevitably facilitate its preparation and execution.

*

* *

This "African way to socialism" has, especially since the independence of the African States, been the subject of many statements and various articles.^{14/}

At the first meeting of the Legislative Assembly of Senegal on 9 July 1960, President Dia, in proposing a programme for a policy of independence, spoke of a "new style". He said:

^{14/} See Leopold Sedar Sengher, Nation et voie africaine du socialisme (Nation and African way to socialism), Editions Présence Africaine, Paris, 1961.

"It has been our aim to build an African socialism which is not a by-product of Eastern or Western ideologies, which will pay its allegiance neither to a doctrinaire Marxism nor to a pliant liberalism. It has been our aim to forge our own doctrine by endeavouring to understand African realities and thus harmoniously to develop their fertile potentialities under the aegis of a new humanism that will serve to integrate our values." 15/

He said on another occasion:

"This 'authentically African' socialism is a true socialism ... Our ideology undertakes to restore the original meaning to various fundamental truths: the exigencies of a common good which affects all the members of a group and the freedom to adhere to these exigencies with the result that the members of this group choose to be jointly responsible for the further development of their community." 16/

Socialism is not, however, an end in itself, and we quote:

"Socialism does not appear to us as some kind of archetype to be constructed at all costs and by whatever means even if this should mean artificially creating the conditions for it or sacrificing some of the values which we today hold dear. For us, the full development of our country is our only aim. Socialism is but one means of achieving such full development. However, it is a favoured means and no doubt the only one that can be perfectly adapted to the needs of Africa." 17/

It is therefore through a style of development that this socialism is to find its expression. In the course of the recent colloquium on African socialism, President Dia said that this style had three characteristics:

"Total development, comprising at the same time all regions, all social strata, all economic sectors, all individual and collective levels of living ...; socialist development inspired by the exigencies of the common good and constituting an obligation on all citizens because all citizens have freely decided to be jointly responsible for building the nation.

15/ Federation of Mali. Republic of Senegal. Statement by Mr. Mamadou Dia, President of the Council, before the Legislative Assembly of Senegal meeting in regular session at Dakar on Thursday, 9 June 1961.

16/ Republic of Senegal - Office of the President of the Council. Statement by Mr. Mamadou Dia, President of the Council of the Republic of Senegal, before the National Assembly and delegations invited to the celebration of Senegalese independence, 4 April 1961. Saint-Louis, 1961, p. 4.

17/ Concluding statement of the colloquium on African ways to socialism. Reproduced from Dakar-Matin, 11 December 1962.

"Harmonious development leading to the disappearance of internal and external imbalances ...; socialist development that will enable all the elements of the nation to find their full expression as they combine with each other to achieve a balanced growth.

"Finally, dynamic development, which carries within itself the mechanism of its progress ...; which is not limited in its ambitions to carrying out one or several plans but implies much more, a new style of living, a new ethics ...: to bring to an increasing number of persons an additional share of well-being, not as an end in itself, but to enable them to be more fully and more worthily human." 18/

The Reverend Father Lebret, who during the period when the plan was being drawn up, was Counsellor to the Government of Senegal and Chief of Research Projects, defined development as "the passage of a given people from a less human to a more human stage at the fastest possible pace and the lowest possible cost, taking into account the interdependence of all peoples". He added that "for there to be any development at all, there must at the same time be economic, scientific, administrative, cultural and ethical development. If all these do not keep pace with one another, there is no development." 19/ He also advanced two principles. The first is that where a public authority is faced with a development problem, it must organize its activities in terms of such development. The second is that as development is a response to the needs of a people, the people's situation must first be examined in order to determine their needs, and the potentialities and resources of the country must then be analysed in order to determine how these needs can be met.

1. Preliminary studies and preparation of the plan

A "Committee for the study of economic problems", composed of government officials, representatives from the private sector and members of the teaching profession was set up in October 1958, that is to say, before independence. Its mission was "to study the problems affecting the development of the Senegalese

18/ Ibid.

19/ Reverend Father Lebret, Lecture delivered to the research committees in the Office of the President of Council of Senegal. Mimeographed document.

conomy". It was asked to make a survey of the economic situation in Senegal and to study the feasibility of preparing a long-term plan. Five working groups spent two months drafting a report, which indicated in particular the need to carry out more thorough general surveys as well as various special investigations.

Two research firms,^{20/} following guide-lines set down by Father Lebret, who in November 1959 was appointed Economic Counsellor to the Government, were entrusted with this work. According to the terms of the government contract, "the first aim of the survey is to furnish the Government of Senegal with proposals based on human and economic factors for the preparation of a long-term development plan for Senegal".

The survey was also intended: "to ensure, within the framework of the survey itself, the training of qualified staff for future investigations and studies on planning and the execution of plans; and to pave the way for the establishment of a planning agency, which will be the directing force behind the country's development."

The report on the survey consisted of two volumes entitled "general report", ten volumes containing the regional analyses, three volumes of annexes (industry, health, miscellaneous), one volume of graphs and an atlas of forty maps of Senegal.^{21/}

The general report starts by describing conditions in the country in 1959, then outlines the chief factors unfavourable to development, suggesting structural reforms or the establishment of new institutions, which, moreover, were set up even before the completion of the survey. The second volume of the general report, under the heading "Possible lines of action", deals directly with development prospects presented in the form of proposals for each sector and each region.

In the last chapter of the first volume, the authors offer a "general diagnosis" from a four-fold point of view:

20/ "CINAM" (Company for Industrial Research and Territorial Development) and "SERESA" (Association for Economic and Social Research and Projects in Agriculture).

21/ This mimeographed report, reproduced in only 200 copies, has never been published officially or distributed outside Senegal.

- (a) Key problems, namely, low general level of development, rapid population growth, economic dependence and geographical factors;
- (b) Level of satisfaction of basic needs;
- (c) Development of resources;
- (d) Restraining factors and bottle-necks.

The second of these points of view is all the more significant as the authors of the report, in the light of their findings, were able to establish a hierarchy of basic needs in terms of the extent to which these needs are not being met. The classification is as follows:

Subsistence needs

- (a) Protection against endemic diseases (malaria, intestinal parasites);
- (b) Sanitation and water supply;
- (c) Knowledge and equipment for general hygiene (child care, refuse disposal insects, cleanliness of villages and communities);
- (d) Regularity of food supplies throughout the year (problem of tiding over to meet possible shortage before the new harvest);
- (e) Balancing the diet, which now shows a clear deficiency in animal proteins (meat, dairy products, fish);
- (f) Protection against epidemics;
- (g) Facilities for care of the sick.

Collective needs

- (a) Use of a common language, first spoken, then read and written by the entire population;
- (b) Sharing of a single culture by the various population groups and assimilation of the contributions of the modern world;
- (c) An active national consciousness;
- (d) Opportunities and desire for creative activity (artistic or technical);
- (e) Giving mothers more time to bring up their children and develop their own personalities.

"Luxury" needs

- (a) Release of women from excessive manual labour, in particular through improvement of household equipment;

(b) Possibilities of using common facilities within sufficiently large and well-equipped rural or urban communities;

(c) Improvement in the quality of housing, particularly as regards overcrowding, use of durable building materials and adequate equipment, and equitable distribution of modern comforts among men and women.

Similarly, in the list of "restraining factors" and bottle-necks, in addition to physical and geographical factors (climate, distance between villages, absence of a secondary development axis), economic factors (juxtaposition of three non-integrated economies, absence of regional and interregional distribution facilities for local products, limited marketing facilities, absence of savings) and technical factors (time still required for the necessary studies and research, absence of a system of land tenure that would create a bond between the peasants and the soil), attention is also given to human factors. These more specifically are:

The lack of initiative and of "leaders" among the indigenous population in the various economic sectors.

The low technological level, particularly:

The very small number of indigenous skilled workers and the lack of business initiative;

Insufficient experience with technology on the part of the peasants and a feeling of helplessness about their own situation.

The reluctance to take risks, and the existence, on the contrary, of a social pyramid culminating in the profession of civil servant as the ideal of "security".

The extreme inadequacy of "communications":

Lack of co-ordination between the self-contained and remote-controlled communications media at Dakar and the country at large;

Effects of a pyramidal bureaucracy which is not oriented towards development and must be radically changed before it can become a factor in economic integration and progress;

Harmful influence of the present system of education on the improvement of technical training and on the respect accorded to various trades;

Extremely weak role played by civil servants, political leaders and youth in economic life.

In volume II of the general report, before stating concrete and detailed proposals and "in order to ensure a minimum of co-ordination and to establish priorities (which do not necessarily correspond to the hierarchy of needs)", the authors sought:

(1) To prepare a long-term and a medium-term projection in order to determine:

(a) How high a level of development can be attained within a given period on the basis of various assumptions regarding growth;

(b) The approximate limits within which the various components of the national product and their respective growth rates should fluctuate during different periods;

(2) To draw the conclusions necessary for directing and implementing a development policy:

(a) With respect to the balance to be achieved among the various components of the national product (particularly between consumption and investment or between the various categories of investments or of consumer goods);

(b) With respect to the means to be employed to attain these objectives (national action and foreign aid).

The model was constructed by successive approximations on the basis of various assumptions concerning:

A. The original situation as determined from the value of the various parameters used in 1960, namely:

Population: 2.7 million

Gross domestic product: 100,000 million francs CFA

Foreign aid: 10,000 million

Household consumption: 80,000 million

Government expenditure: 20,000 million

Investment: 10,000 million

B. The conditions corresponding to the stage of "acceptable development" to be eventually attained:

Per caput national product four times greater than at present;

Balance of payments stabilized without outside assistance (such assistance thus being reduced to nil);

Level of investment ensuring sustained rate of growth;
Capital co-efficient in the neighbourhood of 0.25;
Level of consumption not only satisfying basic needs but also providing a minimum of well-being;
Government expenditure amounting to 20 per cent of the national product, a normal percentage in a developed country.

In addition to these conditions, there are a number of others which do not appear in the model, such as:

Equitable distribution of income among the inhabitants;
Attainment of a satisfactory level of employment.

C. The various factors tending to restrain the growth rate of the various elements of the model or the relationship between them, namely:

Population growth: 2 to 2.5 per cent annually;

The volume of foreign aid, assuming the present level to be a ceiling;

The capital co-efficient, which may at best come to 0.4 and then only over a relatively short period;

Consumption, which can hardly be prevented from increasing at a rate at least slightly higher than the rate of population growth;

Government expenditure, assuming it to be maintained at about 20 per cent of the national product (a percentage not likely to be reduced because the eventual elimination of some posts of a definitely "administrative" character would be offset by the increase in other costs such as education for development).

On the basis of these assumptions, it was found that over the long term, for per caput national product four times greater than at present, the per caput investment would be ten times greater and the per caput consumption 2.7 times greater (in other words, more than twice the level of satisfaction of basic needs, estimated at 20 or 25 per cent above the 1960 level).

Irrespective of the assumption used for the period as a whole and the growth rate necessary to attain an "acceptable" level of development, the authors of the report distinguished a number of stages:

/...

The preliminary take-off stage: surveys, setting up of new institutions, launching of development projects, efforts to raise capital, etc. This stage, in which the rate of growth would still be low, should be as short as possible and shorter than the corresponding stage of the first plan, which will be transitional in character.

The stage of attaining a sufficiently rapid rate of growth. This stage would be marked by the priority given to highly efficient investments and steps to raise the levels of productivity and employment. This would require considerable reliance on foreign aid; the possibilities of a rapid rise in the level of living would be reduced, but the need to satisfy basic needs would not be overlooked.

The stage of satisfying the basic needs of the entire population (subsistence, primarily food; health and hygiene; basic education and primary schooling).

This assumes:

A per caput level of consumption sufficient to allow for complete satisfaction of subsistence needs (therefore at least 15 per cent higher than the present level, in view of the important role of food), properly balanced and evenly distributed among the various sectors of the population;

A sufficient proportion of investment and operational expenses allocated to the development of goods and services to meet the most essential social needs (education, health, hygiene, etc.).

This stage cannot be attained as quickly as might be desired because priority must be given to investments conducive to growth. However, it should, in all fairness, be attained sufficiently soon for the present generation, which will have been required to make a real sacrifice during the first few years, to benefit by it. In any event, the "subsistence" needs cannot be wholly satisfied in less than five to ten years, or the other basic needs in less than twenty to twenty-five years.

The stage of autonomous development, during which there would be a gradual lessening of dependence on foreign aid.

The stage of rapid improvement in the level of well-being, which should be attained once basic needs have been met and the conditions for autonomous growth have been achieved. It would be marked by a substantial quickening in the growth

rate for consumption, which would tend to come closer to the final rate to be attained when the country has reached the stage of acceptable development.

Finally, the stage of "stabilized growth" in which the relationship of the various elements of the model remains largely constant and all the elements grow at virtually the same rate.^{22/}

*

* *

The remaining chapters of the second volume of the general report contain more specific and detailed recommendations concerning structural reforms; improvement of human factors and of food and health levels; infrastructure; rural and industrial development; and regional programmes. We shall refer to these in considering the contents of the first plan, but first a brief description of how that plan was prepared must be given.

On 1 August 1960, the President of Senegal issued general directives for the preparation of the plan, which are as follows:

"The plan shall contain only those elements which actually facilitate the achievement of its basic objectives. The Government therefore intends to confine itself to a minimum of valid planning, on the understanding, however, that that minimum shall encompass all the fields in which development should take place ... The selection of projects must be co-ordinated so that all the existing deficiencies in the economy, which act adversely on one another, may be attacked simultaneously and that, similarly, the various resources may in all cases be drawn upon to such an extent as to render each other the maximum amount of support." ^{23/}

The projects included in the first plan must be selected primarily "to facilitate the investment of greater resources during subsequent plans or to increase the return from existing investments. Therefore the Government does not wish to conceal the fact that there cannot be any spectacular progress in individual standards of living or in the satisfaction of collective needs during the period of the first plan. Only the most crying deficiencies can be attacked head-on". These projects must "be largely concentrated on the sectors and regions

^{22/} CINAM-SERESA Report, General Report, II-1 (10). See also foot-note 20, p.37 .

^{23/} The directives for the preparation of the plan have never been published.

where they will be supported and strengthened by individual or community action. Moreover, to obtain the maximum benefit for the community as a whole, the Government will centralize the various means of action, rather than dissipate its efforts."

There then follow the special directives:

With regard to manpower training, four means of action are considered: training, new organizations and new methods of education, a new orientation of the information programme, and action to train leaders of the instruction groups.

With regard to health and hygiene, the programmes are to be directed primarily towards improving diet, preventive and collective medicine, facilities in rural areas and training of health personnel.

With regard to the rural economy, three basic objectives are to be pursued: increase in food crops, reduction in the costs of production and development of marketing channels, and preparation for the exploitation of potential resources which have not yet been developed. All the means envisaged should be directed towards increasing productivity of rural labour.

With regard to industrialization: although the greatest effort must be directed towards the rural economy, a "judiciously selected industrialization integrated with other sectors of activity" is necessary to help stabilize foreign trade, to generate a process of dynamic expansion and to cope with the under-employment resulting from rapid urban growth.

With regard to the infrastructure, two general objectives must be considered: "establishment of the communications required for the expansion of a coherent domestic market and establishment of a network of local and regional 'hubs' around which a well-structured economy will be able to develop. However, the country's scarcity of resources makes it imperative that during the first plan government capital projects should be undertaken on the basis of whether they can pay for themselves within a rather short period. Thus, it is of prime importance that any investment should be avoided if the installation cost and particularly the operational cost is not commensurate with the results likely to be obtained during the first two four-year periods." In particular, the projects to be carried out in the Dakar area will be confined to the essential minimum.

The procedure laid down for the drafting of the plan provided for:

A general planning commission responsible for assisting the Ministry of Development and Planning in correlating the work of the technical commission in laying the groundwork for the government decisions "which the limited resources in foreign exchange and manpower will make imperative";

Technical commissions "comprising, in addition to representatives of the various ministries and other government departments concerned, representatives of the main economic and social forces in the country". Each commission was expected to specify for its own sector: (a) the objectives to be given priority during the period of the first plan; (b) the research and experiments likely to produce results which would provide guidance for future decisions; (c) the principal means to be used; (d) the reforms of various kinds affecting the realization of the objectives; "Regional development committees" which, in order to ensure that the needs of the different regions were taken into account, would be consulted on the regional implications of the programmes established at the national level.

All these bodies functioned from 1 August 1960 to 1 April 1961, the last phase of their work being a compilation phase, which consisted in verifying or restoring the necessary equilibrium between the various factors and in testing the compatibility of the various objectives and of the objectives with the means. Simple and comprehensive models of resources and uses were devised in order to ascertain whether or not the development of the technical coefficients was proceeding in a reasonable manner. Equilibrium was tested in the case of foreign trade, skilled labour, the regional distribution of investments and budgetary development.^{24/}

This last phase also included the "regionalization" of the plan as stipulated in the directives concerning its drafting:

^{24/} "Comprehensive Economic Plan: Senegal", report by Y. Chaigneau to the Economic Commission for Africa (United Nations document E/CN.14/CT.8), p. 12. The report contains a more detailed description of the process of drafting the plan.

"When the State plan has been drawn up and adopted by the Government, a regional development plan will be drafted for each region. This plan will include the projects already specified in the State plan and will set out those programmes which can be precisely defined only at the regional or even local level."

The plan, which was submitted to the Legislative Assembly on 4 April 1961, was adopted by that body on 16 May. However, by that time, the new institutions recommended for its implementation had already been established.

Structural reforms

The various measures that may be grouped under this heading do not easily lend themselves to classification. They may be divided roughly into the three categories of administrative, economic and social. All of them however, have been designed to expedite the implementation of the plan, and most of them are new procedures which hold out the promise of success precisely where previous development efforts have failed: namely, in bringing development to the rural masses and co-ordinating it. Furthermore, anything relating to peasant advancement" is difficult to express in quantitative terms and difficult to plan. Nevertheless, peasant advancement is essential to the success of the plan; it is not only a means but also an end inasmuch as it is one of the main objectives of development.

A description of these different reforms will therefore be useful because they serve the twofold function of being instruments for the execution of the plan and a factor directly promoting both economic and social development.

*

*

*

The first such reform was a regrouping of administrative units so that they might be homogeneous from the point of view of development and thus be conducive to greater efficiency. Thus, in order to increase the efficiency of the technical departments and agencies and to facilitate "horizontal" contacts among them, the report of the research firms recommended:

"(1) That the administrative and territorial boundaries of the departments and agencies should coincide so as to embrace economic development units consisting of areas which are increasingly homogeneous from the point of view of the measures to be taken to further their development - which, in other words, lend themselves to the adoption of identical measures everywhere within their confines.

"(2) That, for reasons of both efficiency and economy, which are not always achieved, the headquarters of the administrative and of the technical departments and agencies should be in the main centres of the region in which they operate and should not be allowed to proliferate.

"(3) That, on the original level, the relationship between the authority representing the central power (the regional governor) and the upper echelons

/...

of the technical departments and agencies should be similar to that between the President of the Council and his ministers; and that co-operation among the various technical departments and agencies in the same development area should be institutionalized. In this way it will be possible to have relay points for the drafting, execution and control of the plan at each territorial level and thus to eliminate the present isolation of the various technical departments and agencies from each other." 25/

Furthermore, "there must be two levels within each district:

"The region, where general decisions would be taken for an area having identical or complementary development characteristics. Thus, the technicians who would decide, within the general context of the plan and under the authority of the Governor, on the projects to be carried out would serve at the regional level.

"The 'smallest homogeneous development area', where the decisions would be carried into effect and where measures would be taken for the establishment and development of co-operative and rural communities.

"The intermediate districts should therefore be more in the nature of relay points whose functions would be essentially those of administration, supervision and co-ordination." 26/

Senegal was thus divided into seven regions (one of which consisting solely of the Cape Verde peninsula), which were sub-divided into cercles and arrondissements. The concern for administrative democratization was met by the elimination of the traditional chiefdoms, which were replaced by a genuine administrative structure whose territorial limits were determined exclusively on the basis of the homogeneity of the economic and human factors. The very appreciable gap between the government and the rural population was considerably narrowed, and it became possible to extend the scope of development, which had hitherto been limited primarily to the main towns. The way was also opened for an exchange of views between the central level and the grass roots; this in turn made possible a more accurate assessment of needs and possibilities.

*

* *

The reform of the economic structure took three main forms: a reform of channels of trade through the establishment of an Agricultural Marketing

25/ CINAM-SERESA Report, Vol. II, 2 (2), (3).

26/ Ibid., Vol II, 2 (9).

Office (OCA); a reform of the credit structure through the establishment of the Senegalese Development Bank (BSD); and the conversion of the former provident societies into Regional Development Assistance Centres (CRAD). These three new institutions form an entity in themselves, even though each has its own distinctive functions.

The Agricultural Marketing Office was originally established as a means of remedying the deficiencies of the barter economy. According to the report:

"The market does not favour the balanced production of food crops; the structure of trade is not suited to the exchange of food products among the various regions; there is no machinery for establishing a price policy for products other than ground-nuts; from the very moment the peasant enters the money economy, he is confronted with a trade structure that makes the country dependent on middlemen, who are more or less speculators, and on private interests linked to foreign trade." 27/

The main goals of the reform should therefore be to:

- (a) Enable the government to guide production and trade;
- (b) Organize the agricultural commodity markets in such a way that prices

may be used as incentives to the expansion of food crops;

- (c) Enable the government to assist the peasants in organizing co-operatives so that they might become independent of middlemen;

- (d) Set up channels of trade between regions whose products are complementary.

Thus while the Agricultural Marketing Office selected the trade in ground-nuts as its first field of action, it must progressively extend its operations to food products in great consumer demand by establishing an infrastructure consisting of warehousing and purchasing facilities in order to guarantee the producers a fair price and to curb speculation. It will also participate to an increasing extent in the sale of needed products to the peasants either through co-operatives or through the establishment of stores.

The Senegalese Development Bank serves a number of different purposes. In the first place, it provides agricultural credit through the co-operatives. The loans are granted exclusively to the co-operatives "both for reasons of security and because of fidelity to the principles of community socialism in

conformity with the African tradition." It also provides financing not only for the Agricultural Marketing Office but also for industrial development, which it promotes either through loans or through share-holding.

It also manages the funds and acts as disbursing agent for governmental and semi-governmental bodies in Senegal. It likewise manages the Senegalese "Investment Fund", and all foreign financial assistance passes through its hands.

Under the statutes of the Senegalese Development Bank, the Republic of Senegal holds a majority of the votes in the Bank's board of governors. However, the Central Fund for Economic Co-operation, the Central Bank of the States of West Africa and the Equalization Fund for Family Allowances also participate in the management of the Bank.

The Agricultural Marketing Office and the Senegalese Development Bank have regional "relay units" in the form of the Regional Development Assistance Centres. On behalf of the office, the Regional Centres are responsible for collecting the agricultural products and transporting them to the consumer or to shipping points for export, and on behalf of the Bank, their main function is the financing of co-operatives. They also devote considerable effort to assisting the co-operatives by providing them, on the one hand, with seeds, fertilizers, fungicides and farm equipment and, on the other, with managerial assistance. They are thus essentially transitional organizations which will eventually disappear, at least as far as their aid function is concerned, when the co-operatives are in a position to manage their own accounts and attend to their material needs themselves.

*

* *

The Rural Expansion Centres (CER) play a leading role in the advancement and leadership of the peasantry. A CER team "consists of various civil servants, responsible for providing for the education and technical guidance of the people. They belong not only to the agencies concerned with the rural economy but also to those concerned with health, public works education and social welfare. The head of a Rural Expansion Centre is chosen from among its staff and is given the

the responsibility for co-ordinating the activities of the staff in conformity with the development plan and for initiating the actions and the changes in attitude essential to the achievement of development".^{28/}

The area for which a Rural Expansion Centre is responsible is intended to be a homogeneous microcosm of development", not necessarily corresponding to an administrative sub-division. If it is situated in an arrondissement, it does not necessarily follow that its field of action must cover the whole arrondissement. What is essential is the homogeneity of its field of operations.

Moreover, the centres are not something new but rather an adaptation of bodies of the same name which existed prior to independence. The functions of those bodies, however, had been limited to agriculture, and their scope of operations was not so precisely defined. The main feature of the new type of Rural Expansion centres is their versatility. The principles governing their operations have been defined in the CINAM-SERESA report as follows:^{29/}

"The first principle is to attempt to create a local élite and to train and guide it so that it may itself take direct action for development.

"The second leadership principle is to co-ordinate the efforts of each of the technicians with a view to achieving true versatility of action and influencing the peasant or the townsman in every facet of his occupational, social or family life, the objective being to prevent progress in one field from being separated from progress in all other fields.

"These multiple action 'cells' which are to be created in order to foster the development of this new spirit are accordingly destined to disappear when farming has been effectively organized on the basis of co-operatives and when the people have become so imbued with the spirit of progress that it will no longer be necessary to provide other than technical assistance.

"The last principle is that this form of multiple assistance must adhere closely to reality. It must not be a superstructure added to pre-existing structures but should rather give inner form and shape to existing or newly created structures. It should not be administered from the top but should rather be run by the persons responsible for planning and for technical and cultural education in the various regions. It should, moreover, conform to the social and economic conditions of the homogeneous microcosm in question; each small development area requires its own particular form of action."^{30/}

28/ CINAM-SERESA Report, Vol. II, 3 (10).

29/ See foot-note 21, p. 37.

30/ CINAM-SERESA Report, Vol. II, 3 (9).

The indispensable link in the chain of structures we have just described is the co-operative. We have seen that social and economic conditions do not permit the granting of loans to individual planters and that the Senegalese Development Bank is in a position to extend credit only to co-operatives. Furthermore, the Regional Development Assistance Centres and the Rural Expansion Centres can act effectively only through such "community production cells". Similarly, the Agricultural Marketing Office cannot achieve its objectives without the aid of a network of co-operatives. Because development depends on the success of the co-operative movement, the State has urged the formation of co-operatives and give them the desired incentives. While such an approach is not, of course, in conformity with the traditional co-operative concepts, there is in Senegal, as almost everywhere in Africa, a community tradition which must be organized and for the purposes of development. To do this within the context of the co-operative movement will undoubtedly be the best solution, provided that, in the first place, the particular circumstances of Senegal are taken into account. The reason for this proviso is that although a basic community organization does exist, it has, generally speaking, very little initiative, and there are very few individuals in the villages who can assume managerial responsibilities. This explains the hierarchic structure of the co-operative movement in Senegal - headquarters attached to the Ministry of Rural Economy, regional offices and local officials at the cercle or arrondissement level - and justifies not only the managerial and advisory functions of the Regional Development Assistance Centres in relation to the co-operatives but also the importance of the Rural Expansion Centres.

In order, however, to make the new organizations effective, a procedure known as "community leadership" was devised. This was introduced in Senegal in 1959 and aims at stimulating spontaneous community progress in the villages by instilling a spirit of development in certain of the farmers selected to act as leaders. The training given to this existing or potential élite is simple and practical and is intended to transform the basic social communities into true development "cells".

The training of the "community leaders" does not remove them from their own particular environment. In addition to short intensive periods of group instruction, they are given advice by local officials and technicians of the community leadership programme, who also follow their progress.

During one training period, the students were asked whether they could find in their own vernacular a term to describe themselves. They chose the word "awakener", which closely corresponds to the objectives of the community leadership programme, namely, to awaken the rural masses and to give them an awareness of their role in development and of their ability to fulfil that role.

The community leaders are chosen for the training course by the people of their village, and, on their return, they "inform the villagers of what they have done at the training centre where the course was given and explain to them what they have learnt about the situation of Senegal as an independent developing country, about the activities of the various departments and agencies of the government and how these affect them, about new techniques and methods of cultivation and about the possibilities of the co-operative movement. Together with the people, they decide on what immediate steps must be taken in their own villages to bring about production and community improvements".^{31/}

The existence of the community leadership programme justifies the place given in the plan to "human investment", which totals 1,300 million francs CFA, or 4 per cent of the total investment for the period. The policy of the plan in this respect is that the contribution of the State should be commensurate with the efforts of the local people themselves. It leaves it entirely to the local authorities to determine what they can do and to contribute their efforts voluntarily. The work done in this regard is concerned with infrastructure and not with maintenance or improvement. It directly and primarily affects the community which contributes its labour.

Human investment often takes the form of a so-called "collective field", and the sale of the produce from this field provides financing for projects of benefit to the community. While the intention and the results of these efforts are beneficial, the practice nevertheless diverts the human investment to some extent from its goal, which is to utilize labour that is unproductive during the long dry season.

1/ Cissé Ben Mady, "Leadership of the masses - a condition for authentic socialism", Senegal "au 2" par lui-même, special issue of the periodical Développement et civilisation, Paris, 1962, p. 41.

Thanks to the competence and enthusiasm of the persons responsible for the community leadership programme, the movement has grown much faster than its initiators had thought possible. By the end of the first plan, 7,000 community leaders were to have been trained, but after only the first year of the plan the figure had already reached 3,500. This has not been accomplished without some difficulties; the rate at which the Rural Expansion Centres are being set up has fallen behind whereas the co-operatives are proliferating dangerously. In some cases it is pointless to build schools and clinics because the government is not in a position to provide teachers and nurses. However, the success of the training programme is a positive indication that development has reached the rural masses, an objective which had eluded previous attempts.

3. The plan

Implementation of the plan, which was adopted on 8 May 1961 and promulgated on 13 May 1961,^{32/} was made retroactive to 1 January 1961. Indeed, provision had been made for the plan in preparing the budget for the 1961 financial year, and there were psychological as well as political reasons for avoiding any further delay in its implementation. Although it might have seemed desirable to have additional time for reflexion, the preliminary studies had already taken two years. Hence, this first four-year plan is to be implemented during the period envisaged, 1961-1964.

The various characteristics and the general direction of Senegalese planning had already been set out in the report of the research firms and in the directives for preparing the plan and were evident in the structural reforms that had been carried out. They are further defined in the introduction to the general report on the plan as follows:

"It should be made clear that development is not a matter of the total expansion of production or of quantitative growth of the national product. It embraces all sectors of social life. It demands not only increased agricultural and industrial production but also an improvement in the cultural level and an economy organized so as to promote individual and collective responsibility in the various spheres of social life. It results from the harmonious growth of all sectors of human activity, many of which cannot be measured by production indices."

The plan itself represents a systematic set of objectives and of the means for their achievement within a certain period of time, but "it takes long-term aims as its point of departure ... and establishes priorities for the objectives sought It ensures harmony between the various objectives set for a certain period of time ... and between the means and the objectives".^{33/}

^{32/} Act 61-32 of 13 May 1961, Journal Officiel de la République du Sénégal, No. 3507, 12 February 1962. The quotations appearing in this study are taken from a separate official publication containing the text of the law: République du Sénégal, Plan Quadriennal de développement pour la période de 1961-1964 (Republic of Senegal, Four-Year Development Plan for the Period 1961-1964) (Rufisque, National Printing Office, 1963). Consequently, all subsequent references to pages of the plan are actually references to the latter publication.

^{33/} Ibid., pp. 14 and 15.

It is further stated that "the need to prepare a development plan has been imposed on the Government of Senegal not only by considerations of efficiency but also by considerations of human advancement in keeping with the demands of African socialism. The plan is to serve as a guide for government action to replace private initiative wherever it is found wanting and to promote a spirit of progress in rural areas The plan is also intended to guide production and economic organization along the lines of African socialism. It thus makes full allowance for the over-all requirements of health, educational, research and information services and for the creation of basic facilities which directly or indirectly affect the development of society".^{34/}

Thus, the problem of maintaining a balance between the economic and the social is no longer a long-term one; this harmonizing process is, in the final analysis, the aim of development. It is regarded as a short-term problem, particularly during this first four-year period, the "take-off period", since priorities must be established in the light of the various limiting factors. However, the objectives set out in the first plan are only intermediate ones, even though they are defined in the light of the long-term goal, as can be seen by examining the plan sector by sector.

As regards transport and communications facilities, which are to absorb 33.9 per cent of public investment, efforts are to be directed towards:

Utilizing existing facilities, at the lowest possible cost, to co-ordinate transport on the major traffic arteries;

Providing permanent communications between the coast and the interior of Senegal;

Ensuring the most effective possible use of major transport routes in promoting the development of a money economy.

Three types of investment are planned in the sphere of transport and communications:

Investment designed to integrate the outlying regions into the national economy (41 per cent);

Investment designed to improve existing facilities (27 per cent);

Investment designed to expand production (23 per cent).

^{34/} Ibid., p. 15.

In addition, 3 per cent of the investment is to be devoted to the postal and telecommunications service and 1 per cent to technical research.

*

* *

Projected activities in connexion with rural production and fishing are directed towards four goals: encouraging producers, expanding production, improving the marketing of products, and expanding and improving productive plant; 9.9 per cent of public capital is to be devoted to these purposes.

The encouragement of producers is a question of training the necessary personnel. An expenditure of 154 million francs CFA will make it possible to set up twenty centres for male community leaders and twenty-one for female community leaders; 7,500 male leaders and 3,800 female leaders are to be trained during the four-year period.

The establishment of the Rural Expansion Centres will require a considerably heavier expenditure, since the basic facilities of each centre are, as a rule, to include housing for the centre's "team", a storage garage, an office and a manure collection depot, in addition to which each team is to have a cross-country vehicle. However, some "old-style" Rural Expansion Centres will merely have to be reconverted. In order to ensure that each district has at least one Rural Expansion Centre by the end of the plan period, forty-three new centres are to be set up and thirty-one old ones reconverted, for a total gross investment of 100 million francs in four years.

Furthermore, an essential requirement for the development of co-operatives will be the training and placement of supervisory personnel at an estimated cost of 115 million francs over the plan period.

Production is to be expanded by increasing the yield, the producer thus obtaining a better return, and by increasing the cultivated area. Hence, there must be a gradual mechanization of agriculture and, in particular, a wider use of draught animals, the latter arrangement having the further advantage of promoting the gradual integration of agriculture and animal husbandry.

The expansion of production called for by the plan will not, however, apply to ground-nuts, which will be excluded until such time as this product commands a better price in Senegal or the costs of production are sufficiently reduced. The planned expansion will affect food crops, both traditional and newer kinds.

/...

Three major development projects are designed to bring about a sharp increase in the production of rice and millet in those areas which offer the best prospect for an immediate return: the river valley and the southern part of the country.

It is hoped to achieve, through these various projects, an increase of 30 per cent in total output and of 50 per cent in the value of marketed produce.

The development of the industrial sector poses, in the first instance, certain questions of basic principle which are stated as follows:

"The priority given to industry under the first plan shows the Government's determination to take advantage of what has already been accomplished and to strengthen the country's economic independence In order, however, that industrialization may be sound and promote progress at the least possible cost, it will rest largely on the activities carried on in other economic sectors." 35/

At the same time, "the Government plans to promote co-ordinated development with the other West African States and is resolved to strive for co-ordination of industrialization policies with those countries". 36/

Within the country, an effort will be made to site industry in such a way as to avoid excessive centralization.

The Government also "plans to enlist the aid of private enterprise and private capital in achieving its goals". 37/

While the plan thus envisages substantial private investment in the industrial sector, the State does not intend to remain passive "but to play a guiding role in drawing up an industrialization programme, creating and maintaining an atmosphere favourable to industrial expansion, arranging for the studies and research required for the establishment of new industries, and participating in such industries where appropriate". 38/

Government participation in industry, under the direction of the Senegalese Development Bank, is to amount to some 2,000 million francs CFA over the four-year period (12 per cent of total investment in industry). In addition, a sum of 1,000 million francs (representing 6 per cent of the investment in industry) is to be invested in mining research.

35/ Ibid., p. 93.

36/ Ibid., p. 94. The collapse of the Federation of Mali had just demonstrated the dependence of Senegalese industry on foreign markets.

37/ Ibid.

38/ Ibid.

The various projects envisaged by the plan are intended to bring about an 86 per cent increase in industrial production (exclusive of the building industry) in four years. If, however, this objective is to be achieved, certain requirements must be met. First of all, the development of rural production is essential to the industries which process agricultural products. Secondly, skilled manpower must be trained, "the requirements, it should be noted, appearing to be far greater than the immediate prospects for providing training".^{39/} Finally, safeguards and incentives must be provided for private investment, these being governed by an "investment code" which was adopted in March 1962.^{40/}

*

* *

We now turn to the purely social sector, i.e. education, training and information.

The main effort, during this initial period, is to be directed towards improving and expanding primary education and vocational training. Secondary education is being organized "with a view to meeting the need for primary-school teachers and providing schools at the various levels with sufficient staff for the training of manual and office workers and of middle-level and high-level personnel for the public and private sectors."^{41/}

The objective sought by the end of the four-year period is primary-school attendance by more than 50 per cent of school-age children. "This rate has been selected because past experience has shown that school attendance by more than 50 per cent of school-age children would produce lasting results. With this rate of attendance, the majority of students not only retain the ideas acquired in school when they once again take their places in society, even though that society is still largely illiterate, but they are also able to exert an influence on adults, especially in disseminating the vernacular language of instruction."^{42/}

^{39/} Ibid., p. 103.

^{40/} Act No. 62-33 of 22 March 1962, Journal Officiel de la République du Sénégal, No. 3520, 31 March 1962.

^{41/} Plan, p. 111.

^{42/} Ibid.

The following table shows the goals to be attained each year:^{43/}

School-age population	School attendance	Percentage of school attendance
1960-61 450,000	125,500	28.0
1961-62 459,000	149,000	32.4
1962-63 468,200	177,250	37.8
1963-64 477,500	210,250	44.0
1964-65 487,000	249,000	51.1

Increasing the level of school attendance is not, however, the only problem; also important is that of the content of education, and the solution is more difficult. This problem was set forth as follows in the introduction to the plan:

"The educational system is still characterized by inadequate integration of the various types of education to be found in Senegal. Side by side with traditional education, which is the exclusive responsibility of the family and the village, and with religious education are the classical educational cycles, all of which are modelled after the French system. Primary education is satisfactorily linked with secondary education, but these two cycles have few ties with technical education

"In terms of economic and cultural development, the inadequacy of the present educational system is most evident in the rural areas, where nearly all the young students leave their villages for the towns, having gained from their schooling no sense of the dignity of working their land and no knowledge of modern agricultural methods. Thus, school attendance does almost nothing to change the attitudes of the villagers and does not provide the rural areas with the élite groups of which they are in dire need." ^{44/}

As regards action to bring school curricula into line with needs, the plan merely calls for studies to be undertaken. However, if it is also desired "to maintain the quality of primary education and keep it at its present level" and (although this is not stated explicitly) to maintain a uniform system of education

^{43/} On the basis of a total population estimated at 3.1 million in 1960 and an estimated annual growth rate of 2 per cent.

^{44/} Ibid., p. 8.

in urban and rural areas, these studies will have to be followed by extensive experimentation, and a complete realignment of curricula is not to be anticipated during the plan period.

The short-term consequences of this educational maladjustment are summed up in the fact that greater progress has been made in promoting school attendance in the towns than in rural areas. This circumstance, which is not alluded to in the plan, may well explain the distribution of emphasis in the school attendance campaign. Of the 2,115 classes to be opened through the year 1964, a total of 430, or 20 per cent, are to be on the Cape Verde peninsula, which comprises only 13 per cent of the country's population but which in 1959 had a school attendance rate of 60 per cent. This distribution is surely in keeping with the recommendation in the CINAM-SERESA Report:

"It will be preferable to establish schools on a massive scale in one area or in the towns, with a view to achieving satisfactory school attendance as soon as possible, instead of setting up an insufficient number of schools throughout all areas of the country. Such dispersal promotes an exodus of the rural élite without creating local conditions favourable to a general improvement in the cultural and technological level of the population.

"During the first phase, therefore, the process of establishing schools must be completed in those areas where the rate exceeds 50 per cent, so as to achieve the highest possible rate of school attendance. This will be the case in the towns, in urban centres and in the Basse Casamance and Cape Verde peninsula areas." 45/

It must also be borne in mind that from the primary schools come the students who go on to secondary school, which in turn will be the source of the teachers who will make possible an accelerated effort to promote school attendance (which should reach 100 per cent between 1970 and 1975). This is a further argument in favour of an accelerated school attendance drive in the towns. Enrolment in the first cycle of secondary education is to increase by 68 per cent during the first plan period in order to ensure a supply of primary-school teachers, of students for the second cycle of technical education, and of students for higher educational

45/ CINAM-SERESA Report, Vol. II, 3(19).

establishments. This rapid expansion of the first educational cycle can be achieved only through extensive decentralization. However, "there will be difficulties, particularly at the opening of the 1961 and 1962 school years. Only 85 students holding first-cycle certificates will be available for the second technical cycle in 1961 instead of the 270 anticipated, and, to meet the need for assistant teachers, there will be only 150 student teachers for the 400 classes opening in 1961, and 265 for the 475 classes opening in 1962". Moreover, "it will not be possible to set up a sufficient number of supplementary courses^{46/} until Senegalese teachers capable of providing satisfactory instruction in such courses have been trained. During the plan period, only five new establishments are to be opened, thus bringing to twenty the number of supplementary courses in operation in 1964".^{47/}

With regard to the second cycle of secondary education, the number of students having completed the course will be approximately 1,200 in four years, and most of them will enrol in universities either at Dakar, in France or elsewhere. The present number of students (520 in 1961) will rise to 1,500 in 1964. "In apportioning students among the different curricula, individual tastes and aptitudes should certainly be taken into account, but equal and urgent attention must be given to the country's needs. University studies should whenever possible be undertaken at Dakar, where the university is to be expanded greatly during the four-year period, increasing from a capacity of 1,400 to 3,000 students by 1964".^{48/}

As regards technical education in rural areas, provision has been made for 200 peasant youths a year to receive vocational training in regional centres operating in conjunction with the Rural Expansion Centres and the rural community leadership programme. By 1964, four training centres will be turning out 400 rural craftsmen each year.

^{46/} Provided in establishments where the instruction is limited to the first cycle of secondary education.

^{47/} Plan, p. 114.

^{48/} Ibid., p. 118. The University of Dakar has been the subject of a special agreement between Senegal and France by virtue of which its administration, especially as regards finances, is entirely in the hands of France.

In the urban areas, vocational training will be given in the former apprentice centres, which will be converted and improved. The number of persons receiving vocational training in both the urban and the rural areas will thus increase from 4,000 to about 7,000.

The training of specialized staff will be furthered by alterations in the technical secondary school at Dakar and by the opening of two specialized schools, the National School of Public Works and the National Rural Leadership School.

In the final analysis, however, the employers themselves will have to make up the deficit of skilled workers and supervisory personnel by in-service training. This deficit will be considerable, since the need for skilled workers at the end of the period is estimated at 3,500 while the corresponding number of graduating students will be 650 during the four years.

Special but only broadly defined programmes have been drawn up for youth and sports ("Youth homes" and stadiums) and for mass information services. The main item in the latter category will be the strengthening of wireless broadcasting stations for both the domestic and the foreign service.

The estimated investment for this entire sector represents 12.2 per cent of the total for an expenditure of about 6,000 million apportioned as follows:

Primary education	39.5 per cent
Secondary education	20.8 per cent
Technical education	21.1 per cent
Youth and sports	11.3 per cent
Information services	7.3 per cent

The general objectives of the "health and hygiene" sector are set out in the plan as follows:

- (a) To improve the health conditions of the population groups most in need of attention or protection (rural areas in general);
- (b) To expedite or create the conditions for expediting preventive and educational health measures;
- (c) To intensify research into the following priority matters:
 - (i) The most economical social and sanitary measures for improving human activity;
 - (ii) The most effective and cheapest methods of mass therapy;

/...

- (iii) Poorly used or unused food supplies and the conditions under which they can be utilized;
- (iv) The factors giving rise to the various diseases and controllable by adequate disease prevention measures.

In order to attain these objectives, certain priorities must be observed.

In particular, the conditions of staff training must be so adapted that the persons trained will be able to cope with a multiplicity of tasks not necessarily related to hospital techniques. Emphasis will be placed particularly on preventive medicine and health education in the rural areas. Along the same lines, it is proposed to convert the dispensaries in the chief towns into "rural health centres" providing treatment, preventive medicine and educational facilities not only for the chief town itself but also for the surrounding rural areas.

Moreover, the kind of action to be taken will differ according to local conditions. Thus, "mobile health units and disease prevention activities will be introduced or expanded in the sparsely populated areas and in those still poorly equipped with rural health centres". Also, and this point is important to note, "the establishment of new hospitals will be limited to the expansion or renovation of facilities already in existence or now being constructed".^{49/}

As regards this latter point, however, one notable exception immediately had to be made. This was the construction of a large hospital at Saint-Louis, which had already been planned and could not be deferred. Of the 2,650 million francs CFA allotted to the sector over the four-year period (5.3 per cent of the total), the hospital is to absorb almost half this amount (1,050 million). Other urban health facilities represent 24 per cent of the total; rural health facilities, 26 per cent; and training and research, 8.5 per cent.

As concerns housing and public administration, the plan draws a sharp line between urban and rural planning.

Three public or semi-public agencies underwrite 85 per cent of urban housing construction in Senegal: the Office for Low Rent Housing, which is financed by a special tax on wages; the Cape Verde Building Society, a semi-public company established as long ago as July 1950; and the Senegalese Credit Association, which specializes almost exclusively in the granting of loans. The plan does no

^{49/} Ibid., p. 132.

more than assure co-ordination of the activities of these agencies and recommend that the Cape Verde Building Society extend its activities beyond Dakar. The Senegalese Credit Association is to encourage its borrowers to accumulate some savings beforehand by offering its credit principally for completion or improvement projects.

With regard to urban planning, "the contribution of the State to the expenses of public administration shall, taking into account the water supply, electricity and refuse disposal projects previously completed, be limited."^{50/} to a maximum financial participation of 40 per cent for water supply and electrification expenditure and to the construction of large-scale refuse disposal projects.

The programme for rural housing places the main emphasis on the quality of housing. The problem of drinking water is essential; it is included in the section on rural economy, where a sum of 760 million francs CFA is provided under the heading "Village water utilization". The promotion of community hygiene and the improvement of housing construction methods come within the field of health and more particularly of rural community leadership.

The total amount of the contemplated public investment is given only as an approximation without regard to the additional effort which the local communities may be induced to make. The total for the period stands at 8,000 million francs CFA (17.2 per cent), and Dakar alone absorbs half of this. Yet, despite its scope, the construction programme to be undertaken at Dakar will merely keep pace with the estimated growth in population.

The following table summarizes the distribution of investments, both omitting and including private financing. The latter, estimated at 40,000 million francs CFA for the four-year period, mainly concerns industry (25,000 million), commerce (7,000 million) and housing (2,000 million). The proportions allotted to each sector differ appreciably according to whether or not private financing is included.

	Private financing omitted (per cent)	Private financing included (per cent)
Infrastructure	33.9	18.7
Rural production	18.9	13.4
Industry and commerce	7.0	44.3
Education and training	12.2	6.8
Health and hygiene	5.3	2.9
Housing	17.2	10.9
Government buildings and facilities	5.5	3.0

^{50/} Ibid., p. 142.

4. The financing of the plan and technical assistance

The financing of the plan was determined on the basis of an exact inventory of the sources of financing drawn upon for carrying out capital equipment projects in Senegal during preceding years. A projection into the future was made for each source of financing as regards both the amount of the probable resources and the manner in which they would be spread out.

The following table^{51/} indicates the distribution of resources by origin and by method of financing (in 1,000 million francs CFA).

	Non-repayable public funds	Domestic loans (public) (medium-term)	Foreign loans (public) (medium and long- term)	Total
State, regional, and communal budgets	16.7	0.5		17.2
Public enterprises	1.6	-		1.6
Public credit establishment	-	1.0		1.0
Public deposits and rediscount by the bank of issue	-	2.2		2.2
Foreign aid (public)	18.9	3.5	4.5	26.9
Total public funds	37.2	7.2	4.5	48.9
Human investment				<u>1.3</u>
Private funds (banking and non-repayable)			(a)	<u>41.9</u>
Grand total				92.1

(a) Including, at the most, 15,000 million in bank loans and rediscounts.

Public funds of domestic origin thus account for 23.9 per cent of the total financial resources, and public foreign aid for 28.9 per cent. Private sources represent 45.8 per cent, and human investment 1.4 per cent.

^{51/} Plan, p. 161.

In 1962, the distribution of investments derived from public funds was:

Domestic public funds: 6,228 million

Foreign funds: 5,343 million

Including:

Fonds d'Aide et de Coopération (France) 1,408 million

European Development Fund 2,885 million

United States aid 1,250 million

The State can only act indirectly upon private capital, stimulating it or hanneling it in a particular direction; the new investment code^{52/} encourages his indirect action considerably. With regard to domestic private capital the State will endeavour to foster productive savings. At the enterprise level t will encourage the reinvestment of profits in the country. As regards individuals it will, through fiscal pressure, discourage extravagant consumption, specially of imported goods".^{53/}

The recourse to public foreign aid, though indispensable, undeniably creates any problems in the execution of the plan. This does not affect the volume of he plan, which is substantially in accord with the estimates, but the manner in hich it is carried out. In a recent article, the chief of the financial division f the Planning Commission characterized this aid as follows:

"1. It is never all-embracing but is allotted separately for each project, which is regarded and analysed as a unit, not as part of a coherent whole;

"2. It is often not oriented toward the development programmes of the recipient country, but rather toward those sectors where the enterprises of the donor country are guaranteed a lucrative field of activity;

"3. It is tied to the condition of buying equipment from the donor country;

"4. The procedures for obtaining and utilizing the funds are so complicated that even if the financing is accepted, the execution of the project is retarded in relation to the programming of the plan."^{54/}

2/ See foot-note 39, p.58.

3/ Plan, p. 157.

4/ Michel Dembèle, "Problems of financing the first Four-Year Plan", Sénégal "au 2" par lui-même, p. 35.

Public foreign aid thus contributes very little toward harmonizing development, and it fails to take into account the recurrent operating expenses necessary for making the investments effective.

In order to bring the plan to fruition, Senegal must adhere to a very strict policy of well balanced public finance. Any deviation in the sectoral distribution of investments is apt to bring on an unforeseen growth in operating expenses, particularly where the deviation favours an expansion of the more important sectors such as education and public health.

The estimated expenditure of the State from 1961 to 1964 is as follows (in 1,000 million francs CFA):

	1961	1964	Percentage of growth from 1961 to 1964	Annual average
A. Operations				
Staff	11.5	13.8	20	5
Goods and services	<u>7.5</u>	<u>9.5</u>	26.5	6.6
Total	19.0	23.3	22.6	5.6
B. Transfers	6.4	6.8	6	1.5
C. Investments	3.3	4.9	50	12.5

As, however, the operating expenditure for education and training alone will increase each year by approximately 15 per cent, that for the rural economy also by 15 per cent, that for public works by about 10 per cent and that for health by about 7 per cent, the total annual increase for all other operating expenditure must not exceed 2 per cent if the budget is to be balanced.

Education and health are, however, the sectors in which targets can be most readily achieved owing to the obvious backwardness in these fields. Foreign aid, which is not concerned with the interrelationship or incidence of investments, readily gravitates towards projects of this type. Furthermore, these are projects for which preliminary studies can be carried out the most easily and quickly. In addition, it is sometimes difficult, for political reasons, consistently to refuse requests the immediate satisfaction of which was not foreseen.

The increase in operating expenditure is not, moreover, the only aspect of the problem; ultimately it is merely the corollary of the other aspect, staff

recruitment, which takes the form of an appeal for technical assistance.^{55/}
 The situation in education, to which we have briefly referred, is most significant in this respect. To meet the need in primary education, it will be necessary to enlist not only the holders of the school-leaving certificate for the first cycle of primary education and candidates who failed the examination with a mark of 4/10 (5/10 is the pass mark), "but also all pupils who have had a more or less normal schooling".^{56/} Despite all this, it will still be necessary to draw on technical assistance, the following table showing the estimated staffing requirements in 1960 and 1964.

	1960		1964	
	Senegalese	Others	Senegalese	Others
Supervisory	2	33	8	40
Higher	25	227	63	348
Medium	448	381	563	423
Subordinate	1,410	90	3,110	220
Total	1,885	731	3,744	1,031

Although the proportion of non-Senegalese declines from the one year to the other from 29 to 21 per cent, their actual number increases considerably.^{57/} In the public health sector, the figures are not so high but the progression is steeper (from 156 to 281 technical assistance recruits). This applies in particular to physicians: in 1961 there were twenty-nine Senegalese and sixty-one non-Senegalese physicians; in 1964 there will be forty-five Senegalese and 103 non-Senegalese physicians.

An initial review of the results of the plan was attempted after the plan had been in effect for one year. It lacks the precision which would enable the progress achieved and the consequences of a particular sector being ahead or

^{55/} French technical assistance is not entirely free; the Government of Senegal pays France 45,000 francs a month for each technical assistance official, irrespective of his rank or functions.

^{56/} Plan, p. 127.

^{57/} In 1962, 50 per cent of the technical assistance staff were recruited for education.

behind schedule to be assessed objectively. The main fault that can be found with this system of planning is the total absence of any kind of machinery to check on the progress of the plan and thus to detect any deviations without delay, assess their consequences and, if necessary, rectify them.

The following conclusions may be drawn from the information that is available:

A. The total volume of public investment slightly exceeded the estimate (9,800 million francs CFA estimated; 10,100 million francs CFA actually invested). Actual implementation of projects was about 60 per cent.

B. The distribution of funds among the various sectors is not quite in accordance with the estimates:

	<u>Estimated percentage</u>	<u>Actual percentage</u>
Production:	27	13
Infrastructure:	31	27
Health and education:	17	12
Municipal administration and housing:	20	23
Government buildings and facilities:	5	21

C. The education sector is ahead of schedule. In the case of secondary education provision was made for an increase of 23 per cent in the number of pupils; the actual increase was 26.7 per cent. In the case of primary education the increase was 18 per cent instead of the 11.8 per cent provided for under the plan.

D. The road programme, designed to end the isolation of peripheral areas, is behind schedule (frequently for technical reasons). These delays can be made up. However, some operations not provided for have been carried out.

E. In the case of rural production, the salient feature is the continuing increase in the tonnage of ground-nuts and the areas under cultivation, while food crops have declined slightly. The reason may be found in the inadequacy of rural leadership (Rural Expansion Centres) and in the lack of co-ordination.

/...

These are the statistics. The non-statistical aspects of the situation reflect basically the debit side, namely:

The existence of endemic diseases - malaria, parasitic diseases and tuberculosis in the urban centres - which seriously affect mortality and general health;

The existence of chronic diseases which come within the field of mass medicine: syphilis, leprosy and trachoma, systematic protection being limited to sleeping-sickness (which is disappearing) and leprosy;

A very high infant mortality;

A standard of nutrition which, although relatively satisfactory, is marked in some areas by a protein deficiency and by shortages as regards both quality and quantity in the period between harvests.

The fact is that despite the expansion of the mobile health and preventive medicine services, the greater share of investment and operating costs is still accounted for by the urban hospitals.

In the field of education, Senegal is also undoubtedly privileged if the figures alone are considered. Primary-school enrolment must be about 30 per cent and will certainly exceed 50 per cent by 1965, but a problem of adaptation is hindering its rise in the interior of the country. Furthermore, technical education and vocational training will not satisfy requirements for a long time to come.

A major effort has been accomplished in housing, municipal administration and town planning. The action of the various agencies responsible for housing, which is making progress through the aid of a special fund supplied by its own resources, should make it possible to solve the problem of urban housing within a few years provided that migration to the towns, and to Dakar in particular, can be slowed down.

Furthermore, a family benefit fund pays family allowances to 43,000 families of wage earners; 1,000 million francs CFA were distributed in this way in 1961. The same fund provides insurance against work accidents and grants pre-natal allowances to its members. This, however, is a luxury which is still reserved for wage earners alone, who are already privileged on more than one score.

The greater part of these accomplishments must be credited to the period 1945 to 1959, and there is nothing strange about this since the second period

/...

has just begun. In so far, however, as the quality of these accomplishments is concerned, substantial progress seems evident since Senegal took the problem of its development into its own hands. Professor Frankle speaks of the "thankless tasks of development", which, unless they are tackled, jeopardize at least the harmony of development, if not economic growth. It is those thankless tasks that present-day Senegal has attacked in its concern to avoid the spectacular and to spread development among the rural masses.

The attempt which has been made to introduce new methods of rural leadership and to modify economic or administrative structures which are considered unsuited to the objectives being pursued should have as its tangible result the acceleration of economic development. However, there is also a major social content.

J. Austruy, in a recent article on the "price of growth",^{59/} lays particular stress on the "psychological cost" of development. "New things have a psychological cost, and change, even if regarded as gradual, is normally a source of discomfort to people as well as to societies". To sociologists, this is translated in terms of detribalization and acculturation, the consequences of which have often been described. The new style of development to which Senegal has committed itself should make it possible to reduce this psychological cost. This is a frequently neglected aspect of the balance between social development and economic development; on this score alone the progress of the Senegalese experiment deserves to be followed.

^{59/} J. Austruy. "The price of growth. A hypothesis for the analysis of economic development." Revue d'économie politique, No. 6, November-December 1962, pp. 830-836.