

UNITED NATIONS
ECONOMIC
AND
SOCIAL COUNCIL



65956

Distr.
GENERAL

E/CN.14/133
15 January 1962

Original: ENGLISH

ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR AFRICA
Fourth session
Addis Ababa February - March 1962
Provisional agenda item 6g

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THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN AFRICA*

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61-1662

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THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN AFRICA

I. INTRODUCTION

Purpose and Method of the Enquiry. The study was undertaken in order to carry out the request conveyed in Resolution 9 (II) adopted at the second session of the Economic Commission for Africa, which reads as follows:

The Economic Commission for Africa, having considered the economic survey of Africa since 1950, recognizing the important role that the co-operative movement can play in the economic and social development of Africa, noting the efforts of a number of African countries in the field of co-operation, noting further the need for trained personnel in the co-operative movement and for the dissemination of educational material on co-operative methods and techniques, requests the Executive Secretary to report on the state and progress of the co-operative movement in Africa and to consider, in consultation with the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations, the International Labour Organisation and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, the establishment of a co-operative centre or centres in Africa for the training of Africans in the field of co-operation and for the publication and dissemination of educational material on co-operative methods and techniques.

The consultant appointed for this purpose has made a comprehensive study of the reports on co-operative development, issued, in most cases annually, by the Governments of African countries, the relevant legislation and surveys recently made by or submitted to the Food and Agriculture Organisation and the International Labour Office, as well as a number of recent reports, published and unpublished, made by responsible persons and institutions. The consultant has also visited five representative countries in Africa south of the Sahara, namely, Kenya, Tanganyika, Nigeria, the Ivory Coast and Senegal, in order to gain a first-hand impression of the problems, plans and operating methods associated with co-operative development in these regions.

Definition of Co-operation. For purposes of this study it has been assumed that a co-operative is a legally incorporated body with an economic purpose common to all its members; a society of persons and services rather than of capital, open to all who may benefit by its activities, and

democratically controlled by its members, with provision in the rules for roughly equal contributions of capital per member and for the equitable distribution to them of any profits arising from the undertaking. In conjunction with their economic purpose, co-operatives aim also at improving the general and technical knowledge of their members.

In nearly all African countries the use of the words "co-operation" and "co-operative" are protected, that is, they may only be used to describe bodies incorporated under particular laws, ordinances or decrees, and there are penalties laid down for the improper use of these words. The law may define a co-operative society or, more frequently, it lays down in detail the way in which it should function and provides some form of control or inspection to ensure that the regulations are observed. These regulations usually cover all the points listed in the definition given above.

In some countries there are what are known as "pre-co-operatives", which are either unincorporated, but subject to some kind of administrative control, or are incorporated under other Acts, usually forming part of some larger economic structure not fully self-governing in character. All such "pre-co-operatives" are regarded as provisional and probationary.

II. TYPES OF AFRICAN CO-OPERATION

The types of co-operative to be found in Africa are the same as those in other continents, but the relative importance of the various types is somewhat different. By far the most important African form of co-operation, whether judged by the number of participants or the economic importance of the business carried on, is the marketing, and sometimes processing, of agricultural produce. Co-operatives of this type exist in practically every African country where co-operation is practiced; the value of produce handled is in the region of £465,000,000 and the number of members is 2,700,000.

In other continents the function of co-operative banking and the provision of credit, as well as the closely linked supply of agricultural requirements, is generally in the hands of separate organizations, but in Africa it tends to be linked with marketing, at least at the village level.

There are a number of national or provincial co-operative banks, but as a rule they work through or directly finance co-operative trading organisations of various kinds. The exceptions are in Mauritius, Eastern Nigeria and some countries of North Africa where local co-operative credit societies are well developed.

Co-operation for the joint cultivation of the land is rare outside the areas of the Egyptian land reform, where it is important. A number of experiments, most of them very recent, have been made in several West African countries, but it is too early to form a judgement on their viability. Co-operative services such as pumps for irrigation, or maize mills to save domestic drudgery, are fairly widespread though not nationally important.

Consumers' co-operation, with the exception of the movement in Mauritius and some isolated societies, has been singularly unsuccessful in Africa. The reasons will be discussed in a later section.

Co-operation among industrial, or, more accurately, non-agricultural workers, has been attempted in a number of countries, but without great success. Craft societies are usually struggling to keep a dying industry on its feet and cannot do so without fairly massive government aid. The co-operative organisation of modern small-scale industries has very rarely been attempted. There may be a future for the co-operative organisation of fisheries, but the achievement to date is very modest. The organisation of co-operative workgangs of agricultural labourers shows promise in Ivory Coast and possibly elsewhere, but it is a very recent movement.

Co-operative housing has had some remarkable successes in East Africa, but it is not widespread. Co-operative insurance appears to be virtually confined to South Africa, Algeria and Tunisia, though it is being discussed elsewhere. Co-operation for strictly social purposes, such as the running of clinics or schools has shown some interesting short-term results, but tends to be superseded by national social services as these extend into remoter regions.

As far as actual achievement is concerned, African co-operation must therefore be judged in the main by its success in stimulating agricultural production by finding a profitable market for cash crops and providing the working capital, implements and raw materials necessary for their production. A solid foundation of achievement has been laid and a respect has been won for co-operative methods which may well be a basis for wider activities in the future. It should also be said that there is almost unlimited scope for the extension of existing activities into new areas and the handling of hitherto untouched commodities.

UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC: SOUTHERN REGION (EGYPT)

Egypt has a population of 26,000,000. Though the country has mineral and oil resources, agriculture is by far the most important industry, and cotton the principal export. The great majority of Egyptian agriculturists are small cultivators. The recent land reform broke up holdings of over 200 acres and transferred them to about 150,000 former tenant cultivators. There are still 2,800,000 landowners, of whom 2,000,000 own less than one acre and supplement their income by renting land. In addition, there are 2,000,000 tenant cultivators without land of their own, and 1,500,000 farm labourers. Rents are now controlled under the Reform Law, but holdings are in many cases fragmented. The fundamental problem with which Egypt is confronted is the relation between a static cultivable area and a rapidly increasing population. The Egyptian Government is therefore concerned to introduce further irrigation, reclamation and land settlement, as well as to promote any measures which will raise the productivity of existing holdings. The promotion of co-operation, as well as the land reform itself, must be regarded as undertaken both in the interests of social justice and with the purpose of increasing food supplies and exportable surpluses.

Co-operation was first introduced into Egypt in 1908 by a private philanthropist interested in the condition of the peasants, and a small number of societies were formed. There was at this time no co-operative legislation, government supervision or financial support available. In 1923 the first co-operative law, applying to agricultural co-operative only was passed. It was amended in 1927 to cover co-operatives for other purposes and to allow for the formation of co-operative unions. Co-operative development was at this time the responsibility of the Ministry of Agriculture, which registered societies and carried out subsequent inspection and auditing.

In 1931 an Agricultural Credit and Co-operative Bank, in which the government held 51% of the shares, was established, with the object of lending to smallholders, either directly or through co-operative societies.

By 1939 there were 750 co-operatives in Egypt, most of them agricultural multi-purpose societies. In that year the official control of the co-operative movement was transferred to the Ministry of Social Affairs, and the Co-operative Department was divided into sections covering agricultural co-operatives, consumer co-operatives, auditing and statistics, social welfare, legal research and administration. At the same time, 17 provincial co-operative inspectorates were established. In 1944 an amendment of the co-operative law transferred the functions of audit and supervision to provincial co-operative unions, which were formed over the next few years and by 1950 numbered 35. Many had no staff trained in audit and inspection, and not all were licenced by the Department for that purpose. For a period at least, many co-operatives were probably not audited at all.

The economic conditions brought about by the Second World War led to a rapid increase in the number of societies. By 1945 they numbered over 2000, including a number of consumers' societies. Not all these were able to stand the strain of more competitive conditions. Some became dormant and there was a certain fall in membership.

In 1952, following the Egyptian revolution, an Agrarian Reform Law was introduced which not only provided for the redistribution of much agricultural land, but stipulated that in all cases an agricultural co-operative should be formed among the farmers who had acquired requisitioned land. This gave a fresh impulse to co-operative development, with the new Agrarian Reform Co-operatives acting as pacemakers. A new co-operative law was passed in 1956 which conferred a number of fiscal privileges on co-operatives. It confirmed the control of the Ministry of Social Affairs and Labour over the movement in general. It also maintained the delegation of audit and inspection to the regional unions, which received government appropriations for that purpose. At the same time, however, the Co-operative Department was itself decentralised, and the 20 regional inspectorates constituting the co-operative field staff were placed under the general regional controllers of the Ministry. The Co-operative Department of the Ministry became a somewhat detached body concerned with planning,

finance, legislation, the preparation of by-laws, accountancy and registration systems, and the classification and publication of co-operative statistics, as well as with international co-operative contacts. The field work was divided between the unions and the regional offices of the Ministry. Other Ministries might also be consulted where technical questions, e.g. in the case of housing societies, were involved.

At the end of 1960 a substantial administrative change was made. All agricultural co-operatives were placed under the authority of the Ministry of Agrarian Reform and were to be reorganised in the course of time as "supervised co-operatives". At the same time the supervision of urban co-operatives, most of them consumers' societies, was transferred to the Ministry of Commerce.

Co-operation had now become an accepted part of government policy, "the tool of state by which it was intended to provide services to the people, particularly in rural areas." In 1959 there were in Egypt 4329 co-operatives, with rather over 1,000,000 members. There were 3058 agricultural societies, 298 specifically concerned with land reform, 241 consumers' societies, 558 school co-operatives, 18 fishermen's societies and small groups concerned with industrial and other activities.

It may be convenient to describe the Agrarian Reform Co-operatives (now called "supervised co-operatives") first as exemplifying most clearly the new approach. The Agrarian Reform provides for the taking over by the state, against compensation, of all estates over 200 acres. Certain estates were also confiscated from members of the former royal family and persons condemned for political offences. This land has been divided into holdings of a minimum of two acres and distributed to former tenants and, in a few cases, to former labourers, against payment spread over 40 years. In order to maintain good husbandry, large estates are divided into blocks, and each block into three sections, each of which can be sown with a single crop or two related crops. The new owners are allotted land in each section. This facilitates mechanised cultivation and the maintenance of a sound rotation of crops.

The whole system is administered by the Ministry of Agrarian Reform, through provincial and regional agrarian reform offices. It has a large staff of agronomists, inspectors, managers, accountants and mechanics. The link with the actual cultivators is through the co-operative society which is set up on each estate, membership in which is compulsory. In these co-operatives membership usually runs into the hundreds and may be over 1000. Each estate has a manager who, at any rate in the early stages, also acts as manager of the co-operative. There is an elected board of management, a supervisory committee and, in a large society, block committees, as well as sub-committees, often occupied with social questions such as sanitation, maintenance of roads and canals, or the settlement of disputes between members.

The task of the co-operative is to see that the whole estate is properly cultivated according to the plan, and that pest control, irrigation, cultivation and harvesting are effectively organised. Credit, either in cash or in the form of seeds and fertilisers, is advanced to cultivators, the advances being financed by the Agricultural and Co-operative Credit Bank on a block guarantee of the Higher Committee of Agrarian Reform. The cotton crop produced by members is marketed by the society, which deducts running expenses, loan repayments, land tax, instalments on the purchase price of holdings, and contributions to social projects, from the proceeds of sales before distributing the balance to members in proportion to the produce delivered. Other crops are sometimes marketed in the same way, but there is a measure of tolerance for individual sales to merchants and others.

The supervised (agrarian reform) co-operatives, at least in their early years, have had considerable advantages over other agricultural societies. Loans, equipment, technical advice, managerial and administrative services were all freely put at their disposal. They took over large estates which had been operated with some efficiency as single units and which lent themselves to a continuation of the same technical system. The production of superior seeds on some old estates has been continued.

Fertilisers are selected according to the character of the land. Yields have been increased, particularly in cotton. The fact that members have lived in the same village or villages and were already well known to one another has made for solidarity. The co-operatives have worked with considerable success, and the income of cultivators has been strikingly increased now that no rent is paid to a landlord.

The great majority of the 3000 agricultural co-operatives date from a period much earlier than that of the agrarian reform. Though some have maintained a record of useful service, many were long known to be in need of the reorganisation which is now being carried out in fairly rapid stages. The principal circumstances which made this necessary appear to have been two. In the first place, the transfer of responsibility for audit and supervision to the regional co-operative unions before they had the trained staff or the funds to carry on the work deprived co-operatives, whose members had little business experience and were often illiterate, of the guidance which they needed. In the second place, the Agricultural Credit Bank had itself undergone changes of policy not to the advantage of the primary societies. Founded in 1931 with a capital of LEL,000,000, of which the government held 51%, it began by making loans through co-operatives, secured on crops and personal guarantee, but later changed its methods and lent only on the security of land. This had the effect of depriving tenants, who farmed two thirds of the land, from all access to co-operative credit. Many societies passed under the control of landlords and even merchants. The Bank had from the beginning been directed to lend to co-operative societies at a reduced rate of interest, and also to supply certain agricultural requirements, principally fertilisers, at wholesale prices. For a number of years the Bank had found it more profitable to lend or supply directly to landowners or owner-cultivators at the full rates, thus bypassing the co-operatives, which were often left with little or no work to do. In fact, in 1945 less than onequarter of its resources were lent through co-operatives, and the figure had been even lower.

In 1957 a five-year plan for the reorganization of the agricultural co-operative credit system was initiated. This aimed at reorganising the primary co-operatives, excluding merchants and others with vested interests, and educating members and staffs in the meaning of co-operation and the art of responsibility for their own affairs. At the same time, it was planned to increase both the membership and the number of primary societies, to supply them with competent staff, and to improve their buildings and equipment. In the first year this programme was applied in three districts only. The aim was a co-operative in each village which all farmers were expected to join. A clerk and offices were provided. At the same time, the Agricultural Credit and Co-operative Bank, though it still makes loans to individuals, has greatly increased the volume of credits advanced through co-operatives on the security of crops.

The new system has been extended each year to a larger number of districts, and it was hoped to cover the full 115 by 1961. The reorganisation of credit has been linked with a plan for the progressive improvement of agricultural techniques and village standards of living. In the first year in which any district was brought into the scheme, attention was to be concentrated on the supply of agricultural requirements, plant protection, the establishment of a co-operative supply of petroleum products and the preparation of an accurate survey of land holdings, as well as a report on social conditions. It was planned to carry these activities forward into subsequent years, while a beginning was made with thrift and the increase of capital in societies, the mechanisation of agriculture, experiments in joint cultivation, and the introduction of co-operative marketing, which could later be entrusted to specialised societies. The formation of a common good fund and social projects in connection with community development were envisaged at all stages. Training courses for members and committees were planned, together with studies of the social and economic effects of co-operative action already taken. By the fifth year it was hoped that societies would be capable of managing their own affairs, and that the Agricultural Credit Bank would

have become a wholly co-operative undertaking.

The work of reorganisation was entrusted to the provincial co-operative unions, which received grants from the Ministry of Social Affairs and Labour to cover the appointment of their own technical and administrative staff and the staffing and equipment of primary societies. Ultimately it is hoped to put the unions on a self-supporting basis, with their costs covered by subscriptions and audit fees, but this point will not be reached for some time. The national authority for the whole scheme is the Agricultural Co-operative Credit Administration and the Higher Credit Council, on which relevant government departments, the Agricultural Credit Bank and the Co-operative Unions are all represented.

During the first three years of the scheme there was a considerable increase in the credits made available to agriculture, as well as in the area and number of persons served. A total of 1333 societies had been brought into the scheme and LE7,700,000 had been lent to 300,000 farmers. This figure has since increased. The recovery of loans has never presented as much difficulty in Egypt as in some other countries, and the reorganised credit societies showed an average of 94% recoveries. Much of the value advanced has been in the form of fertilisers and pesticides, oil-cake, seeds, petroleum and (to a small extent) domestic goods, derived from either the Agricultural Credit Bank or the Co-operative Wholesale Society, to be described below. During this period co-operatives also promoted the purchase of cattle and machinery and the general improvement of villages. A limited number had taken up the marketing of cotton, while a beginning had been made with experimental plots and the introduction of new crops.

In addition to the Agrarian Reform Co-operatives and the general agricultural co-operatives based on credit, there are a limited number which carry out some specialised function, such as the marketing of fruit and vegetables, for which there are several long-established and quite successful organisations; stockbreeding; consolidation of holdings; and the protection of tenants through the substitution of collective for

individual agreements with landlords. A national co-operative livestock insurance fund has been constituted, but at the local level this business appears to be handled by Credit and Agrarian Reform Co-operatives.

A particularly interesting experiment has been the Unified Rotation Co-operatives. These are old credit and supply co-operatives reorganized to deal with the technical handicaps of excessive fragmentation. Instead of adopting the more usual but also sometimes slow and difficult process of consolidation of holdings, the Unified Rotation Co-operative secures the agreement of its members to the division of the whole land of the village into three blocks, as in the Agrarian Reform villages, with three different crops which are regularly rotated. Members who have land in one block only can then claim from owners of land in the other blocks a proportion of the crops grown which is equal to the output which would have been produced by one-third of their acreage had it been situated in the other blocks. They, in return, hand over two-thirds of the crop they have actually produced. Equivalent arrangements can be made when land is held in two blocks. Such exchanges can often be arranged amicably between families. The block system makes possible the proper use of fertilisers and pesticides and, in some cases, mechanisation, and thus increases yields.

The most numerous of the non-agricultural co-operatives are the consumers' societies, which sprang up in large numbers to handle rationed goods during the Second World War. They look for supplies to a number of provincial wholesalers, which seem also to have been created to meet the emergency rather than to have been built up from local initiative. The return of competitive trading showed up the weakness of the system. Most of the societies were too small to employ efficient staff or carry attractive stock. Competition forced them to give credit to customers, and their limited capital made it impossible for them to buy in the best markets. They became too often tied to merchant suppliers. The only fairly successful societies were those in large towns or those run in connexion with particular firms.

In 1952 the provincial wholesale societies were replaced by a national Co-operative Wholesale Society, which began active work in 1954. It has a membership of 1867 primary societies, both agricultural and consumers and capital derived from their shares and from the assets of the former regional wholesalers. It handles foodstuffs, including some bought from its agricultural members, soap, textiles and agricultural requirements, and it has power to manufacture and to open pilot retail stores. According to the last figures available, it had a turnover of about LE1,000,000. It does not handle petroleum products, which are in the hands of a national Petroleum Co-operative Society, with a membership of 450 societies, over 16,000 individuals, and a turnover of LE16,000,000.

In 1955 an expert appointed by the International Labour Office made a special study of the working of consumer co-operation in Egypt. He recommended that there be a complete reorganisation and, in many cases, amalgamation of retail societies, that regular audits be instituted and more frequent members' meetings held, that the administration of the national Co-operative Wholesale Society be overhauled in accordance with modern management practice, and that the links between the wholesale, the Bank and the recently formed National Co-operative Union be strengthened.

Egypt has made considerable progress with the establishment of School and Students' Co-operatives. These are concerned with thrift, the purchase of books, the organization of spare time jobs and the running of experimental plots and workshops in technical schools. They also inculcate co-operative ideas and practices.

It is clear that the Egyptian Government is using co-operation as a major instrument in the fulfilment of an ambitious plan of agricultural and social development. It is expected, in addition to its basic function of credit, supply and marketing, to play a leading part in land settlement, whether of former great estates or of newly reclaimed land; to improve agricultural techniques, diversify crops and increase livestock production; to stabilise prices, both in town and country; to carry out government

regulations and even to collect taxes; and to improve the social and health conditions of villages.

The main problem has been in training and deploying adequate staff, both official and non-official, to secure the formation and proper running of societies and their ultimate transfer to the control of their own members. Much of this responsibility devolves on the regional unions, which now number 20. They have been subsidised by the government for five years on a diminishing scale and also receive contributions from primary societies, which by rule contribute 10% of their profits on members' trade to an education fund. Most of the unions carry on training schemes both for their own staffs and for the staffs of local societies, but these appear to be fairly short-term. They also call periodical conferences, and several publish educational magazines. A National Co-operative Union was established in 1957 and national congresses are held.

In 1959 the League of Arab States organized a five-month training course for co-operative leaders, but this does not appear to have been repeated, though short training courses at the national level are held from time to time. The Co-operative Department of the Ministry of Social Affairs, the Agricultural Credit Bank and the Wholesale Society all give some form of internal or on-the-job training to their own staffs. Co-operation enters into the courses given in several Egyptian universities, but there is at present no full-time Co-operative College, though proposals for expanding and centralising co-operative training have been under discussion for some time.

LIBYA

Libya has a population of rather over 1,000,000 and at least 85% of its resources are drawn from agriculture and stockbreeding. The Libyan farmer is often a share tenant and illiterate; his methods are primitive and often destructive of the soil; he is the victim of the money-lenders of merchants. There is a noticeable drift from the land to the towns.

No co-operative organizations, apart from those of Italian agricultural colonists, have been formed until the last few years. A National Agricultural Bank was established in 1957 for the purpose of making short-, medium- and long term loans to farmers and their organizations. Following the visit of an FAO expert, a Co-operative Law was passed in 1956. By 1958 a Federal Co-operative Supervisory Service, under the Ministry of Finance, was initiated, and later transferred to the Department of Social Welfare and Labour. Three provincial Co-operative Control Services were established for Cyrenaica, Tripolitania and the Fezzan, with three Advisory Committees consisting of the Ministers of Finance, Agriculture, Social Welfare, Interior and Education. Co-operative propaganda, through press, radio, films, public meetings, lectures at agricultural schools and other centres was initiated and met with some response.

By the end of 1960 there were 63 co-operatives with about 10,500 members and an estimated turnover of L160,000. Most of these societies were of a multi-purpose character, supplying credit (derived from the Agricultural Bank and other sources), encouraging thrift, and supplying agricultural requirements. Some had acquired machinery for joint use. All had the power to lend on crop liens and to market the product, but in fact only one or two undertook marketing in their first year. There was a tendency to form societies in districts where farmers owned their land and could thus offer some security for loans. One society was formed solely for plant protection (spraying) and one was a land settlement co-operative of former labourers. Five consumers' societies were formed, including one of students and one of café owners. One fishermen's

co-operative has been granted a long-term loan for the purchase of a trawler. There are two recently formed housing societies and three transport co-operatives.

Apart from the general propaganda already described, co-operative education has been concentrated on the training of senior officials of the Co-operative Service, several of whom were given the opportunity to visit co-operative institutions in other countries before taking up their duties.

Co-operation in Libya has had a hopeful start and will be increasingly needed as the urban population grows and needs food; as more of the agricultural and pastoral population is permanently settled on the land and as agriculture itself becomes more intensive and commercial. At present progress is retarded by the limited resources in credits and administrative budget put at the disposal of the movement and by the lack of trained men available for promotion and supervision.

T U N I S I A

Tunisia has an estimated population of 3,300,000, of whom at least two-thirds are agriculturists, the great majority farming on a small scale and growing principally cereals, by relatively primitive methods. A substantial part of the population lives by handicrafts and small industries, including fishing. The population growth is bringing with it rural unemployment and a drift to the towns. During the period of the French Protectorate, there was a measure of European settlement, including some 3000 farmers who cultivated about 1% of the total arable land. It was among these settlers that co-operation first developed, with the formation of a Regional (later called Mutual) Agricultural Credit Bank in 1908, and in the next year of an association for the purchase of agricultural requirements, which later became the Central Farmers' Co-operative of Tunisia. A Regional Mutual Insurance organization followed soon after. All these, as well as others established later, were open to both European and Tunisian farmers, but, in fact, membership was mainly, and the direction almost entirely European, though a few co-operatives reserved places on their boards for Tunisian members. Tunisian Provident Societies were established by decree, also in 1908, for Tunisian farmers only, more especially in the regions remote from European settlement.

By 1958 the Mutual Agricultural Bank had become a co-operative federation, based on 46 local agricultural credit societies, and was handling an annual business of about Frs. T 15,000,000,000. It makes loans to individual farmers through their primary societies and lends to other co-operatives for capital development or to enable them to move their members' crops. It has accumulated considerable deposits, which cover its short-term advances. For medium and long-term loans, it borrows from other banks and special funds. It was, at least until recently, responsible for about 20% of the banking business of the country.

There are six grain-marketing co-operatives which between them handle 20% of the total Tunisian crop. They have ample storage capacity and excellent modern equipment for the cleaning, selection, mixing and fumigation of grain. Closely linked with the Central Farmers' Co-operative is the Tunisian Seed Co-operative, formed in 1950 for the purpose of taking over from the government botanical services the distribution of tested strains of cereal seeds, selected, cleaned and treated against disease. Seeds are grown by members of the co-operative and considerable quantities are sold to Tunisian cultivators through Tunisian Provident Societies.

There are 20 co-operative wineries, which handle the greater part of the Tunisian output. The co-operatives have their own federation and a national distillery which extracts alcohol from by-products and surpluses. There are ten olive-growers' co-operatives, which include most of the small and medium European growers and a portion of the Tunisian growers; a few stockbreeders' societies (including some for artificial insemination), mainly European in membership, and some co-operatives of market gardeners and fruit growers of both communities.

The Tunisian Motoculture Co-operative was formed in 1920 for the importation of agricultural machinery and petroleum products. According to recent figures, it handled 70% of the agricultural petroleum coming into the country. There are, in addition, about a dozen co-operatives for the joint use of machinery, plant protection, irrigation and soil conservation, with their own Union, and one for the clearing of vineyards preparatory to replanting. Co-operatives for the supply of agricultural requirements are two in number, the larger of which is the already-mentioned Central Farmers' co-operative. Reference has also been made to the Insurance Organization, which includes 11 local and two regional organizations, and continues to carry a range of agricultural risks. The whole of this co-operative movement, though very successful in the past, is now gradually shrinking, as the numbers of European settlers are reduced and are not apparently replaced in co-operative memberships by Tunisians.

Agricultural co-operatives with an exclusively Tunisian membership are based on the Provident Society, introduced mainly as an insurance against drought, but subsequently modernised and expanded. A society was formed in each administrative district to which all agriculturists compulsorily belonged and paid contributions. The functions of a provident society were to make loans to cultivators, usually in the form of advances on a single crop, derived from a governmental "mutual fund," purchase grain; distribute improved seed; and encourage the formation of "co-operative groups". By 1957 there were 148 of these groups in existence and about 300 more under discussion. The most numerous (79) were those engaged in the establishment and maintenance of plantations, for which loans were available through the provident societies. About 40 groups undertook mechanised cultivation, and about 30 were responsible for irrigation and flood control. Considerable sums have been advanced to all these societies.

Although some have been successful and continue to give good results, the scheme has not been as productive as was anticipated. It is felt that the groups have been too dependent on the officials of the provident societies, that the majority of the members have been indifferent, the staff have lacked co-operative training, and the returns have not been commensurate with the cost. The whole system has therefore been abolished by the present Tunisian Government, which is considering new legislation and new methods of promoting co-operative development.

A large proportion of Tunisians who are not agriculturists are engaged in some form of skilled handicraft. Many of these crafts are the outcome of a long tradition and have considerable artistic value. All are now meeting the competition of factory-made articles. In 1937 a department of the government which later became the Office of Tunisian Arts, was set up to preserve standards and find markets for the product. A Central Bank for Artisans and Maritime Credit was established with government funds, and a decree made possible the formation of handicraft co-operatives. There are

now 35 such societies with about 5000 members. Some have done reasonably well, especially when working on government contracts, but the organization affects only a small section of Tunisian craftsmen, and there have been defects of management and insufficient understanding by the members of the aims and principles of co-operation. Recently special government measures have been taken to re-organise the textile industry of the Sahel. So far these are only to a very limited extent co-operative. There are, in addition, four fishermen's societies engaged in marketing fish and supplying nets and gear. A co-operative of sponge fishermen flourished for some time in Sfax but has lapsed owing to the difficulty of finding markets.

A federation of agricultural co-operatives was formed in 1946, and a Committee for Joint Co-operative Action was set up in 1947. It included all sides of the movement but appears to be no longer active. The present central body is the General Co-operative Federation of Tunisia. Not much has been done in the way of co-operative education or staff training, although some government officials concerned with co-operative development have been sent on study tours abroad.

In 1957 the ILO was invited to supply a technical expert on co-operation; he spent more than a year in Tunisia, concentrating on the handicraft and fishery co-operatives. His report was presented in 1959.

It recommends the adoption of a new and comprehensive co-operative law; the establishment of a National Co-operative Council; the creation of a single unified Co-operative Service to replace the co-operative sections now to be found in several government departments; the reorganization of existing handicraft and fishery co-operatives; replanning of the policy governing state credits to co-operatives; formation of carefully supervised pilot schemes, and a planned approach to co-operative education at all levels.

It is understood that these proposals are still being considered by the Tunisian Government, but that certain new co-operative developments, including housing, a pilot health scheme, co-operatives for educational purposes, and young farmers' co-operatives for pooled cultivation have taken place recently.

ALGERIA

Algeria has a population of 9,600,000, of whom about 1,000,000 are Europeans. Only about 20% of the country is fertile and less than 3% is actually cultivated. Of this, one third is farmed by Europeans, who have developed principally the rich irrigated lands of the coastal plains and river valleys and the dry farming cereal production of the high plateaux. It was among the European farming community that co-operation first developed as a spontaneous movement in the early years of the century. All co-operatives are, however, multi-racial, and out of 80,000 co-operative members in 1957, there were 42,000 Moslems. The first Algerian Co-operative Law was passed in 1925, at a time when a number of co-operative credit societies, wineries and grain marketing societies were already in existence. In 1947 it was replaced by new legislation based on the French law of the previous year. It laid down the fundamental principles of co-operative organizations, made registration of co-operatives subject to government consent, and provided for inspection by the Ministry of Finance. In return, co-operatives enjoy fiscal privileges and are eligible, as they were under the previous law, for loans from the Central Agricultural Credit Bank of Algeria, a source of capital which has been of great value in building up the movement.

The earliest co-operatives were mutual agricultural credit banks, the first dating from 1901. As their numbers increased, they formed regional banks, still of a wholly voluntary and non-official character. It was not until 1935 that the establishment of the Central Agricultural Credit Bank introduced a measure of government finance and official control, but also greatly extended the scope of the organization. By 1957 there were 22 regional banks and 160 local banks, with 50,000 members, of whom 30,000 were Moslem. The credits granted in that year totalled fr. 67,000,000,000. Loans were made both to individual farmers for short, medium and long terms, and to co-operatives of various kinds for use as investment or working

capital. Mutual insurance of agricultural and other risks was initiated soon after credit.

The first co-operative winery was formed in 1905. There are now 193, handling about one quarter of the total Algerian production. Most of them both make and market their members' wine, but some merely make and store the wine at a fixed charge, leaving the member to market at his discretion, subject to the overall control of the National Wine Office, which fixes the monthly releases of wine into the market. In addition, there are 12 co-operative distilleries, each working on behalf of a group of wineries, but some also having individual members. They convert residues and surpluses into alcohol.

The first grain marketing co-operative was formed in the high plateaux in 1921, and they have continued to develop principally in this region. In 1957 there were 29 co-operatives engaged in grain marketing, 11 co-operative cereal warehouses and three mills. They have received a good deal of government aid in the form of long term loans and subsidies, and they work within the framework of fixed prices and periodical releases into the market established by the National Wheat Office.

There are three important tobacco-marketing societies serving the three principal districts where the crop is grown: Bone, with 10,000 French and Moslem members; the Kabyle mountains, also with 10,000 members, mostly Berber; and the region of Algiers, with a somewhat smaller mixed membership. The dried leaf is received from growers, graded, and paid for immediately on grade. It is fermented and marketed. The Bone co-operative runs a nicotine factory as a subsidiary.

There are eight citrus-marketing co-operatives which pick, transport, grade, pack and market members' fruit, paying a pooled price calculated on grade and date of sale. Some also prepare canned juice. Another co-operative produces canned tomato juice. There are several co-operatives selling market garden produce, some geranium distilleries, a number of olive oil

presses, some in the Berber villages of the Kabyle, three important cotton ginneries with their own central organization, and five dairies.

On the productive side, there are 181 co-operatives supplying agricultural requirements, and others which combine supply with marketing. They do not, however, control more than a limited part of the trade. The number of Moslem members has increased with the increased interest in modern farming techniques. There were at one time a large number of co-operatives for the joint use of machinery, but their importance has declined since machinery became readily available to the individual farm. A small number have been formed for the purpose of joint cultivation of land and for irrigation.

Agricultural co-operatives are grouped in a national federation and in 10 regional unions which tend to develop a close link between societies and a strong regional character. The Eastern Union, for example, with 11,000 members of whom 9,500 are Moslem, has among its more important affiliates the regional agricultural credit bank, a mutual insurance society; the Tabacoop and Tomacoop, to which reference has already been made; a cotton ginners ("Cotacoop"); the Oleocoop, with two oil presses; the Agrumcoop, which sells citrus fruit and refrigerates meat, and the Labourcoop, which carried out mechanised cultivation and harvesting through 12 local societies. The headquarters of all these organizations are grouped together in what is called a City of Agriculture, which also includes a number of service organizations: a transport pool of lorries and buses; a cotton and tobacco experiment station; a laboratory for the analysis of tobacco, soil sampling and the study of cotton and tobacco disease; several stockbreeding co-operatives with an experimental centre for animal nutrition and disease prevention; a sawmill and a printing works. On the social side there is a restaurant which can serve 1000 meals a day to workers and to members coming in with their produce; a creche for the children of women tobacco workers; an employees' health society and two employees' garden cities.

Something of the same kind has been achieved in other parts of the richer agricultural regions, and the social amenities include a small hospital and a clubhouse intended for the entertainment and professional advancement of young farmers.

In the high plateaux, co-operation, like farming, is more limited in range and is concentrated on credit, grain marketing, the supply of agricultural requirements and stockbreeding. In fairly recent years, a beginning has been made with slaughterhouses and meat marketing. In addition to agricultural co-operatives, there are about 40 consumer co-operatives, some housing handicraft and fishery co-operatives, a peoples' bank which lends to craftsmen, tradesmen, small industries and co-operatives, and a flourishing group of school co-operatives with some 54,000 members.

All this is characteristic of regions in which there is a mixed European and Moslem population, or of the Berber villages where a Mediterranean type of agriculture is carried on. There are, however, large areas of the country where there are few European farms to set the pace of technical progress. It has been calculated that there are perhaps one half million farms where production (mostly of cereals) is for subsistence only; yields are, on an average, one half those on European farms; ploughing of thin steppe pastures is leading to wind erosion, while gully erosion is menacing the over-cultivated mountain sides. Nor is the economic situation more satisfactory. Many of the larger Arab properties are cultivated by share-croppers with little incentive to improve, while the land of mountain villages is heavily fragmented. Usury is rife, and crops are frequently pledged long before harvest. When it is added that the estimated increase in population is 150,000 a year, it becomes obvious that an increase in production of food per acre is a national necessity which the co-operatives dealing in the main with the marketing of export crops can do little to effect.

For a number of years, the government has experimented with forms of organization which, while building the tribal and village communities of the

remoter regions, would permit, as quickly as possible, their integration in the normal credit and co-operative economy.

The first stage was the establishment of "provident societies" in the mid-nineteenth century, a type of organization first tried out in Algeria and later extended to a wide range of countries under French administration. The object was, in the first instance, merely to build up stores of grain, which could be distributed for food and seed in famine years. They were given a legal form in 1893, and membership was made compulsory. Their scope was greatly widened after 1934, when an amendment to the law set up a Common Fund derived either directly from the government or from private banks lending on government guarantee. The fund is used to make loans, generally in kind, to members of provident societies. Other activities are the marketing of grain, for which storage has been built, processing of crops and the provision of mechanised cultivation. All these services are at the disposal of the cultivator, but he is not obliged to use them, while subscriptions to the provident societies have for some time ceased to be compulsory. The provident society is, however, too little democratic and perhaps too large (105 societies cover the whole of Algeria) to be regarded as co-operative.

In 1936 the Department of Agriculture set up a Service of Peasant Economy, which, however, did little until after the war of 1939-45. It then proceeded to tackle the problem of poverty and low productivity by creating Sectors of Rural Amelioration (SAR). These were not new corporate bodies but were in the nature of pilot projects, developed by the provident society and representing a planned intensification of its activities in an area as far as possible ethnically and economically homogeneous. By 1957 the 105 provident societies were divided into 751 sectors, and included about 500,000 cultivators with a total budget of fr. 8,216,000,000. The sectors are directed by the chairman of the provident society, who may be an official or a local notable, and by a committee which is partly official

and partly representative. Subject to the approval of the administrative council of the provident society, the sector committee is responsible for its own planning, for the upkeep of premises and material, and for the cultivation of any land held collectively. Not all sectors carry on activities which nearly approach those of a co-operative, but, according to the latest figures, 104 were concerned with credit, 84 with grain marketing and 85 with the marketing of other produce, 54 with agricultural supply, 14 with handicrafts, and 60 with some form of joint cultivation.

Although much of the work of the sector has been technical and educative, no steps towards formal co-operative education, either of members, committees, staffs or government officials, appears to have been undertaken in any part of the Algerian co-operative movement, even in the successful and largely European marketing societies.

Many of the regions in which sectors have been initiated are those which have been most disturbed during the past years of ~~guerrilla warfare~~ or which have been subject to the shifting of villages and the resettlement of population. This situation has led to a new development under the decree of August, 1959, which authorized the formation of Agricultural Co-operative Sectors, forming part of the Constantine Plan (SCAPCO). No report seems to be available regarding the work of these Sectors.

It would appear that when the political future of Algeria is settled, there will be a need for two main lines of co-operative development. In the first place, the existing co-operative movement, on which so much of the agricultural prosperity and export trade of the country depends, will have to be preserved, but means will have to be found of bringing the large Moslem membership into much more active participation in all its activities and into fuller responsibility for the running of the organization itself. In the second place, the work of bringing the mass of peasant farmers still engaged in subsistence farming into some form of active, self-governing co-operation will have to be pursued with renewed vigour if their standard of living is to be raised and production is to keep pace with the growth of population.

M O R O C C O

Morocco has a population of rather over 11,500,000, and considerable mineral as well as agricultural resources, still incompletely developed. During the period of the French Protectorate (1912-1955), a number of Europeans came to live in the country, but only a few thousand settled on the land. They brought a considerable area of previously uncultivated land into intensive cultivation with cereals, oilseeds, vines, citrus fruits and other crops. The rest of the cultivated land of the country (which probably does not amount to more than one fifth of its total area) is occupied by Arab farmers growing almost wholly cereals (barley and wheat), usually with primitive methods and low yields. There is some market gardening around the cities, and olives, figs and grapes are grown in some mountain villages.

As in other territories under French administration, an approach to peasant co-operation was made through the introduction of Provident Societies with compulsory membership. The objects were to make loans to farmers in cash or kind, provide agricultural relief in case of disaster, and promote improved agricultural methods. In 1958 their name was changed to that of Agricultural Credit and Provident Societies. At the same time they became solely credit agencies, all agricultural extension work being transferred to the Sectors of Modernization described below. On July 1, 1959, 13 new societies were established, 12 in the Northern Area, that is to say in the former Spanish Zone, and one in Tangiers. This meant that the movement was extended to the entire Moroccan territory, and so brought about the unity of the country in the field of agricultural credit to small farmers.

In 1937 a Central Credit and Savings Bank was established, with five regional banks which lent substantial sums either directly or through the provident societies. At the same time, the formation of indigenous agricultural co-operatives was authorized for the purchase of crops and the

sale of requirements. These were, however, composed not of individuals but of provident societies whose produce they marketed.

In 1944 it was felt that a more dynamic approach was needed, and a Council of Peasant Economy was set up within the administration, supplemented by a Centre for the Agricultural Equipment of the Peasant, which came to play somewhat the part of an agricultural bank and wholesale society. These new organizations proceeded to the creation of Sectors for the Modernization of Peasant Economy, which were in effect pilot projects for the improvement of agricultural techniques, social conditions and educational standards. They did useful work, bringing 75,000 acres of new land under cultivation in the course of seven years, and raising yields over a considerably wide area. They had also introduced considerable improvements in housing, health and education. Though they depended on the collaboration of the cultivators themselves, they could hardly be called co-operatives. It seems worth mentioning "Operation Ploughing," launched in 1958. Through it most of the Sectors brought every year under mechanized cultivation from 500,000 to 800,000 acres of small private holdings, resulting in an appreciable improvement of the yields. The ploughing was (and still is) made on a credit basis, the crops remaining privately owned and marketed. By 1960 the Sectors numbered 100.

In 1950 it was decided to give the existing Indigenous Agricultural Co-operatives a more genuinely co-operative character. Their name was changed, individuals and modernization sectors were admitted as members along with the provident societies, and a system of voting was laid down which gave each type of member a share in the control of the co-operative. Their principal business remained the marketing of grain and the supply of agricultural requirements.

Apart from these officially sponsored movements, a considerable number of Moroccan co-operative societies were formed among peasants, usually fruit growers, users of agricultural machinery, charcoal burners, woodcutters, fishermen and craftsmen in textiles, leather and metal work. The latter (numbering about 24) received a good deal of support from the state through the Artisan Credit Fund, the Moroccan Artisan Trading Society, model

workshops and craft schools. In 1956 the co-operatives formed among craftsmen became dependent on the Board of Trade, and lost all connection with the Department of Agriculture.

By 1960 there were seven Moroccan agricultural co-operative societies with a mixed membership of 39 agricultural credit and provident societies, and 6,668 individuals, and five Moroccan agricultural co-operatives with indirect membership only. They owned a number of grain silos with mechanised equipment and their own transport. They made advances of approximately frs.2,000,000,000 in the course of the year and handled goods to the value of frs.9,300,000,000. The greater part represented cereals, but included seeds, pulses, oilseeds, fruits and vegetables and fertilisers. Apart from these 12 organizations, the membership of which is so largely indirect, there were 51 Moroccan co-operatives with individual membership amounting to 50,000 and a turnover of frs. 900,000,000. These included 14 for olive pressers with their own union, producing about one-fifth of the national output, 14 for wood cutters or charcoal burners, and nine for the use of agricultural machinery, together with a few representing market gardeners, beekeepers, date growers, etc.

Independent co-operatives not receiving state aid and open to anyone (foreigners as well as Moroccans) number 49, and are constituted under a law which differs from that of the co-operatives restricted to Moroccan citizens, which number 63. The latter enjoy special help from the state, which promotes and controls them.

Independent co-operatives take the form of nine grain storage co-operatives with their own marketing union, a similar group of 15 wineries, several societies for the supply of agricultural requirements, four dairies, and a miscellaneous group covering the marketing of fruit and vegetables, rice-milling, tobacco-drying, oil-pressing, the use of heavy machinery, transport, mutual insurance, and the import and distribution of petroleum products. There are also a number of irrigation and drainage co-operatives,

in which membership is compulsory for those farming in the area covered. The total membership of these 49 co-operatives is about 12,000, but undoubtedly many farmers belong to two or more.

There is no national co-operative organization other than the department of the Ministry of Agriculture which supervises the functioning of the Moroccan Agricultural Co-operatives, and there is no co-operative training scheme, although the establishment of a co-operative school by the Ministry of Agriculture is under discussion.

MAURETANIA

Mauretania is a state forming part of the French community, with a vast mainly desert territory and a population of 600,000. It has few natural resources other than fish and some stockbreeding. The legislation instituting Provident Societies, applied to Mauretania as to the rest of French West Africa, and a Central Agricultural Credit Bank was established in 1950. Five co-operatives were reported to be in existence in 1960, but no details appear to be available.

RIO DE ORO

No reports of cooperative organization have been received.

PORTUGUESE GUINEA

No reports have been received of co-operative organization in this territory.

SENEGAL

Senegal has a population of just under 3,000,000, the great majority engaged in agriculture or stockbreeding. There are industries on a relatively small scale in the towns, and a good deal of fishing takes place on the long coastline. As in other territories under French influence, there has been an attempt, going back over a number of years, to organize the agricultural economy on quasi-co-operative lines. This has been prompted by the need to maximise the volume of produce, especially ground-nuts, the principal crop on the market, and millet, the principal food crop, in a country which is at present a considerable net importer of food. It is also necessary to protect the peasant from the merchant-usurer, whether a travelling agent or a resident in the village. In recent years other needs have become apparent. There is a tendency for young men to desert the villages and flock to the towns, thus creating a dangerous state of urban unemployment and an agriculture without adequate manpower. At the same time, a gap in culture and standards of living is opening between town and country. Investment tends to be absorbed by the towns and by large scale projects while the country declines. There is need for a rural middle class of educated farmers and rural craftsmen to mediate between the illiterate peasant and the fully qualified government-employed technician. There is also need to find some means of carrying out rural improvements which will be a substitute for the old system of levying ten days compulsory labour upon the village.

In earlier years, organization was initiated through Provident Societies and Mutual Societies for Rural Development, which undertook the movement of crops, especially ground-nuts. With these were associated a limited number of local co-operatives. In 1960 the system was reorganized. The structure remains complex, and the dividing line between governmental and non-governmental action is not as clear as it is hoped to make it in the future.

In the first place, at least three Ministries are involved. The Ministry of Rural Economy and Co-operation is responsible for the co-operative Technical

Service, the staff of which is now being trained and appointed to posts in the country, where it will be their duty to promote and supervise co-operatives. The Ministry of Technical Instruction is responsible for their training. The Ministry of Development and Co-operation is responsible for the Regional Centres for Aid in Development (known as CRAD, from the order of the initials in French), which have inherited the buildings and equipment of the old provident societies and mutuels and which act as regional marketing unions. A co-operative officer is attached to each, but, as explained above, he is employed by the Ministry of Rural Economy. Another type of organization, the Centre for Rural Expansion (CER), exists parallel with the CRAD and comes under both Ministries, but is mainly occupied with pilot agricultural projects and is only marginally concerned with co-operation.

Two national organizations in the form of public utilities make possible the economic activities of the CRADs and the co-operatives which they have formed. These are the Agricultural Marketing Board (Office de Commercialisation Agricole) and the Development Bank of Senegal. Both were established in 1960.

The Agricultural Marketing Board is a public body legally incorporated and enjoying financial independence. It has an appointed Director and is governed by a Council representing Ministries and Banks. It reports to the Ministries of Commerce and Finance. It has power to (a) regulate or undertake trade in agricultural produce; (b) improve conditions for the importation of agricultural requirements; (c) carry out decisions for the reorganization of markets. It has the sole right to market produce delivered to co-operatives and by them to the CRADs, and it may establish its own collecting points in districts where co-operatives have not yet been formed. It may in certain circumstances establish its own selling points for seeds and other requirements. It has a committee on agricultural marketing on which private wholesalers, exporters and importers are represented. There are also two co-operative representatives. It has regional consultative committees and a national committee especially concerned with the export of ground-nuts. In much of this it has taken over the functions of earlier organizations, but its aims

are somewhat different and are defined as "a planned economy under state control, not private speculation," and a diversification of the national output.

The Development Bank took over the assets of the former Central Bank for Agricultural Mutual Credit and makes use of the CRADs as its regional agents. Of its share capital, 51% is held by the state. It is governed by a Council of 15, representing different groups of shareholders. It banks on behalf of (a) all public and semi public institutions controlled by the state and for this purpose has established an investment fund largely derived from French and international sources, and (b) all co-operative and mutual associations. In practice it also undertakes banking business for private undertakings. In dealing with co-operative business, advances are made in the first place to the Marketing Board, which transmits them through the CRAD to the co-operative or "pre-co-operative" collecting point, usually in the form of seeds, fertilizers or some domestic requirements.

As noted above, the CRADs have taken over the buildings, plant (including transport) and responsibilities of an earlier organization, the Mutual Society for Rural Development. This was, at least nominally, a democratic body, locally controlled. The CRAD is frankly governmental and is financed from local taxation as well as from any margin on its commercial and financial operations. Its business is to act as agent for the Development Bank and the Marketing Board and to make advances to and collect produce from primary co-operatives and pre-co-operatives. These are being formed very rapidly, with strong official support, and it is hoped that they will be ultimately wholly private and self-governing and that it will be possible to transform the CRADs into co-operative unions controlled by their member societies.

It should at this point be explained further that the Centres of Rural Expansion (CER) are public institutions set up by decree of the regional governors. They have no corporated existence or financial autonomy and consist of the technical officers in charge of agriculture, forestry, stockbreeding, water control, co-operative fisheries, etc. They employ

Co-operatives make advances, mainly for seeds and fertilizers, and to a more limited extent for building and roofing materials and the obligations of traditional ceremonies. The amount of loans is based on 20% of the previous year's delivery of ground-nuts, and interest is at 8%. Loans of seeds are made in kind and repayable in kind, with an addition of 25%. Some villages are engaged in growing selected seed. Other loans are expected to be repaid in ground-nuts delivered during the first few weeks of harvest, before official buying begins, though not all societies succeed in bringing in the whole amount. Ground-nuts are delivered by the producer to a village collecting point in sacks supplied by the CRAD, weighed, riddled and piled in the open till they can be collected by CRAD lorries. Some co-operatives also handle millet, for which a somewhat subsidised price is offered by the Marketing Board in order to encourage production.

Co-operation has so far been concentrated in districts of arable farming. One stockbreeding co-operative has been formed in the regions of semi-nomadic livestock husbandry, and it is hoped to improve the native breed and eventually to organize the sale of meat, for which at present Senegal depends on imports from Mauretania.

No attempt has been made to organize co-operative use of the land. A land reform is being contemplated but is not in immediate prospect. At present, various forms of family tenure exist but do not give clear title to land, and there is a system of temporarily allocating parcels of land to cultivators who are tenants, in fact if not in name, on conditions which give no encouragement to permanent improvement. As regards methods of cultivation, the plough is in general use and experiment has shown that tractors, though they may be used for rice paddies and market gardens, are in general deleterious when applied to ground-nut cultivation on the dry steppe. This does not give much ground for the corporate use of machinery.

Co-operation in the field of market gardening falls outside the structure described above. The industry is virtually confined to Cap Vert in the immediate neighbourhood of Dakar. There are a few large European producers, but most of the 3000 growers are Senegalese smallholders with one to two

hectares each. They are all members of a Market Gardeners' Syndicate, with central offices in Dakar and branches in 10-12 villages. The Syndicate exists to protect the general interests of growers and to promote technical progress in the industry. It also makes contracts with wholesale buyers for any members who wish to dispose of their produce in this way. Any immediate development in co-operative marketing is held back in the first place, because there is little surplus to local demand, and secondly, because sales are in the hands of the wives of growers who usually hand over about 60% of the proceeds to their husbands and keep the rest for themselves and their children. If at any time production exceeds local needs, it may be possible to secure the consent of the women for the export of part of their produce, properly graded and packed.

For the present the syndicate has embarked on two co-operative ventures. One is a consumers' co-operative, with one branch outside Dakar, which supplies the major domestic and horticultural needs of members, and the other is a credit society which aims at providing development capital for wells, machinery, etc. for terms up to five years. It is proposed to borrow for this purpose from the Development Bank of Senegal. The Syndicate and its co-operatives attach importance to its voluntary and fully economic character, and to the fact that it makes no use of state or charitable grants and has made no advances which have not been repaid. It is also providing an education in business for the members of its large committee, nearly all Senegalese, each of whom represents a village, and for the staff of the organization.

Several fields of co-operative enterprise lie outside that agriculture, though none has yet been developed very far. One or two consumer co-operatives exist in towns. In the industrial field much of the initiative comes from the bank Credit de Senegal, the aim of which is to build up a modern business structure in Senegalese hands. Loans are made to private industrial and commercial enterprises, but a good deal of lending also takes place to co-operatives for the following main purposes:

- (a) Housing. A number of Senegalese housing co-operatives have been formed, the members of which build their own houses but borrow from the bank for the purchase of cement and other materials.

(b) Traders may form co-operatives in order to open shops and buy stock-in-trade.

(c) Workers' Production. Groups of workers producing on contract for government departments (e.g., carpenters making school furniture) may spontaneously form a co-operative to purchase raw materials and regulate work and deliveries, or the idea may be suggested to them by the contracting department. The approach to the bank is made through the local government authorities. The bank then sends an investigator to report on the economic validity of the project. If necessary the Ministry of Technical Instruction will report on the technical competence of the intending members. Once the loan is sanctioned, actual purchases of machinery, raw materials, etc., are made through commercial channels. No attempt is being made to preserve handicrafts or cottage industries. The emphasis is on modern methods of production.

No actual fishery co-operatives exist so far, but the Department of Oceanography and Sea Fishery is engaged on a technical programme of fishery modernization which will ultimately take a co-operative form and, for organization purposes, come under the supervision of the co-operative officers of the CRAD. The method of fishing is to follow the movements of fish along the coast, using large dug-out canoes carrying from 10 to 20 men. The larger canoes are now fitted with motors. Fish are bought up by women on landing and are either sold directly to shops or to lorry owners, who carry it inland or they are salted, dried, smoked or cured in other ways for sale at a distance. The intended lines of co-operative development are (1) buildings in which motors and other gear can be stored; (2) repair of motors for which the supplying firms would be prepared to train and install mechanics; (3) sales of fuel oil and the construction of the necessary tanks and pumps; (4) supply of nets, tar, paint and other necessities; (5) loans for the purchase of engines and other supplies; (6) building of insulated stores and supply of ice to enable fish to be held back from the market; (7) possible improvements in the methods of processing. Some stores are in the process of construction, but the co-operatives have yet to be formed.

It is fully realized that the development of co-operation in all fields, as well as of other forms of modern economic and social life depends on the provision of trained staff, first of the government services concerned, and later of the voluntary organizations. The staff of the Co-operative Technical Service are being trained at the National Centre for Training and Action, a former fishery school at Rufisque, which has been taken over for the purpose of training various categories of workers in social and governmental fields. The co-operative course lasts two months, followed by two months of on-the job training. It is hoped to bring trainees back for refresher courses later on. The school takes 60 students at a time, all of whom have reached a certain educational standard but are without practical experience. The course covers co-operation, bookkeeping, civics and an introduction to agriculture and fisheries. A few co-operative officers have been sent for training to the Centre Nationale de la Coopération in Paris. These men are now occupying responsible posts.

M A L I

Mali is an independent country with a population of 3,642,000, producing principally food crops and cotton. Provident Societies with compulsory membership and largely official control were introduced at an early date. A Central Agricultural Credit Bank dates from 1931. In 1953 the Provident Societies were replaced by Mutual Societies for Rural Development, the constitution of which was considerably amended in June, 1960.

Their object is to co-ordinate the activities of rural co-operative and mutual aid groups, to form the link between them and the Ministry of Rural Economy and Planning, and to transmit government instructions. They are especially concerned with production, marketing and processing, with credit and with collective undertakings for village improvement. Membership of the MSRD is compulsory for all agricultural co-operatives and "rural groups for production and mutual aid" as well as for individual cultivators, stockbreeders, fishermen, craftsmen and others who are not members of such groups. They are financed by levies collected with general taxation, as well as by grants and certain tax revenues. They are governed by a general meeting which includes certain official elements, but otherwise consists of delegates elected by local councils, which also undertake the collection of produce for marketing through the MSRD. The general meeting elects a chairman and vice-president, but authority is exercised by a Government Commissioner acting with a committee consisting largely of chiefs and official representatives. A Director is appointed by the Ministry of Rural Economy and Planning. Regional co-ordination committees are formed by the government commissioners and the directors of MSRD, and at national level, general direction, finance and auditing are carried on by a public utility, the Territorial Fund for Economic Action.

The Rural Groups for Production and Mutual Aid have the usual co-operative objects but give prominence to the joint organization of cultivation and harvesting and joint use of agricultural implements, as well as to youth and cultural services. They are set up by simple majority decision of all the inhabitants of a village over 18, after which membership is compulsory

for all inhabitants. They are financed by shares, compulsorily assessed and collected, as well as by compulsory subscriptions, the profits on trading operations, loans and subsidies. They are carried on by a general meeting of all inhabitants over 18 and by a managing committee consisting of the village council presided over by the chief.

Rural groups are supervised and inspected by the general administrative service, the directors of the MSRD, rural councillors and special government representatives. They must affiliate with the MSRD in order to obtain agricultural and other supplies. They may form secondary organizations known as Associated Rural Groups. This system, which is of a fairly authoritarian character, was adopted after a year of experiment and is doubtless based on the previous work and resources of the Provident Societies. In 1960 there were between 300 and 400 rural groups carrying on various activities.

In the territories of the Niger Office, 16 rural groups have been formed, with a membership of 35,000, including practically all the settlers in these territories. Marketing and technical aid are provided by the Office, but the rural groups otherwise pursue the same objects, including credit, collective cultivation, joint use of machinery, transport and supply of consumer goods. They are attached not to the MSRD but directly to the Territorial Fund for Economic Action.

There are about 70 independent co-operatives, formed mostly by agriculturists or market gardeners, though including consumers', fishery, handicrafts and workers' building co-operatives. It is uncertain whether the agricultural co-operatives will continue to maintain a separate existence or whether there will be further moves in the direction of state farming and the nationalization of banks, including the Agricultural Credit Bank, which is at present an independent co-operative.

A number of co-operative officers have been trained at the Centre Nationale de la Coopération Agricole, in France, though not all are still in co-operative posts. Until 1959 there was a Federal Co-operative Training Centre at Sikasso, which also took students from other West African territories, but this has ceased to exist and it does not appear that it will be reconstituted. Some co-operative instruction is included in the courses given at primary and secondary agricultural schools, including one school for women.

N I G E R

Niger is a state of the French Community with a population of 2,334,000, mainly engaged in the production of food crops from dry farming. Provident Societies were set up at an early date, followed by a Central Agricultural Credit Bank in 1938. In 1960 there were 15 Provident Societies, one for each administrative district, in course of gradual conversion into Mutual Societies for Rural Development, of which there were four. Their constitution is a good deal more democratic than that of the Provident Societies, since two-thirds of the members of their management committees are elected by the general meeting, and the President, Vice-president and Secretary are elected by the committee. The Director is, however, appointed by the public authority on which they are dependent financially.

Their principal objects are: (1) the processing and sale of their members' produce; (2) supply of agricultural requirements; (3) joint use of processing plant and transport; (4) technical advice; (5) collective enterprises in agriculture, stockbreeding or forestry; (6) improvement of rural housing; (7) credit for agricultural operations; (8) establishment of food supply co-operatives; (9) education and training in agricultural co-operative techniques.

One of the main activities of the Mutuels, as of the Provident Societies before them, has been to ensure adequate food supplies through the holding of stocks of millet. For this purpose they buy the crop from the producers, often through co-operative collecting points, at a higher price than they ultimately resell to those who may be in need. Two central warehouses for millet are controlled by the Common Fund of the Provident and Mutual Societies.

This Fund makes advances to the Mutuels, sanctions loans made through them to individual agriculturists, and audits their accounts. The resources of the Common Fund are derived from the compulsory contributions of members levied, with general taxation, from special grants and from any profit on

commercial operations. The Provident and Mutual Societies are supervised by a department of the Ministry of Economics.

There have been one or two attempts to form voluntary and independent co-operatives (consumers', market gardeners', transport), but they have been either unsuccessful or very limited in scope.

As regards co-operative education, a number of trainees have been sent to the National Centre of Agricultural Co-operation in Paris, and most of these hold posts in the Mutual Societies. Twelve members of Provident or Mutual Societies' Staffs were sent for training at Co-operative Courses held in Sikasso (Mali), and a number of junior staff training courses have been held locally, giving instruction in bookkeeping and general co-operative theory and practice.

UPPER VOLTA

Upper Volta is a State of the French Community with an extensive territory, mostly dry steppe, and a population of 3,324,000. The principal products are cereals, consumed locally, and livestock. Provident Societies were set up at an early date. They handled selected seeds and food crops, and built up a Common Fund from which operations were financed. A Central Agricultural Credit Bank was established in 1949, and Mutual Societies for Rural Production were introduced in 1955.

In May, 1960, it was decided to bring the Provident and Mutual Societies to an end on the grounds that they were compulsory and official in character, were indifferently managed, covered areas too large for effective action, and failed to educate cultivators and bring them into active participation. This decision was, however, suspended until some organizations could be created to take the place of those to be abolished.

At this time there were 26 co-operatives with about 5000 members. Of these, nine are agricultural, five mutual credit societies, three consumers', four of a mixed character, attached to missions, and five miscellaneous, including fisheries and industrial production.

A Co-operative Service with rather limited resources forms part of the Ministry of Agriculture. Seven men have been trained at the Centre National de la Coopération Agricole in France, though not all are in posts related to co-operative development. Others have attended courses at the Co-operative Training Centre in Sikasso (Mali). A course in Rural Economy and Co-operation is offered at the National School of Administration, but the first students have not yet completed their courses. There is a National Association of Co-operative Officers which includes former co-operative students and those at present in co-operative appointments and which is working for increased technical assistance to co-operatives and training for co-operative personnel.

G A M B I A

Gambia is a British Colony and Protectorate with a population of rather over 250,000, the great majority being peasant farmers whose main cash crop is ground-nuts. This crop is purchased from farmers through buying agents licensed by the Gambia Oilseeds Marketing Board, which also operates a scheme for the distribution of seed nuts, which are advanced before the planting and repaid at reasonable rates of interest after the harvest. Advances are also made in kind by traders and repaid in ground-nuts, usually at much higher rates of interest.

A Co-operative Societies Ordinance was passed in 1950. By 1955, when a qualified Co-operative Officer (later Registrar) was appointed, only four small credit and supply societies were in existence. By 1960 there were 55 societies with 4387 members. The value of produce co-operatively handled was about £65,000. The majority were marketing societies organized into five marketing unions. There were also a few credit and supply societies and a newly formed apex organization, the Gambia Central Co-operative Banking and Marketing Union. This has received government approval for a £10,000 loan for 11 years and has been appointed as a licensed buying agent of the Gambia Oilseeds Marketing Board. It proposes to operate a central banking account for all societies and thus simplify procedures and make the best use of the available capital deposited by members. It will also be in a position to borrow from the Gambia Revolving Loan Fund in order to finance new co-operative building and plant.

The factor limiting co-operative expansion is the shortage of reliable men with business acumen as secretaries, clerks and bookkeepers of primary societies. The staffs of unions have to some extent been trained by posting a co-operative inspector to each union headquarters during the trading season. One member of the staff of the co-operative department has been trained in the Co-operative College in England and in Nigeria.

GUINEA

Guinea is an independent republic with about 2,500,000 inhabitants, dependent mainly on subsistence agriculture, together with the production of bananas and other export crops. As in other countries forming part of the French Union, the first approach to co-operation was through Provident Societies, which were introduced in 1910. A central agricultural credit bank was set up in Guinea in 1931, with provision for short-, medium- and long-term loans either to individuals or to mutual agricultural credit co-operatives. By 1952 the Provident Societies were handling a substantial part of the supply of improved seed and the transport and marketing of produce. They were, however, much criticised, both in Africa and in France, for their compulsory character and the fact that they were almost wholly run by officials. In 1955 the Provident Societies were converted into Mutual Rural Production Societies, of which there were two, each covering a large area.

There were at this time a limited number of genuine co-operative rice marketing societies attached to the Provident Societies, and some independent co-operatives, most of them originating among Europeans, including three consumers' societies (for railwaymen, ex-servicemen and the employees of one firm), one engaged in forestry, one in public works, two in coffee marketing, one composed of butchers, one of diamond workers and several formed by school-children. The most important was probably the BANACOP, founded in 1940, which included all the larger European and African banana planters, together with co-operatives of small planters, for whom membership in the co-operative was compulsory. BANACOP handled 25% of all exports.

Since the independence of Guinea, the economy, including the co-operatives, has been in the course of reorganization on the principles of State socialism. All imports and exports pass through the National Office of Foreign Trade. Banana planters are organized in syndicates or co-operatives grouped in the Banana and Fruit Federation of Guinea. Each of the larger producers receives his own mark and enters into a contract by which he indicates in advance the volume of the next month's deliveries.

It would appear that land is gradually being transferred from European to African planters and that the latter are to be reorganized in collective farms, while all trade other than that of the street markets is to be organized on a nominally co-operative basis.

SIERRA LEONE

Sierra Leone, formerly a British Colony and Protectorate, became independent within the Commonwealth in April, 1961. It has a population of 2,260,000, over half of whom are supported by agriculture and the cultivation of plantation crops, the most important products being palm kernels and oil, piassava, rice, cocoa, coffee and ground-nuts, with livestock. There is also a mining industry, fisheries and village crafts. The Government has intervened in agricultural marketing through the establishment of the Sierra Leone Produce Marketing Board, with nine pioneer oil mills, handling palm kernels and oil expressing plant (ground-nuts and palm kernels) and five rice mills operated directly by the Government.

Co-operation was introduced in 1936 by the Department of Agriculture, which was interested in providing better sales outlets for an improved strain of swamp rice. A Co-operative Ordinance was issued in 1939. Development was very limited until 1948, when a Registrar of Co-operative Societies was appointed. Progress was at first slow, but gradually gathered momentum, the most important fields of activity being the marketing of cocoa, rice and piassava, though a few societies handled other produce, including bananas, palm kernels, fish, coffee and cattle.

In 1960 there were in all 405 primary co-operatives, of which 235 were engaged in marketing, the most numerous group being the 159 cocoa societies. There were four cocoa marketing unions, three rice unions, one each for piassava and fish, and a general marketing federation covering the South Eastern Region. There were three societies for mechanized rice production, one of cattle breeders, one consumers' society, and 163 thrift and credit societies, with a Banking Union covering the South West. The total membership was 22,000, mainly the heads of extended families, and total business amounted to £460,000, of which 75% represented produce marketed and the greater part of the remainder short term and, to a limited extent, medium term credit. Thrift and credit societies are increasing rapidly in numbers in response to popular demand. In the cash crop areas, women are encouraged to form thrift and credit

societies, and the men marketing societies, through which the greater part of the credit is advanced on the security of crops to be delivered. The necessary funds are in this case obtained through a government-guaranteed bank overdraft. The thrift and credit societies, on the other hand, lend from their own funds, built up from shares, reserves and deposits. The security in this case is the earning capacity of the member, backed by unlimited liability. Good societies are able to borrow additional funds on bank overdraft if required. The Loans Scheme, with Commercial Bank funds guaranteed by government, is operated by the Co-operative Department, but it is hoped later to set up a Co-operative Bank.

Some marketing societies supply consumer goods to members, though not in large quantities and there is a wholesale consumer co-operative at work on a small scale.

The Co-operative Department has a staff of 130, half of them field officers. They are concerned primarily with promotion, registration and supervision of societies, but owing to widespread illiteracy, many officers are obliged to undertake functions which the staffs of the societies should be able to carry out for themselves. Training schemes for the staffs of primary societies and unions are, however, now being carried out by means of ten-week residential courses for twenty secretaries at a time. The Unions and Federation are also taking over from the Department some of the supervision of their member societies. One thrift and credit union in fact carries on bookkeeping on behalf of all its member societies. Courses are also held for new entrants to the Department. These last four months and are followed by refresher courses and, in some cases, training overseas.

LIBERIA

As far as is known, no co-operative organizations exist in Liberia.

I V O R Y C O A S T

The population of the Ivory Coast is about 3,100,000, and its resources are almost wholly agricultural. The country is at present only partly developed, and there are considerable fertile but thinly inhabited regions. The southern half of the country is forest, partly developed, with coffee, bananas, oil palms and other tree crops. The north is savannah with some livestock production and dry rice as the main crop. The main problems are to arrest soil impoverishment and to increase production. It is believed that with more intensive methods, the use of improved seed, fertilisers, and better livestock management, output could be trebled. There is further need to diversify crops and modify the present reliance on coffee and a precarious international market. Finally, it is necessary to find a method of dealing on the one hand with unemployment, especially among young villagers, and on the other, with labour problems which have arisen since the new national frontiers have checked the migration of labour from the north. Among obstacles to agricultural progress are the fact that tenure is usufructuary and descent matrilinear, and that while food crops are cultivated by women, tree crops are the property of men, but are almost always cultivated by hired labour.

The system of Provident Societies for purposes of agricultural credit and general improvement, based on the compulsory membership of all land holders in a district, which was once common to many territories of the French Union, existed in the Ivory Coast until recently, supplemented by more modern forms, such as the Mutual Society for Rural Production. These did a good deal to spread the idea and practice of joint marketing of agricultural produce and of advances to cultivators for purposes of production, financed by a National Agricultural Credit Bank. These organizations were not, however, either fully effective or fully acceptable to the people concerned, and they did not provide much training in genuine

co-operation or the acceptance of responsibility by the farmers themselves.

In the summer of 1959 a fresh start was made with the passing of a law which abolished the Provident Societies and the Mutual Societies for Rural Production and which substituted a new system aiming ultimately at a fully articulated, non-governmental co-operative organization. The first stage was the establishment of the National Centre of Agricultural Co-operation and Mutuality (CNMCA) as a public undertaking operating under general commercial law. It has as its general objects (a) to promote agricultural co-operation and develop a spirit of mutual aid; (b) to provide co-operatives with technical assistance; (c) to plan and finance development programmes and supervise their execution; (d) to represent co-operatives and watch over their interests. It has power to register co-operatives, to sanction programmes and to arrange the financial aid required to carry them out by recommending loans either from the National Agricultural Credit Bank or from special funds.

The National Centre is governed by a Council of 18 appointed members, of whom at present ten represent interested government departments, the Legislative Assembly, the National Agricultural Credit Bank and the Chamber of Agriculture, and the remaining eight represent existing co-operative and mutual societies. In due course these members will be elected by the societies themselves. The National Centre is financed partly by a subsidy derived from local taxation, partly by any profits arising from its own commercial and financing undertakings, or from such subscriptions as the co-operative societies may later be in a position to pay. It has taken over the assets and liabilities of the earlier organizations (mainly Provident Societies). It is administered by a Director, selected by the Minister of Agriculture on the recommendation of the Council.

The National Centre works through 52 organizations called Centres for Agricultural Co-ordination and Co-operation (CCA), each established in an administrative district. After a year's experience it was found

convenient to group these under branch offices of the CNCMA, known as "Regional Delegations," which act as administrative, commercial and financial intermediaries between the National and District Centres, and also control accountancy and transport.

The District Centres, which have taken over the property and installations of former Provident Societies, each have a director, appointed by the Minister of Agriculture, and a committee, consisting of the District Commissioner and representatives of elected bodies, political and youth organizations, the technical services and existing co-operative and mutual societies. They receive a subsidy from local taxation, any assets which they may derive from the earlier organizations, as well as possible grants and loans.

The basic aim of the District Centres is to increase and diversify village production and to improve its quality. The main instruments of this policy are the primary co-operatives. Co-operative officers are attached to each Centre, which can call on the assistance of local officers of all branches of the Ministry of Agriculture. The District Centre acts as an organ of the National Agricultural Credit Bank, reporting on local applications for loans and advising as to whether they should be granted. It acts as a marketing and supply centre for the co-operatives of the district, providing transport and storage, collecting, and in some cases treating produce, and supplying machinery, building materials and, to a limited extent, consumer goods.

The first task of the District Centres has been to rehabilitate existing co-operatives and enlarge their membership so that they may present a sufficiently broad basis for the receipt of advances on produce to the villages. In some districts it has also been necessary to divide societies which had been formed on the basis of a tribe, which were too scattered for democratic control and which had become merely a source of profit for the chiefs. These are being reorganised on a village basis. Reorganisation has been

followed by publicity and education, leading to the cautious formation of new co-operatives, as well as by measures to train members and select leaders. In all this the District Centres are helped by travelling auditors and other officers of the National Centre.

No co-operative is formed, nor are loans made, until an adequate number of villagers have signed undertakings to market their crop (generally coffee) through the Centre, a minimum quantity of produce has been delivered, a committee elected, and a president and secretary chosen. Before this point has been reached, the group functions as a "pre-co-operative". Members subscribe shares which carry liability up to ten times their value, and are related in volume to the use the member makes of the society. They are not necessarily paid in cash, but may be built up from bonus due to members. This system is also applied to non-members who sell through the co-operative and in this way automatically attain membership. Shares and bonus retained as shares in pre-co-operatives, are placed in a blocked account with the National Agricultural Credit Bank pending the registration of the co-operative.

In fact there has been no great difficulty in forming co-operatives, of which there were about 700 in 1960. Most of them may be described as general-purpose societies. They make advances on or before the delivery of the principal cash crops, especially coffee. These advances are usually in kind, or the co-operative may pay on behalf of the member for the harvesting of the crop. Many societies now own their own coffee decorticator, set in a covered concrete platform, and sufficient storage space to hold coffee for some weeks before delivery to the District Centre. In some cases a small consumers' store has been added which sells pesticides, soap, knives, nails, light bulbs, etc., as well as beer. In some societies the member merely brings in his dried cherry to be decorticated, pays for the service, and delivers it himself to the District Centre. Elsewhere the produce is collected in bulk and, after advances

have been deducted, payment is made by cheque to a representative of the society, usually the chairman, at a district meeting. The committee is then responsible for its distribution among the members. This of course means that the society keeps a record of deliveries, which makes subsequent payment possible.

Marketing is carried on through the District Centres and the Trading Section of the National Centre. The District Centres check for quality, sometimes regrade, clean and sack and dispatch by road or rail to the ports. Although coffee is the principal crop, co-operatives (and the National Centre) also handle cocoa, palm products, ground-nuts, cotton, copra, rice, manioc, yams and maize. The last four are consumed in the country, but the rest are exported. A Coffee Stabilization Board is in operation, but actual exporting of this and other commodities is carried on under license by private business firms. It is the aim of the National Centre to secure a sufficiently large volume, probably 25% of total produce marketed, to claim an export license. Among the other problems of the present co-operative marketing system, as it is now developing, are the high cost of transport, the heavy wear and tear of lorries on unmetalled roads and the absence of back loads; the inconvenience and possible risk of distributing money in villages, since there are few branch banks either co-operative or private; and the fact that full co-ordination with the National Agricultural Credit Bank has not yet been worked out, and that loans are at present being issued, both through co-operatives and direct to the larger producers.

The Financial Section of the National Centre is responsible on the one hand for securing the funds necessary both for investment and current operations, and on the other for inspection and audit of accounts. The cost of running the organization at national, regional and district levels is met from government grants. New fixed installations either for district centres or village co-operatives are financed by three to five year loans (decorticators can be paid for in one season), usually from the National Agricultural Credit Bank. They are based on the acreage which the members

of the co-operative have under cultivation. Short term advances to cover the movement of crops and the stocking of district warehouses and co-operative shops with agricultural and other supplies are mainly drawn from banks and commercial houses with a government guarantee.

The accounts of the District Centres are audited by the Financial Section of the National Centre and are subject to inspection by travelling accountants. These accounts include a record of advances to individuals either in cash or kind, and of repayments and deliveries of produce. There is at present no full audit of primary societies, though they are assisted by travelling accountants. In its early stage, the Financial Section had the task of liquidating the affairs of the superseded provident societies and transferring their assets and liabilities to the district centres. This task was, however, virtually completed by the end of 1960.

One group of marketing co-operatives stands in a somewhat looser relationship to the National Centre. These have been formed by African banana and pineapple planters. Co-operation in this field began with the formation of a co-operative by about 100 European planters and a few large African planters. This organization undertakes marketing in conjunction with a sales organization which selects and controls export agents in the Ivory Coast and abroad. It also supplies members with everything necessary for production and transport as well as some imported domestic requirements; manufactures Cellophane bagging; and repairs machinery and vehicles on behalf of members. The planters' co-operative has now been transformed into the Union of Banana and Fruit Co-operatives of the Ivory Coast (Cobafruit) and is made up of the original European planters together with a number of primary co-operatives formed by some 2000 African planters on a small scale. Most of the primary co-operatives simply carry out the first stages of marketing and supply some agricultural requirements. Some, however, run collective plantations, especially of pineapples.

Cobafruit has recently come to an understanding with the National Centre

that the latter should undertake the general supervision of the African societies affiliated to it, ensuring that they are run on genuinely co-operative lines and reorganising and supervising their accounts.

It is the aim of the National Centre first to secure the establishment of a co-operative for marketing, credit and supply in every village. This will necessarily be composed of the older men who own plantations. It will leave untouched the younger men without property or, in most cases, occupation. Such men tend to become a disruptive element or to drift to the towns, where there is already an unemployment problem. Something is being done through the National Service for Civic and Rural Education to train youths in short work camps, but this is not a permanent solution. The co-operative approach is twofold. It creates either co-operative youth services or co-operative plantations owned by young men, or a combination of the two. Neither is inaugurated unless there is already a co-operative of older men in the village, as it is desirable to avoid the possibility of jealousy between the generations.

The Youth Service Co-operative is in effect a labour-contracting co-operative undertaking work, mainly agricultural, within the village. The members are between 15 and 30 years of age. The District Centres make to each new co-operative a small advance per member for the purchase of tools and donate a first-aid kit. Plantation-owners who require labour for planting, pruning or harvesting then make a contract with the District Centre for the services of the co-operative. Payment is also made by the owner to the Centre and is then distributed monthly through the society, partly in wages, according to the number of days worked (labour of this type is intermittent and seasonal), but partly retained as share capital in the name of the individual member, partly used to pay the advance for tools, and partly invested in a sickness and accident insurance fund. This last is for the year only, and any balance at the end of the year may be used for some collective purpose.

It is hoped that service co-operatives of this kind will eventually

replace the migrant labourers who in former years travelled seasonally from the Niger. Another outcome of the experiment is that it is making possible a gradual survey and registration of land holding. No contracts are accepted by the District Centres until a survey has been made. Junior officials of the co-operative service are therefore trained in land measurement and dispatched to the village where the youth service co-operative works. These officials also help to keep the co-operative on the right lines and in many cases are instructed to prepare written reports on the economy and social life of the village. Before moving elsewhere, the officer trains a local man to carry out future land measurement on behalf of the service co-operative. This is necessary, as plantation owners invariably underestimate the area to be cultivated or picked, but it is also gradually building a cadastral survey of the country, which may eventually be used to give title to land actually cultivated, and to find means of distributing unclaimed lands to those who can bring them into production.

The next stage in the development of a youth co-operative is when the group is in a position to take over an area of land, clear and plant it with some cash crop, cultivating and eventually marketing on a collective basis. So far no enterprises of this kind have existed long enough to show definite results. There are, however, a number of collective plantations initiated by villagers who already have small holdings of their own. These are usually of coconut or oil palms. Areas of about 30 hectares have been cleared of bush, the palm plants have been supplied by the Ministry of Agriculture, and members have given their labour. In one case each member was allotted a line of trees to cultivate. If he failed to work, it was agreed that the other members of the co-operative should kill and eat one of his pigs. In another case the land was divided between the three clans making up the village, each of which in turn allotted rows to families. Any defaulters who failed to keep their rows in order were fined. In other

societies, all work was carried on in common, and in most cases it is intended that the produce shall be sold jointly and receipts divided equally among the members.

Fishing employs a fairly large population along the sea coast and lagoons, some of whom are also agriculturists. No fishery co-operatives exist at present, but one or two are in preparation. They will take the form either of actual fishing enterprises with modernised equipment or of fish marketing. The latter is likely to take the form of a co-operative of market women rather than of fishermen.

The development of co-operation in the Ivory Coast obviously depends greatly on the work of the National Centre and the District Centres, and this in turn depends on the intelligence, training and enthusiasm of their staffs. At present the National Centre employs a number of expatriate experts in senior positions, but the aim is to train Africans to take their place as soon as they have the necessary education and experience. For this purpose a Co-operative School has been established at Tiebissou, under an African principal, which gives courses lasting several months to junior staffs entering the service of the National Centre. These aim at a training in elementary economics, sociology, agriculture and law, as well as in the conduct and accountancy of co-operative societies. A few senior men have been sent to France to the courses organised by the Centre Nationale de la Cooperation in Paris, and one or two have attended co-operative seminars elsewhere.

The place of co-operation in the economy of the Ivory Coast is not at present decisive, but it is gaining in importance. As already noted, control over 25% of the coffee crop is in sight; bananas and pineapples for export are almost wholly co-operatively handled. Co-operatives are taking an increasing share of other crops. The impact on actual production, either the area cultivated or the standards of production, can hardly be assessed for some years to come. This is also true of the youth services

and co-operative plantations.

Earlier attempts to mix social development with co-operative business appear in some cases merely to have produced a confusion of aims. The policy is now to concentrate on the economic situation and trust that, as this improves, social development will follow. To some extent this is already happening. The insistence that members must take an active part in co-operatives and make some sacrifice of time and labour or of money is having a good effect. Many villages have contributed labour to building their own stores. Some have gone on to build themselves schools. Some of the youth groups have started literacy classes for their own members and others, and all are exhorted to give labour on occasion to widows or sick neighbours. Indirectly the co-operatives have done something to raise the standards of the villages by bringing in more money, by opening stores and by putting up concrete buildings with permanent roofing, which has led immediately to the building of private houses of the same materials.

G H A N A

Ghana has a population of about $4\frac{1}{2}$ million, of whom the great majority are agriculturists. The national economy centres around a single crop, cocoa, which accounts for 60% of all exports, including those of minerals and timber. Co-operation dates from 1928 and began with the spontaneous efforts of African farmers to market their cocoa. This movement was taken up by the Department of Agriculture, and some 400 small societies were formed. None were at first registered, and all accountancy and secretarial work was carried on by the Department of Agriculture. In 1937 the existing Co-operative Ordinance, which had been mainly devised for the incorporation of credit societies, was modified to suit the needs of marketing societies, and in 1944 a separate Co-operative Department was established. This eventually came to have a staff of about 80; it was partly organized on a territorial basis and concerned with inspection, surveys and advice, and was partly centralized and responsible for audit, statistics, planning and the co-ordination of co-operative development as a whole. It ran short courses for staff and co-operative employees, but had no college of its own. In the meantime, societies had become more independent, the quality of staff had improved, and the primary societies had been grouped in districts. In addition to marketing cocoa, they made short-term off-season loans to farmers, and had begun to accumulate capital in the form of shares and deposits.

During the Second World War, cocoa marketing was controlled by the government through a Cocoa Marketing Board, prices were fixed and sales made only under license. By the end of the war, there were 150 primary societies (many small collecting points had been amalgamated) organised in 9 district unions, and a countrywide Co-operative Federation. This later changed its name to the Co-operative Marketing Association. It was licensed as an "A" shipper by the Cocoa Marketing Board, and by 1955 was handling 20% of the national cocoa crop.

The custom of making off-season advances to cocoa producers was an established part of the economy of Ghana and was of necessity followed by

the co-operatives. In 1946 the government for the first time undertook to guarantee loans made by commercial banks, both for off-season loans and for the cash payments made for cocoa received but not yet sold in the export market. These loans were in fact secured on the shares and reserves of the cocoa marketing societies and their unions, about half of which were invested in capital assets, mostly buildings. These in time came to constitute probably the most valuable properties in use in cocoa marketing.

In the same year (1946), the financial aspects of marketing were placed in the hands of a Co-operative Bank, detached from the Marketing Federation and serving as a clearing house for all the co-operative organizations in Ghana. Its main business was in short-term loans, through the district unions, to cover the production and marketing of cocoa, but it also made loans at longer term either for co-operative development or for the redemption of the farms of co-operative members. Funds for the latter purpose were provided by the Cocoa Marketing Board from its reserves but were handled by the Bank.

By far the greater part of co-operative turnover represented cocoa, but there were sales on a small scale of coffee, palm produce, fish, maize and ground-nuts. During the years 1940-46, when there were military camps in the country, there had been an increase in the cultivation and co-operative marketing of so-called "English" vegetables, but much of this died away when the camps were broken up. There were a limited number of thrift and credit societies, most of them formed by urban salary earners, but many had failed to hold the interest of their members or had been unable to find skilled and reliable secretary-accountants and had ceased to be active. There were a number of district unions and two regional audit unions.

For a few years after the Second World War, high prices and a shortage of consumer goods led to a determined attempt to create a consumers' co-operative movement. The Marketing Federation opened an imports department in 1947, with the object of supplying the few existing consumers' societies

as well as the farmer members of cocoa marketing societies. A year later a new body, the Co-operative Wholesale Establishment, was set up with a government-guaranteed loan of £250,000 from commercial banks to cover the cost of imported goods. The individual membership of consumers' societies was at that time no more than 3700. By 1952 it had increased to 13,800 organized in 38 societies and with sales of £200,000. By this time, however, the demand for consumer goods through the cocoa societies was rapidly falling, and it was clear that the CWE was running with increasing rapidity into heavy indebtedness. The period of shortage and high prices had, in fact, been short-lived; abundant supplies were returning to the old channels of petty trade, and these apparently were preferred by consumers, who showed no eagerness to support existing co-operatives or form new ones. Buying policy had been inexperienced and there was a heavy pile-up of unsaleable goods. Bank charges weighed heavily on the CWE resources, as did the cost of salaries and transport. The government made available a further loan, this time interest-free, but little was done to improve the position of the Establishment, and after reports of irregularities and mismanagement, government support was withdrawn, a Commission of Enquiry was appointed, and the CWE went into liquidation. Most of the retail consumers' societies collapsed as their source of supplies was cut off.

The failure of consumer co-operation in Ghana has been generally attributed to a number of causes. In the first place, the traditional pattern of trade is that goods pass directly from importing firms to tens of thousands of women pavement traders with no overheads and with whom it is particularly difficult for a co-operative to compete. In the second place, the whole development was from the top down. The retail societies were frequently larger than could be well managed by inexperienced committees and staffs. Stocktaking and salesmanship were inefficient, firm forward orders were not placed, and goods were not paid for with the regularity necessary to reduce the heavy debts incurred by the CWE. Finally, the CWE was itself controlled not by the representatives of its member societies, but by an

ad hoc committee of persons living in or near the capital. This Committee exercised no adequate supervision and the member societies felt themselves ignored. The Co-operative Department itself could hardly supervise adequately since the managing-secretary of CWE was also for a considerable period Deputy Registrar (Consumers') in the Co-operative Department.

The failure of consumers' co-operation did not affect either the Co-operative Bank or the Co-operative Marketing Association, which continued to progress. In 1951 a national co-ordinating organization, the Gold Coast Co-operative Union, later renamed the Alliance of Ghana Co-operatives, came into being. Its membership was originally limited to the other co-operative organizations of national scope, but in 1953 and 1956 its rules were amended to admit primary societies and district unions. It was a non-trading body with power to carry on the functions of education, publicity, supervision, audit and advice for the co-operative movement as a whole. Its work has been mainly educational and representational, but it has also been concerned with the formation of new societies and with the issue of a monthly paper, The Ghana Co-operator. It became a member of the International Co-operative Alliance in 1953. By 1960 there were in Ghana 460 co-operatives with 50,000 members and sales of about £8,000,000.

In most African countries the co-operative movement has not only received government support in its early stages, but has continued to retain the confidence of government and has generally been accorded a special place in any official scheme of controlled marketing. In Ghana the recent course of events has been rather different. In 1952 the directors of the Cocoa Marketing Board sponsored a subsidiary, the Cocoa Purchasing Company, with access to the surplus funds (then about £6,000,000) which the Board had accumulated from its trading operations. The Board decided that in the future credit should be issued to growers mainly through the Company, and loans, both long and short-term, were very freely granted in the course of the next few years.

This might have seemed to confront the co-operatives with a dangerous form of competition, but, in fact, the proportion of the cocoa crop handled by co-operatives remained almost unshaken. The Company was in fact liquidated early in 1957, following a commission of enquiry which disclosed a number of irregularities. It was replaced by the Ghana Farmers' Marketing Association (later the Ghana Farmers' Marketing Co-operatives Ltd.) which was allowed to take over the equipment and plant of the Company on a credit basis. It is a centralized organization with branches, and by 1960 was handling about 10% of the Ghana cocoa crop.

In 1958 the Government of Ghana invited three co-operative experts from Israel to visit the country and report on co-operative development there. The report was received in the following year, and the Government announced that it was proposing to increase the staff of the Co-operative Department, increase the government grant to the Alliance of Ghana Co-operatives, and considerably enlarge the powers and resources of the Co-operative Bank, the new funds to be used partly to finance the movement of cocoa by what was beginning to be called the "old" co-operative movement, and partly for the use of Ghana Farmers' Marketing Co-operatives Ltd. The Bank was also urged to undertake business on behalf of trade unions, the Builders Brigade, local councils and friendly societies.

Soon after, the Minister of Economic Affairs announced that the Alliance of Ghana co-operatives would gradually take over the inspection and audit of co-operatives from the Co-operative Department, but at the same time it should cease to admit primary societies as its members, but should instead consist of the Co-operative Marketing Assn., the Co-operative Bank, the Ghana Farmers' Marketing Co-operatives, the Co-operative Wing of the Trade Union Congress, the Co-operative Wholesale Society and the United Ghana Farmers' Council. The Alliance rejected the suggestion that it should limit its own membership, and early in 1960 the Government itself set up a National Co-operative Council, of which the founding members were the General

Co-operative Association of Labour, the Industrial Co-operative Society (an organization formed to run light industries, which is, however, centrally owned and controlled), the Ghana Farmers' Marketing Co-operative and the Co-operative Investment Trust. The Council was recognised by the Government as the central organization representing the interest of the co-operative movement, and is charged among other things, with co-ordinating the activities of all co-operative societies in Ghana. A good deal of pressure appears to have been put on district unions to join the Council, and four unions did in fact break away in the spring of 1960.

The Alliance of Ghana Co-operatives continued for some months with its remaining membership, and even added a new central body, the Co-operative Insurance Society, although its grant-in-aid from the government was withdrawn. Various proposals for a compromise were put forward, and in June an Emergency Congress of the Alliance appointed a delegation to meet the Minister and offer the affiliation of the Alliance to the Council on the following terms:-

1. The identity of the old co-operative movement and its societies should be preserved intact.
2. Co-operative principles, including that of democratic control, should be preserved at all levels.
3. Shares, reserves and all other assets should continue to belong to their present owners.
4. No political partisanship should be introduced into the movement.
5. The movement should not be regionalised and the Registrar of Co-operatives should be referee in all disputes.
6. The Council should not advise or coerce existing organizations to merge with one another, but each movement should maintain its status.

Nothing came of these proposals, and in October 1960 the Government liquidated the Alliance of Ghana Co-operatives and appointed a custodian of its affairs. Its property was taken over by the National Co-operative

Council. The Co-operative Bank was also taken under control and converted into a branch of the Ghana Commercial Bank. The registration of the newly formed National Co-operative Insurance Society was cancelled on December 20, 1960. It has been announced that as of May, 1961, the Ghana Farmers' Marketing Co-operative Ltd. will be in charge of all co-operative marketing.

Speaking in Moscow in September, 1960, the Minister of Labour and Co-operatives said that "the co-operative movement left behind by the British does not satisfy us," and that he had come to study the experience of the Soviet co-operative movement. Soon after, the Prime Minister announced that, henceforth, the Ghana co-operative movement would consist of consumer co-operatives and collective farms. If this programme is carried through, Ghana co-operation in the future will have very little relation to anything that has gone before, and it is impossible to forecast how in practice it will develop.

T O G O

Togo is a former Trustee territory which became independent in 1956. It has a population of just over 1,000,000, depending principally on the production of palm oil, coffee and cocoa in the south, and cotton and ground-nuts in the north. Provident Societies were established in 1934 and were supervised and assisted by a Common Fund, set up a few years later. In 1956 a bank, the Credit du Togo, was established, with the sole right to lend to agricultural organizations and individuals.

In 1959 the Provident Societies were replaced by Public Societies for Rural Action, of which there were 11 in 1960. Their objects are to promote production, marketing and processing, supply agricultural requirements, make loans, accept deposits, provide rural education, especially in co-operation, encourage the formation of primary mutual societies and draw up plans of work for members who have not yet joined mutuals or co-operatives. They are governed by a general meeting of delegates elected by the members, which in turn elects the managing committee. The director is appointed by the Prime Minister. They are financed by the compulsory contributions of members, by loans from the Credit du Togo and by grants. They are affiliated to the Federation, a public body attached to the Ministry of Agriculture, which has taken over the administrative functions of the Common Fund.

There were in 1960 11 SPAR, with 250,000 members. They are entitled to form specialised sections with separate accounts which might be converted into co-operatives, and it was envisaged that the SPAR might ultimately become a union of such co-operatives. In 1960 there were not more than five, one carrying on joint farming and the rest marketing coffee or cocoa. There were in addition six independant co-operatives, one of which catered to consumers, and about 300 local mutual societies with some 4500 members, mostly in the south and centre of the country and directly linked with the Credit du Togo, which lends for agricultural productive purposes on the security of produce

to be delivered and also makes housing loans to improve the traditional standard of dwelling. In 1960 the advances totalled about fr. 150,000,000. There were 256 planters' mutuals and one union of 100 societies for the marketing of cocoa and coffee, which constitutes a "specialised section" of a regional SPAR two palm oil mutuals, 18 selling cotton, one of stockbreeders and three of fishermen. A Kapok Union was under discussion, and there are a few societies running co-operative plantations. Two collective farm settlements were initiated, one in 1956 with 400 families and one in 1959 with 240 families.

The SPAR Federation is planning the establishment of a Centre for Co-operatives and Agricultural Mutuals under a Registrar, which would promote co-operative development, form societies and supervise their activities. It could work as a subsidiary of the SPAR Federation until such time as the latter loses its official character and becomes an independent co-operative union. It is anticipated that the proposed Centre will include a co-operative training school. Up till now senior co-operative officers have been trained in France, and most of them are still working on some aspect of co-operative development.

DAHOMY

Dahomey is a member state of the French Community, with a population of about 1,700,000, largely dependent on subsistence agriculture and the export of copra and a few other crops. The approach to co-operation was through Provident Societies, one of which was formed in each sub-division, combined with some local co-operatives for marketing, well-digging and the improvement of cultivation. In 1953 one provident society was transformed into a Mutual Society for Rural Production. A central Agricultural Credit Bank was set up in 1931, which later became the Bank of Benin. The first group of co-operatives, formed about 1947, together with their union, did not survive long, but more have been formed (there were 52 in 1960), mostly for the joint cultivation of land, but including some for marketing produce and three fishery co-operatives, the members of which are the skippers of marine fishing craft. Their formation was aided by the Oil and Oil Products Research Institute in Paris. There are also some credit and marketing societies directly controlled by the Bank of Benin.

Co-operative development is at present directed by a State Secretariat for Rural Action and Co-operation, which forms part of the Ministry of Agriculture. A project has, however, been put forward for the establishment of a State Company which would promote the formation of co-operatives and provide technical and material aid with the financial support of the Bank of Benin. Up to the end of 1960, future policy regarding cooperation was still awaiting clarification. No co-operative training courses have so far been held in Dahomey, but a number of men have been sent to France for training in this field. Few of them, however, have been placed in co-operative posts on their return.

N I G E R I A

Nigeria, which attained its independence in October, 1960, has been since 1952 a federation consisting of the Northern, Eastern and Western regions, with the Federal Capital at Lagos, has a population of about 32,000,000 and considerable natural wealth. The Northern Region produces minerals as well as ground-nuts, cotton and cattle. The Eastern and Western regions, which lie mainly in the forest belt, produce palm products, cocoa, timber and rubber.

Co-operation was first introduced in 1922 by the Department of Agriculture, which initiated a number of cocoa sale societies with the object of improving the drying and fermentation of the product. A Co-operative Societies Ordinance was passed in 1935, and a Registrar was appointed who took over the supervision of existing co-operatives and the promotion of new co-operative activities from the Department of Agriculture. The number of cocoa marketing societies increased, and they formed their own Union at Ibadan in what is now the Western Region. Marketing of other commodities followed on a smaller scale. At the same time, a strong rural thrift and credit movement developed in Calabar Province in the Eastern Region, but not in anything like the same measure elsewhere. There was limited development of consumers' and craftsmen's co-operatives. Co-operation has been introduced in the Northern Region only in the last few years and is mainly concerned with marketing. The present position is best studied separately in the three Regions and the Federal Capital since administratively cooperation is a regional not a federal subject.

Western Region

The co-operative movement of this Region is, in economic terms, the most important in the Federation. It is based on the marketing of cocoa, of which the greater part is produced in the Western Region, and it has not only administrative but considerable financial support from the government of the Region.

In 1960 there were rather over 1000 co-operative societies, of which about a quarter were unregistered groups. Of the total number of societies, nearly three quarters were engaged in marketing and were responsible for three quarters of all co-operative business. Their position should therefore be considered first.

Co-operative Marketing and the Association of Nigerian Co-operative Exporters.

There are in all about 500 cocoa marketing societies, all small (usually with about 110 members), all situated in villages, and all having their own weighing machines and warehouses. They are grouped into 21 marketing unions. Members take advances from their societies in May, charged at the rate of 15% p.a. These may be in cash or may take the form of spraying materials or fertilisers. Picking of cocoa begins in November. Beans are fermented and dried on the members' holdings and delivered to the society, where they are weighed, graded and paid for immediately at a fixed price previously proclaimed by the Cocoa Marketing Board. Outstanding loans are deducted from payments due and are to be repaid by about December. This is not always achieved, especially in bad seasons. After grading, the cocoa is delivered, usually by hired transport, to the district union, which in most cases covers societies within a radius of about fifty miles. While in store, the grading of cocoa is checked by government inspectors.

Many unions sell directly to the Cocoa Marketing Board, set up in 1940, but the greater part of the crop is handled by the Association of Nigerian Co-operative Exporters (ANCE), of which co-operatives and their unions are the shareholders. This Association arranges, under the direction of the Cocoa Marketing Board, for export of the crop. It acts as a channel for advances from the Co-operative Bank to the Unions and societies for the purchase of cocoa and for pre-season loans to their members. The volume of cocoa handled by co-operatives varies from year to year, principally owing to natural causes, but the value is usually in the neighbourhood of £5,000,000, and represents about 23% of the total Western Region cocoa crop.

This is a reasonably satisfactory result in a country in which there is no compulsion or special inducement to growers to market through co-operatives. In some districts the volume of produce marketed is rising steadily, if not in any spectacular manner. Elsewhere it has somewhat declined. The principal causes appear to be the actual reduction in the number and yield of trees owing to discase and to some extent to a failure to retain the loyalty of the younger generation of farmers. In the neighbourhood of the larger towns, especially Ibadan, many young men have in fact gone into urban employment or transport, and plantations are neglected. The co-operative may in some cases have failed to make a fresh appeal to the young farmers now coming into possession, and everywhere there is very keen competition from the agents of private buying firms. The co-operatives' own power to compete in price is to some extent hampered by the cost of bank loans and the frequent failure of members to repay, so that the co-operatives are by now carrying a fairly heavy burden of debt, and the Association of Nigerian Co-operative Exporters is in turn indebted to the Bank.

In addition to the principal crop, cocoa, of which co-operatives handle about 23%, valued at about £5 millions, they also sell smaller quantities of rubber, palm kernels, palm oil, cotton and coffee. Some years ago the government established a number of Pioneer Oil Mills, with the idea that they would in time be taken over by co-operatives. This programme is proceeding rather slowly mainly because there is doubt about their economic viability and there is no popular pressure for the formation of co-operatives. Five mills have, however, been transferred. So-called "bush factories" for rubber are in the course of being converted into co-operatives, and the quality as well as the quantity of the product is rising. A coffee grading plant has recently been built by government, to be operated by ANCE. The marketing of copra, produced along the coastal creeks, has been held up by transport difficulties, but a motor barge has now been provided and the position is expected to improve.

Co-operative Bank of Western Nigeria.

The Co-operative Bank of Western Nigeria was founded in 1953 with the aid of a capital grant of £1,000,000 from the Nigeria Cocoa Marketing Board. This represented part of the profits on the sales of cocoa over a number of years retained by the Board both as a price equalisation fund and for general development purposes. The Bank's capital is further derived from the shares of member societies, their deposits and allocations from surpluses, deposits from individuals and grants or loans for specific purposes from public bodies. The Bank has put up an impressive twelve-storey building in Ibadan, which also houses other regional co-operative organizations, an assembly hall, a first class restaurant and some private offices. It has branches in Lagos (also in a fine modern building) and in Akure and Ife.

The Bank is controlled by its shareholders, which are exclusively co-operative societies, unions and federations. Shareholding is roughly related to the turnover of the member organizations, but at present each member has one vote, whether it is a village society or a regional federation. It is possible that this may be modified. The Bank carries on all the business of its member organizations, especially payment for crops, and advances in cash or kind to individual farmers through the societies of which they are members. For this purpose it borrows from other banks at 6%, hence the comparatively high rates charged by local societies when lending to their members. Most of the business of the Bank is short term, but it is prepared to make development loans up to ten years to co-operatives. As regards the physical handling of cash, in the case of unions this is usually transferred through one of the branches already established or through private banks, and the unions send two or more representatives to fetch cash with which to make advances or pay for crops received.

Co-operative Supply Association.

This was founded in 1940 with the object of supplying safes, weighing machines, building materials and stationery to local marketing co-operatives, together with a limited range of tools and other requirements for their members.

It operated by bulking orders already received. At the end of the Second World War, the high cost of living and shortage of consumer goods led to an interest in consumer co-operatives and the formation of a number of societies. The Supply Association began to import consumer goods, financed by loans from other co-operatives, chiefly ANCE. Goods were distributed through local societies, but control of credit, as well as the recording and accounting system employed, as inadequate, and as prices began to fall, the Association found itself with unsaleable goods and a large number of doubtful debts. It narrowly avoided liquidation, and by 1949 had reverted to its former restricted role.

In that year, a co-operative mission consisting of experts appointed by the English and Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Societies, visited Nigeria at the request of the government to advise on measures necessary for the development of consumer co-operatives. They took the view that the inauguration of a Co-operative Wholesale Society or the extension of function of the Supply Association should not take place until a greater number of retail societies had come into existence to replace the cocoa marketing and other societies as the basis of wholesale society membership. The problem of providing a source of supply of imported goods, independent of private importing firms, was regarded as less urgent than it had otherwise been considered in Nigeria.

During the next few years the number of consumers' societies actually declined, owing to a lack of loyalty among members, the unreliability of employees, lack of capital and competition from women petty traders. On the establishment of the Federation in 1952, the Supply Association fell almost wholly within the Western Region, and the Government of that Region resumed the policy of creating a consumers' co-operative movement from the top. The Supply Association was given a loan of £250,000, with access to further advances from the Co-operative Bank, in order that it might undertake the functions of a large wholesaler-importer and at the same time open up retail branches throughout the region. Shareholding in the Association was thrown open to individuals as well as to societies.

The present membership of the Association consists of 200 societies and about 5 000 individuals. The Association is controlled through district meetings, which send delegates to an annual general meeting, representation being based on membership and turnover in each district. Share capital stands at £17,000, of which £11,000 comes from individual members. In addition to the foundation loan of £250,000 without interest, the Association had an overdraft of £500,000 from the Co-operative Bank, which has recently been converted into a loan at 5% from the Western Region Government. It also makes use of trade credits. The turnover in 1959 was £1,384,000.

The Association has offices in Ibadan, Lagos and two other towns, 35 retail shops spread over the Region, two self-service stores, a supermarket, a furniture-making enterprise, an agricultural sales department and one handling chemicals and equipment. It imports goods and has an agreement with an oil firm for the supply of petroleum products. It has also, together with the government, taken a substantial share in a firm, formerly in foreign ownership, importing domestic equipment. The self-service stores are of a good middle-class standard rather than adapted to the needs of manual workers or small farmers. The Association also supplies goods to market women, who are admitted as members. The principal object of developing this organization appears to be that of building up a wholly Nigerian system of importing foreign goods. Sales are in theory for cash, but, as the volume of loan capital implies, a good deal of credit trading takes place. The experiment in building a consumers' movement from the top down, with practically no independent retail societies, and of combining it with a traders' wholesale is a novel one and has so far been kept going to a large extent by the support of the Western Government.

Co-operative Union of Western Nigeria.

A Nigerian Co-operative Federation, which was subsequently divided to form the Co-operative Unions of Western and Eastern Nigeria, was set up in 1944. Projects for forming a new federation composed of these Unions, with eventual representation from the Northern Region and the Federal capital of Lagos, are being discussed. The Western Co-operative Union includes

practically all primary societies and district unions in its memberships. It is financed by subscriptions and a government grant. It is responsible for carrying out an annual financial and general audit of all primary societies. For this purpose it employs 30 auditors to deal with some 800 societies. Each handles his own "circle" of societies but is moved at intervals to a new circle. The Union also helps in the promotion of new societies. It carries on general co-operative propaganda, making use of radio, and has a monthly newspaper of its own. It has recently opened its own printing press, with modern equipment, which is at present used mainly for by-laws account books, receipts, etc., but on which the newspaper may later be printed. It is considering the possibility of taking up co-operative insurance. The Union is a member of the International Co-operative Alliance.

The Co-operative College is run by the Co-operative Department of the Government. It trains the junior staff of the Department, the auditors employed by the Co-operative Union, and some of the staff of the district and other unions. The course lasts nine months and includes about 40 students. The subjects cover co-operative law, book-keeping, auditing, co-operative principles and history. The buildings in use are too small and are otherwise unsuitable for their purpose, and the Government has decided to build a Co-operative College at a cost of £140,000. When completed, the new college will provide living accommodation for 70 students in single or double rooms, dining halls, lecture rooms, quarters for teaching, administrative and domestic staff, offices and facilities for recreation. The college receives, and it is hoped will continue to receive, students from the Federal district of Lagos, from the East Region of Nigeria and from the Southern Cameroons, as well as from Western Nigeria.

Several developments of a specialized character may be briefly described.

In 1959 a Western Nigeria Co-operative Fishermen's Association was registered, with about 9000 members from all parts of the Region. Its aim is to rehabilitate the fishing industry and increase the production, distribution and consumption of fish. It has received a government loan of £60,000 for the building and equipment of modern fishing vessels. Later it is intended to train men in their use.

Although co-operation for thrift and credit is not characteristic of the Western Region, there are a considerable number of societies formed for this purpose among the Ibo people of the West Bank of the Niger. Co-operation for social purposes has not often been attempted. Two co-operative schools and a co-operative maternity centre existed for some time but appear to have been taken over by the local authorities. A co-operative village housing project is still in its initial stages.

It is only in recent years that consideration has been given to co-operative use of the land itself. Most holdings in Eastern and Western Nigeria are small and tenure is usually usufructuary in character and tends to pass from maternal uncle to nephew rather than from father to son. Food crops are cultivated by women. Tree crops are the property of the men, but are often tended and picked by hired labour. Trees are also not infrequently pledged to others, who may claim the produce for a number of years. These conditions do not favour improvement in agricultural production, nor do they induce young men to take any interest in their parents' holdings. Agricultural training has so far been on a fairly high level, and aims at producing agricultural officers rather than better farmers. There is, in fact, a steady drift of young men to the towns, into urban jobs and transport, with the consequent abandonment or poor cultivation of holdings, and a growing problem of unemployment, since industry does not grow quickly enough to absorb those who leave the land.

The Government of the Western Region has recently initiated a scheme of land settlement coupled with training through farm institutes. The pioneer scheme (others are in an advanced state of preparation) is at Ilesha, where a farm institute has been established in temporary quarters and an area of about 4 000 acres has been taken over with the consent of local chiefs. It is being cleared, mostly by hired labour, and planted in three blocks respectively of cocoa, coffee and arable crops. Thirty young men from the district have been given two months of training in the farm institute and have been established in temporary quarters on the land, where they are helping with clearing and planting. A set of cottages are under

construction in which the young men will be housed in pairs until they marry, when each family will occupy a cottage. It is expected ultimately to settle about 200 families and to build a central village with shops, a school, church, mosque, etc. It is proposed to divide the land into 20-acre holdings, each in three plots, ten acres of cocoa, five of coffee and five arable.

At present the scheme is being conducted by agricultural officers. The settlers receive food, clothes, lodging and pocket money. After the holdings begin to bring in returns, they will be expected to repay some part of the capital provided. Membership in a co-operative for supply, marketing and perhaps other purposes will be compulsory. The settlers are chosen from those who can show a certain minimum level of education and in the main from agricultural backgrounds. Future settlers will be given a year's course at the farm institute before settlement. The idea behind the scheme is to stop the flight to the towns and make agriculture, at present despised, into an honoured calling.

At least three voluntary co-operatives, not sponsored by government, have been established for land settlement, usually by farmers who already have holdings of their own. Land has been acquired in addition to the existing holdings, loans have been received from the Co-operative Bank, and cocoa and other crops planted. So far these plantations are not allocated among the members, but are held collectively.

Eastern Region

The Eastern Region of Nigeria is almost unique in Africa in that its most important co-operative development is not in marketing but in thrift and credit societies. These have developed very rapidly in the last 15 years and now number 1000, the great majority being in the Calabar area. They have an individual membership of well over 30,000, a total share capital approaching £100,000, and deposits of about £250,000. About one third of the members are women, and there are some 140 societies with an exclusively female membership.

Though most of the members probably own small palm, cocoa or rubber plantations, at least 55% of all loans, including almost all those to women, are in fact made for purposes of petty trade. About 30% are for agricultural purposes and the remainder for fisheries, small industries or personal expenditure. Most loans are at short term. Sometimes, especially in the case of salary earners making regular deposits, the loan is limited to the level of the borrower's deposits, with a possible extension up to the level of deposits of his friends whose consent has been obtained. Sometimes it is loosely secured on produce to be marketed. Some long and medium-term loans are made and may be secured by a mortgage on trees, since land is held on an usufructuary basis and cannot be pledged. Some loans are made in order that the borrower may repay a creditor to whom he has pledged his trees, thus making it possible for the owner to resume possession.

In addition to the credit societies, there are some 60 salary earners thrift societies which have accumulated substantial funds, mostly in the form of deposits. The bulk of these are invested in co-operative and other banks, but a limited number of loans are made to members, about half for purposes of house building.

Primary credit societies are organized in district unions, of which there were 38 in 1960. These in turn are members of one or two provincial banks. The Calabar Provincial Co-operative Bank was set up in 1945 and is by far the largest and most successful. It has a working capital of £30,000 and substantial buildings, which are also used for co-operative educational and other purposes. The Owerri Provincial Co-operative Bank has had trouble with management and has made less progress.

The Regional Co-operative Bank of Eastern Nigeria was established in 1955, with offices in Aba and branches in Enugu and Port Harcourt. The two provincial banks described above are members of and receive loans from the Regional Bank, but the latter also has among its members marketing unions and primary societies carrying on a variety of undertakings. Primary societies outside the area of the two provincial banks are financed directly by the Regional Bank. The Bank received a grant of £10,000

from the Eastern Regional Government, which made possible the building of its headquarters, which include office accommodation let to other co-operative bodies. It has not, however, received anything like the same measure of official backing as the corresponding bank in the Western Region. It is therefore dependent in the main on its own resources in the form of shares (£50 for a primary society and £100 for a union), deposits (amounting to about £60,000 in 1960) and borrowings from commercial banks, with, in 1960, government guarantee up to £60,000.

The thrift and credit movement of Eastern Nigeria, and more particularly of Calabar, is a remarkable achievement in self-help. In this, women have played a striking part, their societies being in general notably well-run. They also serve as social and mutual-aid clubs. The principal problem in the movement as a whole is that of securing efficient and honest management. The Calabar Bank has for some time carried on a so-called "unified service scheme," which supplied travelling secretaries to groups of local societies. This was of some value as an expedient, but the supervision and control of the travelling secretaries proved difficult and was modified in the direction of control of staffs at the primary and district union level. Short courses are held for primary secretaries lasting three weeks, and for committee men and women lasting from two to three days. The second problem, which may be connected with the first, is the high level of overdue loans in most credit societies. These are not necessarily bad debts, but failure to recover means that the money becomes frozen and cannot be re-lent to other members, to stimulate fresh enterprise in the Region. The difficulty of providing security for long term loans in a country where freehold property in land is exceptional is common to much of West Africa. The limited resources of the Regional Bank principally affect its ability to finance the marketing of produce and new co-operative trading ventures in general. It has also had difficulty in securing staff with adequate training in banking on the scale of the operations envisaged.

Co-operative marketing is much less important than in other Regions. Co-operatives do in fact handle nearly half the cocoa crop, but in the Eastern Region it is of minor importance. The principal crop is the produce of oil palms. This may be sold in two forms, either crushed and rendered as oil (generally by relatively primitive methods) on the plantation, or delivered

as palm kernels for processing in oil mills. The trade is regulated by a statutory marketing board, which issues buying agents' licences and regulates the prices paid by dealers but not those received by growers. In fact the margin is wide, since oil locally extracted can only be delivered fresh in drums which must be carried on lorries. Co-operative marketing societies and unions engaged in this business are largely in the hands of private lorry owners who deliver where they like and pay the individual grower the lowest price he will take. The co-operatives hesitate, with some justification, to take the risk of acquiring and operating their own lorries. Some years ago the East Nigerian Development Corporation set up a number of Pioneer Oil Mills, with the intention of transferring them later on to co-operatives. So far only three have been transferred. Palm Products Co-operatives probably handle only about 5% of the total crop. In order to make any progress, they need more oil mills, depots, stores, scales, drums and control over transport. For these purposes they in turn need more finance and the managerial ability to use it wisely.

A federal marketing organization, Eastern Nigeria Co-operative Exporters, was formed in 1955 but was divided in 1958 into two sections, one handling palm products and the other cocoa.

Rubber marketing, which is potentially of some importance, is handled by a single primary society, which is, however, prepared to cover the Region as a whole. It was set up in 1956 with offices at Aba and a membership of plantation owners, some of whom also collect rubber from others. Rubber is brought in, usually by the society's own transport, in sheets prepared by the producers. It is graded, baled and shipped from Port Harcourt to destinations fixed by the London brokers who act on behalf of the society. They have also given advice on methods of preparing and baling the product. The society, in spite of difficulties in securing reliable management, has made considerable progress. The estimated local rubber production was at one time about 30 tons, and the society is now handling ten times this quantity. The principal difficulty, apart from that of management, has been to provide members with tappers. The work is skilled and delicate, the trees easily damaged, and trained labour in the Eastern

Region is hard to find. The society has itself recently acquired land on which it hopes to lay out a co-operative plantation.

The only other crop which is in any way co-operatively handled is rice, but the service takes the form of rice mills which hull the paddy and return the grain to the members for individual sale. There is probably scope for cashew marketing, but this depends on the perfecting and availability of a cashew nut cracking plant.

The Eastern Region has been the scene of some interesting experiments in co-operation for social purposes, of which the best known are the maternity co-operatives. These were formed, most of them in the Udi division, under the inspiration of a district officer with a strong interest in community development. They aroused strong initial support (the six societies active a few years ago had over 5 000 members), and sufficient funds were collected to make possible the building of maternity centres of a simple kind under the charge of a trained midwife.

In fact, the outcome of this gallant effort has been somewhat disappointing. The health authorities insisted on standards of hygiene and equipment which made it impossible to run the centres on a financially self-supporting basis unless fees had been set at a level which would have excluded all but the comparatively well-to-do. Most of the original societies have now ceased to operate or have been taken over by the District Authorities. Only one continues to be active.

There are a few craftsmen's societies, mostly engaged in wood carving, but unless new uses can be found for this traditional art, the societies are likely to decline slowly, and there will be few young workers seeking apprenticeship.

Consumers' societies have made very limited progress, and some of those which are economically successful tend to be relatively small groups who sell to the public and do not encourage an extension of membership. In spite of this very limited achievement, there appears to be some support in government circles for the promotion of a co-operative supply and importing organization similar to that in the Western Region. There is one recently

formed co-operative merchants' association acting as a wholesaler for trader-members. There are one or two housing and building societies which accept share capital and deposits and lend for the building of houses, but they are of recent formation and have not so far achieved much behind them.

Co-operative farming has been developing on a small scale for some years. Some societies have been formed especially for this purpose. In other cases, credit societies have invested some of their resources in jointly owned palm plantations. A rather larger scheme of the same kind is now under discussion in Calabar, the idea being to plant rubber and train boys straight from school as tappers, afterwards settling them on the land with their own plots for the production of food crops. These plans are receiving some moral support from government.

The Co-operative Union of Eastern Nigeria was formed when political federation made it necessary to sub-divide the old Nigeria Co-operative Federation. For some years the Union was principally occupied in auditing its affiliated societies. This function was, however, transferred to the Co-operative Department in 1959. The functions of the Union are now mainly those of education, publicity, propaganda and the representation of co-operative interests before the government and the public.

The general control, auditing and supervision of co-operation is carried on by the Co-operative Department, which is at present attached to the Ministry of Commerce. This is not a wholly happy arrangement, as the Ministry has obviously many other interests which it must take into account. This may be one of the reasons why the co-operative movement of the Eastern Region has been thrown much more on its own resources than that of the West. The Department is responsible for the training of its own officers. Up till now they have been sent to the Co-operative School in the Western Region (Ibadan) and to the Co-operative College in England. Recently, however, it has been decided to open a small school for about 20 students attached to the School for Technology in Enugu. Apart from this, there appears to be a general desire for more educational opportunities,

especially (a) more business training for employees of the larger trading and banking organizations, (b) foreign tours and scholarships, and (c) increased resources for the short courses which the Union arranges for local secretaries and committees.

Northern Region

Co-operative development in the Northern Region made little progress until 1954, when a separate Co-operative Department was set up and later placed under the Ministry of Social Welfare and Co-operatives, with the government providing a guarantee of £900,000 for the purpose of financing co-operative undertakings. Societies already in existence at that time included a small group of cocoa marketing societies in the extreme south of the Region, which continued to find their natural market through the Association of Nigerian Co-operative Exporters in the Western Region, and a few traders' credit societies in the larger towns. There followed a rapid development of produce marketing societies in what is sometimes called "the true North," most of them handling ground-nuts and cotton, the two principal cash crops, and making advance to members either on or before delivery.

By the end of 1960 there were over 1000 societies with over 100,000 members handling nearly £1 million worth of produce, more than half of it ground-nuts, with cotton as the second most important crop. Marketing takes place through the Northern Region Marketing Board, the co-operatives selling through licensed agents of the Board. This rapid advance - perhaps too rapid for an adequate training of the members and staffs of societies - was undoubtedly made possible by the considerable sums of money made available by the Government of the Northern Region and used either as advances on produce delivered to societies but not yet sold (over £300,000 in 1959/60) or as "pre-season loans" (over £500,000 in 1959/60 and nearly £600,000 in the following year). The advances on crops delivered are of course repayable to the society as soon as the crop has been marketed, but the pre-season loans are secured on nothing but an undertaking, not legally enforceable, on the part of the member to deliver his crop to the society. In fact, there are considerable sums outstanding, though these were being gradually reduced during 1960.

The economic justification for advances on this lavish scale is either that advances are already being made by merchants on terms disadvantageous to the farmers or that producers would otherwise have little inducement to market or to increase production. The system can, however, too easily come to be regarded as a form of government bounty, and it is doubtful whether the full amount now outstanding will be recovered. This situation would probably not have arisen if co-operation had been initiated earlier and time allowed for a gradual growth of understanding of its principles and obligations. Nor is it really satisfactory that the officers of the co-operative department should have to act as union secretaries, draw cash from the bank, carry it to the societies, collect any loans which may have been repaid, and carry the money back to the Bank.

The system of co-operative marketing is also at present somewhat elementary. Produce is merely brought in to the society, weighed, bagged and either dispatched to the Northern Region Marketing Board or to the buying agent of one of the firms which hold an agency for the Board. It is hoped at some time to set up a Regional Co-operative Marketing Federation under adequate management, which would sell all the co-operative produce directly to the Board. It would be in a position to organize transport and would later build up district or commodity unions of primary societies.

The main current problem is to instill into members some idea of co-operation and business obligation. A training school for the inspectors of the Co-operative Department has been set up at Zaria, where it forms a part of the School of Administration. This provides two 4½ - month courses every year, each course accepting about 25 students. The subjects taught are bookkeeping, co-operative practice, law, the duties of inspectors, and some general business principles. It is hoped to extend the course to seven months and perhaps eventually to establish a Co-operative College. A few short courses (one week) are held for the secretaries of primary societies.

The Northern Region has great co-operative potentialities, and the movement can rely on government support. It suffers, however, from the speed with which it has been organized; the lavishness with which government guaranteed funds have been distributed; the hasty training of co-operative officials; the impossibility, with the limited numbers of trained staff and the vast distances involved, of adequately inspecting or auditing societies; the difficulty of arranging for the co-operative instruction of members or even for the holding of meetings and the transfer of responsibility to committees; the difficulty of ensuring that members are in fact primary producers and not themselves dealers or transporters; and of seeing that the co-operative is something more than just another link in a long chain of intermediaries.

Federal Territory of Lagos

This does not extend far beyond the city boundaries. It has, however, a co-operative Department of its own and about 100 co-operatives. These are for the most part urban thrift societies organized by the staffs of government offices, the police, post office, some churches and other institutions. There is at least one woodcarvers' society and some recently organized by fishermen. There may be opportunities for housing, labour contracting and small industries, but they have not so far been explored. The Western Region Co-operative Bank and the Co-operative Supply Association have branches in Lagos.

C A M E R O O N S

A vote in favour of the amalgamation of the former British with the former French Cameroons was taken in January, 1961. It is too early to say what effect this political change will have on the co-operative movement of either country. In the present report they are therefore described as they were at the time when this decision was taken.

French Cameroons

The territory originally under French mandate has a population of 3,171,000, largely dependent on the production of ground-nuts, sesame, cocoa, coffee and bananas. There was a spontaneous attempt to organise the co-operative purchase of agricultural machinery as far back as 1926, State support for co-operatives was available, and a decree of 1937 established Provident Societies for Agricultural Credit and Mutual Aid. One of these was established in each of the 80 districts into which the territory was divided. Contributions were compulsory; later, a Common Fund was established. No rapid development of true co-operatives took place, however. Immediately after the war of 1939/46, a shortage of consumer goods led, as in other African countries, to the formation of a number of co-operatives either of a mixed consumer-marketing type or exclusively for consumer supply. The great majority of these failed, with considerable loss.

Co-operatives were at this time incorporated under the French Act of 1947, extended to the Cameroons. In 1947 a Co-operative Service was set up in the territory. Its duties were to study the general lines of economic development and the modernisation plans of government departments; to recommend on the formation of co-operatives in appropriate circumstances, register them, help them to obtain loans and provide training for their staffs and members. The Service had legal control of the running of co-operatives, carried out inspections, administered the Common Fund of the Provident Societies and saw to the recovery of loans made to co-operatives. It was always understaffed and appears to have concentrated on supervising marketing and other trading societies,

while leaving credit societies to the direct control of the financing agency, the Crédit de Cameroun, a semi-official public utility affiliated to the Caisse Centrale de Coopération Economique in France.

The functions of the Credit de Cameroun are to make - (a) medium and long-term collective loans to Provident Societies and Co-operatives; (b) medium-and long term loans to small enterprises; (c) advances for building, principally individual houses, both urban and rural; (d) agricultural advances to individuals, including members of co-operative credit societies; (e) advances for the purchase of small-scale equipment. A new Cooperative law was passed in 1958.

The present position of co-operation in the Territory is that there are approximately 2 000 co-operative credit societies more or less of the Raiffeisen type, all small, with from 10 to 30 members each, and a total membership of about 20,000. The Crédit de Cameroun lent these societies about fr. 241,000,000 (Colonial) in 1958/9. Loans to the individual may be up to ten times his subscribed capital. Of this, 80% was repaid. Overdue loans are considered to be the result of bad harvests and similar misfortunes, and in general the work of the societies has revealed genuine thrift and willingness to take obligations seriously. Included in the total loans given above are some at medium and long term, made on guarantee from the Common Fund of the Provident Societies.

Co-operative marketing is chiefly concerned with coffee, cocoa and bananas. The society marketing Arabica coffee at Bamlike (CAPBCA), is an outstanding success, with 8 000 members, a turnover of fr. 250,000,000 in 1958, modern factory equipment and a very high reputation for the quality of its product. There are a limited number of similar societies on a smaller scale. Cocoa is handled by 124 co-operatives, of which the majority are organised in seven unions. There are also about 100 "pre-co-operative" collecting points attached to Provident Societies and about 150 independently organized selling groups, which it is hoped to work into the co-operative system. Most of the cocoa co-operatives have limited capital resources and borrow from the Provident Societies to pay

suppliers. The quality of the product is reported to be improving, but there is still difficulty in getting suitable managerial staff. Co-operative handling of palm oil has not gone much further than the taking over of an old private factory by a Provident Society.

Banana marketing co-operatives number from 50 to 60 and handle two-thirds of the total Cameroons commercial banana production. This success has been due largely to the fact that all rail transport is controlled and space allocated by a government committee, and that, apart from a few large European estates, allocations are only made to co-operatives. This means that membership becomes practically obligatory for all small planters, whether European or African. Other factors which have contributed to co-operative development have been the absence of competition in collection (except between co-operatives), the fact that all export is carried out on commission by three exporters, that no cash payments are made on delivery (this has always been the custom of the trade), and that all prices are pooled so that individuals do not suffer if their bananas are rejected. The principal problem is one of outlets, and of the somewhat evanescent character of some of the co-operatives which are formed in order to obtain an allocation of transport and then almost cease to exist. There is also a good deal of shifting of deliveries from one co-operative to another and of handling of produce by the more successful on behalf of the less successful societies. A Banana Marketing Union was formed in 1960. A separate banana growers' co-operative for the combatting of pests has had considerable success. The Banana Planters' Syndicate includes large European estates and co-operatives of small producers, African and European.

In addition to the co-operatives already described, there are two moderately successful consumers' societies and one or two carrying on handicrafts or small industries. There are also a few mutual co-operatives which borrow for purposes of rural house building from the Crédit de Cameroun. Similar loans may be made with the guarantee of the Common Fund of the Provident Societies for what is defined as Small Scale Rural

Equipment, which includes cocoa fermentatives, sprays and tools. Loans for rural housing are only made to those who have already been members of an agricultural credit society for two years. The maximum value of a housing loan is equivalent to that of one year's produce from the borrower's farm and is repayable in four years.

The government of the Cameroons laid down a Four Years Plan in 1958, the co-operative section of which provides for

- (a) an increase in the number of agricultural credit co-operatives and the formation of unions; the linking of production and marketing with credit; the encouragement of thrift; the decentralisation of the Crédit de Cameroun through the formation of regional and inter-regional banks;
- (b) an increase in the number of collecting points for agricultural produce run by co-operatives;
- (c) the co-operative organization of marketing and processing of palm products;
- (d) an increase in co-operative processing capacity;
- (e) transfer of rice and starch factories from Provident Societies to co-operatives;
- (f) transfer of pest control to co-operatives;
- (g) formation of new types of co-operatives, including those for the use of machinery, fisheries and handicrafts.

It was realised at the same time that the Co-operative Service would have to be strengthened on its organizational and auditing side, and that there would have to be greater facilities for co-operative education and training. By 1960 the Service, now called the Co-operative Directorate, employed three chartered accountants, five counsellors and eight assistant counsellors. It made use of radio and press for propaganda purposes and published a monthly journal. Several students were sent to the Courses run by the Centre Nationale de la Cooperation Agricole in Paris, and the first short course to be held in the Cameroons took place in 1958. During 1959, 430 students attended courses lasting, in all, 662 hours. Most of these were presidents, treasurers and paid staffs of co-operatives. Correspondence courses in book-keeping have also been made available.

Southern Cameroons (formerly British Mandate)

The co-operative movement in Southern Cameroons (population about 1,000,000) was at first developed in conjunction with that of Nigeria, and followed the same general lines: marketing of cocoa, coffee and bananas, with advances to producers on crops to be delivered. In 1953 an apex organization, Cameroons Co-operative Exporters, was set up by agreement with the (Nigerian) Eastern Region Development Board, which provided initial capital and a European manager. The members of the CCE are six Marketing Unions, which in turn are grouped into about 100 primary co-operatives. The CCE was thus a federal co-operative, but it was controlled, at least in its early stages, by a Central Committee which included an official representative of the Development Board and the Registrar of Co-operative Societies.

From this point the co-operative movement in the Territory developed quite independently of that in Nigeria. According to the most recent figures, there are now 130 primary societies, nearly all engaged in marketing, with 10,781 individual members. The value of the produce handled was £1,550,000 in 1958 and represented about 30% of the cocoa, 37% of the arabica coffee, 48% of the robusta coffee and 75% of the commercial banana crop of the territory.

The development of banana marketing has probably been the most striking co-operative achievement. African banana growers were formerly a depressed class, and no export took place except from the limited number of European plantations. About ten years ago, the Cameroons Development Corporation sought to promote African plantations by acting as sales agent and insisting that the smallholders' crops should be sold exclusively through co-operatives. This provision has now been relaxed, and a certain amount of local competition has developed.

Central marketing of bananas was handled mainly the Bukweri Co-operative Union of Farmers, with a membership of district unions and some primary societies. Success has been achieved through a strict organization of collection and firm rejection of all sub-standard fruit.

Fruit is collected by lorries running to a fixed timetable, based on the departure times of ships with the necessary refrigeration. In 1956 the Bukweri Union of Cameroons Co-operative Exporters agreed to pool their vehicles and placed them in the hands of the Cameroons Co-operative Engineering and Transport Union, of which they are the sole members. This society now has a fleet of about 50 vehicles operating throughout the Territory. It has the contract for the delivery of up-country mails and is the direct agent of a leading oil company. Some of the co-operatives in the remoter areas act as sub-post offices.

About 60 societies are engaged in the marketing of cocoa and the supply of pumps and chemicals for spraying against blackpod disease. Some also handle palm kernels. About 40 societies handled arabica and a rather smaller number robusta coffee. Some have their own hulling units, and most of the robusta coffee goes through the central cleaning and grading factory owned by Cameroons Co-operative Exporters.

There are a few small co-operatives especially formed for thrift and loans, but the bulk of the credit granted passes through produce marketing societies. Most of it is in fact distributed in the form of agricultural requirements. There was a fairly rapid rise in the volume of credit for the purpose of buying sprays and chemicals in 1957, but this levelled off in the following year because, as reported, though "the purchase of these items by no means decreased, the prosperity brought about by spraying has enabled farmers to pay cash in preference to the mortgage of their crops." Certain development loans have been made by the Southern Cameroons Development Agency to co-operative societies and their unions for the building and equipment of offices and plant, and the two central marketing organizations borrow from commercial banks and cover their seasonal operations under a guarantee from the Southern Cameroons Marketing Board. They also hold substantial savings deposits, especially from banana growers, and have accumulated surpluses. In 1959 plans were being prepared for the establishment of a Central Co-operative Financing Society.

There are no consumer co-operatives in the Territory, though one or two marketing societies supply their members with kerosene, soap, salt and building materials. In addition to pumps, sprays and coffee hullers, marketing societies regularly supply jute sacks for coffee and diothene wrappings for bananas, all derived from the central organizations. An attempt to form group farming societies was a failure and there are no craft or industrial societies.

A Co-operative Union of the Southern Cameroons was formed in 1955. It acts as the supreme policy-making body representing the co-operative movement and provides an opportunity for grievances to be discussed and resolutions passed. It publishes a quarterly news-sheet. It is gradually taking over auditing and inspection services from the Co-operative Department as trained staff become available. Departmental staff and selected personnel from societies have up till now been trained at the Co-operative College in the Western Region of Nigeria. Short courses for secretaries of societies have been held regularly in different parts of the Cameroons. In both 1957 and 1958, a two-month course for senior staffs of co-operative departments from a number of African territories was held in Buea.

The results of co-operation in the Cameroons have been manifested in improved crop production and especially pest control, and in a noticeable rise in the standard of living among small farmers and their families.

S U D A N

The Sudan has a population of 11,500,000, scattered over great distances. The principal national resources are agriculture and stock breeding, and the principal cash crop is cotton. Much of this is grown on estates or planned settlements like the Gezira Scheme, with their own credit and marketing arrangements, but much is also produced on comparatively small independent farms.

Co-operation began about thirty years ago with spontaneous associations of cultivators for the pumping of Nile water for irrigation purposes. In 1946 Mr. W.K.H. Campbell was invited to report on the possibilities of co-operative development. As a result of his recommendations, a Co-operative Societies Ordinance was passed in 1948, a Co-operative Department was set up, and the training of officials, either locally or abroad, was taken in hand. Propaganda was initiated and the existing pumping associations, together with some agricultural clubs, were converted into co-operative societies and registered. These were followed by new formations, mainly agricultural, but with a substantial number of consumers' societies. By 1958 the total number of co-operatives stood at 450 with 95,000 members.

The oldest group of societies and those with the most substantial capital are the 88 agricultural pumping schemes. These are nearly all in the Northern Province, most of them on the White Nile, south of Khartoum. The pumps replace the traditional wooden wheel or sagia. The members of the co-operative collect funds to buy a pumping plant, construct buildings and prepare the canals necessary for an irrigation scheme for a village or group of villages. The financial success of the scheme depends largely on the command of an area large enough to secure the full economic use of the pump. The Government is prepared to make a loan to assist in the initial capital outlay, and the Nile Pumps Control Board gives a priority to co-operative schemes second only to that of government estates. Where the land belongs to the government and the members of the society are tenants, they deliver about 50% of their production to the society. This is sold, and after meeting all the

expenses of the pumping scheme, the balance, if any, is returned to the member in proportion to the produce delivered. In societies the members of which own their land water is sold at a reasonable cash rate.

There are 118 marketing and credit societies, most of them in the rain farm areas. Their main purpose is to combat usury. Most of the members are not owners of their land, and loans, derived from the government and latterly from the Agricultural Bank, are secured on crops and livestock and are repaid in produce. The system was initiated through a carefully controlled pilot scheme in 1951/2, supervised by the Ministry of Agriculture, the local and district administration and the Co-operative Department. The government advanced LS 30,000, which was lent to members of co-operatives in four or five instalments, covering the cost of seed, cultivation and minimum food needs of farm families up to the harvest. The pilot scheme was successful, but an attempt to extend it rapidly and with less supervision, ran into difficulties. Plans have been made to establish three marketing and credit unions, which will act as intermediaries between the Co-operative Department and the Bank, and the primary societies will take some responsibility for the distribution and recovery of loans and especially for the marketing of produce.

In addition to the agricultural co-operatives formed by small cultivators, there are five Cotton Unions, the members of which are owners of small and medium estates. They are engaged in the provision of credit and in marketing. They have been successful and their number is likely to increase.

There are 38 general purposes societies with over 25,000 members. Most of these are in the Gezira area, where the financing and marketing of the cotton crop (the most important cash crop) is provided for by the (nationalised) Gezira Board. The general purposes societies are at present engaged mainly in supply, and they could perhaps be better described as rural consumers' societies, though they sell agricultural requirements. Their main weakness is the familiar one of excessive credit giving. There are also 171 small consumers' societies, most of them in urban areas, with total sales of about LS 750,000. Less than half of them

are members of the Sudan Co-operative Union, which was established as a Wholesale Society for the purpose of supplying primary retail stores. In spite of a loan of LS 5,000 from the government, it has never had enough capital to do this effectively, and it has also been expected to carry on other transactions on behalf of government, including the export of dried fish, derived from fishery co-operatives, and the importation of certain commodities. By 1959 it was in difficulties and was under investigation. It was expected that it would be reorganised as a co-operative wholesale society only and that alternative means would be found to carry out its other functions.

Three fishery societies have been established on the White Nile, with the encouragement and assistance of the Department of Game and Fisheries. They controlled at a recent date about 50% of the trade in dried fish, for which there is a good market in the Congo. Fish was exported by the Co-operative Union, as noted above, which also supplied twine and salt, but business was suspended while the affairs of the Union were being investigated. It is hoped that a special Fisheries Marketing Union may be formed.

There are several other types of co-operative, of which the most numerous group are the flour mills (12), all small and intended to take the place of domestic hand-grinding. There are also a few transport societies, some owning tractors, a vegetable production and sale society, a pharmacy and a petrol pump.

Co-operative education has so far been concentrated on the staff of the Co-operative Department. Junior personnel take a recruitment course in co-operative book-keeping and co-operative law and practice, arranged in conjunction with the Khartoum Technical Institute. Senior officials have been sent on tour abroad or have attended the Co-operative College in England or seminars in Denmark and elsewhere. A refresher course for co-operative staff was held in 1951 but has not been repeated. There is no special co-operative training school. So far, little has been possible in the training of staff, committees or members of primary co-operative societies.

In 1958 the Government of the Sudan asked the International Labour Office to provide, under the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance, an expert to assist the government in the development of co-operatives. Mr. R.K. Harper spent four months in the country and reported in 1959. It is understood that changes and developments have since been initiated.

S O M A L I A

The formation of co-operatives principally for irrigation or for the purpose of bringing new land under cultivation has been encouraged by the government. Financial assistance has been provided by the Credito Somalo and supervision by the Agricultural Inspectorate. There is no special co-operative law, and societies, usually consisting of the members of a tribe or sub-tribe, are registered as companies with variable capital and limited liability. There were reported to be 25 co-operatives in existence in 1956, not all of them active. There were five inconso producers' co-operatives carrying on selection, packing and export, with their own association. There were also other agricultural co-operatives, besides a few formed by fishermen, tradesmen and craftsmen. At this time the government was concentrating on the irrigation societies, and the promotion of other types was suspended. Three large land settlement co-operatives were reported to be working well, but attempts to settle nomads co-operatively had been less successful. The United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in East Africa in 1954, advised the passing of a co-operative law, the establishment of a co-operative department, and further encouragement for agricultural marketing, credit and handicraft co-operatives.

ETHIOPIA

The Ministry of National Community Development has recently (1960) taken up the promotion of co-operation, but no report of results achieved has yet been made available.

SOMALILAND

As far as is known, no co-operative organizations had been formed in this territory up to 1960.

U G A N D A

Uganda is an agricultural country with just under 6,000,000 inhabitants. It is almost entirely dependent, apart from food crops, on coffee and cotton, which together account for 86% of all exports. Minor crops are tea, tobacco, maize, ground-nuts and oilseeds. There are increasing lake fisheries. Co-operation began spontaneously with small marketing groups formed by African farmers as early as 1913. The Buganda Growers' Association followed in 1923 and became the Uganda Growers' Co-operative Union in 1935, with affiliated primary societies engaged mostly in marketing coffee and cotton. There was still no suitable co-operative law, and it was not until a visiting co-operative expert, Mr. W.H.K. Campbell, had presented a report urging that something be done to control and assist the numerous quasi-co-operative societies then in existence that a Co-operative Societies Ordinance was finally passed in 1946 and a Registrar appointed.

There were at that time about 75 quasi-co-operative marketing societies, some registered as companies, but most of them unincorporated. Most had been formed with little understanding of co-operative principles and were neither democratically controlled nor efficiently run. The process of converting them into genuine co-operatives was slow and often not understood by the members. Moreover, there was a continued formation of quasi-co-operatives, many of which failed to seek or did not qualify for registration. Most of these were associated with the Uganda African Farmers' Union, an increasingly political body which became involved in disturbances in 1949 and was thereafter declared an unlawful society. This did not, however, greatly affect the marketing groups, which re-established themselves and formed unions of their own.

The number of properly constituted co-operative societies, working on standard rules and with regularly audited accounts, was in the meantime steadily increasing, and it was felt desirable that the unregistered groups should if possible be brought within the recognized co-operative movement. A Commission of Inquiry was appointed and reported in 1952. It recommended that for the purpose of encouraging the unregistered groups to register and in general put their affairs in order, the

co-operative Ordinance should be amended and the administration of the co-operative movement divided between a Commissioner for Co-operative Development and the Administrator General, who assumed the duties of Registrar. The power to cancel the registration of a society should be drastically curtailed, and co-operatives in general were to be given greater freedom of action and the right to appeal. A Co-operative Development Council was to be set up consisting partly of official members and partly of representatives of co-operative societies. These recommendations were accepted.

In spite of this, the unregistered groups were slow to register, and those that did so often failed to operate or refused to have their accounts audited. On the other hand, there was a rapid increase in the membership of registered co-operatives, especially those engaged in marketing (from 44,000 to 123,000 in four years), and it seems probable that in fact many of these members were drawn from unregistered groups, which thereby virtually ceased to exist. The question of registration and supervision, which generated a good deal of heat at the time, gradually ceased to be a subject of controversy.

By the end of 1959 there were 1583 primary co-operatives in Uganda, organised in 15 marketing Unions. They had 188,000 individual members. The share capital of members stood at more than £500,000, and annual sales of produce, principally coffee and cotton, at £6,600,000. The co-operatives were handling about 12% of the total exports of cotton and 19% of the exports of coffee, including the whole of the Bugisu arabica crop. Other products included maize, tobacco, ground-nuts, milk, livestock and fish.

The marketing of cotton is controlled under the Cotton Ordinance of 1952. This establishes registered associations of ginneries (originally mostly Asian firms) each operating in a scheduled zone, while the Lint Marketing Board Ordinance provides for the purchase of lint and cotton seed from the ginneries at fixed prices. Sale and export are in the hands of a Lint Marketing Board and there is a Cotton Price Assistance Fund, used to even out variations in world prices. The Acquisition of Ginneries

Ordinance, also of 1952, gave the government power to acquire up to 20 ginneries for transfer to co-operative unions by 1957 and to authorize an increase in ginning capacity if it became necessary after that date. Co-operative unions taking over a ginnery had to raise one third of the purchase price and guarantee a through out of 2,400 bales of lint. The balance of the price was made payable over a 30-year period.

Certain difficulties arose, principally in relation to the price, which was often greater than the unions had expected or could readily meet. Some raised bank loans on second mortgage, others leased their ginneries temporarily from the government until they could raise the money to purchase. Later the price was reduced by omitting the charge for "goodwill". By 1960 there had been considerable progress, and 13 ginneries had been taken over by seven district unions.

Another difficulty arose from the decision of the Government to maintain the ginning pools and make them statutory, thus safeguarding the position of existing (usually Asian) ginners. Under this system each ginnery received a cotton quota. If this were exceeded, the ginnery was liable to a fine, and might be required to transfer cotton to other ginners. This regulation, though it was one of the conditions on which the government agreed to transfer ginneries, at considerable cost, to the co-operatives, still bore heavily on those which were rapidly expanding, and for some years the co-operatives were unable to gin more than two thirds of their own cotton. Controversy on this subject continues. Sales of cotton are, however, steadily expanding and were valued at about £2,000,000 in 1959.

The marketing of coffee, the other major cash crop, is controlled by the Coffee Industry Ordinance of 1913, which, however, excludes the Bugisu arabica coffee. Robusta coffee, unless processed on large estates, was at first sold only through the Coffee Industry Board. Later, however, loans were made available for the construction of co-operative coffee curing plants. By 1959 three were in operation, and two more were planned. The entire Bugisu (arabica) crop has for some time been handled by the Bugisu Co-operative Union, which in 1955 was entrusted with the marketing, processing and export of the crop on behalf of the statutory Bugisu

Coffee Board. The Union consisted at that time of 111 primary societies owned by 47,000 individual farmers and thus included practically the whole population of the district. In addition to the coffee curing plant, it operated two cotton ginneries, a maize gristing mill, a coffee nursery, a coffee pruning service, a savings and loan department, and a section selling building and agricultural requirements to members. It also ran an Agricultural and Co-operative School, now discontinued. Unfortunately, the scale and complexity of the business proved beyond the scope of the committee and management. Losses were incurred, and in 1958 a Commission of Enquiry was appointed under the Co-operative Officer of the Food and Agricultural Organization of the U.N. As a result of his report, the Union was invited to appoint their own managing agents to carry through the necessary reorganization. This they failed to do, and the Co-operative Department found it necessary to appoint a supervising manager, who is at present carrying on the affairs of the Union. The total value of coffee handled by co-operatives of all types in Uganda in 1960 was £4,322,000.

Co-operative credit has not made much progress in Uganda. There are about 30 thrift societies, the members of which are for the most part wage and salary earners employed in local government offices or as teachers. Members of marketing societies also deposit money with their societies, but usually with the object of buying shares. There is no co-operative central bank. The administration of loans for the acquisition of ginneries and the building of coffee factories is in the hands of the Uganda Credit and Savings Bank, a government institution which has largely taken the place of co-operatively organised thrift. Loans for the financing of crop marketing and the stocking of supplies by co-operatives are derived either from the Credit and Savings Bank or from Commercial Banks. The Bugisu Co-operative Union has been financed by the Bugisu Coffee Board.

A few consumers' co-operatives have been formed from time to time, but only two, both very small, were still at work in 1960. It should be

borne in mind, however, that marketing societies handle an increasing volume of supplies. Societies of African traders supplying themselves with goods do not appear to have been much more successful than consumers' societies. There are a few fishermen's co-operatives, and one or two engaged in small scale diarying or cattle marketing. There were at one time eight co-operative farming societies, some with individual holdings, some collective. By 1960, however, nearly all had reverted to individual farming.

No federal or central co-operative union has yet been formed, though a move of this kind has been under discussion. The leaders of some of the regional unions have gone as far as to hope that such a union would take over the functions of the Co-operative Development Council, the Department of Co-operative Development and the Marketing Boards. The transfer of certain duties, for example, audit, to a co-operative union has been affected elsewhere in Africa, though not always with success, but a complete transformation of this kind would be contrary to experience, not only in Africa but in other continents as well.

Co-operative education in Uganda is based on the Co-operative School at Entebbe, which provides a basic three-month course for co-operative staff, together with an advanced course of six months, four leadership courses and a number of extramural courses for society officials, and correspondence courses in African languages. It also arranges for students to take the correspondence courses and examinations of the British Co-operative Union. In addition, co-operative officers organise courses for the members of societies at existing Rural Training Centres.

The economy of Uganda has expanded rapidly in the last ten years, and money incomes have doubled. The co-operative movement, though still comparatively small, is a rapidly expanding section of the economy and is likely to find itself in a strong and influential position when responsible internal government is introduced and some of the existing marketing legislation comes to an end. This means that still wider education of the members and officials of societies is of primary importance.

K E N Y A

Kenya is an agricultural country with a population of over 6,000,000, principally rural. Until recently the production of cash crops for export was mainly in the hands of a limited number of European farmers, but in the last few years an increasing number of Africans have been changing over from subsistence to commercial farming. The number of Africans working in towns in industry, commerce and the public services is also increasing fairly rapidly. There is a considerable Asian population, especially in the cities of Nairobi and Mombasa, which carries on much of the country's trade.

Co-operation for the marketing of agricultural produce was first initiated in 1908 by Europeans, who at that time were the only farmers with cash crops for sale. The movement expanded in the next 20 years and now consists of a group of large co-operatives, most of them covering the whole country, the most important being the Kenya Farmers' Association (Co-operative) Ltd. (cereals and general merchandise), the Kenya Planters' Co-operative Union, Ltd. (coffee), Kenya Co-operative Creameries, Ltd., and the East African Timber Co-operative Society, Ltd. Other co-operatives handled eggs, vegetables, fruit and cereals. African participation, though not entirely absent, was of negligible importance.

In 1944 an expert was sent to Kenya by the Colonial Office to advise on the possibility of extending co-operation among Africans. As a result of his report, the Co-operative Ordinance was revised in the following year, and a Registrar of Co-operative Societies was appointed with the duty of promoting and supervising the development of co-operation. African farmers, and to some extent traders, showed an immediate and lively interest in co-operative societies, and some 200 were registered in the next two years. The problem was to see that they were soundly based and properly supervised, since the Co-operative Department was at first insufficiently financed and understaffed, and it was some time before adequate provision was made for the training of its junior officers in their highly specialised duties. The Mau-Mau emergency caused difficulties of all kinds and hampered development, but it also stimulated a new

approach to the economic and social problems of African farmers which resulted in a far-reaching African land consolidation and development scheme. A considerable strengthening of the Co-operative Department followed later as a result of political changes by a move towards the closer integration of the African and European agricultural co-operative movements in the marketing field. By the beginning of 1959 there were over 400 African farmers' co-operatives organised in 15 regional or functional unions, with 110,000 individual members doing a business valued at rather over £1,000,000.

In the last few years a complete scheme of land consolidation and resettlement has been carried out in all districts of Kikuyuland. Land was formerly under tribal ownership and cultivated by the individual on an usufructuary basis. There was no security of tenure and no incentive to plant tree crops or improve the land, which was frequently exhausted. A good deal of shifting cultivation persisted, although the reserves of unused land were not sufficient for the purpose. The effect of consolidation, which was preceded by a complete aerial survey of the district and the recording of each family's existing cultivation rights, has been to give each head of a family clear title to a holding of an area and character equivalent to the land which he had previously cultivated, but forming a single continuous plot. Holdings are classified as "peasant," usually of about 10 acres, and "yeoman," up to 50 acres. There remain, however, a large number of small uneconomic holdings even after consolidation and in five districts of the Central Province, 42% are under three acres. Very small, usually part-time holdings have been concentrated near the villages in order that no part of their small area shall be taken up by buildings, but the owners of peasant and yeoman holdings are for the most part moving out of the villages and building homesteads on their land, taking their cattle with them. It is expected that the villages will in future become market centres inhabited by shopkeepers, labourers and some smallholders.

The process of consolidation, which has taken an average of seven weeks per village to complete, has met with no resistance and appears to have

been welcomed by the farmers concerned. Great care was taken to give full explanations, and all decisions were made by the local people. It was practically complete by the end of 1960. No restrictions have been placed on the sale of land, but no sales have so far taken place. The problem of inheritance has hardly yet arisen. The idea of limiting it to a single heir has been abandoned in favour of a limited number of co-heirs, but the success of this arrangement remains to be tested. The immediate effect of the reform has been a very rapid increase in the production of cash crops, especially coffee and pyrethrum. The former is due to increase still further as new plantations come into bearing. The popularity of the new cash crops is indeed such that some anxiety is felt lest the production of food crops should be neglected. Consolidation has opened another opportunity, of which not much advantage has yet been taken, in that the way is now open for production and development loans to farmers based on the security of clear title to land.

The formation of co-operative marketing societies has kept pace with increased production. The most important crop handled is coffee, of which one quarter (valued at about £2,000,000) of the Kenya output is produced by Africans. The oldest African marketing co-operatives are in Kisii Meru and Embu districts, where in each case a dozen or more local societies are grouped in a district union. Between them they handle about two thirds of the African coffee crop. In recent years, however, coffee growing has been increasing rapidly in other districts, especially in those which have undergone land consolidation, and many new co-operatives have been formed. Progress is facilitated by the action of the statutory Kenya Coffee Marketing Board which insist that all coffee should be factory-dried for delivery. No African farms are at present on a large enough scale to make a private factory economic, and though African growers could form a company or sell through a European factory, they in fact prefer to form co-operatives.

Coffee marketing co-operatives are usually large, with an average of 700-800 members. Each owns one or sometimes more than one factory.

These are comparatively small and simple installations costing about £2500. This initial cost may be met entirely out of share capital subscribed by members, or a loan may be obtained from the African Land Development Board or from the District Council. Coffee is delivered daily in the form of fresh "cherry," usually by a lorry owned by one of the members. On arrival it is immediately pulped, washed, graded by gravity and the resultant parchment carefully sun-dried. If it cannot be moved immediately, it is kept in air- and moisture-controlled stores till the Kenya Planters' Co-operative Union, of which all African co-operatives as well as European estates are members, can take delivery. On receipt of each consignment, the Union checks the grading by liquoring processes and arranges for sale by auction. Prices are declared at intervals by the Board, and two or three times a year the KPCU transfers balances owing to societies to a local bank, whence it can either be withdrawn for cash disbursement to members or transferred to their private accounts. These payments are in fact advances made before KPCU has itself received payment for the product.

The production of coffee by African farmers is increasing rapidly and many co-operatives help the creation of new plantations by running coffee nurseries. There is a continuous need for increased factory capacity. The quality of African coffee is consistently higher than that of many European farms because it is more carefully picked and handled by the owners' family than it would be by hired labour. Several co-operatives produce the highest grade of coffee and win the annual awards offered by the Coffee Board. The principal problem is managerial rather than technical. Competent and honest accountants in particular are difficult to find in country districts. Some unions retain a European as manager, and elsewhere a system of centralised accountancy for coffee societies is under discussion. Societies have none the less been making substantial profits in recent years.

Pyrethrum is a less important crop than coffee, but it is also increasing rapidly, in yield even more than in acreage. Sales are controlled by a marketing board, and the best pyrethrum comes once again

from African co-operative societies. A union of eight African co-operatives in Kiambu constitute the largest group. These societies may have from a few hundred to a thousand members, and the area which each member has under the crop may be from one to 25 acres. Picking continues at intervals for nine months in the year, the flowers are dried on the farm, bagged and brought to the society, which weighs, checks for quality and forwards to the Pyrethrum Board, where the product is graded and sold. Societies are paid weekly, but some members leave their money on deposit and withdraw at longer intervals. Others use the society as a source of short-term loans for agricultural and other purposes secured on future deliveries. The society sells seeds to members, who propagate their own plants. The Kiambu Union has recently built excellent office and storage accommodation, with a railway siding, from its own resources and rents offices to local egg and vegetable co-operatives and to a European building society.

There has been a tentative move towards using both coffee and pyrethrum co-operatives for other services, such as credit, supply and the hire of lorries. While these are subordinate functions strictly related to the marketing of the crop, they have been carried on successfully, but attempts to run a general supply business have led to losses.

Among other crops sold co-operatively, cereals are handled by the Kenya Farmers' Association to the value of about £4,000,000, and on a small scale by about 100 African societies. K.F.A. has its own milling subsidiary, with the largest milling plant in the territory. Fruit and vegetables are grown by Africans as well as Europeans. There are a number of local societies, some of them specialising in a single product, and a Horticultural Co-operative Union which, beginning as a European farmers' undertaking, now includes farmers of all races and their local co-operatives. One Asian-European and several African societies handle sugar and jaggery and there is some marketing of chillies, rice and other crops. Tea, though it is being encouraged as an African crop, is of very recent introduction, and no attempt has so far been made to organise co-operative marketing or processing.

As regards livestock products, a good deal remains to be done towards improving the African standards of breeding, rearing and feeding all types of livestock, but poor markets and low prices in recent years have not provided much incentive to improvement. Kenya Co-operative Creameries, with 2,474 members and sales of over £3,000,000, has existed for many years and handled milk mainly from European but also to a limited extent from African farms. There are about 50 African co-operative dairy societies, the greater number of which produce ghoo, but which are not very successful. There are about 30 African pig marketing societies, which sold to a bacon factory controlled by the Pig Industry Board until the export price fell so severely in 1957 and 1958 that the factory had to be temporarily closed and societies had to dispose of their product as pork on local markets. By 1960 there were signs of a revival. There are about 40 small African egg marketing societies, many of them consisting of women only. Most of them sell through the Kenya Poultry Produce Co-operative, which exports about half its turnover. There is one society handling hides and skins, most of whose members are butchers, and one recently-formed co-operative sheep farm.

The Masai, a pastoral and semi-nomadic people, present special problems of social and economic development. Plans for co-operative marketing of cattle for slaughter have been discussed with them, but by the end of 1960 no action had been taken. A few years ago the Purko section of the Masai, who own good forest land, were persuaded to form a Timber Co-operative Society, but it has had a difficult start owing to the suspicions and business inexperience of its members. (There is a successful African timber co-operative in another part of the country, as well as one of which the members are Europeans.)

Co-operation in Kenya in fields other than that of agricultural marketing has had a rather limited development. It falls under four heads: thrift and credit; consumers; craftsmen; housing. As will have been apparent, there are no credit or thrift societies in agriculture, though some marketing societies make short-term advances to their members.

There is a large and successful Ismaili co-operative thrift and savings organization and about 20 African thrift societies, most of them consisting of employees in a single business or government department, though some of them seek to protect the interests of national or tribal groups working in towns at a distance from their homes.

The need for agricultural credit co-operatives is likely to become more apparent as African farmers turn increasingly from subsistence to cash crop farming. The need for thrift is also obvious, as many are now receiving a substantial income in cash. No co-operative central bank is at present in contemplation, and much use is made of existing commercial banking facilities. There is, however, a considerable volume of money in circulation in the co-operative movement already, and the time when this can be kept moving through a central co-operative clearing house may not be so distant as is sometimes thought.

Of the consumers' societies, the largest and most successful (apart from the Kenya Farmers' Association, which supplies agricultural and some consumer goods) is the Nairobi Railway African Co-operative Society, with 800 members and sales of about £100,000 a year. It has passed through a number of difficulties, principally due to the lack of trained and reliable staff, but has certain advantages in that its shops are the only ones permitted in the railway compounds, and the company has for several years lent the Society a competent European manager from its own staff. Most of the other consumer co-operatives which have been successful are those of Asians. Only one African traders' wholesale continued for any length of time, and it is now in the process of conversion into a company. The problems of all consumer co-operatives have been the same - dishonesty, long credit and the competition of the Asian private trader.

Housing co-operatives have been set up by members of the Asian community, Ismaili, Moslem and Goan, and have done excellent work in providing housing of a high standard. The Ismaili societies have been greatly helped by facilities for borrowing at low rates of interest from funds made available by the Aga Khan Trust. Some European building societies exist for the purpose of providing loans for the building or

purchase of houses, but there are no African societies providing housing in any form.

A few craftsmens societies exist, usually for the production of village craft objects, but their scope is very limited. Perhaps the most successful are two societies of women potters. These, like the women's egg circles already mentioned, serve a dual purpose in that they bring in a little money, the effect of which is generally seen in improvements in the dress of the women and their children, and they serve as a simple form of mutual aid club.

The training of co-operative staffs is carried out at the East African School of Co-operation. This is located at the Jeanes School, Kabete, maintained by the Government of Kenya and used to give general training in social welfare, adult education and allied subjects. The School of Co-operation has its own classrooms, library and dormitories, but shares kitchens, dining rooms and common rooms with other departments, while the students take part in the same sports.

The School draws students from other East and Central African territories, especially Tanganyika and Uganda (until recently, when a training school was fully developed at Ngamisi). Students also come from Aden, Nyasaland and Zanzibar. There are two courses of five months duration in the year, each attended by about 30 students. Most are men, but women occasionally participate. Most of the students are inspectors and clerks from the Co-operative Departments of East African countries, with some secretaries and other staff members of the larger primary societies. The latter group, however, experience difficulty in keeping up. The course covers five subjects, on which an examination is set. These are (1) co-operative practice and duties of inspection; (2) law and practice of co-operation; (3) co-operative organization, including rules, conduct of meetings, etc.; (4) theory and practice of commerce, including the elements of audit; (5) co-operation in East Africa and overseas. Courses are also provided in book-keeping and accounts, elementary agriculture and economics. There is at present a European Principal with an African assistant and visiting lecturers.

The Jeanes School also runs, under a different tutor, a series of five - week courses in secretarial work and book-keeping for the secretaries of the smaller primary societies. The School has been selected for a number of years as the venue of a two-month course for senior staffs of Co-operative Departments from all African countries using English as their second language. The course has taken the form of lectures, seminars, discussions groups, with a period reserved for visits to co-operative undertakings in East Africa.

Kenya has no territory-wide Co-operative Union. Promotion, supervision, education and audit are carried on by the Co-operative Department (except in the case of the large marketing societies, which are audited by private firms). Marketing is controlled by Commodity Boards, working through what are in effect federal co-operatives. The absence of a co-operative bank has already been noted. The multi-racial character of the Kenya co-operative movement, the differing needs of the three principal communities, and the uneven development of the co-operative movements have no doubt in the past made it difficult to find the common interests on which a national co-operative organization could be based. With increasing integration in the field of business, this situation may be gradually modified.

TANGANYIKA

Tanganyika is an agricultural country with a population of about 8,000,000. Co-operation began spontaneously with the formation, in 1925, of an association of African coffee growers, which later became the now well-known Kilimanjaro Native Co-operative Union. A Co-operative Societies Ordinance was passed in 1932, and the marketing of tobacco in Songea district and of coffee in Bugusi was organised on co-operative lines. About the same time, a Coffee Board was set up in Moshi (Kilimanjaro) and a Tobacco Board in Songea, both using the co-operative unions as their agents. This set a pattern of development which was resumed with renewed energy immediately after the Second World War. The Co-operative Department was strengthened, and resident co-operative officers with supporting staff were appointed in each region. A third regional coffee board, working through a co-operative union, was established in Bukoba, followed, in 1952, by a Cotton Seed and Lint Board covering the whole territory. The war-time maize control was not, however, maintained. The emphasis on co-operative development in Tanganyika has throughout been on marketing. By 1960 practically all mild coffee and a high proportion of hard coffee was marketed co-operatively, as was the greater part of the rapidly expanding cotton crop. The turnover of marketing co-operatives equalled about 45% of the exports of the territory. The total number of co-operatives was 607, with 325,000 members. Sidal, the major export crop, is the only one still mainly grown on European estates. The limited number of European coffee planters have their own co-operative marketing society, the Tanganyika Coffee Growers' Association.

Coffee Marketing.

The Kilimanjaro Union (KNCU) remains the leading coffee marketing co-operative. It is made up of 42 affiliated primary societies with a membership of about 40,000 coffee farmers, all members of the Chagga tribe. The holdings of most members are small, with probably less than an acre under coffee (arabica), but all are self-supporting in foodstuffs. The soil is fertile and well-watered, and the climate healthy. Mission schools and government services have been concentrated in the area for

many years, and the level of education is relatively high. Coffee is pulped in hand-pulpers, often home-made, on the farm, washed, dried and delivered as parchment to the co-operative. It is weighed and paid for on delivery, with a final payment at the end of the year depending on grade and time of delivery.

The Union, which in practice also carried on the functions of the Moshi Coffee Board, is responsible for grading the deliveries of the primary societies (those of individuals are not graded separately) and selling, either through the Moshi coffee auctions or in Nairobi. The Union owns the Tanganyika Coffee Curing Co.Ltd., jointly with the (European) Tanganyika Coffee Growers' Association, and supplies 75% of the coffee. The Union also supervises the activities of the primary societies, employing its own inspectors for this purpose. Each inspector is in charge of five societies, which he visits at frequent intervals (up to four times a month), checking cash, records, scales and the conduct of meetings. The accounts of the Union are audited by a European firm of chartered accountants. The annual sales of the Union are now in the region of £2,000,000. In the course of its 30 years of operation, it has made considerable profits, by no means all of which have been distributed to members. They have instead to a large extent been invested in buildings and services benefiting the Chagga tribe and the district as a whole. These include well-designed and architecturally impressive headquarters, which, besides the offices and meeting rooms of the Union and the Coffee Board, comprise the multi-racial Coffee Tree Hostel and restaurant, a printing press, a street of shops rented to organizations or private businesses, a circulating library, a commercial college and a students' hostel. The Union is now constructing a building to be leased to a commercial bank.

Much of this development has sprung from the imagination and drive of one European district officer who, many years ago, was seconded to act as advisor to the Union. It has contributed much to the status and education of the Chagga and to the amenities and consequence of Moshi

town. The benefits have perhaps been less clearly realised by the mountain farmer, who rarely leaves his village, and it is possible that in the future the demand will be for less investment and a wider distribution of profit. The capital position of the Union is strong enough to make this possible. At the same time, plans for a coffee roasting and grinding factory (to popularise local coffee drinking), a grain storage plant, an assembly hall and a new secondary school are under discussion.

The policy of the Union has for some time been to concentrate on coffee marketing. Some primary societies make a collective purchase of insecticides and distribute them free to members, but there is no sale of other agricultural supplies or of consumer goods. An experiment in the marketing of hides was abandoned owing to the poor quality of the product and its consequent unprofitability. Thrift deposits and the making of loans to members was also given up owing to the difficulty of finding local secretaries sufficiently reliable to handle financial business. The service of the Union to the region has lain first in its promotion of a single cash crop. This has been achieved through the provision of a profitable outlet and through measures for the improvement of the crop itself. In the second place, the Union has contributed to the general progress of the district, both directly, through its own buildings and services, and indirectly, through considerable contributions to the Chagga Treasury in the form of taxation.

The second most important Coffee Marketing Union is that of Bukoba, a region on the west side of Lake Victoria, growing mainly robusta coffee. This Union, which works in close association with the Bukoba Coffee Board, has 71 affiliated primary societies. The coffee is received in the form of dried cherry, graded and dispatched to the Union, where it is paid for on delivery, husked, cured in the Union's factory and dispatched to Mombasa for sale by auction. The factory, a wholly-owned subsidiary, was originally in private hands. The owner has been gradually bought out by the Union, which has re-equipped it throughout. The Union has also invested in warehouses, substantial office buildings

and a hostelry for visiting members of committees and others. It employs a large staff, which it has been at pains to have trained through the correspondence courses of the British Co-operative Union, and through the enrolment of students in training courses abroad, especially in the Co-operative College in Great Britain. The staff of the Union are responsible not only for its own work but for the working of the local societies, which are inspected frequently and are subjected to a pre-audit by the Union's inspectors, though the final audit is in all cases carried out by a firm of chartered accountants. Recently local societies have been allowed to make limited cash advances to members, but the success of this experiment cannot yet be judged.

There are several small coffee co-operative unions, including that at Rungw (where there is also a Coffee Board) and that at Moru, which has installed a modern pulping and washing plant handling fresh cherry. Societies affiliated to this Union also sell agricultural requirements on a modest scale. Most of the smaller unions market through the Tanganyika Co-operative Trading Agency, a secondary society of which they are members.

Cotton Marketing.

Cotton is grown principally in the dry plains south of Lake Victoria, and was for many years sold to private ginneries. About 1950, protests against exploitation by the ginners led to widespread and spontaneous demands for co-operative marketing and the formation of loose organizations for this purpose. An Assistant Commissioner for Co-operative Development was appointed to the area in 1952, and organization on a regular co-operative basis was begun, supported by long term loans from the Lint and Seed Marketing Board. By 1960 the whole crop of Lake Province was handled by a federation of 15 unions, each centred on a ginnery, co-operative or private, 364 societies and over 100,000 cotton farmers. Of the total crop, 80% was brought in by voluntary efforts, but at this point the Government, acting under the African Agricultural Products (Control and Marketing) Ordinance of 1949, imposed "one-channel"

marketing in favour of the co-operatives. In the last few years the Federation has built six ginneries, equipped with the most modern machinery and financed with loans from the Lint and Seed Marketing Board. These loans it has every prospect of repaying in the near future. It is now in a position to gin half the crop of the province and it has been arranged that the product of any increase in cotton acreage will be directed to the co-operative gins.

The Victoria Federation is firmly based on the local societies, all of which are fully self-governing and self-supporting on permitted handling margins. Some are audited by the Co-operative Department and some by private firms. They receive cotton from members, weigh and grade it into two grades, and pay on receipt at the price fixed by the Board. No advances are made at present, but it is hoped to make a beginning with short term loans for cultivation and harvesting expenses (tractor hire, for which informal syndicates already exist, pickers' wages and fertilisers) as soon as the societies have a record of each member's past deliveries, which will serve as a guide to the amount to be loaned. In the absence of firm tenure to land, the crop will be the only security for the loan.

The local societies, the Unions and the Federation, are controlled by committees elected by the members. Unlike many co-operative committees, they are paid for their services, which include attendance, on a rota system, at the societies' premises while cotton is being delivered. The salaried staff is African, except that the ginneries employ European engineers, but the Federation is hampered by lack of trained and skilled staff at all levels (though all possible use is made of existing training facilities) and by the difficulty of maintaining standards of commercial honesty. A recent problem has been an attempted break away of a minority of members, led by influential growers who formerly collected cotton on behalf of private ginners. This situation has not yet been resolved.

The Federation, like other Tanganyika co-operative unions, has invested its reserves in impressive headquarters which, when complete, will include an office block, space for shops, a meeting hall and a hostel. It is considering the building of a cottonseed oil mill, which would export both oil and cake.

A smaller group of cotton marketing societies have recently been organised in the dry plains below Kilimanjaro, after a deputation of cotton growers had visited the Lake province. There is no lack of land, and cotton growing could be considerably extended. Groups have been formed to own and hire out tractors, but labour for cotton picking is difficult to obtain once the area is greater than can be picked by the owners' family. No union has yet been formed in this area and no ginnery acquired, but the Seed and Lint Board has made loans for the local storage and grants for the making of access roads. Cotton is received, weighed, graded and sold to a private ginnery.

Other Marketing

Among other commodities marketed co-operatively are rice (paddy), tobacco, cashew nuts, maize, sesame, wattle bark, fresh vegetables and pyrethrum. The first two are the most important. Tobacco is mainly handled by the long-established Ngono-Matengo Union, which opened its own tobacco grading and packing station in 1951 and soon after took over marketing responsibility from the Songea Tobacco Board. One union in the Southern Highlands handles paddy only and, together with a neighbouring union, owns a rice mill. Rice is marketed elsewhere by primary societies. Maize, though handled co-operatively on a considerable scale during the period of war-time control, is proving more difficult to deal with on a free market. The trade in cashew nuts is entirely in the hands of Indian merchants, who send them to India to be cracked, a process in which African labour, with its higher wage level, cannot compete. This severely limits the effectiveness of co-operative marketing in this particular field. The trade in copra on the coast is in the hands of Arab traders prepared to pay cash, and co-operation has made little progress.

Little has so far been done to market livestock produce co-operatively, apart from one dairy society, which has suspended operations. Cattle marketing is, however, under active consideration, with a special view to providing outlets for the cattle of pastoral and semi-nomadic tribes. One possibility is the establishment of a reception area where cattle might be brought into a better condition and then shipped by rail to the Tanganyika Meat Packing Company (in part publicly owned) for canning. An alternative would be the establishment of a slaughterhouse and freezing plant in the breeding areas. The main difficulty will be to get cattle owners to accept a weight and quality grading system.

At present co-operation in Tanganyika exists almost wholly for the marketing of agricultural produce. It has been greatly aided by the existence of Marketing Boards and their readiness to support co-operatives. Any change in this system would create serious problems for the co-operatives. The value of the marketing societies for the development of Tanganyika and its people has been outstanding. It has stimulated increased cultivation and particularly the cultivation of cash crops by Africans. Through grading, it has improved the quality of crops and their price on the world market. In thinly populated areas it has led to the growth of villages around cotton gins and other installations, the nucleus being the co-operative offices and store, together with permanent houses for the staff, one or two retail shops, a bus or taxi, a cobbler or other craftsman and a bar. It has led to the building of new roads and the improvement of village housing and domestic equipment, the increase in the number of buses and bicycles and the improvement of clothing. The increased number of maize mills has relieved women of the drudgery of grinding. Co-operation has taught large numbers of peasant farmers how to vote and conduct meetings and has given them some understanding of accounts and balance sheets and the meaning of a contract. This has been reinforced by the insistence of the Co-operative Department that every co-operative should present not only annual audited accounts, but should also prepare a budget for the next year's operations, including capital and current expenditure.

Co-operative societies have also contributed to general development through cess levied directly on the turnover of co-operative unions and paid into provincial treasuries. This is used for the building of roads and schools and for similar local needs. It is obviously an easier way of collecting money than by direct taxation. There is some doubt, however, whether it is really fair to place this burden directly on co-operatives, even if they hold a virtual monopoly in the handling of a commodity. There is some pressure to reduce the rate at which the cesses are levied.

Other Types of Cooperation

There are a few Ismaili credit societies running successfully and a few consumers' societies, none of which are making much progress apart from one established in a leprosarium. The Ministry of Agriculture and Co-operative Development has considered the extension of consumers' co-operation and the general manager of a British consumers' co-operative was invited by the Government of Tanganyika to visit the country and examine and advise on consumers' societies. His report is not yet available. An attempt is being made by the dock workers' trade union in Dar-es-Salaam to set up a labour contracting co-operative, but the project is in its earliest stages. A society for the joint cultivation of land appears to be breaking down.

The problem of supplying trained staff for the Co-operative Department as well as for the Unions is met in various ways. Short courses are conducted in most areas by Departmental and Union staff to train society employees and committee members in their duties. A School of Co-operation has been established at Mzumbe, which holds three courses of three months each for the staffs of primary societies. Short courses are also held for newly recruited assistant co-operative inspectors, and refresher courses for inspectors of longer standing. Both members of the Department and society employees take the British Co-operative Union's book-keeping course by correspondence. Some 30 students, both Department officers and the employees of Co-operative Unions, annually attend the five

- month courses held at the East African School of Co-operation in Kabete and three or four each year take the eight month course at the Co-operative College in Great Britain. The need for increasing training facilities, particularly in Africa, is ever present.

The co-operative movement has already given two Ministers to Tanganyika, both former general managers of co-operative unions.

Future Developments

So far the only national link between co-operative unions in different regions or handling different commodities is the Department of Co-operation. Active steps are, however, being taken to form a national co-operative Union, to which it is hoped to transfer some of the functions of audit and supervision now exercised by the Department. A national co-operative trading organization, the Tanganyika Co-operative Trading Agency, already exists, which sells coffee on behalf of the smaller unions without marketing facilities of their own and, on a smaller scale, supplies farming requirements, mostly connected with coffee cultivation. It also handles insurance on behalf of its member societies and unions. The possibility of forming a national co-operative bank, primarily to undertake business on behalf of marketing co-operatives rather than individuals or local credit societies, is being considered. One of the difficulties is that the demand for credit for marketing all Tanganyika crops tends to reach a peak at the same time.

The question of direct credit to farmers, apart from the limited advances made by some of the marketing societies, remains a subject of enquiry. In the summer of 1960, Mr. C.J. Tyson, Agricultural Credit Consultant of the United States International Co-operative Administration, made a study of the position and reported to the Tanganyika Government. His conclusions were that there was at present insufficient credit available to enable Tanganyika farmers to make the best use of their land and labour, but that many did not know how to use credit nor the obligations involved. There was also need to promote thrift. He recommended that the extension of short term credit and thrift should be carried on through co-operative societies, either the existing

marketing societies or separate thrift credit co-operatives closely linked with them, and that the central financing of co-operative unions should be accomplished through a Co-operative Bank, carefully supervised by the Registrar of Co-operatives. The Bank should also lend to co-operatives for the expansion of their own activities. For development credit (medium term) and for long term non-supervised loans to farmers, he recommended that two new agencies should be set up under the control of the Ministry of Agriculture and Co-operative Development. He recommended also that qualified persons should be sent for training in co-operative credit to other countries, including the United States.

One of the obstacles in the way of increased investment in agriculture and the permanent improvement of land is that in Tanganyika, as in most African countries, there is no individual ownership of agricultural land, no security of tenure and no possibility of securing a loan on mortgage. For this reason the Department of Agriculture and Co-operation has argued against the formation of separate thrift and credit societies in agricultural areas, though it favours the establishment of thrift societies in schools. The existing Ismailia societies have already been mentioned.

There seems to be no present intention of introducing legislation which would alter the existing customary occupation of land. The possibility of land settlement schemes on a co-operative basis, probably on the lines of the Israeli Moshav (individual holdings with co-operative cropping plans, services and supervision) is under discussion, and it is possible that the services of an expert from F.A.O. will be requested. The objects would be twofold - absorption of some of the young unemployed of the towns, and the introduction of methods of farming, including mechanisation, which the peasant farm may not be able to introduce in the near future. The limited experience of government schemes on these lines has not been very encouraging. It may perhaps be worth recalling in this connection that, at least in cotton-growing areas, small farmers have spontaneously created machinery syndicates which appear to be working satisfactorily.

Another line of development which has been advocated is that of industrial producers' co-operatives, for which the services of an expert from I L O have been requested.

Z A N Z I B A R

The two islands of Zanzibar and Pemba have a population of about 270,000. The principal crop is cloves. A scheme for the co-operative marketing of cloves was prepared in 1932, but before it could come into effect a Marketing Board was substituted. In 1952, however, a Co-operative Office, under a Registrar, was established, and a beginning made with the organisation of credit societies, called Village Banks. By 1959 these numbered 21, which have made fairly good progress, in spite of a shortage of trained staff and the slump in the clove trade, which has made recovery of loans difficult. There are also about a dozen thrift and loan societies, one bank (in Pemba) and 19 consumers' stores, which are still in their early and difficult stages. A few societies have made a beginning with the marketing of coconuts, copra, cassava or cloves. There is a housing society (Ismaili), two tailoring societies, a women's canning society and a co-operative farm. Other projects are under consideration.

MAURITIUS

The islands of Mauritius and Rodrigues in the Indian Ocean have a combined population of rather over 500,000, which is in the main Indian and French rather than African. The principal industry is the production of sugar cane, though hemp, ginger and food crops are also produced. Planters', stockbreeders' and hemp syndicates have existed for many years, but cannot be regarded as co-operatives. An ordinance of 1913 provided for the formation and supervision of co-operative credit societies which were later authorised to make contracts with their members for the sale of agricultural products. A limited number of societies were formed and continued to function over a number of years, making cultivation loans to their members which were repaid after the sugar cane harvest. By the end of the second world war there were 85 credit co-operatives, some of which negotiated collective contracts with sugar cane millers for the sale of their members' produce, and so commanded the minimum tonnage which entitled them to ask for a test of sucrose content under the cane Sale and Purchase Ordinance of 1941.

In 1947 the Co-operative Division of the Department of Agriculture was converted into a Department of co-operation under a full time Registrar. This was followed by a rapid awakening of co-operative activity. The most numerous group of societies continued to be those based on agriculture, of which, by 1959, there were 148 in Mauritius and 20 in Rodrigues, with a total membership of about 10,000. Most of these are with unlimited liability. Loans are made on the security of the character of the member, a lien on his crop for three years and the guarantee of two sureties. In addition, the member must show that he has a regular title to the land on which his crop is grown, which may be either owned or leased. For new members, loans are limited to half the estimated expenditure on cultivation, but those who have previously sold their sugar cane through the society may borrow up to 50% of the value of the last crop. These provisions do not apply in Rodrigues, where members of societies are usually engaged in

subsistence farming. Credit co-operatives have fairly substantial capital of their own (about £175,000 in 1959) built up from shares, deposits and reserves, and also borrow on overdraft to about the same value, principally from the Co-operative Central Bank, established in 1949, of which nearly all co-operatives are members. The Bank in turn makes use of share capital, reserves and deposits (mainly from non-members), and is not in any way financed by government or dependent on overdrafts from commercial banks, although these are used to a moderate extent at peak periods. The building which houses the Bank, the Co-operative Department and other central co-operative institutions, was originally bought with an interest-free loan from the Sugar Industry Labour Welfare Fund.

Cane marketing through credit co-operatives has expanded rapidly and was valued at about £1,250,000 in 1959. This was equal to about 25% of the smallholders cane crop. (Sales from large estates account for more than half the total production of the island). Processing is carried out by private sugar millers. The price is based on the sucrose content as assessed by chemists employed by the Central Board, and is divided between the grower and the miller. The sugar is then sold in the name of the grower through the Manager of the Central Co-operative Bank, who is also a recognised broker. Credit societies also supply the members with agricultural requirements, especially fertilisers.

In addition to the agricultural credit societies, there are 28 thrift societies, of which the most successful are those formed by salary earners. There are also about 30 school savings banks. All these re-invest deposits in the Co-operative Central Bank.

There are a limited number of co-operatives marketing commodities other than sugar. There are 21 credit societies, some of whose members grow tobacco and receive loans for that purpose, and 6 tea marketing societies, which enter into contracts with tea factories for the sale of their members green tea leaf. Loans, if required, are obtained from credit societies in the same district. One ginger marketing society has existed for some time, but it seems likely to be replaced by a ginger marketing board. The Mauritius Co-operative Agricultural Federation has a membership

of 146 primary marketing societies whose interests it protects. In 1958/9 it employed a chemist to check the testing of members' sugar cane for sucrose content, and it has representatives on official boards and committees concerned with agricultural marketing.

There has been a considerable development of consumer co-operatives in both islands. In 1959 these numbered 80, with 13,500 members and sales of about £500,000. They were introduced cautiously, after a good deal of education of intending members and were carefully supervised in their early stages. They have in the main been prudently and honestly managed but have had the usual difficulty in keeping a check on credit sales. Most societies have a bar at which local rum and wines are sold. A Co-operative Wholesale Society was set up in 1949, of which all consumers' societies are members. It began work with an overdraft from a commercial bank, but is now running on its own share capital, reserves and members' deposits. It imports principally rice, pulses, edible fats and fertilisers but is in a position to supply practically all the needs of its member societies. It has recently opened a branch on Rodrigues.

Among other types of co-operative are a Better Living Society, which runs a nursery school, three housing societies, almost entirely financed by government loans, a very successful printing society and twenty transport societies.

The Mauritius Co-operative Union was established in 1952 and has a membership of over 200 primary and secondary co-operatives. It carries out most of the audit and supervision of societies, under the general control of the Registrar, carries on educational advisory and consultative functions, provides legal aid and represents the movement in public. It supplies member societies with stationery and equipment and runs a provident fund for their employees and its own staff. It also arranges correspondence and short residential courses for staffs of the Department and the co-operatives, and runs a mobile cinema unit. It is financed from audit fees and the subscriptions of members.

As will be noted, the co-operative movement of Mauritius is remarkably well balanced and self-reliant. Educational work is mainly by way of short courses arranged in the island, but several co-operative officers have been sent to the Co-operative College in England and to other overseas courses.

M A D A G A S C A R

The island of Madagascar is a former colony now a member of the French community, with a population of about 5,000,000. The principal products are groundnuts, coffee, rice and manioc, and there is considerable stock-breeding. A form of indigenous association with some of the characteristics of a co-operative has been traditional in the villages, but never seems to have been successfully linked with modern co-operation. Agricultural syndicates for irrigation and drainage were legalised in 1913, and a decree on credit, friendly societies and agricultural co-operation was introduced in 1930, followed by the establishment of a Central Credit Bank. None of these measures seem to have been very effective, and by 1950 there were not more than about 60 co-operatives handling about 5% of the total coffee crop as well as some rice. The membership was in most cases multi-racial. Few of these societies still survive. Most failed owing to inability to compete with Chinese merchants, who gave better prices than the advance which the co-operatives were prepared to make. The co-operatives were also in many cases badly managed, with high overheads, and failed to hold the loyalty of their members.

In 1955 a decree was issued laying down a new law on co-operation, and in 1958 a co-operative administrative service was established. In the meantime a number of rural institutions and services are in operation which related to co-operation without being themselves co-operatives. These include: (1) Indigenous Rural Collectivities, which are groups under a Council of Chiefs and are engaged in local public services. (2) Modernised Indigenous Rural Collectivities, which appear to be more economic in character and of which 30 - 40 have been formed. (3) Groups of Collectivities which are formed at district level and have their own council under the district chief, and their own funds. These number 54 and technical agricultural officers are attached to them. Among other things they supply agriculturists with selected seeds, fertilisers, etc. (4) Sectors of Peasant Development, which are partly administrative in character and partly in the nature of professional agricultural groups,

and of which there are 56. (5) Modernised Sectors for Rural Development, which may be formed under a Decree of 1956 for the production and marketing of crops. By 1958 only one had been formed.

C O N G O

The population of the Congo is about 11,000,000, mostly dependent on subsistence agriculture with the sale of palm products, cotton and coffee. There are also important mining operations which have called into being an industrial population. The introduction of co-operation was made legally possible in 1921, when a decree authorised the formation of co-operatives under Belgian law, with the approval of the Governor General. Very few were in fact approved, though one or two were carried on either unregistered or as professional associations, generally under the auspices of missions. Some of these were savings banks. The University of Louvain, in the Congo, carried on parallel savings and credit banks through its Agricultural Centres as well as a Supply and Marketing Co-operative, which was later divided into four sections dealing respectively with groundnuts, paddy, bananas and market garden produce. It had a period of success but suffered from lack of trained personnel and the hostility of traders and of the public authorities. It was reorganised in 1951. A similar venture was carried on by a Franciscan Mission.

Various measures aiming at the modernisation of village and tribal economy were introduced. Between 1925 and 1935 a number of enterprises, sometimes called co-operatives, were set up by Native Treasuries, concerned with agriculture, dairying, purchasing and small industries. They were administrative rather than co-operative, and were for the most part liquidated or transformed into Provident Societies on the French Colonial pattern. A decree establishing indigenous Circles with certain powers to develop tribal resources was passed in 1933, and a Special Fund for Indigenous Agricultural Credit was established in 1941 for the purpose of lending to circles, co-operatives or individuals, but this did not result in any extensive co-operative development.

The experiences of the war of 1940-46 and the recommendations of the International Labour Conference held at Philadelphia in 1944, led to a new approach. A Provincial Commissioner, instructed to enquire into the possibilities of co-operative development, presented a report in 1948. In the following year a decree was issued which provided for the establishment of co-operatives for economic and social purposes, of which the membership

should be limited to individual Africans. Registration was to be granted for a period of five years only, and the working of the co-operative would be subject to fairly close official control. This was to be secured either by the appointment of a European advisor or of an education committee consisting of four members, two appointed by the Governor (one being a European) and two elected by the members (one again being a European). The membership of these education committees was in fact largely official in character, including recognised local chiefs, but some of the European members were non-officials. The annual general meeting was empowered to elect a paid management committee on the advice of the education committee, but the secretary or manager of the society was appointed and might be dismissed by the District Commissioner. Further, a supervisor appointed by the Governor, attended all meetings but did not vote unless the law or the rules were broken. There were also government-appointed auditors. This close control was somewhat modified by a decree of 1956, but the representative of the provincial governor still retained the right to veto any decisions of the manager, committee or general meeting of a society.

A Co-operative Administrative Service was initiated in 1952 and was placed under the control of the Department of Native Affairs. No definite steps seem to have been taken to train either the personnel of the Service or the managers of co-operatives. Advances to co-operatives were obtainable from the Colonial Treasury, from a number of special funds promoting African development, and (in the case of cotton marketing societies), from the Cotton Reserve Bank. It seems to have been general policy to form rural co-operatives where possible in connection with "Paysannats", (areas selected for peasant development), or as collecting points under a scheme of controlled cotton marketing.

According to the latest figures obtainable, there were about 50 rural co-operatives with over 100,000 members, most of them engaged in marketing cotton, but some handling rubber, coffee or palm oil. There were about 15 consumers' or supply co-operatives, mostly urban. There were also a number of enterprises run by Native Authorities, which could not properly be classed as co-operatives, and a certain number of mutual societies,

either unregistered or registered under a decree of 1925 applying the Belgian law on Mutualities to the Congo. These, like the consumer co-operatives, were often formed among members of the same tribe living in industrial areas. They might be spontaneous or promoted by missions, and their objects included thrift and provision for funerals and for the cost of members returning to their homes.

It is obvious that co-operation in the Congo, though it has had a fairly long history, was still in its initial stages when the country became independent in 1960. There appears to be no information regarding the present state of the organizations then existing.

CONGO, GABON, GENERAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC, CHAD

These territories formed the component parts of the former colony of French Equatorial Africa, with a population of about 5,000,000. The southern regions of Congo and Gabon produce copra and other forest products; the more northerly regions, including most of the Central African Republic and Chad, produce mainly groundnuts, cereals and cotton.

Before 1959 there was little co-operative activity apart from the Provident Societies of which all cultivators, craftsmen and fishermen were compulsory members. One Provident Society was formed in each district, giving about 30 in each of the 4 territories. In the Congo these have been replaced by Rural Co-operation Centres. There was also some Peasant Sectors, aiming at general agricultural development, soil conservation and marketing. Central Credit Banks, with government participation, have been established by the Central Bank for Economic Co-operation in all four territories, and since 1959 there has been some development of local general purposes co-operatives, making small loans to cultivators and paying on delivery for crops, usually coffee, groundnuts, rice or palm oil. The Congolese Rural Development Society is a semi public body concerned with promoting co-operation. The governments are seeking technical advice and are planning the training of co-operative officers, but co-operation is still at a very elementary stage.

RIO MUNI

No co-operative organization has been reported from this territory.

ANGOLA

The nearest approach to co-operation appears to be through the "indigenous training colonies" set up as a result of the Legislative Decree of 5th July, 1950, with the object of raising the standards of the African rural community. Details of the manner of operation and the numbers and membership of colonies actually established, do not appear to have been published.

MOZAMBIQUE

Agricultural production and marketing co-operatives were introduced, as far as is known, for the first time in 1950. The aim is to improve agricultural production and introduce better methods; to encourage thrift; to attach the African farmer to the soil; to organise markets; to raise economic and social standards and inculcate regular habits of work. Membership is compulsory for those who are allotted land in designated areas. Capital is formed from members' subscriptions, which may be monthly, annual, or limited to a single payment on admission. Transport and heavy equipment may be financed from government loans or grants. Societies are not fully self-governing but are managed in some cases by a board consisting of 2 members, the local mayor and the district officer, who acts as chairman, in others by elected members acting with appointed staff. These co-operatives, of which there were reported to be 6 in 1958, appear to have ample land and to be carrying on a system of joint farming, though it is not clear whether the land is pooled or divided into family plots, nor how much control the co-operative exercises over the running of individual holdings, if such exist.

FEDERATION OF RHODESIA AND NYASALAND

Co-operation developed separately and on rather different lines in the three territories of the Federation, which will therefore be treated separately. There are no federal co-operative institutions.

Northern Rhodesia.

The territory has a population of about 2,200,000; the principal industry is mining, and the principal agricultural commodities coming on the market are maize, tobacco and cotton. These are produced on both European and African farms. Co-operatives of European farmers have existed since 1915, principally concerned with marketing. With the extension of copper mining and the threat to food imports during the war of 1939-46, African farming evolved fairly rapidly from subsistence production to cash crops, and semi-co-operative groups for the marketing of tobacco, groundnuts and ghee, grew up under fairly close government supervision.

In 1947, a Co-operative Ordinance suitable for the encouragement of African societies was introduced, and a Department of Co-operative Societies and African Marketing was established. By 1955 the Department had a staff of nearly 100. It was, however, also concerned with subsidiary activities, including the registration of Building Societies and Trade Unions, and the administration of the African Business-mens' Loan Fund.

At the end of 1959 there were 245 co-operatives with 33,000 members and total business of £6,500,000. The most important field of activity was the marketing of agricultural produce. Nearly £4,000,000 worth, mostly maize, tobacco and dairy produce, was handled by a small group of societies with a membership of European farmers. They also supplied over £1,000,000 worth of agricultural requirements to their members. African societies, smaller but more numerous, handled about £1,250,000 worth of produce, together with a small quantity of consumers' supplies. They numbered 140, organized in 15 district unions. The movement of crops was financed by short-term borrowing from government, channelled through the Land and Agricultural Bank or through statutory marketing boards. Many societies market through these boards, usually on margins so narrow that they have little opportunity of accumulating reserves or expanding services.

Those which have succeeded in building up resources of their own use them to make seasonal loans to members, but others have to borrow for this purpose.

There are a limited number of thrift societies, mostly among salary earners, in the urban areas of the Central Province, and there would probably be more if many of the larger industrial firms did not run thrift and savings schemes for their own employees. There is at least one fishermen's thrift society and one with European membership. The Businessmen's Co-operative Credit Association, African in membership but under European management, operates, guides and supervises loan schemes for the promotion of small African businesses. There are two African transport co-operatives.

There are about 20 consumers' societies, both African and European, mostly in the industrial areas. They have had great difficulty in securing competent and honest staff and even committees, they have found it difficult to establish the principle of cash sale, and are consequently burdened with debts. This is especially true of the less supervised European societies. A few have been successful, but as a group they handle a smaller volume of consumer goods than do the marketing societies.

Though co-operation in Northern Rhodesia is on a comparatively small scale, it has not only done a good deal to secure for the farmer, both African and European, a proper return for his product, but it has also stimulated fresh production and played a part in general rural development. All primary societies, for instance, include a provision in their rules regarding methods of cultivation and soil conservation.

There are no central or federal co-operative organizations, though a central bank has been considered, and the promotion and supervision of the movement is still left entirely to the Co-operative Department. Co-operative propaganda is provided through agricultural shows (in conjunction with local co-operatives), on the radio, and through African magazines and newspapers. Training courses are carried on in development centres and

schools, and the Department holds an annual training course lasting three months for its own trainee staff, besides sending senior men to the Co-operative College in England and to inter-territorial courses in Africa. A permanent Co-operative Training Centre in Rhodesia is envisaged but has not yet been established.

Nyasaland

This is a small and relatively densely populated territory with 2,500,000 inhabitants, many of whom migrate in search of work, since there are no natural resources other than agriculture. In 1938 a Director of Co-operation was appointed, but little development took place until 1947. The principal co-operative activity has taken place in the Northern Province and in the field of marketing. It has been largely restricted to food crops, since the major export crops, tobacco and cotton, both produced on a very large number of scattered African holdings, are handled by statutory marketing boards, which have not so far shown any interest in the organization of co-operatives as intermediaries between the boards and the individual farmer.

The Northern Province was selected for the first co-operative experiments, partly because of the intelligence of the people and their patrilineal organization, which made co-operative organization easier, partly because their remoteness from consuming centres made marketing more difficult than for farmers of the South and Centre, who are within easy reach of the Rhodesian Copper Belt. The first co-operatives to be organized were dairies producing ghee (clarified butter). By 1960 these numbered 45, most of them organized in two Producers' Co-operative Unions covering Bulambia and the Kasitu Valley, with 5 independent dairies in South Mzimba. All these are small, but by raising the price of milk they have played an important part in the economic life of cattle owners in the very isolated regions where they are established. In 1959 their work was disturbed by political agitation, a particularly poor grazing season and an influx of cheap imported ghee, which was later brought under control. Some re-organization, with the amalgamation of small and uneconomic dairies is in prospect.

Considerable efforts are being made to extend and increase rice production in Nyasaland, since there is an unsatisfied demand for rice in the Federation. In 1960 there were 13 primary rice marketing societies organized in 3 district unions, the function of which was to finance the primary societies and to process and market the paddy which they purchased from their members. Two of the unions have their own rice mills, one of which mills paddy on behalf of the third union, which has no mill, though it runs a consumers' store. Capital for mills and other co-operative installations has been obtained on loan from the African Development and Welfare Fund. Short term advances for crop purchases are borrowed from commercial banks by the unions.

There are 5 coffee producers' co-operatives, all in the Northern Province, which for some years confined their activities to the collection of parchment coffee, already pulped by the growers, and its transmission for processing and marketing to the Northern Co-operative Union. This period saw a rapid increase in the quantity and quality of Nyasaland coffee, but the total crop is small and its effective sale on the world market depends on the maintenance of uniform high quality. For this purpose it is hoped shortly to introduce central pulping units, where the cherry can be handled in bulk, and its pulping, fermentation, washing and drying closely supervised at all stages. In 1960 the first central pulper was under construction with African Development and Welfare funds. In order to popularise the new system, a party of growers was taken to study co-operative coffee marketing in Kenya.

The Northern Co-operative Union was formed in 1950 mainly for the benefit and with the membership of the dairy and coffee co-operatives. It gradually built up a Supplies Department, a Transport Section and a Factory Section, which undertook the processing of coffee, the tinning and marketing of ghee and the milling of maize and wheat. In 1959 it was decided that the Union was involved in too many undertakings to look after any of them satisfactorily. The Supplies and Transport Sections were accordingly closed down. The Factory Section, which is essential to the coffee and ghee industries has been continued and the Union continues to

operate petrol stations and a store.

A fruit and vegetable marketing society and a few maize mills, usually run by a co-operative or union established for other purposes, an African traders' wholesale and 11 small consumers' societies, two of them European, completes the list of Nyasaland co-operatives.

Short training courses for the staffs of marketing co-operative and unions are arranged by the Co-operative Department in the territory. The staff of the Department itself are as far as possible sent for a 6 months course at the East African School of Co-operation in Kabete, and senior men are sent for a year to the Co-operative College in England.

Southern Rhodesia.

Until recently the only co-operation in Southern Rhodesia has been among European farmers. This began in 1911, when the Farmers' Co-operative Society was formed, to handle and market the maize crop of Mashonaland. This was later registered as a co-operative company, Farmers' Co-op. Ltd. under an Act of 1925. Several more undertakings of the same kind, some serving a region, others carrying on specific agricultural industries such as tobacco grading, creameries, bacon factories and oil presses, were formed. They work closely with statutory bodies such as the Grain Marketing Board and the Cold Storage Commission, and this has meant that their marketing of main agricultural products, apart from tobacco, has been restricted, and development has been in the field of supply of agricultural requirements and in the marketing of subsidiary crops such as potatoes, sunflowers, vegetables and farm seeds.

Up to the time of federation with Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland there had been no regularly formed or registered African co-operatives, but some farmers' associations in "Native Purchase Areas" had sought to help African farmers by introducing a form of co-operative crop marketing, and some unregistered African consumer co-operatives have been reported from the towns.

In 1954 administration of the Southern Rhodesia Co-operative Companies Act, as far as concerns co-operatives of European farmers, was transferred to the Federal Ministry of Agriculture. Soon after a Registrar of African Co-operative Societies was appointed. It was expected that an African Co-operative Act would be passed and that it would then be possible to proceed to the formation of African marketing co-operatives within the framework of the Grain Marketing Act and probably with the help of loans from the Native Development Fund.

B A S U T O L A N D

Basutoland is a small and mountainous country with a population of 600,000, and agriculture is its main industry. The principal exports are wool, mohair, wheat and peas. There was no spontaneous co-operation among the people before the establishment of a Co-operative Department in 1948, and a good deal of education was needed before the idea was assimilated. After a few successful societies had been formed, however, demands for the extension of the movement became keen. The low prices paid by local traders for merino wool, angora and mohair, and the opportunities for export and better markets in the Union of South Africa were the incentives, and full advantage was taken of the opportunity to improve the preparation and classing of Basutoland wool. Co-operatives once formed were able to take up other activities, such as the sale of hides and skins, and the bulk purchase of rock salt, sheep shears and a few other articles. This was followed by a demand for consumers' societies, which were, however, deferred until members had gained experience through bulk buying clubs for domestic or agricultural requirements.

In 1959 the country's first Legislative Council was elected and an Economic Commission was appointed which reported that the economic development of the country must depend upon the development of agriculture, and this in turn, must be achieved through co-operation in the fields of credit, marketing and supply. This coincided with widespread public interest in co-operatives, and a readiness to launch into such new undertakings as co-operative banking and credit, crop grading and marketing, grain storage and cattle marketing, with continued demands for their extension. By 1960 there were 89 registered co-operatives with 14,000 members and sales of over £500,000 a year. Of these societies, 40 are concerned with agricultural credit, 21 with produce and marketing, and the rest with consumers' and various ventures.

The aim of credit societies is to enable farmers to buy improved farm implements, fertilisers, seeds, pesticides and carts. A grant from the United Kingdom Government of £80,000 is used as a revolving loan fund. The work of the credit societies is closely linked with the technical advisory

services of the Department of Agriculture, and with the Progressive Farmers' Scheme which has been in operation for some years. The Basutoland Co-operative Banking Union is an amalgamation of earlier savings co-operatives and the existing credit movement, and is becoming popular as a field of investment. There is also a thrift and savings society which attracts deposits from Basutos working in the Union of South Africa.

Co-operative marketing societies handling non-perishable products, especially wool, sell directly through a farmers' marketing co-operative in the Union of South Africa. The movement of goods is financed from the Central Co-operative Bank, commercial bank overdrafts and advances from wool brokers in the Union. Perishable produce, surpluses and the marketing of livestock is undertaken by the Agricultural Supply and Marketing Association which has recently been formed to take over the supply of requirements and the marketing of cattle, initiated by the Department of Agriculture. The method of selling cattle is by "weighband" valuation with cash payment, and stocks are exported to markets in South Africa.

Recent expansion has been rapid, and there has been little time to train co-operative staff. Short courses are conducted at Roma University College, three co-operative inspectors have attended courses in East Africa, and arrangements have been made to send others to the Co-operative College in England. In the meantime, co-operative development not only has the general support of government, but is being treated as an essential and integrated part of the technical and economic development of the country.

SWAZILAND

A co-operative law covering all aspects of co-operative development was introduced in 1931, but no steps were taken to promote its use and in fact no co-operatives appear to have been formed.

B E C H U A N A L A N D

The desert-like character and mainly cattle economy of Bechuanaland do not provide much basis for co-operation. The possibility of co-operative cattle marketing has from time to time been explored, and there are one or two milk buying depots equipped and supervised by the Department of Agriculture which are to some extent co-operative in character.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

The Union has a population of 13,000,000, of which about one-fifth is of European origin. The principal industries are mining and agriculture. Food crops and cattle are produced on both African and European farms in roughly equal proportions, but the bulk of the specialised and export crops such as citrus and other fruit, sugar cane, tobacco and wool are produced by farmers of European origin. It is among these farmers that by far the most important co-operative development has taken place.

Co-operation was not a spontaneous movement, but was introduced by government as a measure of agricultural reconstruction after the war of 1899-1902. Government loans to farmers' co-operative companies were made available in Natal (1904) and Cape Colony (1905) and were extended to co-operative societies with unlimited liability in the Transvaal and Orange Free State a few years later. The Land and Agricultural Bank of South Africa was set up in 1912, but did not at first lend to co-operatives with limited liability. This, however, was corrected in 1922, when a consolidated Act was passed.

In spite of government support in the form of finance provided through the Bank, and supervision given by the Registrar of Co-operative Societies, the movement at first grew slowly. It was held back by the remoteness of South African farms, the indebtedness of farmers to local merchants, and the difficulty of securing and adequately paying competent co-operative managers. The slump following the first World War caused a drastic fall in the price of agricultural produce at a time when agricultural production was increasing. This gave rise to a search for overseas markets which called in turn for higher standards of production, grading, packing and storage that could be achieved by the individual farm. As soon as the position was realised, there was a rapid extension of co-operation in the marketing of maize, wool and mohair, tobacco, eggs, fruit (both citrus and deciduous) wheat, lucerne, milk, meat, live pigs, chicory, cotton, honey, ostrich feathers, groundnuts, sugar cane and timber. Processing plants were established, and cheese factories, wineries, bacon factories, mills for grain, sugar cane or wattle bark. Most co-operatives also supplied agricultural requirements to their members. They did much

to improve farmers' returns and to raise the volume and quality of farm production.

The Act of 1922 was in some respects more strictly worded than most co-operative laws. Trade with non-members, for example, was prohibited, with certain exceptions, and members were obliged to market only through their co-operative societies. In 1925, an amendment to the Act provided that, where, in any area, 75% of an agricultural product was already organized co-operatively, the Minister of Agriculture might, at the request of the co-operative, oblige all producers in the area to market their produce through it. A number of tobacco co-operatives adopted this procedure, and after a long interval it was extended to ostrich feathers, lucerne, onions and bananas. The Co-operative Wine Growers' Union had already been given statutory control of distilling and thus, indirectly, of wine marketing.

The second slump, beginning in 1929, led to an agitation among farmers for an extension of control over all agricultural production and marketing. A Commission of Enquiry, appointed in 1934, however, reported in favour of voluntary co-operatives combined with control boards exercising compulsory powers, generally of a regulatory character. Several such boards were set up under special Acts, but the Marketing Act of 1937 brought all (except that for sugar) under the control of the Minister of Agriculture and gave power to establish further boards without special legislation. By 1939 there were (in addition to the Wine Growers' Union and the Sugar Board) boards controlling wheat, maize, dairy produce, tobacco, dried fruit, livestock and meat, and chicory. Since then citrus and deciduous fruit, wool, mohair, groundnuts and dried beans, lucerne and potatoes have been added. Boards may themselves have power to market the product, and in this case the approval of 60% of the producers who take part in the ballot, responsible for more than 50% of the product, is necessary before the Minister can approve the scheme. If the scheme is merely regulatory, a simple majority suffices.

The position of co-operative marketing in South Africa today can best be summarized, product by product, with reference, wherever necessary, to

the related marketing board.

According to the most recent figures available (1955) there are about 60 co-operatives handling wheat and other winter cereals (barley, oats, rye). There is a Wheat Control Board (also covering the other winter cereals) dating from 1938, consisting of 8 co-operative and 3 non-co-operative producer members. The co-operatives receive and store on behalf of the Board over 90% of the crop. The Board regulates the distribution of the crop to millers, among which are to be found 3 large milling companies handling 47% of all commercial milling. Co-operatives are now equipping themselves for the bulk handling of grain.

The production of maize (mealies) is of national importance as it is a basic food grain. Marketing co-operatives have been in existence for more than 50 years. Governmental regulation was introduced in 1931, and a Mealie Industry Control Board was established in 1937. Co-operatives numbering 18, with 255 receiving depots, handle about 60% of the crop as agents of the Board, on which, however, they have only 6 out of 21 seats. Recently a co-operative of maize and groundnut producers has been formed to manufacture animal feeding stuffs.

As regards livestock products, co-operative dairies handle about 25% of the creamery butter and cheese produced in South Africa, and sell these products as agents of the Dairy Industry Control Board. A co-ordinating committee for dairy co-operatives has recently been set up. There are 19 meat co-operatives affiliated to a central union, handling about a quarter of the meat sold in the major urban areas, which alone are regulated by the Livestock and Meat Industry Control Board. There are also 5 regional livestock marketing co-operatives formed originally to organize and develop the export of meat. Later they were appointed as receiving and handling agents of the Control Board. In recent years four of them have developed an extensive auctioneering business in the areas which are not controlled by the Board. Some co-operatives deal in hides and skins, and this business, which also comes under the Livestock Board,

is expanding fairly rapidly. The co-operatives concerned have recently joined with the wool co-operatives to form a central hide and skin co-operative. There has been only a rather limited development of co-operative egg marketing in South Africa, but the existing societies are represented on the Egg Control Board. There are only 3 wool marketing co-operatives, but they have 34,000 members and handle nearly two-thirds of the total wool trade, South Africa's most valuable single export. They sell their members' produce either directly for processing or (more frequently) at public auction. There is a Wool Board, but it is occupied principally with publicity, research and market organization.

Co-operatives for the marketing of citrus fruit developed early, and in 1926 they established a central co-operative company, the Citrus Exchange, mainly for export purposes. By 1938 it was handling over 80% of the exported citrus fruit, as well as buying packing materials, fertilisers and other requirements, and carrying on spraying and picking on behalf of its members. On the outbreak of the second World War a Citrus Board was established to represent the industry as a whole. The entire secretarial and administrative work of the Board is, however, carried on by the Exchange, which continues to market produce, while the Board confines itself to regulating the flow of fruit. Co-operative producers now grow over 90% of the total crop, and 85% is packed in a comparatively small number of co-operative packhouses. The Exchange sells on the domestic South African market as well as overseas. It has its own London offices and has developed new markets in Europe, Africa and the Near East. Although it conducts all the business of the Board, it only holds half the seats.

The co-operative marketing of dried fruits is practically in the hands of two organizations, the South African Dried Fruit Company, with 60% of the growers, half the entire dried fruit crop and 80% of the sultana production, and the Co-operative Wine Growers' Union, which has a substantial trade in raisins and sultanas. A Dried Fruit Board was set up in 1938 to develop the export trade and provide war-time control. It consists of 5 co-operative and 2 non-co-operative members. Several

attempts have been made to organize the co-operative marketing of fresh fruit, but they have met with great difficulties. The industry has been for many years largely in the hands of the Deciduous Fruit Board, but in 1956 the absorption of several private canning companies by one large co-operative gave promise of fresh progress.

Small co-operative wineries were established in Cape Province at an early date, but they were undercapitalised and had little influence on the market. The Co-operative Wine Growers' Association was founded in 1917. At the outset it included some wine merchants as well as 95% of the wine growers, but became an exclusively producers' co-operative in 1923. The Wine and Spirits Act of the following year gave it complete control over distilling wine, and hence the virtual control of the wine industry, since the price of distilling wine dictates the price of table wines, and to a large extent that of fresh grapes and raisins. The Wine Growers' Assn. has built large storage cellars for maturing wines and brandies, and has promoted the raisin and sultana trade. It sells at fixed minimum prices all the vine products required by wholesale wine merchants for Africa south of the Equator. It withholds the surplus from the local market and from competition with merchants. The farmer is paid immediately for the disposable portion of his product. For the remainder, the Association tries to find outlets on export markets, and farmers are paid later out of a pool. The Association exports 90% of all wines and brandies, and controls wineries and distilleries in five towns in Western Cape Province. There are altogether 39 Co-operative Wineries, with membership of about 7,000 and turnover of £6,500,000.

Tobacco growing is concentrated in the Transvaal, where co-operatives have existed from an early date. In 1925 the four leading societies asked for and obtained, the amendment to the Co-operative Societies Act which enabled them to insist on the handling of non-members' produce wherever 75% of the producers of 75% of the crop were already members of co-operative societies. This led not only to increased co-operative activity, but also to a rapid extension of the acreage under tobacco, so that

the slump of 1929 brought the problem of an unsold surplus. The Tobacco Control Act of 1932 fixed export quotas, which distributed the burden between co-operatives and other traders, and a Tobacco Industry Control Board was set up on which co-operative producer representatives hold 8 out of the 13 seats. According to the most recent figures available, there are now 11 tobacco marketing co-operatives, all members of the Central Co-operative Company of South Africa. They have 24,000 members and annual sales of over £5,000,000. They undertake grading, fermenting and selling of tobacco leaf on behalf of their members.

Of the minor commodities, co-operatives handle over 90% of the groundnut, and nearly as much of the sunflower seed crop. They are the main agents for the sale of lucerne seed under the Lucerne Control Board, and hold a majority of the agencies for the marketing of dried beans, bananas and onions. Chicory, a crop localised in Cape Province, was handled to the extent of 80% by one co-operative. A Chicory Board was set up in 1946 to which the Chicory Growers' Co-operative has transferred some of its functions, but appoints 6 out of the 9 representatives.

As will be apparent from the foregoing, a very high proportion of South African agricultural produce comes on the market through co-operative channels, and though most commodities are to some extent regulated by marketing boards, the co-operatives often control the boards and are nearly always their principal agents. Co-operation is weakest in the marketing of fresh fruit and vegetables, and has still some way to go in livestock, meat and eggs. In 1955 the total value of produce handled stood at about £250,000,000.

Most agricultural co-operatives also handle members' requirements, but these are fairly strictly limited by law to agricultural implements and machinery, livestock, feedingstuffs, seeds, fruit trees, manure and other farming requisites. This list has been held to include vehicles, with fuel and lubricants, but does not include any domestic goods, whether consumable or durable. Sales may only be made to members. They totalled £32,000,000 in 1955. A Wholesale organization, Boeresake (formerly Federated Farmers' Co-operative of South Africa) aims at buying direct

from manufacturing firms but does not get all the trade of its affiliated societies, as many are large organizations which prefer to do their own purchasing. There has recently been an increase in the co-operative manufacture of balanced rations by both stockbreeders and growers of maize and oilseeds.

As a result of the legal limitation of the trade of agricultural societies to strictly agricultural requirements, the members of such societies have in many cases established co-operative trading societies for the supply of consumer goods, with overlapping membership and directorates and, not infrequently, with considerable financial support in the form of blocks of shares subscribed by the agricultural society concerned. Progress on these lines was particularly rapid during the second World War, and in some cases large and flourishing private businesses were taken over. Not all these ventures have stood the test of a return to more normal trading conditions.

Most of the co-operatives classed as trading societies (numbering about 200) are in fact rural consumers' stores on the lines described. Some, however, are non-European ventures which have been particularly vulnerable to untrained management. There are also some co-operative garages, mutual aid groups and societies engaged in some kind of industrial production.

There have never been (with one exception, referred to below) any specialized credit co-operatives in South Africa. Agricultural co-operatives of all kinds have drawn on the Land and Agricultural Bank for investment and working capital, and have in fact financed their farm members through advances and the supply of agricultural requirements on credit. Recently a downturn in prices, and difficulty in finding new markets, coupled with the higher costs of mechanisation and soil conservation, have increased the financial reliance of farmers on their co-operatives, and have placed a heavy strain on the resources of the co-operatives themselves and their powers of borrowing from the Bank. Some have set up revolving funds to relieve their dependence on the Bank. In 1954 a Central Agricultural Co-operative was formed to act as a

financial clearing house for co-operatives, whose need for capital is largely seasonal and who can therefore lend to other co-operatives with a different seasonal peak. It is hoped later to develop this organization into a full-scale co-operative bank.

Co-operative insurance was first attempted in 1935 among growers of cereals, especially liable to hail damage. A local insurance pool proved inadequate in years of heavy damage. Reinsurance was later arranged through a North African Company connected with co-operatives in Algeria, Tunis and Morocco. In 1949 the Central Office of Co-operative Insurance (Centrakas) was established, which at first worked mainly as an agency, but issued its own hail policies. Local agricultural co-operatives act as its agents. By 1956 it was handling all forms of insurance except Life.

Another form of insurance has been the creation of a fodder bank for use in time of drought. Stocks of fodder are held in producing areas and renewed annually, on which insured members can draw in time of need.

A number of agricultural co-operative services have developed, sometimes through separate societies, sometimes as departments of existing co-operatives. These include veterinary services, artificial insemination of cattle, milk recording, grass-drying, aerial spraying, dam building, contour ridging and farming mapping. The National Wool Growers' Association has established a national sheep-shearing co-operative.

Although there are several national co-operative organizations for specific purposes, there is no agricultural co-operative union or federation embracing all organizations. Instead, the South African Agricultural Union has set up a Co-operative Council and hold a Co-operative Congress every two years. The Council makes possible the representation of co-operatives on official bodies and, with the Congress, gives opportunities for the discussion of co-operative problems and policies. It publishes an excellent monthly magazine, Organized Agriculture,

Interest in co-operative education is comparatively recent. Several South African universities give short courses in co-operation and in some

it forms part of the B. Comm. degree course. Others offer special short courses in co-operative management for the staffs of societies. The South African Agricultural Union Education Committee has prepared handbooks for co-operatives. Recently much more stress has been laid on membership education, especially as a new generation of farmers has now come into membership who do not remember the early struggles nor the reasons for which co-operatives were formed. Many local societies are now setting up education committees and holding educational meetings.

As already noted, there has been very little development of co-operation among non-Europeans in South Africa. At one time a German religious mission in the Transvaal started Raiffeisen credit societies among Africans, but the work was disrupted by the war and not resumed. There are a certain number of African consumers' societies and a few marketing agricultural produce. The Registrar's Department, though it has been active in assisting and supervising co-operatives of European farmers, never seems to have had an opportunity to build up the sort of service which would have been necessary to promote and supervise an African movement.

AGRICULTURAL CO-OPERATIVES IN AFRICA
STATISTICAL TABLE

Country	No. Cooperatives	No. Members	Trade Turnover	Loans Granted
U.A.R. (Egypt)	4329	1,000,000	£E 22,000,000	£E 12,300,000
Libya	63	10,500	£L 160,000	n.a.
Tunisia	270	6,749	FrST5,000,000,000	FrST15,000,000,000
Algeria	650	80,000	FrS60,000,000,000	FrS.67,000,000,000
Morocco	193	69,000	FrSM26,000,000,000	FrSM 2,000,000,000
Mauritania	5	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Senegal	15	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Mali	70	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Niger	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Upper Volta	26	5,000	n.a.	n.a.
Gambia	55	4,387	£64,472	£ 16,019
Guinea	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Sierra Leone	275	24,000	£ 493,200	£ 116,000
Ivory Coast	700	30,000	£ 500,000	
Ghana	460	50,000	£8,000,000	£ 500,000
Togo	311	5,500	n.a.	FrSC235,000,000
Dahomey	52	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Nigeria				
W.Region	744	54,525	£5,701,697	£ 608,435
E. Region	1228	55,295	£ 220,443	£ 522,135
N. Region	961	76,200	£ 826,200	£ 530,000
Cameroons				
Ex-British	182	18,400	£2,275,000	£ 55,000
Ex-French	2400	30,000	n.a.	FrSC241,000,000
Sudan	450	95,000		
Somalia	25	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Uganda	1598	187,860	£5,963,675	£ 33,373
Kenya	576	158,429	£21,730,948	£2,685,956
Tanganyika	617	324,994	£11,599,586	
Zanzibar	67	5,161	£ 71,035	£ 488
Mauritius	343	32,420	£ 2,311,467	£ 357,927
Madagascar	7	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Congo				
(Leopoldville)	50	100,000	n.a.	n.a.
(Brazzaville)	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Mozambique	6	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
N. Rhodesia	245	33,421	£ 6,516,744	£2,836,769
Nyasaland	87	7,763	£ 234,101	£ 1,000
S. Rhodesia	16	7,500	n.a.	n.a.
Basutoland	89	14,000	£ 500,000	n.a.
S. Africa	452	256,752	£ 282,000,000	n.a.

17,627 2,702,856

NOTE: Statistics for most countries refer to the year 1959. Those for Egypt are for 1955. The figures for trade turnover for Algeria and Ivory Coast are estimates. Since the figures for Trade Turnover and Loans are incomplete, and those available are expressed in a variety of currencies, they have not been totalled. A very rough estimate in sterling would be £ 465,000,000 for trade and £105,000,000 for loans.

III. CO-OPERATIVE CONTRIBUTION TO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

1. Relation of Co-operation to Land Tenure

The system of land tenure varies greatly from one part of Africa to another, and even within a single country is often very complex. It ranges from large modern estates cultivated by hired labour through various forms of share-cropping and tenancy, small-scale ownership either by the cultivator or an absentee, a variety of tribal and usufructuary tenures, to shifting cultivation and pasturage. Holdings are frequently fragmented, and men may hold land simultaneously on different forms of tenure. Land may be held in perpetuity or only for the duration of a single crop. The cultivator may own trees, but not the land in which they grow. Inheritance may be patrilinear or matrilinear, and on the death of the owner may or may not involve equal division between a number of heirs.

Many African land systems do not lead easily to technical improvement or to raising the standard of living of the cultivators. Large private estates may become unacceptable because, though technically advanced, they do not favour social development. Other difficulties arise from the size of the individual holding and the degree of insecurity with which it is held. Holdings below a certain area are unsuited to the efficient production of many crops, and are difficult to equip or work economically, since they may be too small for the full use of a well, a machine, or even the labour of family. Any holding which is held on an insecure or temporary tenure is also unlikely to be technically improved, partly because the holder cannot count on a return for his investment of capital or labour, partly because the land itself cannot be used as security for borrowing.

The results of a land system which does not make for economic development are likely to be poverty, social stagnation and the existence of a large number of persons wholly or partially unemployed. In the past, such people might have accepted their condition with philosophy,

but today they tend to drift into the towns in search of work and a more or less modern way of life. This happens even where cultivation could theoretically be intensified or more land could be brought into production.

For all these reasons the question of land tenure and land reform is engaging the attention of a number of African governments. It is, however, so intimately connected with social structure and custom, and so involved with individual and community rights, that few countries have yet gone far with national agrarian reform. There are, however, some notable instances of large scale resettlement.

The relation of co-operation to the land tenure problem is three-fold. It may be used as a technique for implementing a land reform which is being carried through by legislative process as a matter of national policy. It may be called in to supplement such a reform by providing the economic machinery necessary for the change from subsistence to cash crop farming. Alternatively, an attempt may be made by private or even state-sponsored co-operative action, to outflank an existing system of land tenure and construct alongside it a co-operative system which will avoid its obvious shortcomings. It should be recognized that all these attempts are recent, probably none of them have been running for more than ten years and most for much less. It is therefore much more difficult to give any considered opinion on their success or promise for the future, than it is in the case of other forms of co-operation which have been longer established in Africa.

The outstanding example in Africa of co-operation used to implement a land reform, is undoubtedly in Egypt. Here, in the interests of social justice, large estates have been broken up and transferred to the ownership of former labourers and share tenants, against payment spread over a long period. In order to avoid the wastage of capital resources, and the lowering of technical standards which such transfers frequently involve, the settlers on each estate have been obliged, as a condition of allotment, to join a co-operative society. The

co-operative thereafter lays down the cropping programme, maintains standards of cultivation and provides for the joint control of irrigation and the joint use of machinery and other facilities. It also gives the traditional co-operative services of credit, supply and marketing, and provides certain social services.

The difference between the Egyptian land reform estates and the Gezira Scheme in the Sudan is that the latter, though technically admirable and productive of much increased wealth in the district, has never been co-operative in the sense of being democratically controlled, or requiring its tenants to take any responsibility, except for the cultivation of their own holdings.

The relation between the land reform and co-operation in Kenya is rather different. The object of reform in that country was to end fragmentation and the waste of resources due to insecurity of title. The reform has created a class of independent small and medium proprietors whose successful entry into modern cash crop farming is secured by the formation of co-operatives for marketing, supply and the provision of working capital.

The traditional approach to the problem of fragmented holdings in Europe and Asia has been by way of co-operative consolidation, the agreed redrawing of the village map in such a way that every cultivator retains the same area and, as far as possible, quality of land, but holds it in one, or at most two plots. Very little has been done on these lines in Africa, partly perhaps because title to land is so frequently unclear. Egypt has, however, broken new ground with the Unified Rotation Co-operatives, in which a cropping plan is agreed which divides the village land into three zones of cultivation; no change of land ownership is attempted, but each owner is assured of a balanced harvest through exchanging part of his crop for that of neighbours. The value of this system is probably greatest where cultivation is of field crops which gain by annual rotation.

Schemes for land reform through the establishment of co-operatively owned and managed farms without individual holdings belong mainly to West Africa, though there have been a few experiments in North Africa (e.g. Tunisia). Most of them are localised and do not form part of a general legislative change in the condition of land tenure. The exception may be Ghana, where co-operative farming on a large scale is stated to be the present policy of government. It is not yet possible to know how rapid or sweeping this change will be or what will be its effect on production or standards of living.

Elsewhere experiments are on a relatively modest scale and have not interfered with any existing land rights. In Western Nigeria a fairly ambitious Government scheme aims at settling unemployed young men on areas of newly-cleared bush. Though working collectively in the early stages, it seems probably that they will eventually receive individual plots within the areas assigned to different crops.

In addition to schemes with official backing and access to substantial government funds, a number of small schemes have been undertaken on local initiative. The usual method is for a group of the more enterprising villagers to get permission to work uncultivated tribal land, clear it and plant it up with a tree crop, the produce of which will later be divided among the members. In some cases these men or their families later work the plantation, but there is a good deal of interest in schemes involving co-operative ownership with cultivation by hired labour.

It is hardly possible at this stage to forecast how significant these experiments will prove, whether they will have any important bearing on the future land tenure system of Africa or whether development is more likely to follow the lines of individual holdings with co-operative services as in Egypt and Kenya.

One of the difficulties of introducing any sort of land reform, even a voluntary consolidation of holdings, is that in the greater part

of Africa there is no land register or accurate record of existing land rights. A cadastral survey, besides being costly and slow, might well arouse fear and hostility. A first approach to it has been made in the Ivory Coast through the operation of labour contracting co-operatives, of which more will be said in a later section. It is a rule of these co-operatives that no contract for agricultural work may be accepted unless the land involved is surveyed and mapped. In this way a survey of at least a number of villages is being built up piecemeal and may later be valuable if there is a move towards consolidation or the opening up of unclaimed and hitherto uncultivated bush.

2. Increase of Agricultural Production.

a) Co-operative Marketing as an Incentive. Increased production may come about through bringing fresh land under cultivation, through the replacement of less valuable by more valuable crops or by an improvement in the techniques of cultivation. All these changes call for effort, a measure of risk and the investment of capital, even if only in small quantities. They are unlikely to be attempted without a substantial incentive. The most powerful incentive to the small farmer in all countries is an immediate cash return.

This is the primary attraction which the co-operative marketing society can offer. The additional income which it brings to the producer may derive from more than one source: (1) The co-operative may be able to offer higher prices than private traders who have traditionally paid the producer a low price for possibly undergraded or under-weighed products. (2) The co-operative may actually be first in the field and may open up markets hitherto inaccessible to the more isolated producers. (3) By undertaking grading, packing and processing, the co-operative not only improves the quality of the product and its own bargaining power; it also enables the primary producer to participate in the profits of later stages in the marketing process.

The crops handled by marketing co-operatives are naturally cash crops, often those going for export. Food crops grown for subsistence do not as a rule call for co-operative handling, though in some African countries there is a market for food grains in industrial areas (e.g. the Rhodesian Copper Belt) which makes co-operative marketing worth while.

b) Federal Marketing Structure.

A striking feature of co-operative marketing and its attendant services in Africa is the way in which it has been built up into large federal structures, consisting of primary, district and regional or national organizations, often owning costly and quite complex installations like cotton ginneries. These federations involve a hierarchy of committees with progressively increasing responsibilities all borne by local farmers. In the less developed countries expatriate managers and engineers are sometimes employed, especially where technical expertise is required. They are, however, the servants of the co-operative which employs them and are subject to the policy decisions of committees. In some countries, where fully developed primaries are in a minority and there are a number of "pre-co-operatives" under fairly close official guidance, the district and national organization may in the early stages have more or less the character of public utilities, with a strong official participation in their higher control. In some countries, where farmers of European origin formed co-operatives at an earlier date than their African compatriots, marketing federations, originally European in membership, now include a number of primary societies formed by Africans. Co-operative marketing federations of all these types often establish a virtual monopoly in the handling of a commercial crop.

c) Co-operation and Marketing Boards.

Most African farmers produce for an export and generally a distant market. Until about 30 years ago exports were handled by private firms

and occasionally by co-operative federations (in Algeria, for example, or in South Africa through the Overseas Farmers' Federations). The experience of the world economic depression in the early thirties, followed by controls over the movement of raw materials in the Second World War, led to the setting up in most African countries of agricultural commodity controls usually in the form of Marketing Boards. These boards tend to be official in character and composition, though including nominated representatives of the producers as well as of other interests. In the Union of South Africa most of the quite numerous commodity marketing boards are virtually controlled by farmers' co-operatives, which appoint a majority of the members of the Board. In two cases, co-operative federations themselves exercise powers equivalent to those of a Board.

The field of action of a board is not the same in all countries. Some undertake the actual marketing of a product; others fix grades and prices at different stages in the marketing process, arrange shipping space or decide on the periodical release of produce onto the market. In many countries the existence of these Boards provides marketing co-operatives with a protective framework within which they can grow, gain confidence and build up a fully qualified staff. In these circumstances co-operatives are not exposed to the hazards either of complete dependence on exporting merchants, or of selling their own produce directly on the world market. On the other hand the Marketing Boards, being official in character, cannot, even if they wish, tilt the scales too heavily in favour of co-operatives, since they must deal fairly with other and perhaps on established merchant interests. In some countries, it is true, it has been decided, as a matter of public policy, that the marketing of one or more staple crops should be carried out through a public utility system which is intended gradually to become co-operative. In such cases there is less hesitation in competing, on as advantageous terms as possible, with the private trader. There are also however, countries such as Nyasaland, in which Boards

handling staple commodities buy only through their own agents and do not admit producers' co-operatives to a share in the trade. In general, however, the marketing board system has favoured co-operation, though it was not designed expressly for that end. One of its services has been to facilitate the financing of marketing co-operatives, of which more will be said in the next section.

d) Crop advances.

The question of credit is rather more complex. It is required to cover the costs of agricultural requirements, such as those already listed. It may also be needed for the payment of the labour employed by many African farmers, especially for the harvesting of tree crops. In some countries it may be required to cover the living expenses of the farmers' families while the crop is ripening. This is less frequently the case in African than other continents, since most primary producers grow their own food crops, and many staple cash crops have long harvest seasons, so that some money is probably coming in during most months of the year. The need to give advances may in such cases be forced on the co-operatives by the established custom of the trade rather than by a genuine need for short-term investment in agriculture, but it is rarely possible to draw a clear line between the two.

e) Transport.

Since co-operative marketing societies have to move a considerable volume of produce, some of it highly perishable, they have to devise a transport system. Sometimes vehicles are owned by the co-operative or by a district co-operative union, sometimes by a co-operative pool (as in the case of the Camerouns), sometimes they are simply hired from private operators. In any case, the co-operatives have to organize the whole operation. Sometimes this may include organizing backloads, which may also be of benefit to the district; sometimes ensuring that there are roads and bridges over which vehicles can pass. The result

is often to tap the marketable resources of districts in which formerly little cash circulated, because there was no means of getting produce out.^{1/}

f) Supply of Agricultural Requirements.

The moment that a co-operative has established a satisfactory marketing channel for any cash crop, the members are stimulated to increase and improve production. The process of grading, carried on in most cases under the observation of the members, and the differences in the price paid for high and low quality, make an immediate impression. The co-operative is also in a position to provide the means of improvement through sales of pesticides, fertilizers and improved seeds, or occasionally machinery and plants, usually with the technical advice of the department of agriculture and at prices which members can afford to pay. It can also secure better and more hygienic handling of crops and can supply appropriate containers and packing materials.

g) Mechanisation and Technical Services.

The co-operative hiring of agricultural machinery, or, more frequently, the execution of cultivation contracts by co-operatives owning machinery, exists in several countries of North Africa, but is little practised elsewhere. It may spread, but by no means all African crops or African soils are suited to this type of treatment. Co-operative pump irrigation is of some importance in the Sudan and exists elsewhere; but most African farming is rainfed.

Co-operative organization offers an obvious means of transmitting to the peasant farmer improved techniques developed by agricultural experiment stations to suit the natural conditions of the country and promoted by the department of agriculture and by agricultural extension services where these exist. Co-operation has in fact been used in this

^{1/} One of the difficulties of agricultural co-operative marketing is that in some regions it is the transporters of produce rather than the actual producers who seek co-operative membership.

way in many parts of the world and the opportunity has not been wholly neglected in Africa. It is doubtful, however, whether it has been as fully used as it might and the degree of collaboration between agricultural and co-operative Departments varies from country to country.

h) Impact of Co-operation on Crop Production.

To sum up: marketing is at present and has been for many years by far the most important branch of co-operation in Africa. It is closely linked with the supply of credit, agricultural requirements and to some extent services. A substantial part - in many countries a very high percentage - of the principal cash crops is co-operatively handled. The growth of these co-operatives has been accompanied by an increase in national output through extension of acreage and increase of yields, especially from the smaller African farm, accompanied by an improvement in quality and methods of handling. The technical research and knowledge behind this development comes from the departments of agriculture, experiment stations and colleges, but it is reasonable to assume that new methods would not have been so widely adopted if the co-operative had not provided access to markets, offered higher prices for better produce, and brought pesticides and quality plants within the range of the small farmers.

i) Impact of Co-operation on livestock production.

It will be noted that co-operative marketing in Africa is primarily concerned with field and tree crops. Much less progress has been made with the marketing of livestock and its derivatives. This is no doubt in part because the African climate and the prevalence of animal disease does not give widespread scope for dairying, which has so often formed the basis for co-operative organization elsewhere. It exists in South Africa, where the climate is more temperate, and there is co-operative production of ghi, especially in Nyasaland, and a small Marketing Union taking care of sales. There would seem to be unrealized possibilities in Ethiopia. Several countries have small egg marketing societies,

sometimes with women members, there are bacon factories in Kenya, and wool marketing is the mainstay of co-operative marketing in Basutoland. There remains, however, the vast problem of introducing some system and some modern technical standards, into the marketing of livestock, meat and hides from the herds of cattle which rove the central plains and mountains of Africa and are the sole livelihood of many Africans. At present they are driven down to the coast or the consuming centres on the hoof, often spending weeks on the journey and losing whatever condition they may once have possessed. Many plans have been considered: for slaughterhouses, cold stores and canneries at the grazing grounds, for collecting and conditioning areas, for improved transport for live animals or refrigerated transport for carcasses. Little or nothing has so far been achieved except in South Africa. There is room for co-operative action here and eventually for tackling the still greater underlying problems of improvements in breed and conservation of pasture.

3. Establishment of a Rural Co-operative Credit and Banking System.

The object of short-term co-operative credit is to provide the small farmer or craftsman with the means of buying the requirements of production - seeds, fertilizers, tools, raw materials, - paying labour and maintaining his family, until such time as his crop or products of his workshop can be sold and paid for. Medium and long-term credit is intended for more substantial expenditure such as the purchase of land, irrigation projects, or the planting of trees. At the same time a good co-operative credit system seeks to retain the earning of agriculture within the industry by inviting thrift deposits from members and others, which can in turn be used for further loans.

Much of Africa has only recently entered a money economy and there are many countries in which no banking facilities exist outside the larger towns. The idea of saving money for future use or of investing it in a way that will bring in returns at a later stage, is still foreign to many Africans. Nor is the idea of borrowing for productive purposes well understood. In most European and Asian countries the co-operative credit society, encouraging village thrift and making

short-term loans for productive purposes, was the first approach to co-operative organization. On that all the rest -- supply, services, marketing -- was gradually built up. This was not the sequence in Africa, except in Mauritius and perhaps in Egypt, (where for various reasons, however, the system did not fulfil expectations, and is now in course of reorganization).

When co-operation was first introduced to African farmers, it was argued by most of those responsible, that credit was not wanted, largely because there was little indebtedness, and the domination of the money-lender (as marked in Europe a century ago as in Asia today) did not exist. In the second place it was argued that costs of production were usually low and harvests less seasonal than in temperate climates; while in the third place, it was impossible to lend to cultivators who had no clear title to land and so could not offer the security of a mortgage for their borrowings. It is doubtful whether the argument based on the absence of debt and moneylenders in Africa was ever wholly true, and it is becoming less true as even the remoter regions become part of the cash economy. The cost of production is also rising with technical improvements. The problem of security, at least for long-term loans, remains.

Co-operative thrift and credit, as a self-contained activity, exists in Africa, notably in Mauritius, where it has been most successfully established by small sugar planters and in the Calabar region of Eastern Nigeria, in Tunis and Algeria and, with less success, in Egypt. Elsewhere co-operatives of this type are isolated ventures, very often urban rather than rural, with a membership of civil servants or the employees of a large firm. Some of the most successful examples are to be found among the Asian population of East Africa. Even the Nigerian credit societies are only partially concerned with agriculture, and many of the members borrow for purposes of petty trade or for personal needs. A large number of them are women.

This does not mean, however, that no co-operative banking takes place in African countries. It is true that of the £105,000,000 worth

of co-operative loans estimated to be made annually in Africa, about 80% can be attributed to three countries, Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco. It has already been shown that large sums of money are distributed through co-operative marketing unions or primary societies, either as advances or as payment for produce actually delivered. The mere physical handling of these sums, involving sometimes acute problems of transport and security, is a considerable contribution to the economy of countries where branch banks of any kind are few and far between.

Many countries have, in addition, established central co-operative banks. These may be almost wholly governmental organizations, like the Land Bank of South Africa, the Agricultural Credit and Co-operative Bank of Egypt (though the latter has some co-operative shareholders) or credit and development banks of many countries which trace their institutions to French precedents. Elsewhere, in Nigeria, Ghana and Mauritius, for example, the Central Co-operative Bank was set up by the primary co-operatives and co-operative unions themselves, initially with their own resources and under their own control. The shareholding members include credit societies, where they exist, but also marketing, consumers and indeed all types of co-operative.

Co-operative central banks carry on several distinct lines of business. They lend money to individuals, usually through primary co-operatives, though occasionally direct, but this is not, in most African countries, a very important function. They finance the movement of staple crops by making possible an advance to the producer calculated to ensure delivery, and they cover the value of crops in co-operative warehouses awaiting shipment and sale. They lend at long-term to trading or processing co-operatives for building and equipment, and at short-term to supply and consumers' societies for the purchase of stock-in-trade. The co-operative banks, though not always those of government origin, also accept deposits, which they either re-invest or use to finance their other operations. Some of these banks (that of Nigeria, for example) have one or two branches, but unless, as in

Mauritius and Calabar, there is a network of primary thrift and credit societies, they act almost entirely as merchant banks for co-operative trading (and sometimes housing societies) and are not in a position to bring general banking services within reach of the individual in a village or small town. There may at present be little demand for such a service, but it is likely to grow and be met by other agencies if the co-operative movement and its advisors are not prepared to re-assess the importance of organized credit in the village.

At present the resources of the co-operative banks (and of the co-operative trading federations in countries where there are no co-operative banks) are largely drawn from outside the movement. There may be a direct government grant of foundation capital, or, as in the case of Western Nigeria, a grant from the accumulated reserves of a marketing board, which were themselves derived in substantial measure from profits on the crops delivered by marketing co-operatives. In other cases loans, especially for crop movement, are obtained from commercial banks, usually with a government guarantee. Complete financial self-sufficiency has not, as far as can be ascertained, been achieved by any African co-operative bank, and may not even be desirable in countries where the demand for credit has marked seasonal peaks.

4. Organization of Labour.

a) Agricultural.

It seems possible that there may be a future for the co-operative organization of agricultural labour, though actual experience is so far rather limited. The matrilinear transmission of land in some countries make it less certain than in, say, Europe, that a farmer's sons will work with him on his holding and take an interest in its development. The result is, on the one hand, the growth of rural unemployment, and on the other the custom of employing temporary, sometimes migrant labour. (This is prevalent in parts of West Africa and in the Sudan.) The formation of a labour contracting co-operative by the young men of a village, may put their work for

local farmers on a more dignified and better rewarded basis, and may enable them to replace migrant labour, which in some countries is anyhow becoming less freely available. It is perhaps worth remarking that in some countries (though not very frequently in Africa) marketing co-operatives, in particular those handling tree fruits, themselves organize the picking of their members' crop or the spraying of trees.

b) Non-Agricultural.

In this field there is a certain potential but very little realization. In North and West Africa (particularly Tunis, Morocco and Nigeria) some attempts have been made to organize traditional craftsmen, carpet weavers, leather workers, potters, carvers and cabinet makers into co-operatives. The object is partly to preserve traditional skills and patterns, partly to help those who are losing their markets under the pressure of competition from factory-made articles, or as a result of modes of life which make traditional objects less desired. As long as governments are prepared to put resources and skilled direction at the disposal of such co-operatives, and at the same time to provide or find a market for their products, such co-operatives can achieve results. Left to themselves, they appear too often to be struggling to uphold a lost cause.

Some thought has been given to organizing modern small scale African industries in co-operative form, and there are governmental banks (for example in Senegal) which would make capital available for such purposes, but little has so far emerged.

Several countries can show a few transport societies, but those formed by drivers of road vehicles are usually precarious, though a transport pool formed by established trading co-operatives may be more stable. In the same way the Co-operative Union of Western Nigeria owns a printing press, but there are few, if any, co-operative societies of printers.

A beginning has been made, as already noted, with labour contracting in agriculture, but there would seem to be room for labour contracting in the building trade or for work on highways or in the docks, though there are so far no examples which can be traced. There is also an opportunity for the co-operative exploitation of tribal forests or forestry concessions.

Perhaps the most promising field of development is in fisheries, though here the term "organization of labour" does not really apply. Fishermen have been called the smallholders of the sea, and the expression is apt. The crew of a fishing boat, in most cases members of the same family, work, in any case, as a team, and their needs are better capital equipment, engines, improved nets, navigational instruments and the credit with which to buy them; better marketing, including equipment for the processing and preservation of the catch; insurance of vessels. Except perhaps in the matter of insurance, their needs are in fact the same as those of the small farmer.

Fishery co-operation in Africa is still in the stage of widely dispersed experiment, and depends on a good deal of official support. In a few cases, vessels of a more modern type than those in general use have been transferred to groups of fishermen on what are more or less hire purchase terms. Elsewhere small stores have been built for the safe keeping of motors, and eventually for the cold storage of fish. One of the difficulties is that, except in the case of a fishing vessel, there is no way of ensuring the repayment of an advance in cash or kind, unless the co-operative also undertakes the marketing of the fish. This it is usually unable to do, because actual marketing, at least in West Africa, is carried on by women selling individually, and no satisfactory way of bringing them into a co-operative has yet been found.

5. Co-operation and the Increase of Spending Power.

a) Consumer Co-operatives.

It is obvious that co-operative marketing, with increased and more

efficient production, is bringing more money into African villages. The value of this in terms of rising standards of living depends a good deal on how it is spent or saved. If it is immediately absorbed by merchants supplying, at high prices, goods of little permanent value, the gain may not be great.

Theoretically, the obvious answer is the consumers' co-operative, in conjunction with the thrift society, to make possible the occasional heavy expenditure on durable goods. In practice, and always with the exception of Mauritius, the consumers' co-operative has had very limited success in Africa, and where it has taken root, it has been among urban or industrial workers.

The reasons for this failure are fairly obvious. Retail distribution, as it exists today, is carried on partly by Asian shopkeepers, partly by itinerant pedlars, and, to a very large extent, particularly in West Africa, by market women making quick sales of goods in very small quantities. Apart from local produce, these goods are obtained from importing firms, usually through a chain of intermediaries. In all these forms of trade, the retailer has few overheads and no fixed hours of work. Most shop-keepers sell on long credit. All this makes competition difficult. In addition, it has proved harder than in the case of marketing societies, to find reliable and competent managers, and there have been further losses due to inexpert buying and defects of stock control and accountancy.

The existing system of private retailing, with all its obvious defects, has grown up to suit local conditions, and does not incur active hostility from consumers, except in unusual circumstances, like those immediately following the Second World War, when there was an actual shortage of imported consumer goods and a consequent rapid rise in price. This led to pressure for the formation of consumers' societies, most of which collapsed with the return of normal supplies.

In many African countries south of the Sahara there does, however, exist a popular movement for increased African participation in trade, and reduced dependence on expatriate firms, whether European or Asian.

This has taken two forms. In the first place groups of African traders, especially in East Africa, got together to form their own co-operative wholesale supply societies. Few of these are still in existence, or, if they exist, are still co-operative. In the second place, in Nigeria and Ghana, co-operative wholesale societies were established in the early post-war period, with a good deal of government support, and the object of supplying the retail consumers' societies which it was then hoped to establish. This hope was very imperfectly fulfilled, but in the last few years the Wholesale Society of Western Nigeria, which never ceased to exist, has begun to extend its operations, partly by selling through retail branches and partly by supplying market traders, who have been encouraged to take up direct membership. It continues to supply a limited number of consumers' societies of the normal pattern, and has expressed the intention of converting its retail branches into independent co-operatives at a later date. It is too early to predict what success will attend this somewhat unorthodox experiment.

Apart from this, consumers' co-operation is represented in Africa by the numerous and successful village societies of Mauritius, by a small number of urban co-operatives (several in the larger cities of Egypt, the railwaymen's co-operative in Kenya, several in the Rhodesian mining towns, (etc.), and by the very limited range of consumer goods, soap, kerosine, matches, beer, which are sold through the supply departments of some village marketing societies.

Thrift Co-operatives. Thrift societies have not made progress on a large scale outside Eastern Nigeria, which, however, shows what can be accomplished given the will and the knowledge. Elsewhere, salary-earners' co-operatives are doing useful work on a rather small scale.

Business Experience and Managerial Efficiency.

As the economy of African countries develops, there is an increasing need for men trained in modern business techniques. At present the number of Africans with experience of these techniques is limited. It

is neither possible nor desirable that Africa should continue indefinitely to rely on expatriate accountants, managers and technicians. The training of Africans for management cannot be given only in schools, even if there were enough schools for the purpose. Practical experience of well-run businesses, small and large, is also essential. Primary co-operatives, with their carefully worked out systems of account and record-keeping, their timetable of operations, however simple, their distribution of responsibility and their contractual relations, both with their own members and with the secondary co-operatives to which they are in turn affiliated, offer an initiation into business practices for the local manager or secretary, for his committee and even, in some degree, for the ordinary member of the society. The unions and regional banks provide more advanced experience and call for higher qualifications.

A well-run co-operative movement in any country presents a solid block of business, rationally planned and equipped, with honest methods and reputable aims. Some of those whom it trains may leave it for private business or government service, but provided they carry with them what they have learnt, the value of their experience will not be lost. This does not mean, however, that the co-operative movement has reached a perfection of business efficiency, or that its own expansion has not set problems in business training. This will be dealt with at length in Section V.

IV. CO-OPERATIVE CONTRIBUTION TO SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Most Africans live in close village communities reinforced by tribal ties and traditions of mutual aid. They do not look particularly to their co-operative for the development of relationships of this kind. The contribution of cooperation to social progress is for the most part indirect. As soon as more money comes into a community, standards of housing, clothing and nutrition begin to rise. Though this is mainly the result of increased income, it is also influenced by greater communication with the outside world, emulation and the standards set by co-operative buildings and co-operative personnel.

Some co-operatives provide what may be called incidental social services in addition to their main economic function, and a limited number have been formed with specifically social objects. They are not widespread or numerous, but they deserve description. The services they undertake are usually those which require capital resources or regular payments by the participants, and can thus be more appropriately carried out by a co-operative than by an unincorporated group.

Housing is one of the most important social developments which can be successfully carried through by co-operative organization. The usual procedure is for members who wish to acquire houses or flats to contribute share capital up to an agreed proportion of the cost of land and building. The co-operative then borrows the remainder on mortgage, building is put in hand, and members are allotted their homes, for which they pay over the period of 20-30 years required to discharge the original debt. There are a number of variants in this procedure, but the basic principle remains the same. In Africa, the most successful housing co-operatives are probably those of the Ismaili community in East Africa. One or two societies exist in Egypt and elsewhere, but it is remarkable, in view of the need for new housing in rapidly growing African cities, and the emergence of an African professional and business class with rising standards, that they have found so few African imitators.

Some attempt has been made to form building societies on the European plan, but these merely provide loans for house building, and few seem yet to have worked out dependable systems of preliminary costing or of estimating capacity to repay on the part of borrowers.

On a more elementary level many village co-operatives contribute to the construction of larger and more modern houses by selling cement. This may be valuable provided the new houses are in fact as well adapted to the climate in design and materials as those they replace.

Health. Co-operatives providing medical services of various kinds, clinics, hospitals, anti-malarial measures, have been active in several European and Asian countries and in the United States. They are useful where there is no public health service and private medicine is either lacking or beyond the means of most people. In Eastern Nigeria some years ago there was a remarkable and widely publicised development of co-operative village maternity centres. Unfortunately few of these are still functioning as co-operatives. The difficulty proved to be mainly financial. It was not easy to attract continuous contributions except from those who expected to use the services of the centre. If they alone contributed, the funds were not enough to maintain the minimum standards which the public health authorities were prepared to pass. If higher fees had been charged, only the well-to-do of the villages would have been able to use the centres. In fact, most of them were transferred to missions or to the public health authorities.

Use of Co-operative Funds for Social Purposes.

It is usual in most countries for the rules of co-operatives to include a provision for contributions from surplus to educational and social purposes. In most cases the contribution is small, and may be used to send a member or employee on an educational course or contribute to the educational funds of a co-operative union. Some co-operatives, however, aim deliberately at limiting the distribution of business revenues to members, and in return retain substantial sums to be used for common purposes. In the "supervised" (Agrarian Reform) co-operatives of Egypt, a fairly high proportion of the profits of the undertaking are not distributed to members individually, but are retained for various forms of village improvement.

Another example may be quoted from Tanganyika, where the long established Kilimanjaro Native Co-operative Union has used part of the profits on marketing its members' coffee to build not only impressive headquarters for itself, but a meeting hall, library, hotel, restaurant, terrace of shops and a business training college. Something similar may be seen at the headquarters of other African marketing unions, and in the North African "Cities of Agriculture",

with their meeting halls, housing schemes, canteens and small hospitals. Co-operatives have been known to provide postal or electricity services. In some villages the establishment of a co-operative has led to the building of a school, a road or a bridge, though the contribution here is probably in voluntary labour as much or more than in cash. Women's co-operatives, whether formed for purposes of thrift and credit or for the sale of eggs or handicrafts, often develop an element of mutual aid between members, and the same is true of thrift societies formed by fellow tribesmen working in cities.

There is much to be said for the social use of surplus for community undertakings. Those described provide useful service (and, incidentally, valuable investments) arouse pride and a sense of achievement in places where there might otherwise have been few occasions for such sentiments, and bring it home to the member that co-operation has an element of idealism as well as of practical utility. It is important, however, that the decision to use profits socially rather than in raising individual incomes should be taken freely by the membership as a whole and that the services provided should be of value to and appreciated by all, or at least a large proportion of the members, otherwise the higher personal return is likely to be preferred and its withholding may seem arbitrary and lead to a falling off of interest in the co-operative.

In a few countries local taxation, used for the building of schools, roads and other amenities, is actually raised directly from co-operatives as a levy on produce marketed. The spending of the funds so raised is, however, in the hands of the local authorities, while the co-operative has no choice as to whether or not the levy should be paid.

It is the tendency of most countries, as they become economically and socially developed for the basic services, post and telegraphs, electricity, all-weather roads and bridges, hospitals and schools, to be provided by the national government. The co-operative contribution to these services is likely, therefore, to be temporary, and example of pioneering in areas which the national services have not yet been able to reach. Sooner or later they will probably be taken over and become part of the national service. The speed with which modern services can be carried to all parts of large and only partly developed countries depends on government revenues, and these in

turn on the taxable wealth of the country. Insofar as co-operative are increasing national production and national income, they are making a substantial contribution to the extension of social services, even if they do not provide the services themselves.

Training in Self-Help and Democratic Responsibility. Many African villages still follow a traditional pattern of life, and either do not feel the need for change, or are inclined to look to government to accomplish it for them. Co-operation being essentially a movement of democratic self-help, has value, if it is properly understood, in showing people that they can alter their conditions at their own choice and by their own efforts. If it is to make this impact, however, it must be introduced gradually, with adequate explanation and with responsibilities placed firmly on the members at every stage.

Co-operation also provides, through its general meetings, committees and elected office-bearers, initiation into the nature and working of political democracy. It trains leaders and teaches electorates the meaning and purpose of a vote.

V. CO-OPERATIVE PROMOTION AND TRAINING

Organizations, Promoting and Guiding Co-operation.

Traditions of mutual aid exist in Africa as in all agricultural societies. They do not as a rule lead directly to modern co-operative organization. Where the impulse to organize co-operatively is spontaneous it is generally felt as a break through into the modern world, and for that very reason the need for some kind of outside guidance and instruction is generally felt. Often, however, the idea of organizing co-operatively does not occur spontaneously in the first instance, and the co-operative form is only adopted after a good deal of explanation and demonstration coming from beyond the village world. Later on, when reports of successful ventures begin to circulate, spontaneous imitation is frequent, but it is not often accompanied by much real knowledge of co-operative methods, or of the problems and difficulties which have to be faced. All village undertakings in Africa are hampered by widespread illiteracy and a general lack of experience of even the simplest business methods, a difficulty which did not exist in Europe 100 years ago when agricultural co-operatives were being built up.

Throughout Africa (not excluding the Union of South Africa) co-operation was in fact deliberately promoted as an act of policy aiming at development, modernization or reconstruction. Rather different lines of approach have been adopted in different regions, depending on whether the background of experience was British, French, or, as in the case of the Union, Danish.

The British method has been to establish a co-operative law (based on a model ordinance which was in turn derived from Indian law) which provides for the incorporation and registration of independent, self-governing co-operative societies on the classic European pattern. The law itself establishes the pattern in considerable detail, reinforced by model rules and byelaws, of which only the last can easily be modified to suit the circumstances of individual co-operatives. Theoretically, all that is needed for the administration of such a law, is a single official with a central office who (a) sees that applications for the registration of co-operatives are in order before agreeing to their incorporation;

(b) receives and checks annual returns covering their management, trade and financial position; (c) carries out liquidations and cancellations; and (d) arbitrates in disputes.

In practice the Registrar, or, as he is now more often called, Commissioner for Co-operative Development, does a great deal more than this. His functions fall into two main categories, promotional and supervisory. The first may be concerned with the formation of new primary societies, with the introduction of new methods and new functions, or with the formation of unions and other central co-operative organizations. Supervision includes both the straightforward auditing of accounts (and in many cases a constant check on the actual accounts kept) and a more general watch over the way in which rules are observed, in particular those which ensure democratic control, and business is conducted.

All this has meant the employment of quite large trained staffs, some of their members regionally based, and most with facility for moving freely about the country. It has called for substantial expenditure of public money. The principle of self-help within the co-operative movement has, however, been insisted on with some rigour, and it has not been customary in countries which have adopted British experience for large government grants or loans to be made available directly to co-operative organizations. In recent years, however, it appears that this policy is being modified in some countries.

In most of the territories using French experience, development has been conditioned by the existence at an early date of a compulsory and to a large extent officially controlled system of "provident societies", which carried on, usually at district level, several co-operative functions, especially those of marketing and credit-giving. Legislation has existed for many years which makes possible the formation of wholly voluntary and independent co-operatives on the European pattern, but until recently there has been no official machinery for their promotion and supervision. The

voluntary, virtually unsupervised co-operative, has been acceptable to European and a few large African farmers, but has not made headway among peasant cultivators.

Much thought and experience has been devoted in recent years to building up intermediate forms of organization which will introduce the mass of the population to genuine co-operation, without losing the advantages of the administrative framework for rural finance and marketing which already exists. The exact measures taken, as well as the nomenclature, vary from one country to another, but in general the method is to promote the formation of co-operatives at primary level within the existing framework, with the object of converting the framework itself into a system of regional and national co-operative unions as soon as the primary societies are sufficiently numerous and experienced to carry their own responsibilities. As the formation of genuinely self-governing and reasonably competent co-operatives must in any country be slow, it has become customary in a number of countries to allow the formation of various types of "pre-co-operative", which carry on the basic functions of a co-operative (distribution of advances and collection of produce) but are unincorporated and under largely official management. The whole system owes much not only to skilled official direction but to a substantial use of public funds or guarantees. The equipment of district warehouses, transport and provision for advances have been made possible in this way.

In comparing the two approaches it may be said that the first gives perhaps the more effective training in local responsibility. It has the disadvantage of being slow in its initial stages, though a point comes at which an accumulation of local success generally leads to a rapid development at all levels. Development may also be irregular and illogical, depending on local circumstances and personalities rather than on a clear-cut plan of national action. The advantage of the second method is that it makes possible an orderly and comprehensive plan from the beginning, and spreads

the idea of co-operation very widely in a short time. Its disadvantage is that the incentive to form fully responsible co-operatives is less strong where a parallel marketing service already exists, and too many villages may remain too long at the "pre-co-operative" stage.

Egypt and South Africa lie outside these categories of co-operative administration. Egypt began with a system based on a general study of European law and practice, but has recently geared co-operative development to agrarian reform. South Africa began with a mixture of British and Danish influence, adopted an essentially British law, but, since little attempt was made to promote co-operation among illiterates or those without some business experience, has never found it necessary to develop an elaborate system of co-operative promotion and supervision. Co-operative unions and similar non-official promotional bodies are making their appearance in Africa, but by far the most decisive promotional agency has been official, and is likely to remain so for some years.

Types of Training Required and Existing Facilities.

Given the conditions in which co-operation has developed in Africa, the first need has been to educate the educators, and these, at least in the early stages, have been the officials of co-operative departments, ministries of agriculture and departments of peasant development. As co-operatives were formed, there arose the need to train their staff in an understanding of what the co-operative was trying to do, and in elementary business functions, especially book-keeping. At a later stage, when marketing unions, banks and other comparatively large scale undertakings developed, it became necessary to train men for full managerial responsibilities. The education of chairman and committees came at an early stage and presented some special difficulties, which will be discussed below. The final stage was usually the education of members, though the mere fact that they had been roused to take co-operative action implied education of an elementary sort. It is important to note, however,

that in a progressive co-operative movement, all these types of education must be carried on in some measure simultaneously.

Training of Co-operative Officials.

In the early days of co-operative development, senior officials on appointment had to prepare themselves for their posts by private reading and by visits to existing co-operative organizations in Europe or Asia. While staffs were small, they were personally instructed by the senior officer. As their numbers increased, however, something more systematic was required. First short courses were organized at the periods when field work was least urgent, and later, permanent training establishments were set up.

There are today permanent co-operative schools, providing residential training courses for co-operative official and some other categories of student in ten African countries. These are: Kenya, Ivory Coast, Nigeria (all three Regions), Northern Rhodesia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Tanganyika and Uganda. The courses of study last for periods of from two to nine months, and may or may not be extended by periods of field work carried out under supervision. Each course receives from 20 - 60 students and there may be more than one course in the year. Some of these schools are run quite independently by the Department of Co-operation or some equivalent body, and have their own buildings, others are attached to an existing institution such as a School of Administration or Commerce.

Several other countries, including Basutiland, Egypt, Mauritius, Nyasaland and the Sudan also run periodical staff training courses, either internally or in conjunction with some other educational institution, but do not appear to have specialised buildings or staff.

The subjects taught vary somewhat from one country to another, with certain subjects common to all. Typical courses cover co-operative law, book-keeping, auditing, co-operative principles and history (Nigeria) or co-operative practice and duties of inspection; law and practice of

co-operation; co-operative organization, including rules and conduct of meetings; theory and practice of commerce, including the elements of audit; co-operation in Africa and overseas; elementary book-keeping and accounts; elementary agriculture and economics (Kenya); or elementary economics, sociology, agriculture and law, together with the conduct and accountancy of co-operatives (Ivory Coast). On the whole, in co-operative schools deriving from British experience, the emphasis has been on practical techniques, with wider subjects brought in towards the end of the course, while in those influenced by French thought, a more important place is given to broadening the outlook and deepening the understanding of the student through background education.

In countries where co-operative development has been in progress for some years, more than one type of course is given, usually an initiation course for men just recruited to the co-operative service, followed by a refresher course some years later, which may follow or precede promotion to more responsible duties. Some countries, in addition to residential courses, provide correspondence courses, especially in book-keeping, for junior officials working in the field, or such courses may be made available by co-operative organizations overseas, such as the British Co-operative Union.

The staff of the African Co-operative Schools are partly senior co-operative officials seconded for this purpose, partly Europeans with experience in teaching at co-operative colleges in their own countries and partly local men who have had opportunities for study abroad.

Some of the older co-operative schools, especially those in Kenya and Western Nigeria, receive students from other countries. The East African School of Co-operation at Kabete, Kenya, was indeed formed for that purpose, and has received students from Tanganyika, Uganda, Nyasaland and Zanzibar, though Uganda students are now being trained in their own country.

For the past six years, short-term residential training schools for senior co-operative officials have been held annually either in East or West Africa. They have been attended by 15-20 students and have lasted two months, including time spent on study visits. They were originally financed from the (British) Colonial Welfare and Development Fund. From 1961 they will be carried on by the Plunkett Foundation for Co-operative Studies, with financial support from the Nuffield Foundation, both private institutions with headquarters in London. Students are invited from all African territories using English, and the greater part of the cost is borne by the sponsoring institution.

Several detached courses on Co-operation have been held in Africa from time to time. These include (1) a training course for students from the former territories of French West Africa, held in Sikasso in 1959; (2) a course lasting five months, organized by the Arab League, and held in Egypt with study journeys to other countries, in 1959; (3) a course organized by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations in Nairobi in 1959.

It is generally agreed that those who show promise of leadership in the co-operative movement, whether as officials or in business management, can gain much from study abroad in company with students of other races and with opportunities to understand the economic, social and co-operative life of other countries. There are several institutions which meet this need.

The oldest would appear to be the Co-operative College, established by the British Co-operative Union in 1919. It has always included a certain number of foreign students, but in 1947 it established a special course for overseas students, which gives more place to law, auditing, co-operative field work and agricultural co-operation than do the courses intended for British students. The course covers three terms, from October to the end of May, and includes study tours to various types of co-operative

organization in Great Britain. It is usually attended by about 25 students mainly, but not wholly from Africa. The syllabus is as follows:-

1. Co-operative Law. A detailed study of the model Co-operative Societies Ordinance and Rules issued by the Colonial Office in 1946, with a special reference to the commentary thereon in the "Manual of Co-operative Law and Practice" by Surridge and Digby. It will include the examination of sundry types of co-operative overseas - their history and local background, their byelaws and methods of operation and the system of records and account in each case.
2. Co-operative Fieldwork. Detailed practical fieldwork at village level covering the first approach to introduce Co-operation in new areas, preliminaries to organization and registration of societies, instruction and guidance of established societies, and arbitration and liquidation duties. The course aims at teaching students not only to carry out these duties themselves, but also to instruct other members of staff in these activities.
3. Principles and Practice of Audit. The main principles of book-keeping and their application in the various types of co-operative society; and an examination of the principles and practice of audit.
4. Economics. A study of the supply of, and demand for, agricultural products including price structures and forms of government assistance.
5. Economics of Co-operation. An economic analysis of the various forms of co-operative organization in Great Britain and elsewhere and the problems of inter-Co-operative relations.
6. Survey of Co-operative Organization. The effect of environment on co-operative development, the various forms of co-operative organization overseas appropriate to economic circumstances and the practical conditions of their institution, administration and progress. The work is supplemented by practical exercises undertaken by the students in groups.
7. Art of Teaching. A course conducted by the Principal on the principles and methods of teaching. Practical exercises by students under supervision and criticism.

In 1952 the National Centre for Agricultural Co-operation in Paris initiated a course for overseas students, later taken over by the French Institute for Co-operative Action, representing all sections of the French

co-operative movement. The course is open to all French-speaking students from overseas countries, but the greater number come from Africa south of the Sahara, or from Madagascar. The course, which covers the university year, provides for from 20 to 35 students coming from 11 to 14 different countries. The objective is the training of senior personnel required for the initiation and guidance of the co-operative movement in overseas countries.

The course is divided into two sections, theoretical and practical. The practical section consists of a period of work in an agricultural co-operative in France, and of a study tour. It is of interest that French co-operatives prepared to receive students, are themselves asked to send representatives to a short course, at which the aims and methods of this kind of training are explained. It is expected that students will not only be given facilities for co-operative study, but will be brought as fully as possible into the social life of the town or village to which they are posted. The syllabus is as follows:-

Co-operation. The origins, economic and social basis of the co-operative movement; its place in the world; co-operation as an institution; co-operative administration; special problems of structure and management; federations; inter-co-operative relations; principal types of co-operation in France.

Problems in the formation and management of Co-operatives. Law; commercial functions and techniques; science of work organization; insurances; economic planning; accountancy.

Developing Countries. Economic, social and human problems; institutions of the French community; broadening of relations between the Common Market and the Community; synthesis.

Co-operation in the Developing Countries. General problems and achievements.

Human problems and the Communication of Ideas. Sociology; co-operation and education; human factors in business; means of communication; methods of popularising technical progress.

The practical course is intended as a concrete illustration of the theoretical teaching. The student is shown the agricultural life of a French district and the organizations concerned in its development; the different services which go to make up the work of a co-operative (administration, accountancy and finance, economic, technical, social and human services, general discipline, internal organization); the system of operating the various subsections of different co-operative organizations; the professional and family life of co-operative members, and the approach to all these problems from the point of view of the farmer.

For the last eight years the Danish Government, in conjunction with the International Labour Office, has offered an annual course in Copenhagen, lasting 6 to 8 weeks and consisting partly of lectures and discussion groups and partly of visits to Danish co-operative institutions. It is open, by invitation, to students from the developing countries, but the scope is world-wide and African countries are not always among those selected for invitation.

Co-operative courses for African students have been held in recent years in Israel, sponsored by the Government of that country, and in Czechoslovakia. In 1960 a Foundation for Developing Countries was opened in Berlin, and among its first activities it organized a Seminar on Co-operation for representatives of Asian countries. It is understood that this will be repeated and that representatives of African countries will be invited. African students have from time to time attended Asian co-operative colleges, generally either Lahore, Pakistan or Polgolla, Ceylon, where they have taken courses lasting the full academic year.

Training of Co-operative Staffs. The necessity of training the staffs of primary co-operative societies has been realised in a considerable number of African territories. Literate men are often difficult to find in villages, and when found have probably no experience of even the simplest record and book-keeping. They have to learn how to keep at least

two kinds of record - that of produce delivered and loans or supplies given out, and that of meetings held and decisions taken. At the same time they have to keep an accurate account of all money passing through their hands. In some countries either the Co-operative Union (if there is one) or the Co-operative Department, organizes short courses of instruction for co-operative secretaries. The difficulty is usually to collect them together for long enough to make any real training possible. Distances are usually long, communications sometimes poor, and the cost of bringing students to a centre where there is accommodation for teaching may well be considerable.

Where co-operatives are organized in district or regional unions, it becomes easier to provide the machinery for short courses of this type, usually only lasting a few days. Elsewhere, much of the work of training secretaries falls on visiting inspectors and auditors. An alternative, of less educational value, is to concentrate all paper work at regional level. Another expedient is to provide books for each primary society, but to have them made up at intervals by travelling book-keepers employed regionally. Both these methods have the disadvantage of giving the local society little to do and small chance of grasping the true nature of co-operative business. As a result the members may, very naturally, refuse to take responsibility for what they do not understand.

The training of staffs of co-operative unions, central banks and large primary societies with serious business operations is a different but no less urgent problem. In the past such men have sometimes been included in training courses designed for co-operative officials, both in Africa and Europe, and this has been satisfactory up to a point. Sometimes it has been possible to supplement training of this kind with short assignments to well-managed co-operatives in other countries. It is a question, however, whether the time has not come when it will be necessary to provide more specific training in business management, including banking, and also to consider schemes for managerial traineeships.

In the whole field of co-operative staff training, one point must be fairly faced. This is the high level of wastage of trained co-operators. In most countries in Africa there is an acute shortage of trained men, and those with co-operative training and the ability to use it frequently receive tempting offers from private business or tempting opportunities to transfer to other branches of the government service. The gain may be principally in salary, or it may be a comfortable office job in the capital, with other opportunities to hand, rather than an isolated and strenuous post in the bush. Men who leave the co-operative movement in this way may still be giving useful service to their countries, but if more money is to be put into training co-operative staffs, it may be necessary to consider whether there should not be a complementary increase of expenditure on salaries so that the results of training should not be lost to the movement.

Education of Committee Members. Some co-operative unions provide in a limited way for the formal education of chairmen and committee members through one or two-day schools. The difficulties are considerable. Most of those to be taught are middle aged or elderly men of some standing in their communities. They may not relish the idea of being educated. They will almost certainly find it difficult to leave their farms and families even for a short time. Many of them may be illiterate. The usual method is to carry on education imperceptibly through committee and general meetings, attended by representatives of the Co-operative Union or Co-operative Department, at which aims and procedures are explained, if necessary many times.

Much the same measures can be applied to the education of the members as a whole, when a good outside speaker, either an official or the representative of another co-operative institution, attends the annual general meeting or even visits the village. It is still fortunately easy to bring a meeting together in most African villages, but if such a meeting is to be fruitful, it must be addressed by someone who has both knowledge of co-operation and understanding of the mental approach of the villager.

Publication and Dissemination of Education Material. There are probably at the present time a sufficient number and variety of textbooks and reference books on different aspects of co-operation, and on related subjects such as agricultural economics, accountancy and management, to satisfy the needs of co-operative students who can read the world languages. Whether such books are in fact available wherever they are wanted is, however, more doubtful. Most co-operative departments and most co-operative schools have small libraries, but it is doubtful whether they include all the books which could be of use to those who work or study in them; whether there are always enough copies of the more frequently used textbooks; and whether there is enough background material on, for instance, the rural sociology of Africa and other countries. Many libraries are probably kept small by the lack of adequate funds and by difficulty in tracing and identifying new publications in other continents which would be of value in the collection.

When it comes to literature of a more popular character and literature in African languages, there is probably a gap to be filled. Some countries, such as Ghana, Nigeria and Egypt, have for some years published co-operative journal, usually monthly, which in part give reports of co-operative events and personalities and in part provide popular co-operative education. Such journals may appear partly in a world and partly in a local language. There is probably room for more popular short books and pamphlets on co-operative subjects, some of which might be directed to youth groups or even school children who are at least literate and will be the shapers of public opinion in 20 years' time.

The question of visual aids is also important. They begin with the co-operative itself. The impressive buildings, which many African co-operative unions have put up for themselves, have undoubtedly had an important educational impact. Good use could be made, and indeed is made in a modest way, of visual aids in the more restricted sense, including posters, films and film strips. All these things are, however, costly to

produce and quickly dated. They may also be usable only within fairly narrow geographical limits. African languages are often strictly local, and world languages only understood in the villages by a few. People whose contacts have been limited, often find it difficult to understand or identify themselves with scenes in which the actors are differently dressed and housed than themselves. Some years ago, in at least one African country, a co-operative propaganda team toured the villages presenting dramatic turns and songs as well as explanatory talks. Something of the same kind has been tried in Asia. It has the advantage of being cheaper than a film easier to adapt to local tastes.

Study boxes on co-operation, containing books, pamphlets, photographs, charts and a gramophone record, have been circulated in some African countries and have proved popular. They are for the use of study groups rather than village meetings and are more effective if the group has a comparatively knowledgeable leader.

Links with Co-operative Organizations of Other Countries. These take place most naturally through a national co-operative union, but so far such unions are only found in a limited number of African countries. The contact, when it takes place, may be through the International Co-operative Alliance, or directly, with the Union of another country. The only African members of the Alliance in 1960 were national co-operative organizations in Ghana, Nigeria, Egypt and South Africa. Direct contacts with other national unions usually take the form either of the reception of African students or trainees in Europe or the supply of European co-operative experts to Africa. A number of members of the staff of English and French co-operatives have been transferred temporarily or permanently to African posts in co-operative business or education, or have carried out advisory missions. In some cases the arrangement has been made directly between two co-operatives, more frequently through official channels, national or international. Advisers drawn from the co-operative movements of other

countries, for instance Israel and Canada, have been employed in the same way. The Swiss Consumers' Co-operative Union has recently assumed special responsibility for the promotion of co-operation in Dahomey.

European co-operatives have also been generous in accepting Africans as trainees in their own businesses. The obstacle to an extension of this facility, which can be of great value, is usually the cost of transporting the trainee to the receiving country. Other difficulties are those of finding a co-operative sufficiently comparable to the one in which the trainee works at home and, especially in the case of the smaller co-operatives, which are often the most valuable models, of finding any member of the staff with sufficient spare time to supervise the trainee's studies.

Development of Inter-Regional Co-operative Education in Africa.

The Economic Commission for Africa, in its Resolution 9 (11) requested the Executive Secretary to consider, in consultation with the Food and Agriculture Organization, the International Labour Office and the United Nations Educational and Cultural Organization, the establishment of a co-operative centre or centres in Africa for the training of Africans in the field of co-operation, and for the publication and dissemination of agricultural material on co-operative methods and techniques.

It would appear from a study of the actual position of co-operative training, that the central area of Africa, South of the Sahara and North of the Union, is already fairly well provided with co-operative training centres, at least two of which (the East African School of Co-operation and the Co-operative College of Western Nigeria) receive students from more than one country. All these schools, though doing valuable work, are cramped in various ways. Buildings, though adequate, are less than ideal, staffs are overworked. The number of students received is limited and the courses are often kept short in order that two or even three batches of students may be handled in the course of a year. Few schools have all that they need in

the way of libraries, films, projectors, business machines, model stores and offices, etc. The expansion and re-equipment of the existing schools including those serving several countries would seem the most effective and also the least costly method of increasing the number of co-operatively trained men and women in African countries.

Facilities for specific training in co-operation are not, apparently, available, at least in the same form, in Africa north of the Sahara, though these countries readily participate in international training courses and seminars. Except possibly in this region, the establishment of new co-operative training centres would seem therefore to be unnecessary, provided existing centres can be strengthened.

The establishment of an All-Africa training centre is an interesting idea which requires careful consideration but presents considerable difficulties. Short courses are already provided by several international agencies. If something in the nature of a long term residential college were envisaged, it becomes necessary to consider the language of instruction. The simultaneous use of at least English, French and Arabic would be required, and though this may be possible in a short conference, it would be both costly and ultimately unsatisfactory in a college. High costs would also be incurred in bringing students from all parts of Africa to a single centre, while if study at such a college wholly replaced the periods of study and travel in other continents which many African co-operators now enjoy, the interest and stimulus of seeing co-operative organization in an advanced state of development would be lost. This situation may change as African co-operation itself becomes more developed and many-sided, but it is likely to hold good for some years to come.

It would indeed be valuable if more scholarships for overseas travel and attendance at courses of study in other countries could be made available to African students and if the range of countries visited could be extended. There may well be room for additional co-operative

publications, for translations of existing publications adapted to African needs. The question of films and of the more elaborate teaching aids might also be further examined.

It is obvious that there is considerable divergences in syllabus, teaching methods and immediate needs between the different co-operative training centres in Africa, as well as between the training centres in Europe which offer special courses to African students. It would seem that a useful purpose might be served by bringing together the principals or chief education officers of all these institutions for a conference on the future of co-operative training in Africa, to be held under the auspices of the Economic Commission for Africa. Much of value might be realised from a comparison of experience and a discussion of methods, which might be followed by a practical assessment of the needs and possibilities of the next few years. Long-term projects such as the suggested All-African Co-operative College, could be discussed by those with the fullest knowledge of African needs in the matter of co-operative education.

VI PROBABLE DEVELOPMENTS IN THE NEXT TEN YEARS

In considering the probable development of co-operation in Africa in the next ten years, it is convenient to distinguish between the countries in which co-operation is already well developed and those in which it either does not exist or has only recently been introduced.

Countries in which Co-operation is well-established.

The marketing of agricultural produce is the basic co-operative activity throughout Africa, except perhaps in Egypt. This is natural, since the principal economic development in these countries has been the changeover, complete or partial, from subsistence farming to cash crop farming, usually for an export market. The change is essential to the national economy of all these countries and co-operative marketing has been one of the means of bringing it about.

It may be assumed that this form of co-operation will continue in the future. Some points, however, call for special consideration. In some countries where co-operative marketing has been practised for a long time, the proportion of the total crop which is co-operatively handled appears to have become stationary, not always at a very high figure. This suggests that a process, familiar in Europe and elsewhere, has come into play. The older generation who pioneered co-operation are beginning to drop out, and the new generation of cultivators, who neither suffered from the lack of co-operative organization, nor had the interest and satisfaction of building it up, now take it for granted and do little to give it active support. Unless steps are taken to change this attitude and revive the pioneering spirit, the organization may continue to stand still and may ultimately decline.

In other countries a co-operative marketing structure is being rapidly built up by first creating central institutions, either governmental or enjoying a good deal of government support, often working through "pre-co-operative" collecting points. The intention is to convert the whole system into a genuine co-operative structure as soon as possible. It will require a large scale programme of membership education

and technical staff training if this is to be accomplished within ten years.

In most African countries marketing co-operatives operate within a framework provided by statutory marketing or export boards. The central co-operative organization and the board handling a given commodity may sometimes be almost, if not quite, identical. In most countries, the existence of marketing boards have provided both shelter from various forms of competition, and expertise in the field of foreign trade, which has enabled marketing co-operatives to grow and establish themselves. Marketing boards have also been a source of loan capital for installations and for the movement of crops. There are a few countries, however, in which co-operatives have not been welcomed by the Boards and have had no opportunity to handle the commodities which they control. Unless this attitude changes, co-operatives in such countries are likely to be confined to handling the less important commodities, and thus progress towards economic strength and esteem will be slow.

There is a tendency for marketing to begin with the simple collection and forwarding of untreated produce and to proceed at a fairly early stage to processing. This may be something quite simple, like the hulling of groundnuts or the pulping of coffee cherry, which can be carried out in the village, where it will facilitate grading and reduce the cost of transport; or it may be a complex and highly capitalised process like cotton ginning, which can only be carried through by a strong co-operative union. The advance into processing is likely to continue both locally and regionally, and should add to the returns which can be made to members. It will call, however, both for capital investment and for trained men.

The provision of agricultural co-operative credit in Africa has so far taken place mainly through marketing societies. This has been successful, though the rate of recovery of loans varies from one country to another. In some a too lavish advance of government-guaranteed credits to members who had not been made sufficiently aware of the nature of agricultural credit, has indeed resulted in heavy losses. Apart from this, co-operative credit and banking in Africa is still almost everywhere at an elementary

stage. Except in North Africa, Mauritius and Eastern Nigeria, there are few co-operative credit societies as such, and thrift is little practised or understood. The time would now seem to have come for a move forward into this field. There are also only a limited number of central co-operative banks, whether handling marketing credit or acting as clearing houses for local credit societies; though rather more governmental banks which take an interest in co-operation. More central banks are likely to be formed in the next ten years, but their success will depend on the availability of personnel trained in banking techniques.

The question of consumers' co-operation presents much more difficulty. The supply of a few simple agricultural requirements through marketing co-operatives has worked well and is likely to increase. Consumer stores on the European pattern have been tried in a number of countries and have more or less failed in all of them with the exception of Mauritius and in a few individual cases of co-operatives connected with specific firms or industries. The reasons have already been discussed, and the same adverse forces are likely to operate as long as the pattern of private trade in Africa remains the same. The attempt to organize petty traders into wholesale societies of their own would seem to fit the existing trading pattern but has not so far shown much success. This may have been because it was tried on too small a scale, and the more ambitious schemes now on foot in some countries may show greater results. The attempt which is also being made to build genuine consumers' societies from the top down has no precedents, and the outcome can only be awaited.

The relation between co-operation and land tenure is likely to be one of the most interesting aspects of the movement in the next ten years. In Egypt, where large estates have been transferred to tenants and labourers, a measure of co-operative control of the economic unit so created is an integral part of the scheme. In Kenya, where tribal tenure has been converted into individual freehold, the change has been accompanied, but not in any way implemented by, the formation of co-operatives. Elsewhere, the modification of tribal tenure is being approached tentatively through the group resettlement of young men on previously uncultivated land, or through the establishment of co-operative plantations by those

who already have land in individual use.

The system of tenure, whether the land is divided into plots or worked as a whole, and the degree of co-operative control over cropping and cultivation, varies from one of these experiments to another. In general, African interest is less in the collective system, with pooled land and an organized labour force, than in the co-operative village with individual plots, subject to an overall cropping plan and the co-operative provision of services. The Egyptian land reform co-operatives may be regarded as established. In ten years, or indeed in less, the other experiments will have been tested on a scale which will make it possible to judge how far these are adapted to African conditions and the temper of the African agriculturist.

In the field of social advance, the principal opening for co-operative action would seem to be housing. Here little had been done except in Egypt and among the Asian community in Kenya, but with a rising African middle class in most large towns, the opportunities would seem to be far reaching. In fact, more has probably been done towards rehousing in the villages simply through the co-operative supply of building materials, and this also has its value.

Co-operative insurance has been well developed among some of the European communities in Africa, but it is only now under discussion among Africans, and that only in a few countries. It will probably be considered more actively in the new few years.

Theoretically, there is considerable scope for the organization of small industries on a co-operative or co-partnership basis, but practical experience in Africa and elsewhere does not suggest that success will be very widespread. This is not, however, an argument against helping any group of craftsmen or technicians to organize in this form if they wish. The scope for fishermen's co-operation is probably greater, though African experience in the Sudan, Tunis and a few other places is still very limited. Labour contracting co-operatives are also at the earliest stages of organization and so far seem to be mainly confined to agriculture. In Africa, where so much construction is in progress on roads, bridges, harbours, dams and buildings, and where employment may shift to another part of the

country as each project is completed, the opportunity for this type of co-operation would appear to be considerable.

By no means all African co-operatives have satisfactory national institutions. Central banks have already been mentioned. Commodity marketing unions are more widespread, but their interest is generally limited to a single commodity. Co-operative wholesale societies exist in only a few countries and have had their problems. National co-operative unions, not themselves engaged in trading or banking, but grouping both national and local co-operatives, exist in some countries but by no means in all. One of the tasks of the near future will undoubtedly be to create unions of this type where they do not at present exist. They will be in a position gradually to take over some of the functions at present exercised by government departments, especially those of education, supervision and audit. They will also be in a position to represent the co-operative movement in national affairs, to present its image to the public and to argue its case with government authorities.

Countries in which Co-operation is Undeveloped.

In a number of African countries, although some interest in co-operation may have been aroused, there is at present very little co-operative achievement. These countries include Libya, Ethiopia, Somaliland, some of the territories of former French West and Equatorial Africa, the Congo, Angola and Mozambique, Swaziland, Bechuanaland and, as regards the African community, the Union of South Africa.

The reasons for lack of co-operative development are not always the same. Sometimes, no doubt, it has arisen from general government policy. Elsewhere it has been due to economic or natural obstacles: the concentration of agricultural business in large estates, or a nomadic and pastoral economy with few functions which could easily be organized on a co-operative basis. In most of these countries, however, some interest in co-operation has been shown in official, or in some cases non-official circles, and a few tentative experiments have been made.

Co-operation is unlikely to spring up spontaneously in African countries where it does not already exist. Where, however, the initial policy decision

has been taken, the work of popularisation and organization should be made easier by the experience already acquired elsewhere. Thirty years ago those who were initiating African co-operative movements could only be advised to study the experience of Europe and Asia. This was indeed of great value, particularly in showing the pioneers how much could be achieved by co-operative methods. In many ways, however, Africa differed both economically and socially from other continents, and their lessons had to be applied with a good deal of discretion. Today it is possible for those who are seeking to introduce co-operation into an African country to study achievement much nearer home and in strictly comparable conditions. Books in several languages exist, experts can be lent, newly appointed co-operative organizers can be received on study leave. Schools, also using several languages, can usually accommodate students from other countries. The extension of co-operation to Africa as a whole is a task in which many African countries can thus collaborate, and would doubtless do so very willingly once the need was pointed out.

VII SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

1. In about half the countries of Africa, co-operation has made substantial progress and has contributed materially to economic development. In the remaining countries there is either no co-operative movement or its is limited to a few isolated experiments.
2. Co-operation in Africa has not been wholly spontaneous, though once the idea has been introduced, there has been a ready response. The principal reason why some countries can show little or no co-operative organization would seem to be that little stimulus or guidance has been forthcoming. These countries present, therefore, a wide field for co-operative development.
3. The existing African co-operative movements are (with one or two exceptions) essentially based on the marketing of cash crops. In this field they have made a substantial contribution to national economy, especially where they have been encouraged to work in close conjunction with marketing boards.
4. There is still much room for the extension of co-operation to the handling of a larger proportion of crops already marketed and the inclusion of other commodities not now handled; the extension of co-operation to other fields, such as rural banking, supply, housing and possibly the organization of labour; the linking of primary societies in marketing unions, regional banks and other secondary institutions.
5. Many African countries are moving, decisively or tentatively, towards changes in land tenure. The relation of co-operation to land reform may well be important, but it is not yet clear what form or forms it will take.
6. The importance of co-operation in all African countries is likely to grow in the next ten years. Its extension will call for widespread education of members and potential members, and for an increasing number of

trained educators, advisors, auditors, secretaries, technicians and business managers, as well as responsible committees and chairmen.

7. Schools for the training of officials engaged in stimulating and guiding co-operative movements exists in most, but not all, the countries in which co-operation has made progress. Some of these also accept trainees from neighbouring countries. Two European co-operative colleges provide courses lasting one year, especially devised for overseas co-operative students, official and non-official, and there are a number of shorter courses offered by international and national agencies.

8. Staffs of primary societies may be trained at short local courses or by visiting supervisors, but the supply of trained men is always less than the need. There is an increasing need for men with higher business and technical training for senior posts in co-operative marketing unions, and little opportunity of training them in their own countries. Some of the higher posts are at present held by expatriates pending the training of African successors.

9. It is probably premature to consider the formation of an All-African Co-operative College. The principal difficulties would seem to be initial capital outlay, diversity of language, cost of moving students over long distances, problem of finding and attracting sufficiently qualified staff familiar with all the relevant conditions and able to teach in several languages.

10. There are, however, many ways in which the existing co-operative training system might be strengthened. Among these are

- a) Improvements in buildings and equipment of existing schools.
- b) Increase of accommodation and staff so that more students could be admitted for longer periods.
- c) Strengthening of schools providing higher training for students from more than one country.

- d) Increased local training facilities for the staffs of primary societies.
- e) Facilities for the business and technical training of staffs of co-operative unions and large primary societies.
- f) Co-ordination of existing African training schemes in order that the best use is made of existing facilities, including those provided overseas or in short-term courses held in Africa or elsewhere by international bodies.
- g) Temporary exchange of staff between co-operative schools in Africa and between those schools and co-operative schools or colleges in other continents.
- h) Increased facilities for African students to attend co-operative colleges and courses overseas and to make study tours of co-operative institutions in other countries.
- i) Strengthening and modernization of the educational approach to co-operative members and prospective members; reconsideration of visual aids, the co-operative press, publications in African languages; the approach to children and young people.

11. In order that the whole position should be carefully considered and recommendations made, it is suggested that there should be a conference of those concerned with co-operative education in Africa, especially the principals of existing co-operative schools, and that the agenda should include all the above points, as well as allow time for an exchange of views on the syllabus and methods of teaching appropriate to co-operative schools giving instruction at different levels.