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RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN MALI^(x)

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PREFACE

This report has arisen out of the interest in community development evinced by the United Nations Economic and Social Council and Economic Commission for Africa, and is more particularly a sequel to three documents which were submitted to the third session of the Economic Commission for Africa:

- Report on the study tour on Community Development in Ghana, Nigeria, Tanganyika and UAR (E/CN.14/80 and Corr.1)
- Inquiry into Community Development in Uganda (E/CN.14/81)
- Statement on the present state and progress of the study on the co-operative movement in Africa (E/CN.14/82).

The decision to present to the Commission a special study on community development in a French-speaking African State was warmly welcomed by the Government of Mali, with whose generous assistance and with the collaboration of whose officials the study required was carried out in August 1961 by a member of the Secretariat.

I. COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN MALI

1. If community development as practised in Mali is to be more fully understood, it must be seen against its physical and human, geographical and historical background.

Physical environment

2. Mali is a truly typical Sahelian country where the extensive shifting agriculture of the Sudan savannas meets the sub-Saharan livestock-breeding grounds around the 500 mm. isohyet, and where the rains are an uncertain quantity, but a country with one great natural resource - the Upper Niger, with its flooded banks and Central Delta, inexhaustible soils and regulating waters, which can, through human labour, ensure the country a hard, plannable and highly productive core. In a country with a population density of barely three persons per square kilometre, the density on the best cultivated land already amounts to one person per hectare.

Social heritage

3. The modern Malian has inherited from his ancestors a mainly African tradition of family farming, group labour and village-dwelling carried on in accordance with tribal rules and subject to local collegiate control. From the colonial period he also inherits a system of economic development under which private initiative, the growth of the human personality, participation in a wider sphere of institutions and ideas and the application of scientific techniques were fostered by the activities of an autonomous Office and private-law bodies. At the present time, especially since the achievement of full independence in 1959, he is witnessing a new national upsurge which is transforming the Office and the private-law bodies into tools for implementing a plan to combine modern economic development and a community rebirth faithful to popular traditions.

Present achievements and long-term programmes

4. The community development programmes here dealt with are accordingly mostly new programmes set forth in the two Laws of June 1960 on Mutual Rural Development Societies and Rural Groups, the administrative measures for whose local application are still being worked out. The illustrations given in this report are typical examples selected to demonstrate the practical nature of the Malian programmes and to bring out the possible contribution of community development to economic development in one African country. Some of the tentative experiments so far made have already produced excellent results, and after a few more years it will be interesting and useful to attempt quantitative measurement of the range of application, the degree of effectiveness and the material and spiritual fruit of these programmes.

5. At this present stage, nevertheless, it would appear to be possible to lay down certain general principles. In a developing country, natural momentum presupposes initiative and adaptability, a flair for organization and team-work, a spirit of enterprise in all sectors (public, co-operative and private) of the economy, and the will to invest to-day's labour in to-morrow's means of production. Herein lie profound reasons for the fact that community development is an integral part of Mali's general development, especially as it brings the Africa of the villages under the State plan.

Aid to the peasantry

6. The modernization of peasant farming in Mali implies not only an increase in productivity and outlets for the products on the world markets but also, and above all, some capital investment in every peasant holding and in the community infrastructure.

7. The process is not self-starting. On the contrary, various methods have been used to start it off, two of which merit special attention. One of these is that at present applied by the "French

Company for the Development of Textile Fibres" (CFDT - joint corporation), which hires out free of charge to a few hundred pilot farmers selected by the Village Councils all the implements needed for tilling by ox, providing they take the technical advice of the cotton-growing instructors, over the two crop-years they require to earn enough money to begin the hire-purchase of their own yokes of oxen, ploughs etc.. Similarly, the Niger Office is helping a few hundred settlers to make a start by postponing the payment of instalments on oxen and ploughs until after the first harvest. Seasonal agricultural schools are doing the same for a few hundred of their former pupils. The other method is the one that was employed during the Tamani pre-Delta development works, when two-thirds of the millions of francs provided by "FIDES" were used to pay the daily wages of two thousand inhabitants of neighbouring villages, thus enabling them to take up ploughing by ox. A third method, which has been given up since independence, consisted in helping some farmers with free equipment and services; this experiment showed that outside aid to certain privileged persons served only to enrich the latter without any sign of the new practices they adopted spreading at all.

8. Once launched, the Malian farmer spends a goodly part of his extra earnings on improving his holding, and above all on the purchase of oxen, ploughs, carts, fertilizers, spraying machines and other equipment. Given proper marketing and credit facilities and technical assistance, he can thus become self-supporting.

9. At the same time the individual can economize by sharing in the community's jointly-owned equipment (see paragraphs 14 and 37).

10. Without the paysannat (peasant group) community development is barely conceivable. Both are equally favoured by tribal law, as a result of which large estates and the renting of land are rare in Mali. They are also favoured by the experience of the Niger Office, which

is at present substituting the colonat paysan (collective share-cropping) for plantation labour.

Profitability

11. By agreement between Mali and friendly countries "independence" marks the stage at which every investment must show a return, at which the Malians' investment in "work" becomes the counterpart to "capital" investment from abroad and family holdings and communities should be encouraged to be self-supporting. If the great development works in the Central Delta cost 500,000 francs (2,000 dollars) per hectare, they are only justified henceforward if they bring an increased output of 100,000 francs (400 dollars) per hectare; everything must therefore be organized to that end: intensive cultivation, experts on the spot, colonat paysan. Even if small-scale development works cost only 12,000 francs (50 dollars) per hectare, the beneficiaries themselves must finance extension and maintenance. Non-productive borrowing is discouraged, whereas productive rural loans are favoured. In this climate of economy and work, community development is bound to pay; the new community structures are highly utilitarian.

II. SERVICES OF LOCAL GENERAL INTEREST

12. The inhabitants of a locality, by the very fact that they live together, have common needs which they try to satisfy by setting up common services. In Mali, services of local general interest, organized by the local people themselves, are typified by their sharply economic character. Among the foremost services likely to be supplied by local authorities to the inhabitants are farming equipment, productive loans, demonstration fields and socio-economic mutual aid. One of the pilot services of which only a single example as yet exists is the administration of a development zone and a co-operative village.

Communal equipment

13. Every local community needs some kind of infrastructure, without which even farming would have difficulty in getting under way. This local infrastructure is partly fixed and partly mobile.

14. Aside from large-scale national investment projects, the fixed infrastructure in Mali is largely the creation of the local authorities. The cercle* takes the initiative in building and financing most roads, schools, dispensaries and vaccination pens for cattle. The public authorities welcome the co-operation of the villagers when the building of schools is included in the expansion programme. A Mutual Rural Development Society ("SMDR") and an Associated Rural Group ("GRA") are assuming ownership of shops and tree nurseries. Village political party committees call for voluntary "human investment" to improve, clean and maintain tracks, markets and drainage and irrigation courses. A women's committee subscribes to the building of a maternity home. The Compulsory Civic Service is building up equipment of national as well as local interest. There is talk of reforestation schemes, village orchards and fish-breeding ponds.

* Translator's Note: Main administrative district.

15. Simultaneously, the mobile infrastructure is expanding. The "SMDR" lorry is at the disposal of local authorities. A Rural Group can arrange the joint use of farm implements, e.g. providing the villagers with a spraying machine. It may also hire a yoke of oxen to a member for 6 months' ploughing at a charge of 3,000 francs (12 dollars) to save him hiring them privately for 5,000 francs (20 dollars) or losing an un-insurable personal outlay of 25,000 francs (100 dollars) should the animals die suddenly. One item only of collective rural equipment has now proved clearly unprofitable in Mali - the tractor, which is being replaced everywhere by the ox-drawn plough.

Joint purchase and sales operations

16. An attempt is being made to safeguard the Malian farmer against rising purchase prices and declining selling prices. To that end Mutual Rural Development Societies are opening shops in the administrative district (arrondissement) centres where a plough or a cart can be bought for 50 per cent down and 50 per cent repayable at the end of the crop-year, or spare parts, selected seeds, chemical fertilizers, insecticides, salt and soap. Some of these shops reach a turnover of 250,000 francs (1,000 dollars) a month. For the same purpose, and in still closer proximity to the people, Associated Rural Groups are opening provision stores in the villages and are planning to make charcoal and to buy fruit trees for re-sale to members. Some of these, opening one day a week or for only half-an-hour at sunrise and sunset, reach an annual turnover of 300,000 francs (1,200 dollars).

17. As one objective of the Mutual Rural Development Societies is to improve the movement and sale of their members' produce, they help to ensure observance of the legal price by their readiness to buy the produce themselves at that price.

Agricultural credit

18. Various methods are now being used to link credit and productivity and to lessen the risks of indebtedness not counterbalanced by

increased output. First of all, the Niger Office is eliminating mechanized cultivation of rice and reducing it in the case of cotton by substituting ploughing by ox, thus decreasing the annual cost of preparing a hectare from 8,000 to 2,000 francs (320 to 80 dollars). Secondly, as indicated above, an attempt is being made to satisfy real needs by supplying goods at reasonable prices. Thirdly, the distant creditor (Crédit du Mali, the Niger Office or the "SMDR" of the cercle) is being replaced by a local collective creditor. Associated Rural Groups are thus beginning to replace these other bodies as rural loan agencies in direct contact with farmers needing seeds, fertilizers and provisions during the few months preceding the harvest. Such Groups (or the "SMDR", where there are as yet no Groups) facilitate medium-term productive credit by arranging for hire-purchase of livestock and farm equipment, which is what the Niger Office and the "CFDT" also do when a farm is starting up.

Technical assistance

19. Many villages have established collective fields, often of one or two hectares, to experiment in new agricultural methods, for instance the introduction of cotton-growing in rice-growing areas, of intensive cropping in extensive-cropping districts, of stable cultivation in shifting cultivation areas, and irrigated crops in place of makeshift crops. Thus the technical agricultural supervisory service is acquiring a new means of demonstration - one depending on the active participation of the people concerned rather than on the sort of official action witnessed in the multi-local test fields.

Socio-economic mutual aid

20. Mutual aid, for which the Provident Societies were introduced in Mali thirty years ago, now plays only a minor role in the activities of the present "SMDR". They nevertheless continue to lend a few farmers who have had a bad harvest small quantities of millet and other

foodstuffs, refundable after the crop-year at 15 per cent interest to cover expenses. They also always help victims of fires until the next harvest. More important is "village mutual aid", which is organized by groups of villagers. A youth committee will help out a farmer who has fallen ill during sowing or a family whose head has died during the crop-year. A women's committee will give domestic help in a home where the mother is sick. What was formerly done by the tribal associations is to-day put in the forefront by the village political committees.

Administration of a development zone

21. Among zones subject to flooding that benefited from regularization and development works during the 50's there is one where the beneficiaries have assumed responsibility for the maintenance, operation and even extension of the scheme and engineering works. The 2,800 farmers on the 10,000 hectares of developed land between Ségou and Tamani have constituted a joint working community since 1960, when the public authorities transferred their private domanial rights to the group. The community assumes responsibility for supervising hydraulic engineering works, the threshing ground so far supplied by the "SMDR" and the selected seed development station; it is building a new dyke and a new compensation dam; it provides transport for its steward; and it intends to take over the entire cost of providing agricultural technicians, except wages or salaries and social welfare charges. To sum up, it ensures to the inhabitants of the zone all the ecological conditions required to increase their production and raise their standard of living.

Administration of a co-operative village

22. Though group work is customary at times in Mali, it is not an everyday habit at village level. The decision was nevertheless taken in 1961 to try out the idea of a co-operative village, based to some extent on the Israeli kibbutzim and the communes of Mainland China.

The Niger Office recruited in one and the same area (Tominian, San cercle) 100 young men and 20 young women considered fit to set up a fully collective group. The Office advances them supplies of staple grains every fortnight, while their purchase group draws other food-stuffs from the "GRA" to the amount of 50 francs (0.20 dollars) per worker per day. Bills have to be paid in part at the end of each working operation (e.g. weeding) and the balance settled at the end of the crop-year. The members spend five hours every morning on collective work in the fields and their afternoons on village-planning work, stock-breeding, gardening and team activities outside. Accounts are kept jointly by a representative of the group and the moniteur (group leader).

III. COMMUNITY STRUCTURES

General character

23. Community development legal bodies in Mali bear the imprint of certain ideas that are common to most French-speaking States in West Africa. These ideas, which had their roots in concepts of co-operation and mutual aid, resulted in the creation of quasi-public private law organs alongside of public bodies, the hope being that they might possibly one day be combined in one vast semi-State federative pyramid. At the primary level are thus to be found the optional Rural Group and the compulsory Village Council; at cercle level, the "SMDR" and the Commandant with his Council; at national level, the Territorial Economic Action Fund, depending on the rural economy services, and the general budget and home administration. Under this scheme of things, community development, as a socio-economic service in no wise police-like, naturally falls into the semi-State category; its organs, though set up by the State and devoted to the general interest, are bodies corporate coming partially under private law. It is only since 1960 that these organs have become tools for the implementation of the Plan and that the emphasis has been placed on their public responsibilities rather than on their independence by calling them "public utility institutions".

24. Behind the present official village organization lie often deep-rooted memories of the ancestral village. The Village Council has behind it the long tradition of the "council of the ancients". Youth committees and women's committees are reviving the traditional practice of forming voluntary associations. Only the rural groups specifically designed to foster economic development and concentrating on the birth of a monetary economy are without historical precedents and are spreading very slowly.

The village

25. The size of villages in Mali is restricted by the limited possibilities available for carrying domestic refuse and organic manure to the gardens around them. Hence villages are small, though numerous. Any with 100 inhabitants has a Village Council.

26. When a village acts as a community, it does not necessarily consider through what organ it is acting. But there are several.

27. Since 1960, the Village Council has become a decentralized administrative organ. On the one hand, it represents the public authorities in the village, collecting taxes and registering births, marriages and deaths, though it does so under the supervision of the chef d'arrondissement (district officer). On the other, it represents the villagers for any useful purpose, including tribal functions, such as the settlement of disputes between families. The fact that its members are elected by the villagers marks the end of the colonial district officer system.

28. Any village may, if such is the desire of a clear majority of its inhabitants, form a Rural Production and Mutual Aid Group, the Board of Management of which is the Village Council plus two delegates elected by its General Assembly of Heads of Families. Neighbouring Rural Groups may combine to form an Associated Rural Group and be represented in it by the same two delegates; it would appear that it is mainly by doing so that the "GRA" find the means to equip their villages.

29. The Village Committee of the political party supervises observance of the law. It holds public meetings at which decisions are taken on the villagers' civic activities, "human investment" and "collective fields". It has its youth committee, which is in the van of the work, and its women's committee, which sees to water and food supplies for the voluntary workers.

The village group

30. Wherever an Associated Rural Group exists, it plays a more important role than the Rural Production and Mutual Aid Groups whose delegates constitute its Board of Management. It is the Associated Rural Groups that are beginning to open village provision stores, to make wholesale purchases, to hire oxen during the rainy season and put them out to pasture during the dry season, to provide yokes of oxen on hire-purchase terms, to hire tools and implements, to organize the fight against disease and to serve as intermediaries between the villagers and bodies like the "SMDR", the Niger Office and the "CFDT". Each Associated Rural Group is supposed to cover a small homogeneous zone within an arrondissement; to that end its field of action is defined in terms of already existing situations or organs. In the Delta, for example, the "GRA" is identified with the basic staffing section of the Niger Office, a supervisory unit in which an aide-conducteur (senior group leader) trains the moniteurs (group leaders) for five or six villages. In the Tamani development zone, it becomes the legal representative of the beneficiary community of 42 villages spread over three arrondissements. At Zébala, it has been recognized as covering the villages that once formed a canton and are now situated in a rural expansion zone ("ZNR") of the "CFDT".

The "arrondissement"

31. The arrondissement is now merely an administrative centre with the addition of a party committee, which encourages the setting-up and operations of village organizations and groups. The chef d'arrondissement is chairman of the "GRA" Board of Management. Under the Government programme, every arrondissement is being endowed with an Ecole Saisonnière (seasonal school).

The "cercle"

32. From being a mere police and taxation administrative district, the cercle is gradually becoming a local authority whose services meet

the common needs of its inhabitants. The Commandant and his Council build roads, schools and dispensaries.

33. The Rural Mutual Development Society was compulsorily substituted for the Provident Societies in 1958. In some cercles, where the "SMDR" had a director, or chairman or government commissioner with exceptional qualities of leadership, the change transformed the spirit of the organization, breaking the ties of the colonial period between Commandant and Chiefs, putting an end to irrecoverable political loans, giving members improved services, opening shops in the arrondissements, offering all members productive loans on an equal footing, and generally putting the common interest before the private interests of chiefs and notables. In other cercles, there has been a change only in name. In others again, the "SMDR" has so extended its activities as to force the Commandant, as Government Commissioner, to intervene in its administration - for example, in cercles where the "SMDR" bought a tractor without foreseeing that service charges would be beyond the means of its members.

Supervisory staffing

34. The "GRA" has been most active in groups of villages enjoying the services of on-the-spot technical supervisory staff. In Niger Office territory, there is one moniteur per village; in the "CFDT" rural expansion zones, one moniteur for cotton-growing per sector of three or four villages, which he visits twice a week; in a riparian development zone, one moniteur of the Agricultural Department for every ten villages. These moniteurs and the aide-conducteurs (or senior moniteurs) under whom they work have actively participated in the organization of the "GRA". The Departments they represent have helped to prepare their statutes and have vested in them some of the responsibilities they had themselves carried hitherto.

IV. FINANCE AND PERSONNEL

Self-financing

35. The village community is founded on the common ancestry of families living in proximity to each other on the same soil, not on monetary ties. The Village Council controls all unoccupied land. The Village Committee calls for "human investment". The Rural Group, where one exists, tries to build up funds by appropriating the profits from the collective field or the "GRA" provision store, which is often in the village chief's home; if successful, it may invest in some small item of equipment, such as spraying machine, which will be used by all the villagers.

36. The Associated Rural Group has more capital, derived from shares, subscriptions or fees paid by heads of families in the Rural Groups comprising it. The subscriptions may amount, for example, to 100 francs (0.40 dollars), with shares of 1,000 francs (4 dollars) per hectare of cotton or fees of 50 kg of paddy per hectare under rice. The "GRA" may be given a working capital of a few hundred thousand francs (say, 1,000 dollars). The "GRA" can also earn money by making charges for the use of its rice-threshing equipment or the hire of its ox-drawn ploughs or processing apparatus. Some of the "GRA" have even inherited a certain amount of equipment from public bodies that failed to make it pay in use, such as the former "SMDR" threshing ground at Tamani, the charge for using which is now 10 per cent of the paddy, and the former "CFDT" tractor at Katioula, which is hired out at 600 francs (2.50 dollars) per hour or 3,000 francs (12 dollars) per hectare.

37. The Rural Mutual Development Society derives its working and management capital from a compulsory subscription payable by every taxable adult and collected with the cercle tax. A per capita subscription of 70 francs (0.30 dollars), which produces 9 million

francs (36,000 dollars) for the whole cercle, can finance operations that enable the budget to be balanced at 40 million francs (160,000 dollars). The subscription is even payable by villages that have joined a "GRA", though they have withdrawn from direct "SMDR" activities.

38. The tax allowed by the cercle Council makes it possible for the Cercle Commandant to obtain from the central administration refund of the cost of regional works that it approves. It may be twice as high as the "SMDR" subscription. It falls on the same persons. These two charges have for long been major factors in inducing even the peasant in the farthest "bush" to convert some of the product of his labour into money.

39. The Fonds Territorial d'Action Economique (Territorial Economic Action Fund) is derived from a charge of 7 per cent on "SMDR" subscriptions. It is used partly as working capital to finance wholesale purchases of equipment to be sold by "SMDR", and partly as a management fund whereby, for example, some kind of central check can be maintained on the accounts kept by "SMDR".

40. Some financial co-operation exists between the various levels. Where, for example, a "GRA" sets up a provision store in a village, the profit goes to the latter. Similarly, a Cercle Commandant may supply cement, corrugated-iron roofing and the skilled labour of a bricklayer to a village which is proceeding to build a school provided for by the Administration. The Rural Equipment Fund for Economic and Social Development ("FERDES") has been reorganized since the break-up of the Federal organs, still on a tripartite basis: 60 per cent re-funded to the "SMDR" out of the Mali budget and the French Aid and Co-operation Fund ("FAC") and 40 per cent remaining chargeable to the cercle and the villages in it. Expenditure under the 1960 programme amounted to 200 million francs (800,000 dollars), including 101 million for well-drilling, 28 million for social building, 57 million

for agricultural development and 13 million for stock-breeding operations.

41. In 1960-61, the European Development Fund (EDF) approved assistance in the building of seasonal schools. This purely material gift apart, multilateral aid for community development in Mali is mostly conspicuous by its absence.

Leaders

42. Civic consciousness is stimulated by the organs of the political party. The Cercle Political Bureau sets up the Village Committee and visits it regularly.

43. Two methods are used in training pilot farmers. Some are trained by the Department of Agriculture at seasonal schools directed by aide-conducteurs in farm-work. Each course is attended by some twenty students and lasts the nine months of the crop-year. Training is practical. While most of the students are illiterate, the schools take care that they are fit and able to apply new methods when they return home. On completing the course they are entitled to a yoke of oxen and a plough, the cost of which they repay in four instalments. After they return to their villages, they will be followed by moniteurs in their sector. The possibility is being explored of having a "GRA" participate in the selection and training expenses of students from its villages. Also under discussion is the possible advantage of holding an advanced course during the dry season and using the opportunity afforded by the presence of a few students' wives to broaden their knowledge of horticulture, poultry-breeding, nutrition and infant and child welfare.

The alternative method is to train pilot farmers on the spot. This is the method used by the "CFDT", which asks the Village Councils to select farmers for training. It demands the presence in the near

vicinity of supervisory staff, with biweekly visits from the cotton-growing moniteur, as also a loan of the equipment required for ox-drawn ploughing.

It should be noted that a pilot farmer, though sometimes called a "stimulator" (animateur), does not necessarily know how to stimulate others.

44. Going on to basic paid supervisory staff, we come to the agricultural moniteurs. Those of the "CFDT" are trained on the job. Those of the Department of Agriculture and the Niger Office are trained at the M'pésoba apprenticeship centre. The latter, with a capacity of some fifty students, has so far been running a three-year course, so that it has passed out annually less than twenty moniteurs — barely enough to increase by one the number available to each cercle. It is now reducing its course to one year, which will enable it to triple the number of additional moniteurs passing out each year. There are already prospects of a more close-knit system of technical supervision under which each agricultural moniteur will devote himself to a small group of villages rather than a whole arrondissement and will be able to give tangible help in everyday practical activities instead of having time only to communicate new ideas by word of mouth. It is also noted that a basic supervisory staff is essential to the launching, and perhaps to the success, of the "GRA" and productive rural credit, which suggests that steps must be taken to supplement the training of such staff by advanced courses dealing less with farming techniques than with community methods.

45. Having only elementary education and very limited and purely practical training, these young people themselves require careful supervision and guidance, from either senior farming moniteurs or junior moniteurs with the personal capacities for reaching the senior grade. As in the case of the basic moniteurs, there is here a problem not only of numbers but also of orientation enabling the "overseers" to direct the community activities of the moniteurs.

ANNEX

LAW No. 60-8 A.L.-R.S.

concerning the Statutes of the Rural Mutual Development Societies
in the Sudanese Republic

THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF THE SUDANESE REPUBLIC,

CONSIDERING the Constitution of Mali;

CONSIDERING the Constitution of the Sudanese Republic;

CONSIDERING Local Decree No. 520 of 26 April 1958 concerning the transformation of Provident Societies into Rural Mutual Development Societies in the Sudanese Republic,

Has adopted the following Law:

Art. 1 - The Rural Mutual Development Societies of the Sudanese Republic shall be defined in accordance with Art. 2 below and governed by all the provisions of the present Law.

Art. 2 - Rural Mutual Development Societies are public utility institutions of a co-operative and mutualist character.

They shall be entitled to carry out purchase and sales transactions on behalf of their members and to administer industrial concerns, provided that they pursue a public utility objective and conform to the normal rules of law. Their property shall be liable to distraint.

They shall be entitled to administer agricultural loan, mutual aid and agricultural insurance funds.

Their activities shall not be regarded as public works.

The Rural Mutual Development Societies shall, however, be in part amendable to public law.

They shall be responsible to the Minister of Rural Economy and the Plan, who shall appoint or dismiss Directors, Deputy Directors and

Chief Accountants.

They shall take instructions from the Government through the Minister of Rural Economy and the Plan.

They shall be subject to direct and permanent control by the Government Commissioners and to periodical control by the Inspectors of Rural Mutual Development Societies and accredited Government agents.

They shall enjoy a special taxation system.

They shall have the right to receive subsidies or rebates on certain taxes and charges, and may levy a subscription as compulsory and duly payable as a tax.

Disputes concerning a Rural Mutual Development Society shall be dealt with by:

local courts, where they concern only the Society and its members; ordinary civil courts, where the disputes are between the Society and third parties; and

administrative courts, if the case involves either the Society's administrative machinery or government action.

Art. 3 - The aims of the Rural Mutual Development Society shall be:

to co-ordinate, at cercle level, the co-operative activities of the Rural Production and Mutual Aid Groups and Associated Rural Groups; to keep the Minister of Rural Economy and the Plan informed of the activities and needs of these bodies; to circulate government instructions to all Groups;

to take all steps calculated to promote the development of rural production and the improvement of conditions for the harvesting, preparation, preservation, movement and sale of Group members' produce;

to enable the Groups, by loans in kind and on occasion in cash, to maintain or develop their cultivation and improve their farms, implements and livestock.

The Rural Mutual Development Society may guarantee its members' loans from credit institutions.

It shall also foster "human investment" activities, social building, sanitation and beautification of village surroundings and, in general, any collective action to improve its members' living conditions.

Art. 4 - The following shall compulsorily belong to the Rural Mutual Development Societies:

- (1) the farmers, stock-breeders, fishermen and craftsmen of the cercle, and dependants living in villages not formed into Rural Production and Mutual Aid Groups;
- (2) Rural Production and Mutual Aid Groups and Associated Rural Groups;
- (3) Farming Co-operatives.

Art. 5 - Subscriptions

The Rural Mutual Development Societies shall be entitled to levy throughout their district an annual subscription payable by all persons liable to the minimum fiscal tax. The rate of subscription shall be fixed by the Minister of Rural Economy and the Plan on the proposal of the General Assembly of the Rural Mutual Development Society. A rebate, at a rate fixed annually by decree of the Council of Ministers, shall be paid to Rural Production and Mutual Aid Groups and Farming Co-operatives.

The following shall be exempt from payment of the subscription:

Licensed tradesmen who derive their main livelihood from trade, their wives and dependent children, if they show proof that they have paid for their licence;

officials and employees of the Administration;

all persons who prove that they do not derive their normal livelihood from farming, stock-breeding, fishing or a handicraft.

On the other hand, membership is optional for farmers, stock-breeders, fishermen and craftsmen in the communes.

The annual subscription to the Rural Mutual Development Society shall be as compulsory as the tax. The civil and criminal penalties for individual or collective refusal to pay the tax and for organizing collective refusal shall apply to individual or collective refusal of a collective refusal or the organization to pay the subscription.

Subscriptions to the Rural Mutual Development Society shall be collected at the same time and by the same procedure as the fiscal minimum tax. They shall be received and entered in the books by an ad hoc cashier-accountant of the Rural Mutual Development Society appointed by joint decision of the Ministers of Finance and Rural Economy and the Plan.

Art. 6 - The Rural Mutual Development Societies may be divided into technical sections and/or geographical sectors.

Art. 7 - Each arrondissement (administrative district) shall have an Assembly called "Arrondissement Council".

Village and "fraction" councils shall each elect two members to represent the village or "fraction", either as a Rural Production and Mutual Aid Group or not, in the Arrondissement Council.

Arrondissement Councillors shall meet at the administrative centre of the arrondissement to elect members of the General Assembly of the Rural Mutual Development Society at the rate of one delegate per 2,500 inhabitants.

However, as in the Arrondissement Council, villages formed into Rural Production and Mutual Aid Groups shall be in the minority. These Groups shall elect additional delegates at the rate of one per village and per "fraction" for localities with less than 2,500 inhabitants, and of two per village and per "fraction" for localities with more than 2,500 inhabitants.

Art. 8 - Members of the Arrondissement Councils and of the General Assembly shall be elected every two years. The Minister of Rural Economy and the Plan may dismiss them from office for any serious misdemeanour.

The Arrondissement Councils shall be presided over by the Chef d'Arrondissement.

Their functions shall be:

- (1) to inform the Cercle Commandant of the people's needs and local activities (harvests, "human investment" works etc.);
- (2) to inform Village Councils of government instructions and action by the Rural Mutual Development Society;
- (3) to organize the collection of produce in collaboration with the Rural Mutual Development Society, and to assist the latter in all fields and all its undertakings.

Art. 9 - The General Assembly of the Rural Mutual Development Society shall comprise:

Members elected in accordance with the provisions of Art. 7;

Vice-Chairmen, Secretaries and Treasurers of the Associated Rural Groups;

District Members of Parliament;

one representative of each technical Department, in particular Agriculture, Stock-breeding, Water and Forest Resources;

The District Rural Councillor;

Representatives of the Farming Co-operatives (one for each).

Art. 10 - To be eligible for the General Assembly, candidates must:

- (1) be domiciled in the corcle;
- (2) not be engaged, either direct or through an agent, in an industrial or commercial activity;
- (3) be over 21 years of age;
- (4) not have been convicted and sentenced to any penalty involving penal servitude or loss of civic rights;
- (5) not be in debt to the Society, the former Provident Society or the Crédit du Soudan.

Art. 11 - The General Assembly shall appoint annually from among its elected members a President and Vice-President, whose functions shall be purely honorary. A Secretary, who may be chosen from among the de jure members, shall be appointed at each meeting.

Art. 12 - The General Assembly shall meet twice a year in regular session on the summons of the President or the Government Commissioner.

It may be convened similarly in extraordinary session when circumstances demand.

Art. 13 - Members of the General Assembly shall perform their functions free of charge. They shall receive no session allowance, but may claim refund of their travel expenses.

Art. 14 - The quorum for a meeting of the General Assembly shall be one half of its members plus one.

In the absence of that quorum, the Assembly shall adjourn for twenty-four hours. Thereafter it may sit without a quorum. Decisions shall be taken by a simple majority of the votes cast.

The following may attend meetings in an advisory capacity:
the Inspector of Rural Mutual Development Societies;
the Government Commissioner;

the Director and his Deputy;

on occasion, the Chefs d'Arrondissement.

Art. 15 - Disputes and arbitration

Any dispute regarding the appointment of a member to the General Assembly shall be submitted for arbitration within eight days to the Government Commissioner.

Art. 16 - Competence of the General Assembly

The General Assembly of the Rural Mutual Development Society shall:

Vote the budget and plan of campaign established in "Small Council" by the Government Commissioner (these documents shall be rendered mandatory by the Minister of Rural Economy and the Plan, who shall have the right, ex officio, to add corrections);

Propose the annual subscription rate;

Decide the contribution in cash by the Rural Mutual Development Society to "FERDES" projects, purchases and sales of buildings and heavy equipment;

Approve the annual management account;

Prepare the plan for allocating loans among Rural Groups and borrow the amounts required for social needs (equipment, marketing, supplies, aid). (Applications for loans shall be sent under seal of the Minister of Rural Economy and the Plan to the credit institutions or, in certain special cases, to the Territorial Economic Action Fund);

Make all practical proposals to the public authorities for the improvement of its members' economic and social living conditions;

Deliberate on all questions submitted to it by the Government Commissioner;

Keep the public authorities informed of the needs and aspirations of the population, of on-the-spot successes obtained with or without the help of the Administration, and of the deliberations of the Arrondissement Councils.

Art. 17 - The President of the General Assembly

The President of the General Assembly shall direct the proceedings of the Assembly.

He shall carry out information or propaganda missions in accordance with Ministerial instructions, on orders from the Government Commissioner.

He shall prepare the agenda for meetings of the General Assembly with the Government Commissioner.

The duties performed by the President shall be unpaid. But he may claim an all-in monthly allowance and refund of his travel expenses in connexion with sessions, together with a special allowance for each journey endorsed by a mission order signed by the Government Commissioner.

Art. 18 - The Director of the Rural Mutual Development Society shall administer the Society in accordance with the directives he receives from the "Small Council", in the framework of the general policy defined by the Minister of Rural Economy and the Plan.

He shall implement the decisions of the Assembly where these have received Ministerial approval.

He shall implement the budget and appropriate funds, subject to the provisions of Art. 19 hereafter. He shall sign accounting vouchers and ordinary contracts within the limits of the budget estimates and the framework of the programme. He shall organize purchases and sales of produce.

He shall sign correspondence, which shall at all times be sent to addressees under seal of the Government Commissioner.

He shall appoint and dismiss staff with the assent of the Government Commissioner and in accordance with the labour laws.

He shall co-ordinate the activities of all officers assisting in carrying out the programme.

He shall represent the Society before the courts. He shall attend meetings of the "Small Council" in an advisory capacity.

Art. 19 - The combined signatures of the President, the Director and the Government Commissioner shall be required on:

(a) All contracts, deals, decisions, warrants (drafts, orders), cheques, letters, order forms and other documents entailing the expenditure or authorization of payment of sums exceeding one hundred thousand francs;

(b) All documents involving the granting of loans and any application for a loan, whatever the amount and the conditions.

Art. 20 - The Government Commissioner shall exercise direct and permanent control over the management of the Society.

He shall represent the Society before the courts in actions brought against the Director and his Deputy.

He may convene the General Assembly.

He shall fix the agenda for it in consultation with the President.

He shall transmit Government instructions to the Director and see that they are carried out, the Director remaining free as to choice of methods and financial commitments.

He shall check the scrupulous implementation of the budget and fair distribution of loans in accordance with the programme laid down.

He shall take all practical steps to ensure recovery of outstanding debts due to the Society.

He shall report periodically to the Minister of Rural Economy and the Plan on the Society's activities and financial situation. He shall immediately call attention to any irregularity in its operations.

Art. 21 - "Small Council"

The Government Commissioner shall be kept permanently informed of the work of the Rural Groups and Associated Groups by a "Small Council", which he shall convene as often as necessary. The "Small Council" shall furthermore transmit decisions of the public authorities regarding economic and social development to the Arrondissement Councils and the inhabitants.

It shall prepare the draft budget of the Rural Mutual Development Society in accordance with the directives of the Minister of Rural Economy and the Plan and of the Regional Co-ordination Committee described in Art. 23 below.

The "Small Council" shall be presided over by the Government Commissioner. It shall comprise the chefs d'arrondissement, the Chairman of the General Assembly, representatives of the technical services and members elected by the Arrondissement Councils at the rate of three per arrondissement, including at least one from the Associated Rural Group, if one exists. Only members of the General Assembly shall be eligible for the "Small Council".

District Members of Parliament shall be ex-officio members of the "Small Council".

Art. 22 - The Inspector of Rural Mutual Development Societies shall:

make special or periodical inspections in accordance with Ministerial instructions,

attend meetings of the "Regional Co-ordination Committee", composed of all Government Commissioners and all Directors of Rural Mutual Development Societies in the region, and supervise the application of the Regional Committee's decisions.

Art. 23 - The aim of the Regional Co-ordination Committee shall be to study harmonization of the Rural Mutual Development Societies' programmes and budgets with requirements under the Plan, and also to standardize and co-ordinate the activities of the various Rural Mutual Development Societies in the region.

The decisions of the Committee shall be taken by simple majority vote. In the event of disagreement within the Committee, any member shall have the right to append a memorandum to the record. The Minister of Rural Economy and the Plan shall arbitrate disputes and endorse decisions of the Committee for implementation on submission of the record.

Art. 24 - The organization of the financial affairs and book-keeping of the Rural Mutual Development Societies shall be regulated by joint decree of the Minister of Rural Economy and the Plan and the Minister of Finance.

Art. 25 - The Rural Mutual Development Societies shall be affiliated into the Territorial Economic Action Fund of the Sudanese Republic.

Art. 26 - The Territorial Economic Action Fund shall be a public utility establishment responsible for supervising the financial affairs and books of the Rural Mutual Development Societies and for the planning and management of all activities and operations of common interest.

Art. 27 - The organization of the Territorial Economic Action Fund and its relations with the Rural Mutual Development Societies shall be defined by decree promulgated under the present Law.

Art. 28.- All earlier legislative provisions concerning the Rural Mutual Development Societies are hereby rescinded.

Done and decided in open meeting, at Bamako, on 9 June 1960.

President of the Legislative Assembly

Mahamane Alassane HAIDARA

Secretary to the meeting

Mohamed SYLLA

No. 36 P.C. - DECREE promulgating Law No. 60-9 A.L.-R.S. of
9 June 1960 concerning the Statutes of the Rural Production
and Mutual Aid Groups and the Associated Rural Groups in the
Sudanese Republic

THE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF GOVERNMENT OF THE SUDANESE REPUBLIC,

CONSIDERING the Constitution of Mali;

CONSIDERING the Constitution of the Sudanese Republic;

CONSIDERING Law No. 60-8 A.L.-R.S. of 9 June 1960 concerning the
Statutes of the Rural Mutual Development Societies in the Sudanese
Republic;

Sitting in Council of Ministers,

DECREES as follows:

Art. 1 - Law No. 60-9 A.L.-R.S. of 9 June 1960 is hereby pro-
mulgated in the territory of the Sudanese Republic.

Art. 2 - The present Decree shall be registered, published in
the Journal Officiel of the Sudanese Republic and disseminated wherever
the need arises.

Koulouba, 21 June 1960.

For the President of the Council of Government:

The Vice-President,

J.M. KONE

LAW No. 60-9 A.L. - R.S. concerning the Statutes of the Rural Production
and Mutual Aid Groups and Associated Rural Groups in the Sudanese Republic

THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF THE SUDANESE REPUBLIC,

CONSIDERING the Constitution of Mali;

CONSIDERING the Constitution of the Sudanese Republic;

CONSIDERING Law No. 60-8 A.L. - R.S. of 9 June 1960 concerning
the Statutes of the Rural Mutual Development Societies in the Sudanese
Republic,

Has adopted the following Law:

Art. 1 - In each village and "fraction" of the Sudanese Republic
there may be established a public utility institution of a co-operative
and mutualist character called "Rural Production and Mutual Aid Group".
Such Groups shall be governed by the provisions of the present Law.

Art. 2 - Aim

The aim of the Rural Production and Mutual Aid Groups shall be
the joint planning of works of importance to the community and the
promotion of co-operation and village mutual aid in all their aspects
and in all fields.

Production: Planning of farming and harvesting operations, im-
provement of methods and implements, pooling of agricultural equipment.

Preparation and marketing of produce.

Supplies: grouped purchases of tools and implements, seeds,
foodstuffs and current consumer goods.

Mutual credit and security.

Social welfare.

And any undertaking of general interest (improved housing and village planning, care of agricultural development schemes etc.).

They may encourage youth movements, folk celebration and cultural centres.

Art. 3 - Share capital

The initial capital shall consist of the total shares subscribed by the members in accordance with the provisions of Art. 10 below.

That capital may be increased by the addition of new members or the payment of special further subscriptions.

The actual payment for initial shares may be made after the setting-up of the Rural Group, on a date fixed by the Board of Management.

Art. 4 - Membership, resignation

All the inhabitants of a village or "fraction" formed into a Rural Group shall compulsorily belong to the Group, in accordance with the procedure specified in Art. 14 below.

Resignations shall be admissible only from members leaving the village. In such a case the resigning member may claim refund of the initial share which he has subscribed. He shall nevertheless remain jointly liable for commitments undertaken by the Group prior to his resignation.

Art. 5 - Affiliation

For the achievement of its aims, the Rural Group shall be affiliated, through the Associated Rural Groups, where such exist, to the Rural Mutual Development Society, upon which it shall if need be call to obtain for its members, on loan or hire, equipment, animals, seeds and all basic materials and commodities.

The Rural Group may receive advances from the Crédit du Soudan or from any public or private agency.

It must in all cases inform the Rural Mutual Development Society of the facts.

Where the Group has received one or more earlier loans that have not been repaid in full, it must when lodging a further application for a loan inform the creditor agency or agencies and notify the new agency approached.

Art. 6 - Administration and management

The Rural Group shall be administered by a Board of Management comprising:

the members of the Village Council, and

the village delegates to the Arrondissement Council.

The Chairman of the Board of Management shall be the village chief.

The Board shall appoint from among its members:

a production representative,

a supplies representative, and

a social affairs representative.

The quorum for meetings of the Board shall be one half plus one of its members or their representatives.

Decisions shall be taken by a simple majority of members present.

In the event of a tie, the Chairman shall have a casting vote.

Members of the Board shall serve without emoluments.

The Board shall appoint a secretary-bookkeeper, not necessarily from among its members.

The Board shall be responsible for the general management and smooth running of the Rural Group, which it shall represent in relations with the Associated Rural Groups, the Rural Mutual Development Society, the Administration and third parties.

The contracting of loans in cash or in kind must be authorized by the General Assembly.

Art. 7 - General Assembly

The General Assembly shall comprise all inhabitants of the village aged 18 years and over who normally earn their main livelihood in agriculture, stock-breeding, fishing or handicrafts.

Every member shall have the right to be represented by a member of his family.

The General Assembly shall meet as often as the interests of the Group demand.

It shall approve proposals by the Board of Management regarding the economic organization of the village and the programme of social welfare activities.

It shall discuss and approve the accounts.

The quorum for meetings of the General Assembly shall be two-thirds of the members or their representatives.

Art. 8 - Accounts

The Board of Management must at all times when called upon be in a position to vindicate the Group's accounts.

Art. 9 - Funds

The funds of the Group shall be derived from:

the share capital;

the special subscriptions from members;

profits from the collective operations of the Rural Production and Mutual Aid Group;

any grants, gifts, legacies and rebates from private individuals or public or private agencies;

the Group's immovable and movable property;
interest on deposits and investments;
funds in transit, loans, advances and members' deposits.

Art. 10 - Shares and special subscriptions

Shares shall be payable by heads of families proportionately to the number of taxable persons liable to the minimum fiscal tax counted in the family group. Exceptionally, in developed areas the Board of Management may fix the rates of payment proportionately to the areas of land held or to the quantities harvested by each family. To meet its own commitments, the General Assembly may levy a special subscription.

Shares and special subscriptions shall be payable within two months of being called. When this period has elapsed, members who have failed to pay shall be deemed defaulting debtors and liable to prosecution in the local courts, in accordance with the provisions of Art. 13 below.

The share capital shall be discussed by the Board of Management of the Rural Production and Mutual Aid Group. It shall be approved by the General Assembly. The calling up of shares shall be authorized by the Cercle Commandant, the subdivisional chief or the Chef d'Arrondissement.

Art. 11 - Loans

The purpose of loans contracted by the Rural Production and Mutual Aid Groups shall be:

- to provide collective or individual equipment, and
- to carry out joint purchase and sales operations.

They shall be approved in the General Assembly. They shall jointly commit all members of the Rural Group and, in particular, the members of the Board of Management. Liability shall not be limited to the special provisions of the loan contract.

In the event of non-payment at maturity, the Rural Production and Mutual Aid Groups shall be liable to prosecution. The courts may order seizure of the members' goods and harvests.

If the creditor is the Rural Mutual Development Society or another Rural Production and Mutual Aid Group, the competent court shall be the local court.

Art. 12 - The shares in and the special subscriptions to the Rural Production and Mutual Aid Groups, regularly debated by the Board of Management and approved by the Chof d'Arrondissement, the subdivisional chief or the Cercle Commandant, shall be as compulsory in character as taxes.

The penalties for individual or collective refusal to pay the tax and the organization of collective refusal to pay shall apply to any individual or collective refusal to pay up the shares and to the organization of a collective refusal to pay them up.

Art. 13 - The local courts shall be competent to find on the debts due to the Rural Production and Mutual Aid Groups from their members and to order seizure of the defaulting debtors' property.

The competent courts may, at the express request of the Board of Management of the creditor Rural Production and Mutual Aid Group, sentence the debtor to a period of labour to clear the debt.

Art. 14 - The setting-up of the Rural Group shall be decided by an absolute majority of the inhabitants of the village of 18 years and over who normally derive their main livelihood from agriculture, stock-breeding, fishing or handicrafts.

Its establishment shall be notified to:

the Cercle Commandant, who shall be responsible for approving it;
the Director of the Rural Mutual Development Society; and
the Rural Councillor, if any.

The Cercle Commandant shall keep a register recording all Rural Production and Mutual Aid Groups in the order of their approval.

Art. 15 - Rules of procedure

As regards any matter not provided for under the present Statutes, rules of procedure shall be framed by the Board of Management or on the basis of agreements with the public or private loan institutions.

Art. 16 - Supervision, inspection

The Rural Production and Mutual Aid Groups shall be supervised and inspected by:

the Cercle Commandants, subdivisional chiefs, Chefs d'Arrondissement and their deputies;

the Directors of the Rural Mutual Development Societies;

the Rural Councillors; and

accredited Government agents.

Art. 17 - Rural Production and Mutual Aid Groups belonging to the same arrondissement may amalgamate in one of the new "Associated Rural Groups", which shall also be affiliated to the Rural Mutual Development Society and be incorporated on the same footing as the Rural Production and Mutual Aid Groups.

The share capital shall be made up of the shares subscribed by all member Rural Groups.

The Associated Rural Groups shall be entitled to make purchases and sales on behalf of member Rural Production and Mutual Aid Groups. They may operate transport or industrial undertakings of joint general interest (tractor depots, produce processing plants, such as decortiating centres and rice-mills, etc.). They may also subscribe loans, which shall commit fully and jointly all member Groups.

The rules regarding competence of the courts applicable to the Rural Production and Mutual Aid Groups shall also apply to the Associated Rural Group.

Art. 18 - Administration and management

The Associated Rural Groups shall be administered by a Board of Management comprising two representatives of each Rural Production and Mutual Aid Group, these representatives being the same as those appointed to the Arrondissement Council.

The Chairman of the Board of Management of the Rural Associated Groups shall be the Chef d'Arrondissement.

Other officers shall be:

a Vice-Chairman;

a Secretary; and

a Treasurer,

elected annually.

The services of these officers shall be unpaid.

Decisions shall be taken by absolute majority.

The Board of Management shall be responsible for the general management and smooth running of the Group. It shall represent the Group in relations with the Rural Mutual Development Society, the Administration, the Government and third parties.

The contracting of loans in cash or in kind must be authorized by the General Assembly.

Art. 19 - General Assembly of the Rural Associated Groups

The General Assembly shall comprise all members of the Boards of Management of all member Groups.

Regional Members of Parliament and Councillors may attend its proceedings.

It shall meet not less than twice a year.

Its decisions on programmes of activities, budget estimates, borrowing and allocation of loans shall be taken by simple majority.

It shall supervise the stewardship of the Board of Management, discuss, approve and amend the accounts submitted to it at each session.

The quorum for meetings of the General Assembly shall be not less than one half of the members.

Art. 20 - Accounts

The double-entry book-keeping system should preferably be used.

An annual balance shall be struck.

The list of debtors and creditors shall be kept regularly up to date.

An annual charge of 10 per cent of profits shall be levied to create a reserve fund, which shall be deposited with the Rural Mutual Development Society, and can be unblocked only with the express permission of the "Small Council" of the Rural Mutual Development Society.

Art. 21 - Publicity

The decision to set up "Associated Rural Groups" shall lie with the General Assemblies of the Rural Production and Mutual Aid Groups concerned. The following shall be notified of any such decision by each Board of Management:

the Cercle Commandant, who shall be responsible for approving it;

the Director of the Rural Mutual Development Society;

the Rural Councillor for the cercle.

The Corolo Commandant shall register statements and notify the Minister of Rural Economy and the Plan.

Notice shall likewise be given of any new member, and any resignation or expulsion.

Art. 22 - Rules of procedure

As regards any matter not provided for under the present Statutes, rules of procedure shall be framed by the Board of Management or on the basis of agreements with the public or private loan institutions.

Art. 23 - Supervision and inspection

The Associated Rural Groups shall be supervised and inspected by:

the Corolo Commandants, subdivisional chiefs and their deputies;

the Directors of the Rural Mutual Development Societies;

the Rural Councillors; and

accredited Government agents.

Art. 24 - The Rural Production and Mutual Aid Groups and the Associated Rural Groups established on the irrigated lands of the Niger Office shall be subject to a special regime, which may be defined by Decree.

They shall be entitled to form a general federation at the circonscription (electoral district) level. Any such federation shall be independent of the Rural Mutual Development Societies and directly responsible to the Territorial Economic Action Fund.

The Rural Production and Mutual Aid Groups and the Associated Rural Groups of the Niger Office shall be supervised and controlled by:

the Corolo Commandants and subdivisional chiefs;

the Director-General of the Niger Office;

a permanent Inspector appointed by the Minister of Rural Economy and the Plan; and
accredited Government agents.

Art. 25 - Rural Production and Mutual Aid Groups and Associated Rural Groups set up prior to the publication of the present Law must apply for official recognition to the Corcilo Commandants and bring their Statutes and working rules into line with the provisions of the present Law.

Art. 26 - These provisions may be supplomented by Ministerial implemonting decrees and orders.

Done and decided in open meeting, at Bamako, on 9 June 1960.

The President of the Legislative Assembly
Mahamano Alassano HAIDARA

Secretary to the meeting
Mohamed SYLLA

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