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INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF URGENT  
ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEMS IN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT

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# INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF URGENT ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEMS IN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT<sup>1/</sup>

Six years have gone by since the first seminar on urgent administrative problems of African governments, and the suggested discussion theme (a review of administrative action in African development governing an attempt at planning for the future and a new administrative "strategy" for the near future) involves many traps and difficulties, as may well be imagined.

It is true that research on the general theory of development has been the subject of numerous publications and much discussion during the last few years. But the dynamics of growth have suffered the same fate as the one that Aragon has attributed to philosophy: it seems that everything has already been said, and before tackling a subject writers are very much concerned with explaining and refuting what previous writers have had to say. This means that their thinking is solely in terms of former mistakes; it is based on such mistakes and shares them. Economics has not yet produced a true theory of development. As Albert Hirschman says, economists have not been able to establish a single, unbroken chain of cause and effect providing a clear explanation of the transition from under-development to development, and even less to agree on such a construction.<sup>2/</sup> Discussion on dialectical methods ends up by receiving more attention than dialectics.

Practical people, administrators, planners, experts and technicians can hardly be expected to provide general explanations to serve as guidelines in the labyrinth of development. They are all constantly producing contradictory arguments that are quite valid according to whether they are seen from the angle of the individual or the group, the tree or the wood, a given moment or a period of time, the "desirable" or the "attainable", efficacy or respect for human values. All these people, as François Gazier points out are ceaselessly searching to balance and reconcile antagonistic partners: police and freedom, contract and law, centralization and decentralization, legality and expediency, the rights of the individual and the common interest, public authority and public service.<sup>3/</sup> Discussion on means finished up by being more important than the ends: development is considered in itself and not as an end to something else.

<sup>1/</sup> Note by Paul Bouteille, formerly Director of the Ecole Nationale de la France d'Outre-Mer and the Institut des Hautes Etudes d'Outre-Mer, Paris.

<sup>2/</sup> Albert Hirschman, "Stratégie du développement économique". Paris, 1965, p. 65.

<sup>3/</sup> François Gazier, preface to "Le gouvernement et l'administration de la France", by Gérard Belorgey, Paris, 1967, p. 7.

As regards African development, it does seem possible, however, to draw some general conclusions from an analysis of the psycho-social conditions underlying the past and present work of African administrators, who are facing changes similar to those faced, without their always being aware of it, by nations that have today become industrialized. For in the social sciences, as in biology and chemistry, it is often more enlightening to study an embryo or emerging State rather than an adult or fully-fledged State. The administrative map of Africa is changing rapidly; conflicts between tradition and progress are rending present-day societies and these conflicts cast shadows, throwing the map into relief and helping to outline paths for the Africans of the future.

Two concerns, based on forty years of hard experience gained in practical work and teaching on African development at all levels, will guide us in considering these paths. Firstly, we shall be cautious about speculations that are all too often shown to be grounded only when the facts tally with them. Secondly, we shall be careful in evaluating the limits of administrative action when it tries by force to attack the underlying motives behind people's decision to live together in a geographical milieu closely conditioning their behaviour as a community.

All we are trying to do, however, is to trace a general framework and to identify some lines for thought and discussion out of the experience of the last few years. It will be for the African participants in the Conference to say how far these apply to administrative realities in their respective countries and to the Africa of tomorrow; that, indeed, is the very aim of this meeting.

## CHAPTER I

### AFRICAN ADMINISTRATION, PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT

Out of common sense, self-interest and sentiment, the vast majority of newly independent African States have maintained close economic and cultural links with their former colonizers, in spite of political ties being broken off or loosened. African political and administrative leaders naturally sought their development "models" in the colonizing countries and therefore decided in favour of planning. Similarly, the countries that opted for African socialism took Soviet planning techniques as their guide. In both cases, faith in the "miracle short-cuts" of modern technology bred hopes of overcoming the specific difficulties of the African continent and of attaining the rapid "great leap forward" that statistics, if not events, had promised for New China. Indeed, the developed nations giving assistance complacently and not disinterestedly allowed themselves to be imitated. They did little to "debunk" their influence or to try to find methods of development suitable for African conditions. Albert Waterston, whose work as an expert for the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development led him to examine the results of plans carried out in about a hundred countries, came to the disillusioned conclusion that failure has been much more frequent than success and that in the last ten years very few of the developing countries have managed to achieve even the reasonable objectives of their plans.

Statistics published by the Economic Commission for Africa, based, we are told, for the first time on fairly reliable data, demonstrate that in eighteen of these countries analysis of the increase in the gross domestic product combined with population changes, show that in 1960-66 five countries registered increases in per capita GDP of less than 1 per cent per annum, six between 1 and 2 per cent, two between 2 and 3 per cent, four between 3 and 4 per cent; in only one country was the increase higher than 4 per cent.

At first sight these percentages are not discouraging, but they take on their full meaning when translated into money terms. The same source states that on the basis of an initial per capita income of US\$100 (the average for Africa) an average compound rate of growth of 2 per cent sustained for ten years would increase income by only \$2.20 a year; an average compound rise of 4 per cent would give every man, woman and child an extra income of \$4.80 for the ten-year period. Albert Meister<sup>1/</sup>, after studying the plans of three East African countries (Kenya, Uganda, and the former Tanganyika) estimated that even on the highly optimistic official assumption of a 5 per cent gross rate, the mean gross national product will only double in the next thirty years, passing from \$60 to \$120, while in countries of Western Europe it would increase to an average of \$3,000.

<sup>1/</sup> Albert Meister, "Le développement de l'Afrique orientale", Institut d'étude du développement économique et social, Paris, 1966, p. 147.

Probably not too much importance should be attached to comparisons of percentage increases in incomes calculated on the gross domestic product, because of differences in the composition of the aggregates. However, account must be taken of the fact that the machinery for redistributing national income in the developing countries is weak. Moreover, since public-sector investments, private-sector auto-financing and expenditure on social development have to be deducted, individual incomes, specially in the agricultural sector, are far from keeping pace with the increase in national incomes. It is therefore doubtful whether, with the exception of the families of lower middle-class planters, the children or even the grandchildren of the farmers who at present make up some 70 per cent of Africans have any chance of reaching the threshold of hope and human dignity, represented, it is generally agreed, by an average per capita income of \$500 a year.

### The theory of balanced growth and the failure of planning

The causes of failure in African planning are easily identified. They include political instability, lack of governmental support for implementing plans, confusion between plans and planning, and insufficiently identified individual investment projects. But in place of these particular causes, Albert Hirschman puts forward a single, general and basic cause: he calls this the "globalistic" approach to development, a result of the theory of balanced growth.<sup>1/</sup>

This theory is of course based on the idea that the various sectors of a developing economy should advance together and help each other; progress can be obtained only by starting up a great many inter-connected projects of different sizes, and this can only be done by creating a modern, fresh and autonomous industrial economy superimposed on the stagnating agricultural sector without becoming part of it.

The theory of balanced growth, its absolutism corrected by the theory of the poles of growth, was, at least in early days, the basic idea of African planners. They adopted it from the economists of the former colonizing countries, and even after the second world war it implied the need for pluri-annual investment programmes such as those introduced by France and the United Kingdom in their overseas territories. Professor François Perroux explains this very well. Development, he says, comes out of a change in mental structures, social habits and institutions, bringing about a growth in real global progress and transforming the various forms of progress into the progress of society as a whole; it involves the whole of man and all men.<sup>2/</sup>

1/ op.cit. pp. 40-43.

2/ François Perroux, "Développement, croissance et progrès", Cahiers de l'Institut des Sciences appliquées, No. 98, Paris, 1958, p. 25 (our underlining).

The global approach to development, generous in intent but lacking in precision as regards practical methods of achievement, was all the more attractive to African leaders because it corresponded to the traditions of community life in Africa, where progress is regarded in terms of groups and not of individuals; because it avoided the need for taking and following up awkward decisions on priorities; and because the people's approval of the global approach enabled leaders to consolidate their still insecure personal authority. But to the people progress mainly meant access of the majority to higher Western standards of living and the facilities of the "American way of life", seductively illustrated by magazines, films, and, later on, the television.

The theory of balanced growth, according to Hirschman, cannot bring these high standards to the peoples of the developing countries. He argues that a country able to apply the theory would not be underdeveloped at all, for it needs a tremendous amount of the very abilities that are recognized as being extremely scarce in the underdeveloped countries. It is quite unthinkable for an economy to be able to add a "storey" of this kind by its own means or even with limited external assistance.<sup>1/</sup> He also quotes Siager, who thinks that the advantages of multiple development make interesting reading for economists but are demoralizing to the developing countries. The initial resources necessary for simultaneous development on all fronts are generally lacking.<sup>2/</sup>

As for the poles of growth, investors exhaust all the opportunities that arise, neglecting others that could grow up elsewhere.

#### Effects of the theory of balanced growth on African development

In order to avoid the very mistake made by the economists, we shall not discuss the theoretical value of these arguments. It should, however, be recognized that in practice the theory of balanced growth has had three major disastrous effects on African development: formulation of over-ambitious plans, insufficient work on development on the agricultural sector and consequent accentuation of African social and economic "dualism".

##### 1. Formulation of "unattainable" plans

It has laughingly been observed that there are two major trends in planning: one trend leads planners to plan only for the "probable", i.e., what would happen in any case, thus allowing them to crow after the event like Chantecleer the cock, who claimed to be able to make the sun rise with his morning cock-a-doodle-do; the other trend prompts them to plan for the "unattainable". The desire to see the economy advance at all levels and in all sectors at once has led a number of

<sup>1/</sup> op. cit., pp. 69 and 211.

<sup>2/</sup> Siager, "Economic progress in underdeveloped countries", p. 78.

African planners into exaggerated optimism concerning evaluation of national potentialities. Michel Gaud, in a far-reaching survey of eighteen African plans, shows how frequently rates of growth have been overestimated, with serious consequences. To attain the growth rate fixed, the planners, consciously or unconsciously, overestimate development work (personnel and investment) and internal and external financing capacity, and underestimate general development costs instead of working out original schemes and doggedly seeking for everything that can be harnessed for development.<sup>1/</sup>

## 2. Insufficient development work in the agricultural sector

The point here is not to re-open the old argument on agriculture versus industry, which in reality is a false problem. Obviously a country with mineral resources that can be easily and profitably exploited must consider developing them. But the theory of balanced growth has led some African countries to try to develop industry and agriculture at one and the same time, although their true vocation was for agriculture. They have devoted much time and money to setting up and artificially maintaining industries that were, to say the least, premature, instead of attending to the essential prerequisite of bringing their agriculture up to date.

It was not that leaders did not grasp the facts of the situation, but industry and agriculture were not competing on equal terms. It is relatively easy to carry out successful individual industrial programmes, in which international organizations are prepared to invest: industrial investments generally pay off quickly and well; results are reflected in spectacular statistics and have a favourable effect on the balance of payments. When industries are set up in the neighbourhood of built-up areas, they help to provide employment for idle young people who are often the cause of political and social unrest.

The political, social and economic background behind the modernization of agriculture is quite another matter. Here progress is very slow because of the difficulty of propagating "effects" within the more traditionalist communities, which are hard to reach in regions with dispersed or shifting populations. Deterioration in the terms of trade, upsets in prices and periodically saturated national and international markets, the discovery of industrial synthetics combine with the hazards of climate, soil erosion and ageing plantations to reduce agricultural incomes and wages. Modernizing agriculture also involves permanent help from specialized supervisory staff, and co-ordination of the wide range of their activities is difficult.

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<sup>1/</sup> Michel Gaud, "Les premières expériences de planification en Afrique noire", Paris, 1968, p. 148.

It is easy to see, therefore, how the recommendations of the United Nations Economic and Social Council should have been forgotten. These called for the raising of average productivity as the major objective of economic development and stated that productivity should be increased particularly in the agricultural sector since "the raising of average levels of living is less a matter of effecting large increases in the incomes of a small minority in the community than of ensuring a steady increase in incomes of the majority.<sup>1/</sup> ECA statistics show that as a result the GDP at constant market prices in African countries (with the exception of South Africa) increased between 1960 and 1965 by 1.7 per cent per annum in agriculture and 7.3 per cent in industry, while population increased by 2.3 per cent.

### 3. Intensification of African "dualism"

Low agricultural incomes and salaries, industrialization and the accompanying mass, rapid and irrevocable urbanization are widening the gap between town and country that characterizes African economic and social dualism. These three factors are draining the countryside. Proof of this is the size and continuity of rural migration, which is emptying rural areas of their human élite - young people, who are always the most dynamic and progressive elements in a community. Because of their sparse population, even the country towns are increasingly incapable of acting, like the small country towns in medieval Europe, as a relay for social progress and regional leadership.

This will be a very important factor in "counter-development in the near future. As regards East Africa, Albert Meister notes that while plans are characterized by dispersion of ordinary budget resources and even investments over the whole of each country, diminution of external resources will probably force national élites to concentrate their efforts on a few poles of development, and in present conditions this means that huge areas must be abandoned to their poverty-stricken way of life. He mentions that tribalism is reviving in the countryside, where development plans have done little to improve living and working conditions. This revival is strengthening traditional ways of life, stifling the desire for modernism and paving the way for the rural masses to refuse social change and modernization.<sup>2/</sup>

"Time" magazine carried out a survey on Africa and in its issue of 23 August 1968 comments: "Worse for national unity, tribalism is growing almost everywhere as a cushion against the shocks of transition into the 20th century". Even more significant and disquieting to anyone who realizes the importance of law in African sociology is the development of "traditional" or "rough" justice in which persons with influence based on tradition or prestige take a part. Professor F. Gonidec partly explains this by corruption in legal circles. When persons subject

<sup>1/</sup> Processes and problems of industrialization in under-developed countries (doc. E/2670 ST/ECA/29, 1955).

<sup>2/</sup> op. cit. pp. 147-148.



to jurisdiction have the impression that decisions will be in favour of the highest bidder, they obviously prefer to turn to other authorities.<sup>1/</sup>

Government and administration are therefore in danger of having their authority controlled and restricted, at least in rural areas, by a secret "establishment" based on the traditional "establishment", with which they may have to compound. This could jeopardize the modernization of the agricultural sector by regionalizing plans and developing local freedoms and would add yet another vicious circle to the many involved in the state of under-development.

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<sup>1/</sup> Professor F. Gonidec, "Problèmes d'application de la législation en Afrique", Bulletin de l'Institut international d'administration publique, Oct. 1967, p. 21.

## CHAPTER II

### ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM AND AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT

The administration, and particularly the economic control departments, as the instrument for putting plans into effect, is obviously affected by the part success or part failure of planning. Economists and "planners" base their work on logic and human reasoning - infallible, of course - and mathematical certainties which cannot be questioned. Since it is easier and quicker to reform institutions than people, the general trend in the developing countries is to try to substitute a "dynamic" administration, a "development administration" (that ambiguous expression that has lately come into fashion), for an old-fashioned "static" administration, considered to be unable to adapt to the needs of growth.

Admittedly the argument is well founded, but pressure from political leaders or public opinion, which is naturally inclined to judge the tree by its fruit, has sometimes carried it to the point of producing an administrative prototype which it is hoped will provide an immediate, complete, integrated, final solution to economic difficulties. This solution is the principle of general administrative reform based on that simple, strong idea of maximum efficiency that in practice has transformed Nurkse's theory of balanced growth, designed to do away with industrial supply bottlenecks, into a general strategy of attack by development on all fronts. Albert Waterston quotes fifteen developing countries that have employed this "all or nothing" method (and fifteen more could easily be found), and states that in the early stages of development in low-income countries, attempts at basic general reform directed towards an ideal system in any field of activity are very likely to be premature or self-destructing. Global or even partial reforms have hardly ever turned out to be more than fragmentary.<sup>1/</sup>

All administrative reforms cause resistance proportionate to their size, and objections are raised by the administrations themselves as well as by the administered. General reform needs political stability, governmental determination, "consensus omnium"; it is unusual to find all these conditions together in normal times, even in industrialized countries. General de Gaulle is reported to have said that France never introduces reforms except when under pressure from revolution.<sup>2/</sup> At such times, institutions that have for long been undermined and emptied of their social significance, and this in fact is the underlying cause of the revolution), collapse of themselves; resistance to change is then crushed by violence, and the increased expenditure inevitably involved in any true reform in proportion to its size is accepted as negligible in the financial storm accompanying great upheavals.

<sup>1/</sup> Note for the Meeting of Experts on the United Nations Programme in Public Administration, 1967 (roneo.), p. 4.

<sup>2/</sup> Raymond Aron, "La révolution introuvable", Paris, 1968, p. 72.

If the contrary happens, the laws of politics, sociology and finance combine quickly to reduce the great reform to a deceptive facade, behind which the "reformers" become, consciously or not, the guardians and managers of the order which they professed to change.

Moreover, a State mechanism is not a mere collection of personnel and equipment embedded in differing structures and actuated by given procedures or techniques. It is a living entity, the fruit of slow political and social maturation, whose raison d'être is rooted in the continual adjustment, which it must master, between the centripetal and centrifugal forces of the community: the citizens' desire to live together and to have a fuller life, and their egocentricity. The efficacy of a State mechanism is measured by the balance of these forces. It cannot, then, be easily split up into simple elements and reconstructed in accordance with a pre-set abstract diagram. The philosopher Jean Guilton has said that clarity is captious, forever hiding what one imagined to have understood. Administrative reform, therefore, can only be a continuous creation made up of the partial, the specific and the gradual rather than the global, the basic and the sudden. "Development administration" cannot be delivered like a model factory, keys in hand.

#### Dismantling the administration

Awareness of these difficulties has impelled some governments in the developing countries to evade them by taking away large areas of the duties of their public administrative services and entrusting them to autonomous bodies such as corporations, mixed-economy and private companies. Edouard Saab, who carried out an important survey in Lebanon, tells us that that country is facing agricultural difficulties and has resolutely opted for this solution by "neutralizing" its Ministry of Agriculture and setting up six autonomous corporations ("Green plan", wheat, fruit, sugar beet, silk and animal resources). The chairmen of these corporations avoid ministerial control and are directly responsible to the Head of State. The reason given for this somewhat unorthodox reform is that, to be effective, the operation of cleaning up and re-organizing the old administration would have had to cover the whole staff, from office-boy to director. It was just as easy to set up new bodies with young staff and qualified foreign experts, based on a modern concept of the State, and leave it to time to separate the wheat from the tares.<sup>1/</sup>

But this is to avoid reform and to flee to the vanguard. It is to be feared that sooner or later the underlying causes that made the whole Lebanese administration seize up will end by paralysing the new corporations too. Moreover, the incompetence of the other branches of the administration, without whose help the work of the corporations

<sup>1/</sup> "Le Monde", 24 August 1968, p.7.

would probably be very limited, has been recognized and "institutionalized". Although time may be gallant, as the Italians have it, it has seldom been known to settle situations such as these but rather exacerbates them until a final paroxysm results.

The "Mechanisms of adaptation at the institutional level"

The increasingly large call on mixed-economy and private companies is part of the same state of mind, i.e., the idea that the administration is incapable of adapting itself to the primacy of rapidity, costs and output as in American business management. We shall not seek to balance the advantages of the former, which are less real than beneficiaries pretend, and the drawbacks, which are less obvious than detractors argue. It must even be admitted that in African countries they can bring in outside capital and techniques on sometimes advantageous terms. We can only agree with the French Deputy Prime Minister who, in 1954 before the Head of State and the highest French corporate bodies inveighed against the proliferation of such corporations in his own country. He argued that there was a danger of their depriving traditional administration of some of the most exciting responsibilities that it would normally have assumed, thus emptying it of part of its value.

Further, such institutions prevent the administration from progressing. For if the administration is given new, increasingly complex and challenging tasks, it can more effectively adapt and change its structures and operation as well as the state of mind and professional capacities of its officials. This is what Michel Crozier, a specialist in French administrative problems, calls "the interplay of the mechanisms of adaptation at the institutional level". We hardly need to recall in this connexion the immense progress made during the second world war on economic dirigisme by European governments at grips with vital problems of production, transport distribution and consumption arising from hostilities and enemy occupation.

The "Harvard Business Review" can hardly be suspected of an inclination to administrative dirigisme, but it stresses the serious dangers of recourse to private enterprise in its July/August 1968 number. Hazel Henderson, in studying the process by which private enterprise is tackling the huge problems abdicated by the public sector, concludes that "While corporations are growing more powerful and efficient, government seems to be growing fatter and flabbier. Government at all levels is becoming swamped with problems brought about by a growing population and the rapid formation of huge urban areas ... The result is a seemingly unending series of crises that range from uncollected garbage and unsafe streets to ineffective public schools and poisoned air."

It is rather disquieting to see African governments following a similar path and permanently handing over to private enterprise tasks which quite obviously fall within the scope of their administration, such as rural community work, maintenance of road networks, reorganization of public services, technical work studies, scientific research and exten-

## CHAPTER III

## TRAINING FOR DEVELOPMENT

It is generally accepted, in the developed countries that industrialization probably exerts a favourable and direct influence on development: as proof is cited that agricultural and industrial Revolution in Europe coincided historically with the spreading of education. Still in our time, national incomes are in close and obvious correlation with the rate of school attendance, at all levels.

It is, therefore, not surprising that soon after the attainment of independence, the African leaders put in the utmost efforts towards educational developments and further have adopted the "global approach" method, in other words, tackling the problems on all fronts: adult literacy campaigns, large-scale schooling for rapidly growing child populations, development of general and vocational education at the secondary and the upper levels. With regard to difficulties peculiar to Africa, demographic, economic, psycho-social or geographic, they had to be overcome also by "miraculous short-cuts" in modern teaching methods: accelerated training, "active" education, audio-visual aids, rudimentary education, combined with chancy facilities; classes given in two or three sets, military instructors or party members, etc. And national and international statistics had to record each year various classifications in this forward surge for "enlightenment" and progress in the form of growth percentages of which can be said that even if taken as accurate only reflected the qualitative aspect of the problem.

In point of fact, there exists without doubt, inter-action between education and national incomes, but it is impossible to say whether school enrolment is a cause of development or whether it constitutes the needs for an expanding economy, needs which stimulate training. For Y. Bowman and C.A. Anderson<sup>1/</sup> three stages might be distinguished in this double process of cumulative causation: a first stage during which education plays a leading role in economy; a second, in which its propagation has no important influence on the national incomes; a third which, once more stimulates the development of the economy, built on a well-formed population.

On the other hand, the productivity of a community is not based only upon the degree of education of its members but also on the standards of health, culture, social organization, opening on to the outside world, the quality of this education and of its "equation" with the economic and social levels, etc.

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<sup>1/</sup> cf. M. J. Bowman and C.A. Anderson "Research needs for development assistance programmes" Brooking Institute, New York, 1961.

The African leaders can hardly be censured, in the conditions under which they were played, for having refused to be in the horns of the "mass education" dilemma - training of elite" and of having desired to "use every means to attain all objectives at the same time". However, they have recorded significant results. According to statistics compiled by ECA, Africa (including South Africa) had, in 1950, 101,600,000 million literate adults out of 120,400,000 inhabitants aged 15 years or over, or 84 per cent; in 1960, 121,900,000 out of almost 147 million inhabitants or 81.5 per cent; in 1965 (estimates) 140 million out of 176 million inhabitants almost 83 per cent. In spite of the demographic expansion, the percentage of illiterates might have fallen by 1.5 per cent within 15 years; this can be considered as a half success or semi-failure. But it is possible to ask whether these efforts, undoubtedly a political necessity, have been opportunely apportioned in the national productivity sphere.

For research of an overall solution, owing to the inadequate facilities, combined with the social structure of poor and stagnant predominantly agricultural countries has had effects similar to those of balanced growth. It has assisted in strengthening "dualism" in Africa by promoting, noted E. Lobel, in agreement with many observers, "the training of elite of a standard comparable with that of best elite in the industrialized countries but which has superimposed itself on a society which, due to its lag, could not integrate it and as such utilize its services"<sup>1/</sup>

Hence, the drift of highly qualified staff towards few local enterprises working for exports, the plethora of graduates not required for development, such as Law, unemployment, under-employment or unsuitable employment of intellectuals.

With regard to mass-education, in fact, rural education, it has often been, despite few laudable efforts of adaptation, a type of education with "uprooting effects", emptying the country-sides of their best elements without even having trained them in techniques of the urban sector.

On the other hand, education output is often very low, because of absenteeism which often accounts for 50 per cent of the number registered, especially during the major agricultural activities as observed by UNESCO and because of the wastage by premature drop-out of studies and school failures: in Tunisia and Morocco, during 1960, 12 to 16 per cent of the registered pupils in the first year of primary education completed the last class and among the latter half only were successful, i.e., succeeded in obtaining the primary school certificate (certificat d'etudes).

<sup>1/</sup> cf. E. Lobel, "Le problème du financement de l'éducation" *Tiers Monde* Vol. 1, no 1-2, janvier-juin 1960.

As far as those remaining in the native country are concerned, the "re-immersion" in the dull social environment reduces fairly rapidly the limited rudiments of knowledge acquired. This deterioration is more pronounced in adults recently "educated".

#### CHAPTER IV

##### ELEMENTS OF NEW ADMINISTRATIVE TACTICS ADAPTED TO DEVELOPMENT

Administration, it is said, is like politics, the art of the possible; like it also, the art of choosing between several evils, the least and, between several solutions, the one which offers maximum advantages with minimum disadvantages. It has been seen that the freedom of choice of African administrations in the past was restricted by circumstances; to a certain degree, one can only note with satisfaction that they have opted, at this initial stage, for a type of development and devised as a consequence, Western systems of planning, organization and methods of education rather than embarking on improvising purely African solutions whose success circumstances made hazardous. The "eddies" left behind by African development are, on the whole up to now less violent than those caused over three centuries by development of Western societies and the clearly more rapid results. If in the chart of these results, stress has been placed on shades rather than highlights - over-emphasized - it is because, by way of repetition, they are the first elements which permit to forecast most readily the imminent gradual development of African Administrative machineries. For a new strategy in the conduct of human groupings cannot just spring, such as Pallas Athéné, all armed with the brain of Olympian Zeus, from creative imagination of specialists in administrative science but rather from adjustments in terms of the development of the economic and social environment, errors noted from experience. Countless premonitory signs make it possible to think that confidence can be put, in this field, into African realism and pragmatism.

##### 1. Africa's Planning, Agricultural and Development

Emphasis has been placed at length on the inadequate importance accorded, at least, based on facts, to modernization of the Agricultural sector. And it is meant by that, not only the tilling of the soil, but also the exploitation of all its area resources: forests, fishing, hunting, tourism, and even gathering of fruits and picking of flowers. It appears that a fortunate and sudden change is on the verge of taking place, at least regarding crops, according to the 1967 annual report of the IBRD and its affiliate, International Development Association.

In point of fact, this document notes that in most of the developing countries through cultivation over vast areas, new varieties of cereals are making it possible to double, indeed to triple output. This increase, very marked in wheat and rice would also be very noticeable in the growing of maize, millet and sorghum to the point that specialists are thinking that the Third World would be effecting her Revolution and are beginning to doubt the validity of the "projections" of agricultural production figures during the last 10 years which spelt shortage in world food supply.



There is also a more important fact for which satisfaction may be expressed; the World Bank notes that the governments concerned have at last understood that priority had to be accorded to the agricultural and capital equipment programmes if the economy were to take off on a good basis.

If this promising trend is followed up, the action programme of the African administration during the coming years is already formulated. In the international sphere, measures for improving trading terms, prices stabilization of agricultural commodities through international agreements and the determination of production quotas, and securing of buffer stocks, guarantees of international disposal of products, etc. At the national level, diversification in export crops, more basic structures for agricultural research and extension, rural development, land reforms, development of infrastructure, rural micro-realizations valorizing agricultural commodity in the hands of the procedure, development of agricultural co-operatives which, exceeding the present role played almost everywhere as mere bodies for collecting and centralizing the products, should resolutely tackle the field of collective services thus increasing the outputs and decreasing the costs: supply of selected seeds, fertilizers, heavy equipment, transport facilities, planning of crops, etc.

Such a policy for increasing agricultural incomes and salaries will prepare the growth of these sufficiently rich markets for internal consumption, markets whose absence constitutes at the moment the real obstacle to industrialization. It will give more meaning and value to rural education by providing it with the essential openings. The "major plans for small-scale agricultural activities" substituting themselves for "small plans for large-scale industrial activities"<sup>1/</sup> will make it possible to settle locally without any deracinating effects the local manpower and will reduce the odious migrations to the cities. Split up into jobbing works, they will permit the development - preparatory to industrialization - of a class of indigenous entrepreneurs presently hindered by the magnitude of capital and heavy equipment to engage in major activities whose grading of tenders and cost estimates as well as general or private interviews are of such severity and such esoteric technicality that they assure for themselves alone a de facto monopoly of the foreign companies. Due to rapid success, immediate and tangible effects, they easily obtain the accession and the positive contribution of the local communities which support them voluntarily with their own funds. Relating to fractioned investments spread over in time and in space, they permit to expand locally and with a moderate tempo, incomes which in turn promote activities and incomes without causing these waves of monetary inflation, these tensions on the labour markets followed by massive laying-off, thus causing social troubles, generally

<sup>1/</sup> cf. Robert Delavignette "Du bon usage de la décolonisation" Paris, 1968.

observed in areas of major activities.

Thus increasing and settling locally the elite, getting them involved in development, and associating them with its advantages, this policy will facilitate the development of the local communities, and liberties, facilitate the decentralization as well as the regionalization of plans and will contribute substantially to reducing social and economic "dualism".

## 2. Training for development

This policy of modernization of the rural sector is in turn responsible for training programmes for development.

### (a) School enrolment efforts

In this field, we cite conclusions drawn from an agricultural experiment in Morocco and which was a half failure, for reasons clearly outlined, "To develop a vast agricultural perimeter, it is not sufficient to construct a dam and a perimeter for irrigation: there is need rather very often for a land reform, the revision of agricultural contracts, the re-surveying, re-allocation of lands, consequently the assistance of the legal experts and surveyors; a renovation in handicrafts and technological improvements in production, processing the marketing of commodities; this requires broadening the scope of fundamental and vocational education, at the same time the aid of agronomists, veterinary surgeons, foresters, assisted by numerous monitors and many extension officers whose activities will be performed at experimental stations the setting up of co-operative and credit unions as well as a social infrastructure; finally, district heads capable of co-ordinating the activities of the technicians and overcoming the opposition of the farmers. 1/

African administrations, should therefore, in the coming years gear their efforts towards increased training of technical cadres and towards valorizing rural resources, if harmonious developments of their respective nations is to be ensured. That supposes, base, a good quality education: in other words, a primary education which is not limited to teaching the child only elementary knowledge, but also to observe, to analyse and synthesize fairly rapidly and completely in order that he might, at a reasonable age, enter the secondary, general or professional level, not only to increase his knowledge but also to learn how to translate it into reality, namely to apply concretely the facilities used for the pursued aims. Of the three levels, the secondary is the most expensive for it requires many trained masters, costly equipment for demonstration and application, construction of many boarding

1/ "Une expérience d'irrigation d'un périmètre agricole" - "Les grands travaux de la plaine des ABD-DOUKKALA" Bulletin d'information du Maroc - Rabat; Juillet 1954.

houses, which involves further, the communities in catering for the subsistence expenses of the pupils..

We find ourselves in a "vicious circle" similar to that of "agricultural-industrialization" dilemma to which it is besides related: school attendance on a large scale may be considered as "an exercise in self-destruction" when it diverts, for dubious positive results, the credits required for a development of economic and social environment essential to its own progress.

This, coupled, with the growth of child population, explains the stamping observed in statistics, in school attendance in very poor African countries, still in the initial stages of knowledge. Further, this explains why the plans of some countries, like Congo Brazzaville, Togo, Dahomey, envisage a limit, indeed a halt to the development of the secondary level which even now is creating too many problems than they can cope with.<sup>1/</sup>

It is hardly impossible to break this vicious circle except by adopting a policy of reduced education, leading to a better type and later to a larger degree of education, following a graduated and balanced tempo which each African country has to determine in terms of her specific conditions and the technological developments that, it must not be forgotten, will require, in the future, studies even longer, more expensive and more rationally distributed.

It is for this reason that, in the face of such a situation, prior to independence, the Moroccan Government reformed radically the policies followed, up to that time, by the authorities of the ex-Protectorate, policies modelled on the French system; it reduced the role of schools in the rural areas to a simple rudimentary knowledge, during which the pupils, under the supervision of a single instructor, learn how to read, write and count; the best pupils after a stiff selection, pass, at the age of 9 years, on to a real primary school where in groups of 20, and under the supervision of a certificated teacher, they are led within three years, to the level of certificat d'etudes, before they enter at a reasonable age, the secondary level.<sup>1/</sup>

(b) Adult education

Faced with the increasing needs of the coming years, it is on the immense reservoir of literate adults of immediately use that African Administration might rely for the manpower required for development. Here still, the adoption of an overall approach has thwarted the solution to the problem and attempts at massive literacy campaign often autocratic have been a failure. In point of fact, literacy campaign can only be successful if it is selective, based on willing acceptance and points towards social development which implies, as noted in the UNESCO report,

<sup>1/</sup> cf. Mohammed El Fassi, Ministre de l'Education Nationale du Maroc, "Ecole du livre", Rabat, 1956.

that it aims at modifying the environment.<sup>1/</sup> For it can be observed, in this field, the same "education-environment" inter-action as noted in school attendance.

There also, it is possible to record a happy note: experts from ten developing countries, gathered in Paris under the auspices of UNESCO, ventured to condemn unanimously the project on the world on literacy campaign, by declaring that the campaign against illiteracy which was not an end in itself, must be more than, in the past, closely linked up with durable education of adults and in particular, with vocational-technical training.<sup>2/</sup> Algeria, Tunisia and quite recently Ethiopia have since abandoned the global method and have opted for the selective method within the professional framework.

### (c) Technical co-operation

All has been said about the status of foreign co-operators and technical assistants, of their status, of their duties and of their rights and as well as their employment, considered as a means, necessary evil, guarantee, mortgage or an excuse. It seems however, that the initial unavoidable bumps and difficulties are beginning to disappear. It may therefore be noted, simply, that the planning requirements reveal, despite the progress made in the "Africanization of cadres" for, an increasing need for their assistance not only, as it is commonly believed, with regard to specialists but also for the "generalists" having an overall vision and skill in development problems.<sup>3/</sup> In actual fact, the employment of these experts with general skill can be most productive and also most delicate, since by their functions they come into contact with major views of national policy. They will therefore be advised to ponder over the example given by Solon to his fellow Athenians, "not the best aims but the best they can bear". This did not prevent him however from being ostracised.

### 3. Administrative structures and development

Committee No. 1 on the first Conference (1962) was appointed to formulate a standard organization chart of administrative structures geared towards development that might serve, if not as a model at least as a basis for reflection, in the African countries concerned. But the committee had to give up its assignment, because of the difficulties encountered: considerable differences in the geographical and demographic dimensions, varied economic and social structures, political and constitutional systems, administrative traditions inherited from the former metropolitan countries, liberal or totalitarian concepts which the

<sup>1/</sup> "The relation between Literacy and Economic Development" UNESCO, Paris, 1962.

<sup>2/</sup> Giroud de l'Ain "Le Monde" 10 Avril 1964.

<sup>3/</sup> cf. Gabriel Ardant "Le monde en friche", Paris, 1959, p. 40.

governments create for themselves in their methods of development, etc.

There is hardly any cause to regret it: changing statutes is nothing if behind a new facade, the former policies should persist. Experience over six years, through successive approximations and adjustments has determined for each African State, based on its peculiar features, administrative structures which apparently would not be considerably modified in the future.

At least with regard to central administrations, it is very likely that development, especially geared towards the modernization of the rural sector will necessitate changes in the structures and in the authority of the external services and of the local communities particularly at the regional level. In point of fact, it is at this level, that might be unclamped without peril, rigorous centralization-concentration that the dual necessity of Nation building, based on political unity and economic integration has imposed on young African States, at least the French-speaking States. It is at the regional level that planning system now firmly established in the national plan might make the adaptations required for the harmonious development of the various parts of the country. Viewing this problem from the administrative angle, it is hardly possible to say anything better on this subject than to recount some general rules gathered through experience:

- the region must be based on the principle of homogeneity: it is also necessary to take into consideration the geographical, historical demographic, ethnic and economic factors. It is the aggregate which constitutes the homogeneity of the region and not each of the factors taken separately, as is often the case in Africa;

- it will be essential to consider the population movement and economic currents created by developments while ensuring heterogeneity required for the existence of some complementarity between the economic regions;

- the region must be built around a stabilizing regional nucleus;

- it should accept not only skills currently exercised by the State at the central level (formulation and implementation of regional portions of the plan - management of some services while others although national will be placed under the control of the head of a region) but also the financial resources required for the application (percentages of some national taxes which they can utilize freely) apart from its own fiscal resources;

- the regionalization of plans must permit, after re-training, of supernumerary civil servants at the national level.

#### 4. Organization, methods and development

It is incumbent upon Organizational and Methods Offices, presently established in almost all the African countries, to study, and suggest procedures for rationalizing administrative activities which development is making more complicated and manifold. In conjunction with the departments concerned and never in the absolute in other words, apart from considerations of the relationship with the sociological environment. A sound administration, in Africa still more than elsewhere, should not be equated with knowledge, power, and virtue, which backed by constraint, may lead to the most despicable, tyranny, a nightmare for the public and private life of the citizen, every moment, whatever his gesture or thought. A good administration's activity is to the extent possible, understood, accepted, assisted by those administered. It is therefore a question relating to the standard of civic spirit, therefore education contacts and a two-way communication of information, from the centre to the periphery from top down and conversely.

It is also an administration whose workers control the procedures and the techniques which they apply, in other words understand its meaning and scope: if not, the most expedient reforms would wallow in sand or would only go to strengthen procedural formalism, and the literalism in enforcing regulations, blind automatism in carrying out orders, lack of creative imagination and spirit of initiative that should be removed and which constitute the real "bottlenecks" of development.

Admittedly this is a problem of vocational training for which it will be very easy to assess the limit and the disadvantages of the "miraculous shortcuts in teaching" such as accelerated training, which deteriorates in no time, the audio-visual aids that can add verbalism of image to verbalism of word, resources based on the distinction proposed by Arthur Lewis and which included, at a certain time, upsetting success between "education-investment" which increases the output of the individual and "education - consumption" which widens his culture.<sup>1/</sup>

#### 5. Ethics in administration and development.

A good administration is, in short, one which, as Professor A. Molitor wrote "in the hands of a strong power, prepared, and carries out its directives with such competence as loyalty without dreaming of taking its place or prerogatives, by fusing or shirking its responsibilities".

We now come to the problem of loyalty in the African administration and to that of professional integrity with which is closely tied up, both in the causes and the effects:

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<sup>1/</sup> W. Arthur Lewis - Social and Economic Studies - vol. 10 pp. 113 - 127. La.

(a) Administrative loyalty

Some civil servants carry out duties which J.H. Gilmer terms "professionally compromising, in that although not linking the work with the ideologies of the governments they perform them however in the eyes of the public as promoters or operatives or both, of a technical or administrative portion of the programme of this government.<sup>1/</sup>

In the forefront of the latter are the heads of Economic Affairs Departments and directors in the Civil Service whose duty is to combine "administrative matters" with "political matters", "soft spot and flabby belly" of the state machineries, particularly in Africa. These Civil Servants are, on the other hand, placed at the head of many employees who can constitute themselves into awful pressure groups. The temptation is therefore great for the political authority to be connected with them by personal links, links outside the administrative sphere, which stretch quite naturally to their fellow-workers and to the employees they recruit. The Civil Servant no longer respects the service but a Head as a man, in other words, as he is so and so and not another. This "personalization" of hierarchical relations brings about in turn "partisanship" of responsibilities with its well-known sequels: nepotism, submission to individual interests, the spirit of patronage increase of "parasitic" staff, the lack of delegation of power and authority and partitioning of services, etc. Finally, political instability where it is observed, causes instability of a departmental head, a defect which is incompatible with long-term rational planning and administration of personnel.

Still in this field, an improvement seems to be taking shape; during a seminar, held at Addis Ababa in October 1968 under the auspices of ECA, directors of civil service in the French-Speaking African States observed a very marked improvement in their establishments. One cannot but note it with satisfaction, for development will require that departmental heads should, in the future have increased competent powers and authority: in point of fact, according to an evolution already observed in the Western countries, they should participate more and more closely in the formulation of policies. They alone have indeed the facts and their exploitation facilities, without which the ultimate control of economic and social systems will be impossible.

(b) Corruption

"Experience seems to show that in a developing country, it is very difficult to resist the temptation of money" wrote Prosper Rajaobelina, Director of the Ecole Nationale d'Administration in Madagascar, concerning the moral training of his students. He attributed

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<sup>1/</sup> John Gilmer "Le fonctionnaire et la politique R.I.I.S.A. Vol. XXXII No. 4, p. 235, Bruxelles, 1966.

the causes "of this tendency" to some conceptions of human relations, according to which everything including money is expected to be part of society, which is the supreme value in the desire for prestige and finally to a certain degree of professional instability, as if the position occupied had to be exploited to the maximum since it is essentially precarious.<sup>1/</sup> It might be possible to add, with regard to the public sector, the lack of education of the administered, concerning their rights regarding institutions that the new democratic order has evolved for them.

However countless are the causes of this double state of affairs they should be thoroughly tackled: strict enforcement of the regulations forbidding civil servants to participate in political campaigns, formulation of specific rules of ineligibility and incompatibility of the civil service with the exercise of electoral mandate, a durable moral training of civil servants, information of the public, penalty for corruption affecting both the corrupter and corrupt. This will be the most delicate but certainly an essential work of both the political and administrative officials responsible for development.

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<sup>1/</sup> Prosper Rajaobelina "Présentation de l'Ecole Nationale d'Administration de Madagascar" Vol. XXXII no. 3 - Bruxelles, 1966, p. 235.



## CONCLUSIONS

It has thus been seen that the administrative problems which the near future will pose to the African governments are not likely to differ essentially from those considered by the first conference in 1962. The activities of the African administration will consist very likely, as in the past, in gathering and concentrating maximum resources so as to reverse, in an upward direction, according to the image dear to Gunnar Myrdall, the "vicious circle" spiral which is pulling the developing countries downwards. It might not be possible to actually talk, on this subject, about a new strategy.

But about new tactics which would consist, for each African administration, in adapting the arrangement and schedule of its resources in terms of the following considerations:

1. Among the "vicious circles", as has been said in just, some are more "vicious" than others: they are those which should be broken by selecting the most favourable breaking points, that is to say, those causing maximum leading effects for the minimum "eddy" effects or of anti-development: in the forefront, the agricultural circle - economic and social dualism;
  2. Development "from the bottom" begins and is followed up by the development of elite;
  3. Beside the notion of quantity appears then the notion of quality, quality of production techniques, quality of services, quality of education;
  4. This notion of quality is consubstantial with productivity: the prosperity of a country is not evaluated only in terms of the standard factors: natural resources, innate or acquired aptitudes of its inhabitants and social organization, there is need also for the "spirit of productivity" which puts them in progressive combination;
  5. Futile attempts have been made to define the nature of this spirit or of this "climate of productivity" by questioning history, race, climates or the ethnic minorities, social behaviour and metaphysical beliefs. It is of little importance that failure has been recorded: over three quarter of a century, man has been using electricity without having succeeded in defining its physical nature. The important thing is that man knows how to produce it and use its effects.
- In administration, the most effective method of fathering it and developing it, is to make its services assume directly the new and tedious tasks imposed by development whenever that is practically possible and negative reasons are obviously not worthwhile.

It is the infrequency of this "bettings" even lost, that the adaptation of administration to development, at all levels and within all the services depends. In view of the inter-dependency and on the interaction

of the administrative functions, conception of "administration of development" is arbitrary and dangerous.

- The climate of productivity is borne and established among the masses from the moment when the latter become aware of development. It develops spontaneously from the time when the weight of the visible and tangible advantages of development prevails over impediments to progress and sacrifices to be made in order to obtain it. Education must therefore, cover development of the human environment and the distinction "education-investment" and "education-consumption", added with tensions born of the investment-consumption relationship can be the cause of the social and political troubles which can go even to breaking the system. Finally, it is incumbent upon the African administration to consider the individual as an end and not as a means of development: and individual considered not as an element of the group but as a component and a constituent part of the transcendental unit to which he belongs. For the administrations serve the Nation and the Nation's reality consists not in the standard of living of its citizens but in the degree of development which characterizes the collective entity of which it is the living symbol.