

**PLANTATIONS AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT: A Case Study of
Plantation Agriculture in the Socio-economic and
Spatial Development of the S. W. Province of Cameroon**

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ABSTRACT

The problems of developing countries are recognized by many authorities; yet, despite the proferation of development theories, there is no agreement as to which policies could most rapidly produce the improvement in standards of living and quality of life that is desired. Although agriculture is the mainstay of many developing economies, there is controversy as to whether or not specialization in agriculture for export is the most suitable means of bringing about the linkages necessary for sustainable and equitable regional and socio-economic development of third world economies. The role of the plantation system in the development process of many of these societies has been of particular concern, especially in the light of current third world food shortages, as well as in the face of major changes in the international economic system since the end of World War II.

Cameroon, considered a relatively prosperous developing nation, thanks to the diversity of its commodity exports which reduce the shocks of fluctuating world markets, has regarded plantations as partners in its development. This thesis argues that the nature of socio-economic and spatial linkages which the plantation sector has created since the colonial era, has reduced its potential to adequately contribute to the development of Cameroon. The use of regimented undifferentiated lowly remunerated workers, the result of domestic policies, and

the 'unreliable and asymmetric nature of commodity trade, are responsible for the weakened potentials of the plantations. However, the thesis proposes that structural changes in production, management, and prudent harnessing of resources at national and regional levels, could make the plantations genuine partners in development.

The contribution of plantations in the development process has been determined through the use of selected development indicators, the examination of certain domestic policies, and the analysis of linkages established by the agro-industrial plantations. The thesis relied on personal experience, the limited literature that currently exists on the S. W. Province, and the general literature on plantations and development studies.

RESUME

Beaucoup d'experts s'accordent sur les problèmes du tiers monde; pourtant, en dépit de la prolifération des théories de développement, les experts ne s'accordent pas sur les lignes politiques qu'il faudrait suivre pour améliorer les niveaux et la qualité de vie, le plus rapidement possible. L'économie de la plupart de pays en voie de développement repose principalement sur l'agriculture, mais il existe une controverse, quant à savoir si la spécialisation en une agriculture orientée vers l'exportation, représente la meilleure approche pour établir les structures nécessaires, susceptibles d'entraîner un développement socio-économique et régional soutenu et équitable. L'on se penche avec inquiétude sur le rôle joué par le système de plantation dans les processus de développement des sociétés, particulièrement à la lumière des pénuries alimentaires que connaît le Tiers Monde actuellement, ainsi que des importants changements intervenus dans le système économique mondial depuis la fin de la Seconde Guerre Mondiale.

Le Cameroun, considéré comme un pays en voie de développement relativement prospère, ceci grâce à la diversité des matières premières qu'il exporte et qui réduisent les effets néfastes des fluctuations des marchés internationaux, accorde une grande place aux plantations dans son processus de développement. Cette thèse soutient que la nature des liens spatiaux et socio-économiques que le secteur des plantations a créés depuis l'époque coloniale, ont réduit la capacité de ce

secteur à contribuer efficacement aux développements du Caseroun. L'utilisation d'une main-d'oeuvre peu qualifiée, sous-rémunérée, non-intégrée à la politique directrice des plantations, résultat des politiques intérieures, ainsi que la nature peu sûre et asymétrique du commerce des matières premières, sont à la base de la baisse de la potentialité des plantations. Toutefois, nous avançons que des changements structureaux dans la production et la gestion, ainsi que une prudente exploitation des ressources aux niveaux national et régional, pourraient renforcer la contribution de ces plantations au développement économique du pays.

La contribution des plantations au processus de développement a été déterminée à travers l'utilisation d'indicateurs socio-économiques et spatiaux sélectionnés, l'examen de certaines politiques intérieures, et de l'analyse des liens établis par les plantations agro-industrielles.

Pour rédiger cette thèse, nous avons puisé dans notre expérience personnelle sur le terrain, la documentation limitée qui existe actuellement sur la province du Sud-Ouest, et dans la documentation générale sur les études des plantations et du développement.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

OBJECTIVES, METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

The plantation system has been in operation in Cameroon for over a hundred years.¹ As with many developing nations in the tropics, since independence, Cameroon has regarded the plantation system as an important partner in its development endeavours. Yet the contribution of this socio-economic and spatial institution in the development process of many third world nations is highly debatable.

In order to comprehend the debate, it is important to understand the concept, "development" because the meaning seems to have eluded many people. Even though it is a complex concept, it can simply be defined as,

"a multi-dimensional process involving major changes in social structures, popular attitudes, and national institutions as well as the acceleration of economic growth, the reduction of inequality and the eradication of absolute poverty. Development in its essence must represent the entire gamut of change by which an entire social system tuned to the diverse basic needs and desires of individuals and social groups within that system moves away from conditions of life widely perceived as unsatisfactory towards a situation of life regarded as materially and spiritually "better" (Todaro, 1977:62).

This process which is often conceived in an exclusive economic sense- the justification being that the type of economy is

itself an index of other social features- can also be regarded as means whereby members of a society jointly increase their capacity for dealing with the environment; this will depend on the extent to which they understand nature, (science), and on the scope to which they put that understanding into practice by devising tools (technology), and on the manner in which work is organized (Rodney, 1972:10).

Development can also be defined as a human issue concerned with mobilizing the whole society to engage in the task of self-improvement with the resources available to it (Mabogunje, 1977a:26). These definitions are not exclusive, but they seemingly cover the gamut of the subject matter which concerns improvements in housing, health, education, communication, transport, agriculture, industry, the environment, and socio-political institutions in order to enhance living standards and the quality of life of all the people in a given society.

Although these factors are recognized by people in almost all walks of life, and in nearly all regions of the world, the attainment of acceptable living standards in many developing countries has been difficult. Poverty and malnutrition continue, despite the proliferation of development theories, in almost all disciplines, especially after the Second World War. These problems continue in part because the developing nations are not a homogeneous entity; their characteristics differ, and the solutions to their problems are not necessarily the same. Furthermore, there continues to be disagreement about the root causes of underdevelopment and as a result there is discord as

to which policies to apply to eradicate poverty in these nations. No elaborate discussion is attempted in this thesis of the various theories of development because of the wide scope that is involved, but they will be referred to as the need arises. The debate concerning agricultural development in the third world, however will be discussed.

In recent years observers and analysts of third world development agree that agriculture will be, at least in the foreseeable future, the mainstay of many developing economies. Agriculture will continue to provide employment for more than sixty per cent of the active population, account for a high proportion of exports, and remain a substantial earner of foreign exchange for many nations. Little (1964:10), for example emphasizes that in Africa, agriculture is the activity where the main emphasis for increased production must necessarily lie.

Despite this awareness, the agricultural sector continues to perform badly even though many governments, have since the 1960s, given greater attention to this sector. In many countries, food production has declined, and in others increases have been very insignificant. In 1978 one U.S. farmer could feed more than 65 people (Todaro, 1977), but their counterparts in many developing nations could not produce enough for themselves and members of their families. Production problems which result in low output, compounded by population increases, put pressure on the undeveloped, limited, or mis-managed resources in many nations. The consequence has been massive food imports which continue to drain these economies of

any earnings accruing from their exports. Brandt (1980:91-92) estimates that developing countries will be importing more than 145 billion tons (80 billion in Africa and Asia) of food by 1990 if agricultural policies do not change. The drain on foreign exchange earnings by food imports continues to be significant; Zaire for example spends about one third (\$US 300 million) of its foreign exchange earnings on food imports. In many countries, the agricultural sector continues to lack the potential to create linkages. Hirschman (1958:109-110) points out that the agricultural sector in developing countries lacks the potential to stimulate new activities through linkage effects; this will be expanded in a latter chapter. Financial, technical, managerial and entrepreneurial problems, as well as land tenure and other associated difficulties still affect agricultural transformation.

What is the root cause of the problem? Nature is partly the cause of these problems. In the last decade climatic conditions have been very capricious. Drought has ravaged many African countries, and in some regions diseases have inflicted their own toll on crops. But national development strategies and sanguinary civil calamities are responsible for most of the setback in agricultural and other development endeavours in many nations. The fragile agricultural or commodity export-based economies of some countries such as Ghana, Nigeria, Bolivia, Viet Nam, and many others, have been disrupted by socio-political struggles among ethnic or religious groups. Government policies have been ineffective in many countries, and among intellectuals who advise politicians,

there has been controversy as to what policies will best harness agricultural resources for the spatial and socio-economic development of these countries.

Johnston (1980), Chisholm (1982), and others suggest and argue that it might be more economical for most developing countries to procure manufactured goods by specializing on agriculture for commodity exports. A case is made that resources in many developing countries are scarce. Such a case is based on arguments against "balanced growth" as opposed to "polarized development." Fleming (1955), arguing against balanced growth pointed out that the developing nations particularly lack skills and capital to diversify and simultaneously invest in many projects at production cost which will be feasible because competition among producers will result in high costs of inputs. Enke (1963:314), points out that balanced growth suggests a closed economy. Singer (1949:10) emphasized that diversified growth and development requires enormous resources which any country that disposes of them cannot be considered underdeveloped. In many countries export agriculture is therefore considered the leading sector which will produce trickle-down effects to the rest of the economy. It is argued that trade is still based on comparative advantages or comparative opportunity costs, and therefore the gains derived from it will satisfy all partners.

However, since Prebisch's argument in the 1950s that the terms of trade for primary commodities (minerals or agricultural raw materials) have been declining relative to manufactured goods, there has been greater reaction than ever before to

agricultural policies which encourage specialization on commodity exports. Although Haberler vehemently refutes Prebisch's argument as,

"alleged historical facts which lack proof, the explanation is faulty, the extrapolation reckless and the policy conclusions irresponsible (Narayana, 1966:86),

there is a continuing support for Prebisch's view, and many studies show that there is relative decline in the "barter" and "income" terms of trade of commodity exports.³ Morgan (1965); Cooper and Lawrence (1975); Smith (1979) have variously shown that on the average the terms of trade for commodities have deteriorated vis a vis manufactured exports. Figures 1.1, 1.2 and 1.3, illustrate changes in commodity terms of trade. In this study which concerned 29 developing and 18 developed nations, Morgan found that there have been extreme changes since the Korean War which indicate a tendency towards deterioration in the prices of commodities. The tendency has continued since the temporary boom of the 1950s as indicated in Figure 1.4. Morgan demonstrated that among the developed nations, those whose agricultural exports exceeded 60 per cent of their total exports had the least increase in the real purchasing power of their exports. The developed nations II (Figure 1.3), include Denmark, Australia, and New Zealand. There has been a proliferation of development literature from almost all disciplines in defence of the Prebisch-Singer thesis. Protagonists include Frank, Amin, Emmanuel, and others; some of these scholars even opt for autarchic policies which are often refuted as not being the best solution to

Fig.1.1: Terms of Trade - Median Values : 1953=100

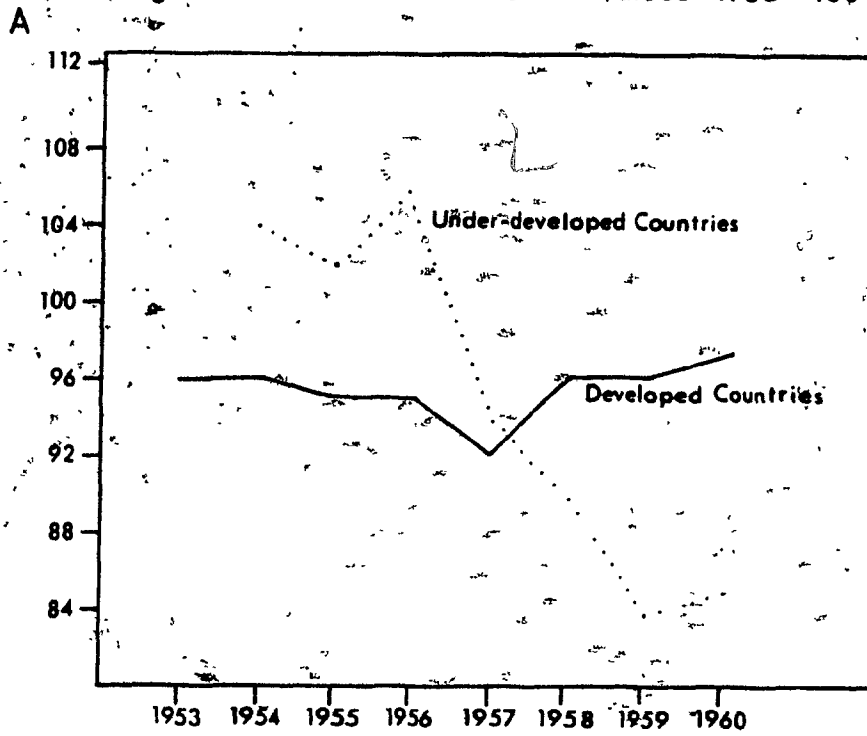
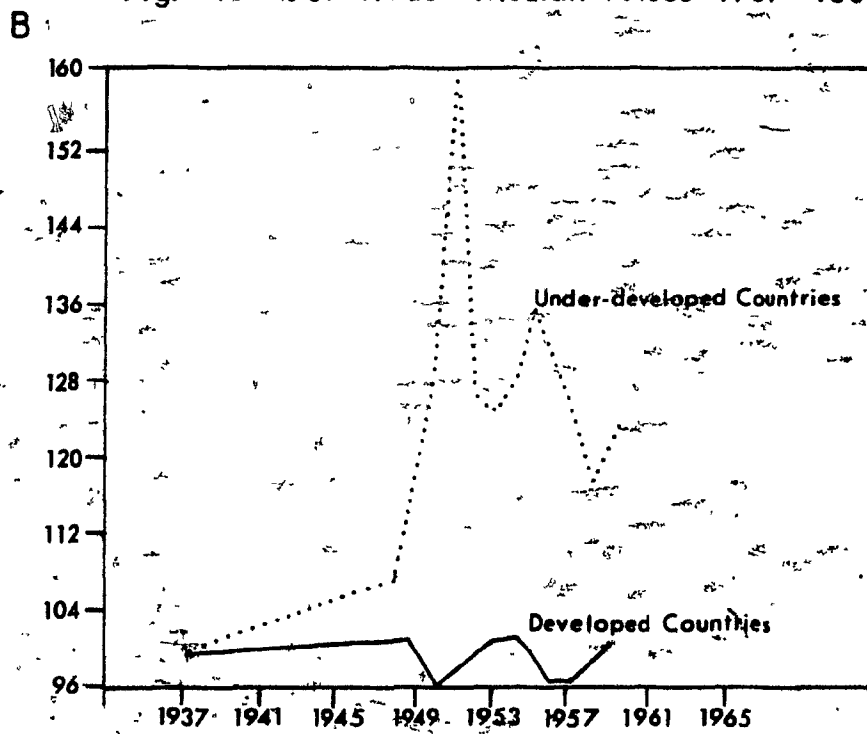
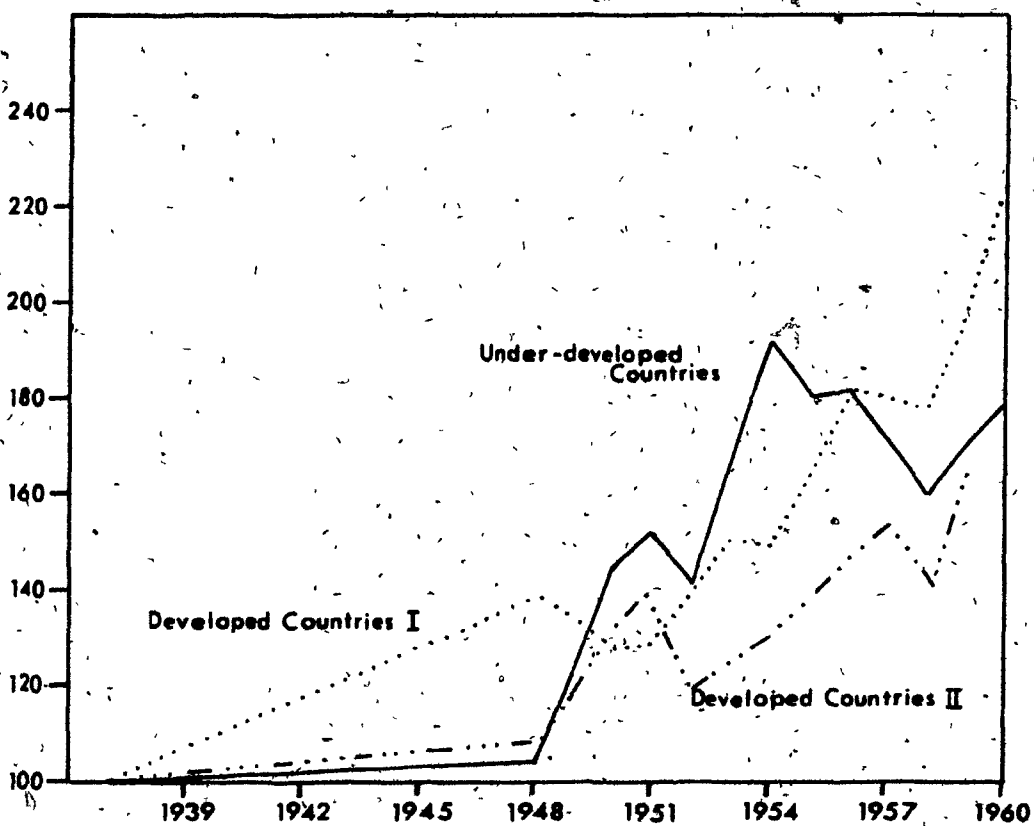


Fig.1.2: Terms of Trade - Median Values : 1937=100



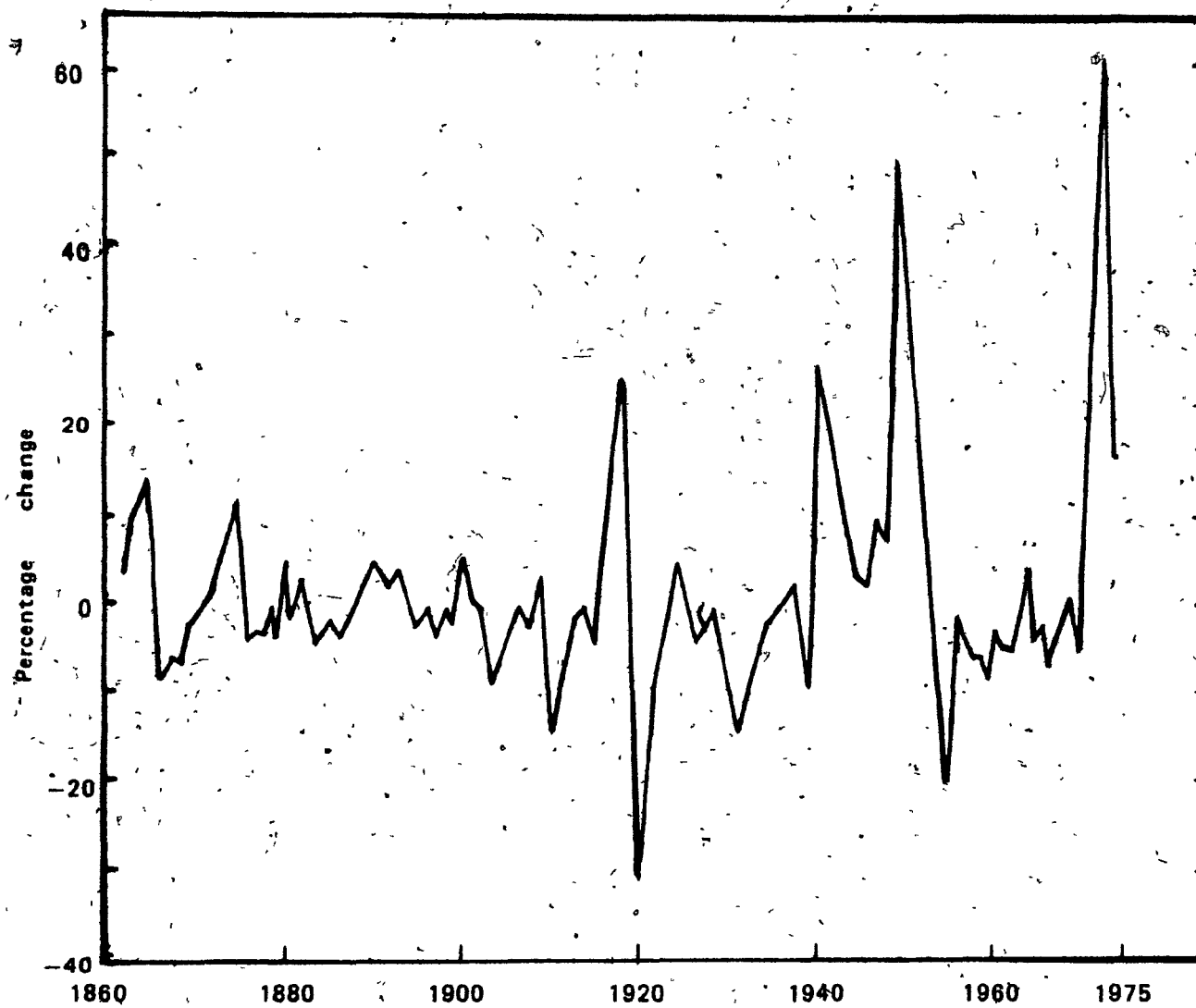
Source : Morgan, 1965: 60

Fig.1.3: The Real Purchasing Power of Primary Product Exports



Source : Morgan, 1965 : 60

Figure 1.4: Annual Change in the Economist Index of Commodity Prices - 1861 - 1974



Source: Adapted from Gordon W. Smith, 1929 : 205

contemporary development problems of the developing nations.

Those who reject specialization on export crops argue that international trade has backwash effects on spatial and socio-economic development in many developing nations. Gills (1965) points out that many scholars no longer support specialization on primary exports in return for manufactures; they argue that even New Zealand or Denmark which specialize on agriculture for export have a high level of agro-allied industries which adds more value to their raw-materials and produces multiplier and linkage effects within their economies. Others, such as Little (1964), question what would happen to the terms of trade if almost all developing nations increase the output of their export crops. Little (1964:10) recognizes that resources in many African countries are scarce, and therefore emphasizes that increasing the quality and the quantity of food consumed per capita by dietary education, improvements and diversification of output would be a priority for African governments.

Brandt (1980:142) points out that the UNCTAD secretariat estimates that if ten commodities (agricultural products inclusive) are locally processed, they would add more than \$US 27 billion per year, more than one and a half times what these now earn, to the economies of the producing countries in the third world. Arkhurst, commenting on African development, suggested that African countries must reduce their almost total dependence on foreign markets for primary products and seek to develop in Africa the markets needed to support a significant degree of industrialization. He questions:

"Is the goal of economic development merely to produce more cocoa, coffee, or timber? Is it to continue to depend almost exclusively on the capricious world market for primary products over which developing countries have no control? Or shall the developing countries attempt to introduce some balance into their still fragile economies? Should African countries not adopt combination of strategies, which would enable them change their still "dependent colonial economies"? Can economic development really take place, rapidly or gradually, without significant structural changes which can introduce some balance in the economy? ---This, however, does not mean that industrial development and the increased production of primary commodities for export are exclusive--the development of industry and improvement of agricultural productivity are mutually interactive" (1970:188-194).

Seemingly, many people are now conscious of the strategies needed for meaningful development, although practical application is still ineffective in many nations. The specific case of the plantation as a component of the agricultural sector will now be examined.

IV. Plantations: Some Basic Parameters For Consideration.

Introduction

The word "plantation" is very widely used today as a blanket name for both large and small farms in many regions. In West Africa it refers even to farms which are often less than one hectare in size. The indiscriminate use of the term is due to the fact that there is no standardized unit in agricultural literature which can be regarded as a plantation. Although the use of "estate", as suggested by Binns (1955:8), is preferred by some authorities who associate the word plantation with slavery, it too is equivocally used and does

not resolve the problem. These controversies result from the fact that there is much discord surrounding the parameters that influence plantation operations. As a result of polarized opinions, there has been no common definition for this spatial, socio-economic, and political institution.

In 1950 delegates to an I.L.O. conference at Bandung, after heated debate, defined a plantation as:

"an agricultural enterprise operating with wage workers situated in the tropics or sub-tropics engaged in the cultivation and production of certain products for commercial purposes" (Kool, 1960:56).

It was approved, but with reservations that definitions in existing national laws be regarded as unaffected (Kool, 1960:56). A definition which is also important, even though it too has failed to embrace all components of plantation activities, is that by Jones (1968:54); he defines a plantation as:

"an economic unit producing agricultural commodities (field crops or horticultural products, but not livestock) for sale and employing a relatively large number of unskilled labourers whose activities are closely supervised. Plantations usually specialize in the production of only one or two marketable products".

Recent changes would necessitate modification of this definition to allow for cattle grazing and other forms of diversifications in some countries such as in Barbados or Jamaica.

Another useful definition presents a plantation as a large scale enterprise which combines both agricultural and industrial activities and uses labour as well as capital

intensive methods for the cultivation and processing of commodities for the world market (Hodder, 1968: 110). A plantation has also been defined by Smith(1959), as:

"a type of economic organization which utilizes a large area of land for the production of a crop or crops, most of which are exported or commercially distributed throughout a complex economy. The control of capital allocation and the production process is vested in a small managerial group, and while the plantation may use quantities of machinery, one characteristic of New World plantations is that they employ a large and relatively undifferentiated labor force" (Hills, 1970: 79).

The New World by definition includes the United States and Canada; hence a distinction should be made between plantations in developing and developed countries of the the New World because the characteristic are not the same. These definitions are not exclusive, and none has yet been unanimously accepted.

Many social scientists, especially anthropologists and sociologists (see Rubin, 1959:3; Thompson, 1959; Steward, 1959), prefer to treat the plantation or estate, the agricultural unit, within the context of the plantation system, and consider not only the contemporary functions, but also the long term socio-cultural, political, and economic impacts. It is also important to consider the plantation as the type of agricultural operation characterized by a central processing plant, but with production in the hands of small farmers as in parts of Malaysia and Fiji.

Despite these considerations, it is still difficult to produce a plantation typology which is unanimously accepted because the plantation system has undergone changes in many countries. Gregor (1965) notes that Gerling was the first

person to attempt a typology based on two criteria-complexity of processing operations, and the nature of associated capital equipment. Gregor points out however, that technological advances since Gerling's proposal make it necessary to add many more plantation types to the original list of seventeen which Gerling proposed. He re-iterates that these additions have come about in two ways: new crops being raised and processed in the plantation manner, and new types of preparations such as freezing, which are now applied to crops that have already been contributing to plantation production. Gregor further notes that another addition to Gerling's typology should be based on social structure. On these bases he recognizes three categories of plantations: individual, or corporate plantations, based on a free market system, the state, or government plantation, with a planned economy; and the cooperative plantation, managed by the government, but dependent on the world market. He distinguishes subtypes within these categories. Although his typology is elaborate, it is certain from present controversies that it is not unanimously accepted.

Batten (1947:138), foresaw the controversy surrounding the various issues associated with the plantation system, especially its role in the socio-economic and spatial development of former colonies and suggested that the system be analyzed based on the socio-economic, political, and spatial realities of different regions. The controversies call for an examination of some parameters concerning plantation operations. Such an examination will certainly concern, the origin and spread, crop and market factors, inputs,

organization and management, ownership, as well as other factors affecting or influencing plantation activities.

(i). The Origin and Spread of Plantations.

In 1840, Karl Ritter (1822-59), the first geographer to be concerned with the plantation system explained that its origin was closely related to the manufacture of white sugar. According to Ritter, sugar refining was invented in the eighth or ninth century A.D. in the Persian Province of Khuzistan where "European-Oriental Science" came in direct contact with the cultivation of tropical sugar cane (Waibel, 1941:308).

Aside from these plantations which were developed around the cultivation of sugar, Thompson (1939:50), notes that ancient Carthago-Romans also established plantations around the production of wine and oil using slaves captured in wars. Courtenay (1965:10) adds that the Arabs also developed plantations in the Mediterranean area from where the Spaniards and Portuguese cultivated the art and science of Oriental agriculture which they later disseminated to other parts of the World. They introduced the system to the African Island of Madeira and the Canaries from where the knowledge spread to other tropical areas, especially Sao Tome which is said to have developed sugar plantations before 1492. But, Sao Tome along with the other African islands lost their importance as growers of the new crops, especially sugar cane, when the system was later carried to other regions. Sugar cultivation for example, started in Santo Domingo in 1519 and in 1531 it was introduced into Brazil (Waibel, 1941:156-160; Fossung, 1980:18-19).

Although plantations became important institutions in Southern United States, they had existed seven or eight hundred years before the discovery of the "New World" in 1492 by Columbus. The plantation system therefore started in the "Old World" although it underwent radical transformations in the New World as a result of historical changes.

The proliferation of the system in the tropics and the sub-tropics has received much attention; different reasons have been given for this concentration. One explanation was put forward by Keller (1908). In what may be called the "acclimatization Theory", the protagonists of this school of thought emphasized that the tropics were suited for plantation activities; indigenous or "imported" tropical labourers could be used by unacclimatized extra-tropical races acting as supervisors, (Madison, 1921:54) and living like fish out of water (Kidd, 1898:54), to produce tropical crops demanded in temperate areas (Thompson, 1941:53). Meteorological and environmental factors were implicitly or explicitly emphasized as determinants of human behaviour and the location of certain economic activities such as plantations. Like many other writers, Thompson (1941) has criticized this theory because of its racist implications.

Although climate cannot be the sole factor that determined the establishment of plantations in the tropics, climatic factors still limit the cultivation of a number of crops to certain regions of the globe, despite agronomic and other scientific advances in agriculture. For example, bananas, rubber and oil palms grow well only in tropical areas because

these crops require a year round sustenance provided only by high, relatively uniform temperatures and high, evenly distributed rainfall.

(ii). Crop Specialization and Markets

From their origin plantations were largely concerned with the production of a crop for export; indeed this was the *raison d'être* for developing plantations (Courtenay, 1965:51). At first the raw materials were acquired through indigenous middlemen. The desire to eliminate middlemen was a major reason why European merchants urged their home governments and companies to establish permanent economic institutions such as plantations in the colonies. The reason for establishing plantations in the colonies was therefore the desire to control sources of agricultural raw materials. Plantations became quasi-industrial establishments specializing in the production of raw materials and semi-manufactured products for export to industrialized nations.

Beckford (1972) emphasizes that the result of such specialization and division of labour, was the production of benefits through value added to raw materials which, to a large extent, accrued to European economies. As a result they grew and developed economically and spatially; but he notes that some colonies became relatively prosperous from commodity production because they were structurally and organizationally similar to the "mother" countries (1972:36). Like Beckford, Humphrey (1946:112-13) in his analysis of Brazil's economy emphasized that Brazilian economic development was restricted,

not by want of land or natural resources, but because of want of labour and capital, "and the fact that for 400 years the economy of the country was dominated by a series of monocultures": sugar-cane, cocoa, tobacco, cotton, rubber, and coffee (Hodder, 1968:110). These crops depended on foreign markets.

It is often argued, and perhaps rightly so, that production for foreign markets was the consequence of less lucrative local markets in the colonies. Manshard (1974:91) points out that the local markets were small because indigenous inhabitants had low purchasing power and therefore weak effective demand. Furthermore, demand for plantation products in the colonies was limited because there were no domestic industries to create linkages with the plantations. Plantations in the colonies therefore depended on forces interacting in metropolitan economies; they expanded their activities during booms, and during depressions contracted most operations. In the short-run, labour may be the input most affected during these cyclical movements.

Prior to World War II, and especially before the gaining of political independence by many developing nations with plantation economies, there were less slumps for most plantation commodities than they are today. The situation has changed because of increasing competition from synthetic materials which are being developed by industrialized nations constantly looking for ways to create multiplier and linkage effects within their economies. The result is that some plantation commodities have almost become luxury products in

world markets; this aspect will further be examined in the thesis under the chapter concerning plantation commodities and trade.

Despite these changes, many governments in the developing nations have not fully cultivated their domestic markets even where the local markets have become large enough to encourage rational industrialization which could create linkages with raw-material producing sectors. These linkages which are created within the industrialized economies by their leading agro-industrial companies, are barely invisible within third world economies even if the companies are national or foreign owned. Appendix A, is a list of the leading agro-industrial companies in the world. These world leading companies diversify both geographically and operationally in order to safeguard against risks that might arise from downswings in some of their operations.

(iii). Land and the Scale of Operation.

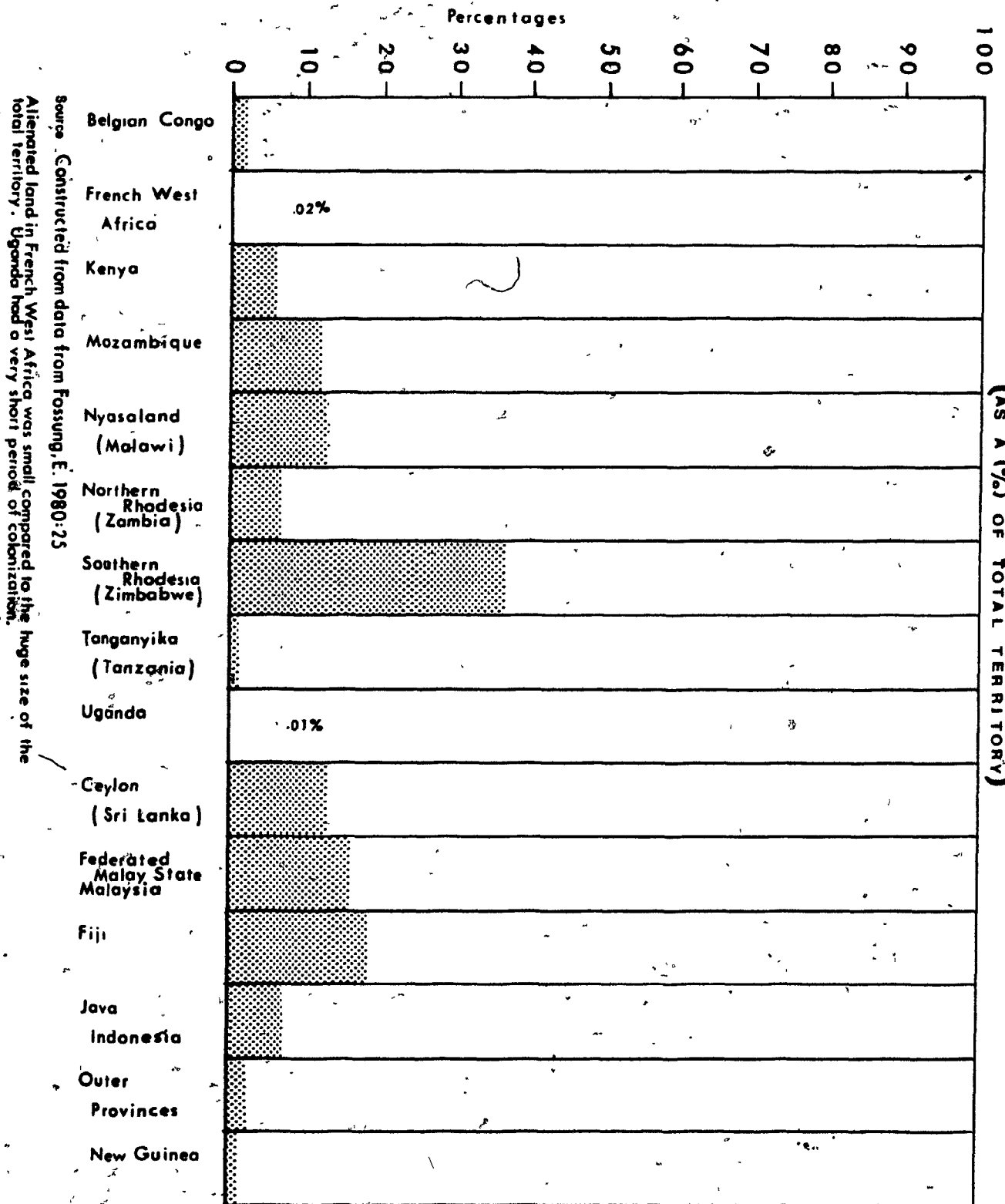
Despite disagreement about the size requirements of the plantation, it is generally regarded as an economic institution or organization which makes use, not only of large-scale investments, but also of land as distinguished from peasant agriculture (Greave, 1959:14). Scale is therefore important in distinguishing this type of farming from other systems. The rationale for using large areas of land is economies of scale. Many authorities argue that plantations will benefit from employing other inputs labour, capital, management, or from using transport, marketing or other facilities only if they

Cultivate large areas and mass-produce; this is because unit costs tend to be low in efficiently managed mass-producing establishments.

In order to acquire this factor on a large scale for plantation development in many colonies, colonial governments or companies adopted policies which alienated lands from indigenous inhabitants and pushed them on to reserves. Figure 1.5, shows the percentage of land that was alienated in some countries. In Africa lands which were communally owned became private property of plantation owners. The development of private ownership and a money economy increased the struggle by individuals and tribal groups to own land because it had become a new source of wealth.

Although Pim (1946:100), maintains that some colonial powers, such as Britain, occasionally developed land policies which avoided conflicts with local inhabitants, land disputes were nevertheless common in many plantation regions. As the plantation system sought lands which were fertile and suitable to specific crops, it frequently located its activities along the coastal lowlands, or often more elevated terrain. The occupation of these lands often involved the spatial displacement and marginalization of local farmers to reserves and poor agricultural lands. Plantations are resented in some areas because the people contend that the lands they occupy belong to the indigenous inhabitants (Batten, 1947:138). But many plantations were also opened, and are still being established, in land-abundant, and population-scanty areas. In areas where this is the case, it could be argued that they made

Figure 1.5: ALIENATED LANDS IN SOME REGIONS OF THE WORLD
(AS A (%) OF TOTAL TERRITORY)



use of unemployed resources for production; but in regions where they inhibited, or impede other economic and spatial activities, the question which has to be answered is whether they can continue to expand, given the competition which they may face from other users of land. In different regions where plantations are still an important institution, and are likely to expand in the future, further studies are required; such studies are needed in Tropical Africa where, according to O'Connor (1978:54), most new states now consider plantations as an important institution for their economic development.

(iv). Labour Parameter

Perhaps the most important characteristic and often most controversial feature of plantation agriculture is the way its labour was, and is, acquired, organized, and managed for the purpose of production. It is generally agreed that plantations in many developing nations, unlike large scale farms in a majority of industrialized countries, use huge labour forces. Despite technological advances, labour still remains an important cost component of plantation operations in developing countries unlike the temperate farms where capital equipment is now the major cost factor. Plantations in developing nations are therefore commended for their ability to provide employment, although most of it may be unskilled and attract only low wages.

There are many explanations for the low wages in many plantation institutions. Lewis (1959) explains that the low wages paid in many plantation economies are due to an abundant

and unlimited supply of labour. But many plantation owners continually complain about labour shortages. Why therefore do earnings in plantations not reflect this short supply even though one should expect generally high levels of wages if one applies conventional supply and demand analysis to the labour market? The main reason for this paradox is that a majority of employees are regarded as an undifferentiated mass of "brawn-power" with a low production level. Myint (1964:54) explains that a cheap labour policy was maintained by employers because they believed that indigenous, unlike expatriate labour was accustomed to low material standards of living and could not respond positively to high wages incentives; he adds that migrant labour enforced this belief because most migrants often returned to their families in the subsistence economy after working for a certain period and after earning a targeted sum of money to enable them pay their taxes or bride price. In many countries the migrant labour system provided, and still provides casual labour on which the plantation owners were, and still are unwilling to commit investments for housing, or other welfare projects. The plantations perpetuate this migrant labour policy because during a trade slump redundant casual labour can be readily paid off since pensions and other financial obligations are limited.

Although other explanations may be given for the low wages that prevail in plantations, market factors seem to be paramount. Myint (1964:60) points out that during booms output had to be expanded as quickly as possible to take advantage of favourable market conditions which could change at any time;

during slumps, capital to pursue high wage (training, better housing, or good health) policies could not be attracted. The situation was, and is still such that new and inexperienced labour is constantly being recruited or redundant and paid off. The consequence is that labour is unable to stay long enough in employment to develop skills which could attract higher wages. Some authorities explain this phenomenon by a "backward-bending" supply of labour curve which is however misleading (Myint, 1964:60). Such an explanation which is often employed to show why agricultural production in the peasant sector in the third world is low is also regarded by Brookfield (1975,:66) as an inappropriate reason for low levels of income among many people in the rural areas of the developing nations.

Myint (1969:66-67) emphasizes that the failure of the plantations and mines to become leaders in the developing countries is because of inappropriate wage policies. He explains that in the past it was "the cheap labour policy, which moulded the pattern of wages and low productivity"; nowadays, there is increasing danger that economic development may be inhibited by the opposite mistake of pushing up the wages of the minority of workers employed in the modern mining and industrial sector too high through the pressure of trade unions and governments. It cannot be concluded from this statement that wages paid in the plantations in many countries have increased significantly and are comparable with those in other sectors.

Incomes earned on plantations in many countries are still quite low due to many factors. Initially, slave, indenture,

migrant, or immigrant labour supply and trade policies, were responsible for low wages. The "Triangular Trade" which developed between Africa, America and Europe, initiated by the new plantations in America, is perhaps the beginning of inter-regional and inter-continental transactions which, like modern world trade relationships, brought inequitable benefits to trading partners. Slavery became the source of labour for many plantations with slaves substituting for European convicts who were initially sent to work in the colonies and plantations (Buchanan, 1938:157; Fossung, 1980:26). In the plantations in America, Africans and Asians brought in as slaves, supplemented the indigenous Indian labour which was in short supply due to its small population or unwillingness to do compulsory field work.

Today, the sources of labour have changed. Inter-regional migrations within nations or between neighbouring countries have largely substituted for inter-continental slavery; but the costs and benefits of these movements to the source and host regions remain nearly the same; demographic, socio-economic, or spatial consequences still exist and low wage policies continue in many plantation economies. Burbach et al, (1980:213) make the point about low wages by referring to a U.S. company executive in a plantation in Latin America who said:

" it is back breaking work and you couldn't get a single person in California to do it for any money"

He explained that cheap labour is the key to the company's

profits and re-iterated that if one could pay a worker US 35 cents an hour to do the job that could be done by a tractor, one did not need to buy an \$US 8,000 tractor. Other authorities or organizations such as the I.L.O. have also made the point about low wages in plantations.

(v). Ownership, Financing and Organization of Plantations.

According to Courtenay (1965:52), foreign financial and executive control of plantations was a relatively accurate way of recognizing these agricultural undertakings before the Second World War. Before this period metropolitan agri-business companies were almost the sole operators of plantation agriculture in the colonies. Foreign ownership has largely been substituted by indigenous private owners or government enterprises in some countries; but indirect control through foreign financial resources has now replaced direct ownership. While private financing for plantations in many countries seems to have decreased, multilateral and bilateral financial institutions have become the main sources of investment capital for plantations in developing countries. In many countries, the plantations still depend heavily on foreign technical assistance. The inflow of foreign capital into plantation activities is due to the fact that plantation operations need capital which is not usually available domestically. Aside from foreign capital, plantation institutions attract foreign technical assistance and know-how.

But Myint (1969:68) in his analysis of plantations and mines points out that foreign investment hardly goes to

slow-yielding profit concerns and as a result their full potential to contribute to development in these countries is reduced. Also, many developmentalists point out that when local projects depend heavily on other peoples' resources, indigenous incentives may be incapacitated. They re-iterate that foreign investment into plantation agriculture in developing countries promotes the production of raw material exports, discourages industrialization, encourages low wage policies, lop-sided regional development, and reduces local capacities to produce food crops which could alleviate starvation in many of these countries.

Figures I.6, I.7, and I.8, represent what may be regarded as the "Dependency School" view of the plantation system. The Figure illustrates that plantation economies are dependent on foreign know-how and capital for the production of commodities that compete in markets in industrialized countries. In the first stage of plantation development, the colonies provided unskilled labour and land; but European immigrants also constituted labour in the plantations; capital and management came from the "mother" countries which had a quasi-total monopoly of trade with their colonies. Slaves soon supplemented migrant labour.

The second stage was almost identical to the first, the difference being only that scarce capital and other resources in the colonies were also incorporated into plantation activities in order to produce commodities for the industrial markets. Management and the bulk of capital still comes from abroad. In the last stage, the sources of capital have shifted

Fig.1.6
Changes in Plantation Organisation, Management,
Capital Input, Output and Markets

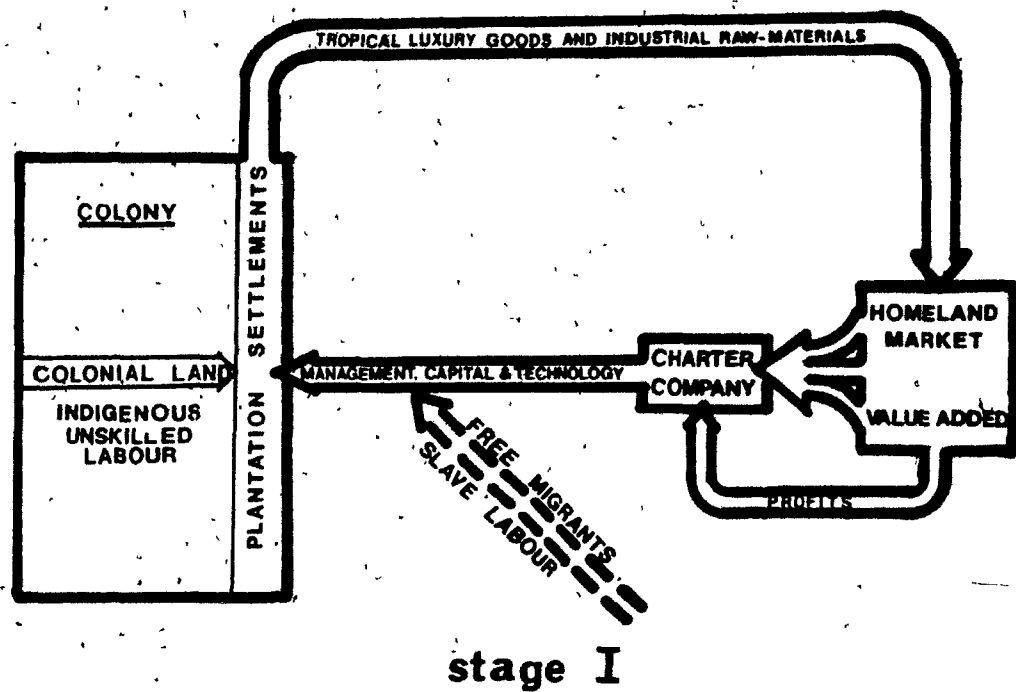


Fig.1.7

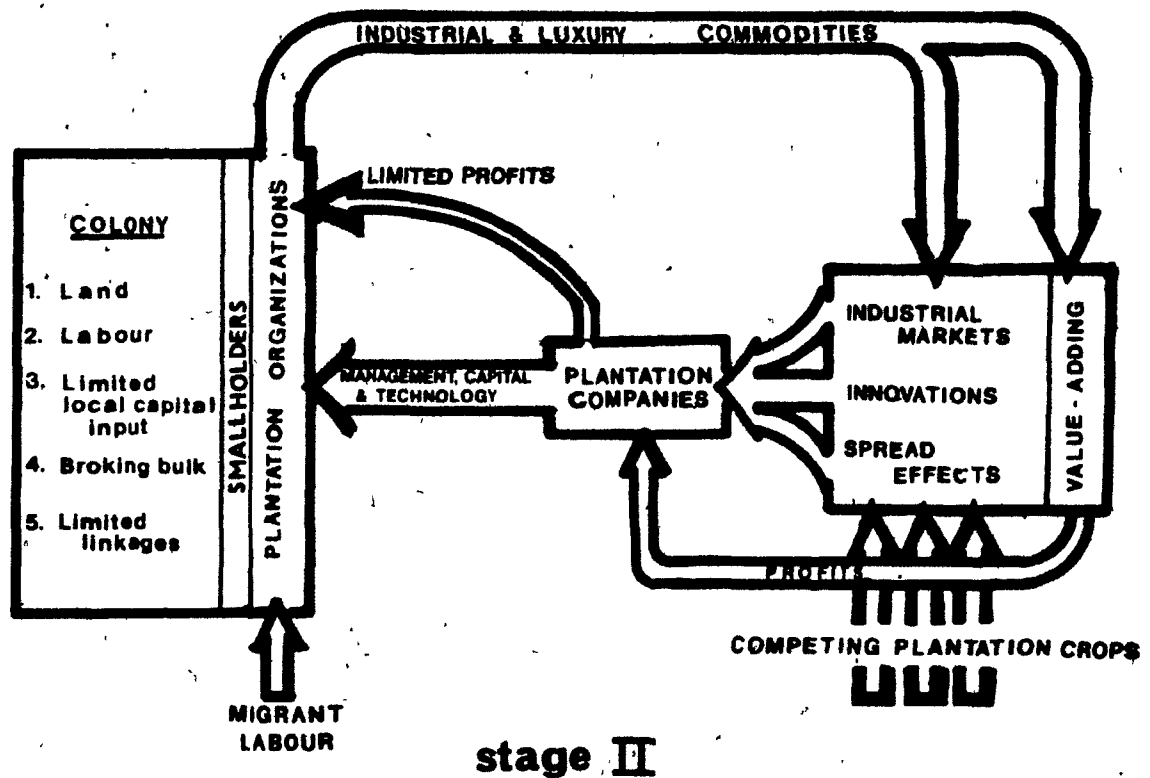
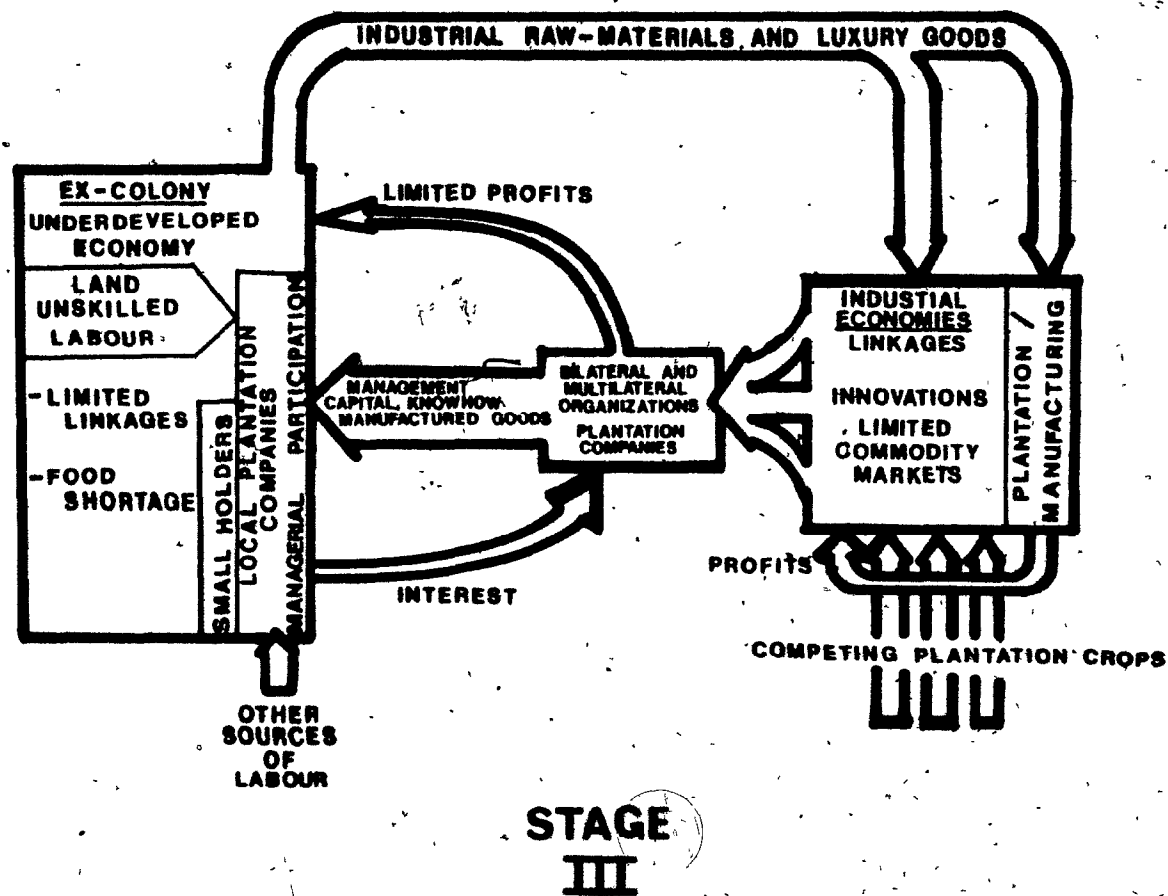


Fig. I-8



to multi-national and bilateral financial institutions, although the plantation companies still provide some investment. The plantation economies provide a proportion of managerial labour, as well as all the unskilled and semi-skilled employees. Interest on loans and other external financial and technical commitments is paid by the plantation economies. Since the plantation economies are oriented towards production for export, enough food is not produced for the local population. The plantation system creates no important linkages for the development of the plantation economies. Instead it has created many development problems, and produced significant cultural and spatial impacts in many countries.

In some countries, the impact of the plantation system has provoked violent nationalistic reactions. But Batten (1947), making his point about plantations in Africa, claims that the negative aspects of the plantation may be overstated. The concentration of foreign investment in plantation activities in specific regions, may well be that expenditure on plantations areas was necessary in order to make possible a rapid increase in exports which could not have been attained by spending equal sums on peasant production. Batten re-iterates however that in so far as plantations absorb larger sums of government money than are available for development elsewhere, they can justify themselves only by great efficiency in production, and by the degree to which the wealth they produce is made available for generally raising the standard of living of the indigenous inhabitants;

"this involves not merely the payment of

wage-labour, but also adequate payments to the central government through taxes for general development purposes. "It would be impossible to justify a plantation system which, while claiming to contribute to African economic advancement, was, in practice, assisted at the expense of backward areas. It can be justified only on--it can maintain itself in free and open competition with a developing peasant production by means of its greater efficiency in production and marketing--.If this is achieved, the undoubted economic benefit--still has to be weighted against the effects on rural life--" (1947:143).

Another controversial aspect of plantation labour is its social as well as its spatial organization within the estate. The spatial organization in the estate translates the social and functional hierarchy between the owners, managers, supervisors, and the other categories of workers. At the nucleus of the plantation is the administrative headquarters, stores, repair shops, and processing machines or factory; distributed about this nucleus are the settlements of the permanent labourers. The managers' and supervisors' houses are generally located away from the labourers. Such an organization has been observed and described by Thompson (1959).

During the colonial period, plantation labour largely consisted of "imported" or indigenous slaves who were scrupulously and strictly supervised. Thompson (1957), Smith (1967), and Jones (1968) emphasize the disciplinary and bureaucratic aspects of plantation management by likening it to a military institution or to a society where whole blocks of people are treated as units and are marched through regimented procedures under the surveillance of small supervisory staff.

Although bureaucratic and highly disciplined production

units may not themselves be bad organizational characteristics, the plantation has been criticized because its bureaucratic structures often promote tyranny, suppression and impersonal relationship between labour and management. But Ethiraj (1976:3), emphasizes that the most important contribution which is relevant to future development in agriculture as a whole, is the management system evolved in the plantations. The regimentary system develops a sense of discipline and efficiency among workers who as a result become skilful. The routine operations produce specialized workers who become more dexterous and as a result increase their productivity. In these respects the plantation is often regarded as a highly organized and more productive system than peasant agriculture, although Pelzer (1957), and others point out that the peasant system in many areas can compete with the large plantations.

Conclusion

After discussing some of these factors associated with plantations, one could conclude that a critical examination of plantation activities is required in order to understand the modifications which have taken place in many parts of the world. These changes have created difficulties for a typology and provoked a continuing debate about the role of plantations in development as earlier stated. While some authorities maintain that this economic institution was, and still is, a viable institution which produces exports to sustain economic growth and development, others strongly contend that they hamper economic, spatial and socio-political development in the

plantation societies. At this stage, the debate has not been won by either the proponents or opponents of the plantation system; it will continue, at least in the foreseeable future.

Thesis Question, Hypothesis and Methodology

The major purpose of this thesis is to examine and assess the role of the plantation system in the socio-economic and spatial development of the S. W. Province, and to determine whether any linkages created within the S. W. Province, and Cameroon as a whole, can sustain socio-economic and spatial development.

Given the economic performances of many African countries, Cameroon can be regarded as one of the most prosperous nation on the continent. Cameroon's income per capita has increased from less than US \$300 in 1960 to about US \$990 in 1985, and the economy has been growing at an average rate of about five per cent for almost a decade, yet there exist fundamental development problems. In comparison with developed countries, the illiteracy, unemployment, and underemployment levels are still very high. Health problem are many, and the economy is still dependent on other peoples' savings and know-how. Furthermore, major basic industries are still absent, and there is yet marked inequality between the urban and rural areas, as well as between provinces and individuals. Without exhausting the list of problems, it should also be noted that there also exist impending crises due to an increasing population which cannot be accommodated by existing socio-economic structures.

It follows from this context that development strategies

should have the following objective:

1. To improve the quality of the work force through better education, professional training, organization, health services, and better equipment.
2. To expand the economy and therefore create employment opportunities for an increasing population, but at wage rates that can sustain acceptable living standards, and encourage further economic expansion through self-reliant efforts,
3. Encourage unsegregated participation of all citizens or workers in the decision making processes, and
4. Reduce inequalities between people and regions..

It is within the context of these development aspirations that public and private sector institutions should be examined and assessed. The role of the plantation system can therefore be examined and assessed only within this context.

Hypotheses.

Hypothetically, the theses postulated are: The plantation system in the S. W. Province is an important institution, yet an inefficient partner in development.

(a) Although it provides opportunities for employment, the proportion of undifferentiated workers to skilled employees is very high.

(b) The infrastructure and structures within the system are still indicative of underdevelopment.

(c) Plantation commodities contribute to total output and provide foreign exchange earnings for the economy, yet this source of revenue fluctuates very frequently and a high

proportion of the earnings return to foreign investors in the form of interests on loans, and payments for expertise services on which the plantation system still depends.

(d) As the plantation system seeks to establish its activities in suitable environments and to adopt innovative methods of cultivation and production, it creates spatial and social friction and establishes other linkages which divert domestic resources from the production of some basic needs into export crops production. The plantation system therefore tends to orient the total system towards satisfying external needs.

(e) The plantation system is not an independent entity; it operates within an aggregate economic system which itself has major development problems almost identical to those in the plantations.

These points form the basis for the assesement that shall be carried out in this thesis.

Methodology

In order to carry out the assesement of the plantation system based on these hypotheses, certain relationships, indicators, or parameters will be used for analytical purposes.

1. Labour- supply, organization, and remunerations.
2. Production relationships- spatial organization, cultivation and manufacturing processes, output and inter-sectorial relationships.
3. Trade- Demand and supply relationships for plantation output, revenues, and impact of trade linkages.
4. Capital input-sources, and

5. Some aggregate economic indicators and policies, will all be important for comparative analysis of the plantation system with the total economy.

Analytical Problems.

Certain problems are encountered in using some parameters or relationships as analytical tools. Some relationships are not easily identified; such is the case with linkages derived from multipliers- employment that is created as a result of current expenditures by those who presently earn an income-because expenditure patterns and other statistical information are not available, or are unreliable. But the conclusions arrived at in this case are not negated by this problem because the level of income and its distribution pattern will indicate the extent to which plantation employees can create potential multiplier effects in the economy.

Sources of Data and Choice of Study Area.

There has been inadequate research, especially by geographers on the plantation system in the S. W. Province. Bederman (1968), and Fossung (1980), are perhaps the only geographers who have carried out any elaborate studies on some units of the system. The most elaborate work has been by anthropologists and sociologists, Ardener et al. (1960). Some historians and political scientists have contributed their share of knowledge about this area; their works, and other important studies which have been utilized, are referred to in the thesis. Other important works have been utilized and will

be-referred to in the thesis.

Personal observations, official or private contacts and inquiries, as well as professional experience have been important for the research. The study area was widely covered for about three years when I was a senior employee of the Cameroon Development Corporation (C. D. C.), the government's largest agro-industrial company. Also, my undergraduate thesis in 1979 was on Tole, a micro-unit of the Cameroon Development Corporation; this has been useful.

The South West Province has been chosen because the large plantations (i.e. C. D. C. and Pamol) which have modern processing units, and which the government utilizes for its demonstration effects, are mainly concentrated in this region. The motivation for this study, and the choice of the S. W. Province has been due to the inadequate research on the plantation system and other development-oriented aspects in the region. The study is therefore intended to be a contribution from a geo-developmental perspective; it should be useful to agriculturalists and regional development planners.

It should be noted that some sources of information which would have been useful are in German and British archives, some of these were not handy for the study.

Thesis Structure

The thesis is divided into seven chapters. Chapter one is the introduction; it comprises the literature review and the methodology for the analysis of the case study. Chapter Two is an overview of socio-economic, political and spatial

characteristics of Cameroon in which the plantation system, and the S. W. Province are microcosms. The historical setting in which the plantation system developed, and other parameters indicative of the development process in Cameroon, are examined, and in many cases compared with indicators for the African continent as a whole. Chapter Three consists of three parts; the first part is a geographical presentation of the S.W. Province; the second concerns the establishment of different plantations over time and space; part three deals with the organization and management of plantations. Here, the emphasis is on managerial and structural aspects. Chapter Four is concerned with plantation inputs-labour, capital and land; this chapter is mainly concerned with demand and supply relationships for factors of production. Labour as the human factor, is given priority in this analysis. Chapter Five concerns cultivation, processing, and output; part two examines the position of plantation commodities in world and domestic markets. The Sixth Chapter examines specific linkages and impacts of plantations in the economy; revenue, food production and rural linkages are examined. Chapter Seven is the Summary and Conclusion.

CHAPTER I

Footnotes

1. The name Cameroon is derived from Portuguese, "Rio Dos Camaroës," meaning, "River of Shrimps." It was during the visit of Portuguese navigators to the coast of West Africa in the fifteenth century that they named the area after the River Wouri in which were found many shrimps. When the Germans colonized the region, they called it Kamerun; the British named their own territory "Cameroon", and the French preferred to call theirs, "Cameroun" after the colony was divide between them following World War II. In this study, Cameroon is used.

2. For a detailed discussion, see Hansen, N. M., "Development from Above: The Centre Down Development Paradigm," in Development from Above or Below? Edited by Stohr, W. B., and D. R. F., Taylor, N.Y., 1980: 15-38.

3. A distinction between barter and income terms of trade is necessary. Barter(or commodity)terms of trade is the usual meaning of terms of trade. Income terms of trade refer to the ratio of export prices to import prices times the quantity of exports, i.e($px/pm \cdot Qx$), not just the ratio of export to import prices. the income terms of trade is therefore a measure of the total purchasing power of exports over imports. From the point of view of development measured by per capita income, the income terms of trade are perhaps the more relevant concept to consider than barter terms of trade. Thirlwall (1972) notes that it may well be for instance that the price of exports fall relative to imports owing to increased efficiency in the exporting country; such efficiency releases resources for further exports which subsequently expand more than proportionately to the fall in prices. The barter terms of trade would have worsened, but some development would have been stimulated. Also, devaluation is a deliberate worsening of barter terms of trade for the country devaluing its currency with the hope of improving its balance of payment, thus providing scope for a faster growth of real income through an improved income terms of trade. On the other hand, if the demand for a country's exports is inelastic, then a decline in the barter terms of trade, other things being equal, will also mean a deterioration in the income terms of trade. An elaborate discussion on trade and economic development can be found in Thirlwall, 1972, Chapter 9.

CHAPTER II

CAMEROON: AN OVERVIEW - HISTORY, SPATIAL AND ECONOMIC
CHARACTERISTICS AND THE POSITION OF AGRICULTURE IN THE ECONOMY

INTRODUCTION

The Republic of Cameroon has an area of approximately 475,000 square kilometers with a coastline of 500 kilometers. Cameroon is situated between northern latitudes 2 and 13 degrees, and eastern longitudes 9 and 16 degrees. It is located at the eastern end of the Gulf of Guinea, between Central and West Africa (see Figure II.1). Its colonial history which brought part of its territory under Nigeria, together with the cross-road position it occupies, locate it in either West or Central Africa. Since 1961 however, it has associated itself more closely with Central African nations which belong to the Franc Zone. As a result, it is generally regarded in international circles as a country in this sub-region.

Due to its vegetational, climatic, pedological and physiographic diversities which are almost representative of the African Continent, it is often called, "Africa in Miniature". Figure II.2, indicates climatic and vegetational divisions in Cameroon. More so, its more than 8.7 million people consist of about 200 tribes which are almost representative of the continent's human mosaic. The natural resources are varied. These diversities and variations provide

FIG.II.1

CAMEROON IN AFRICA

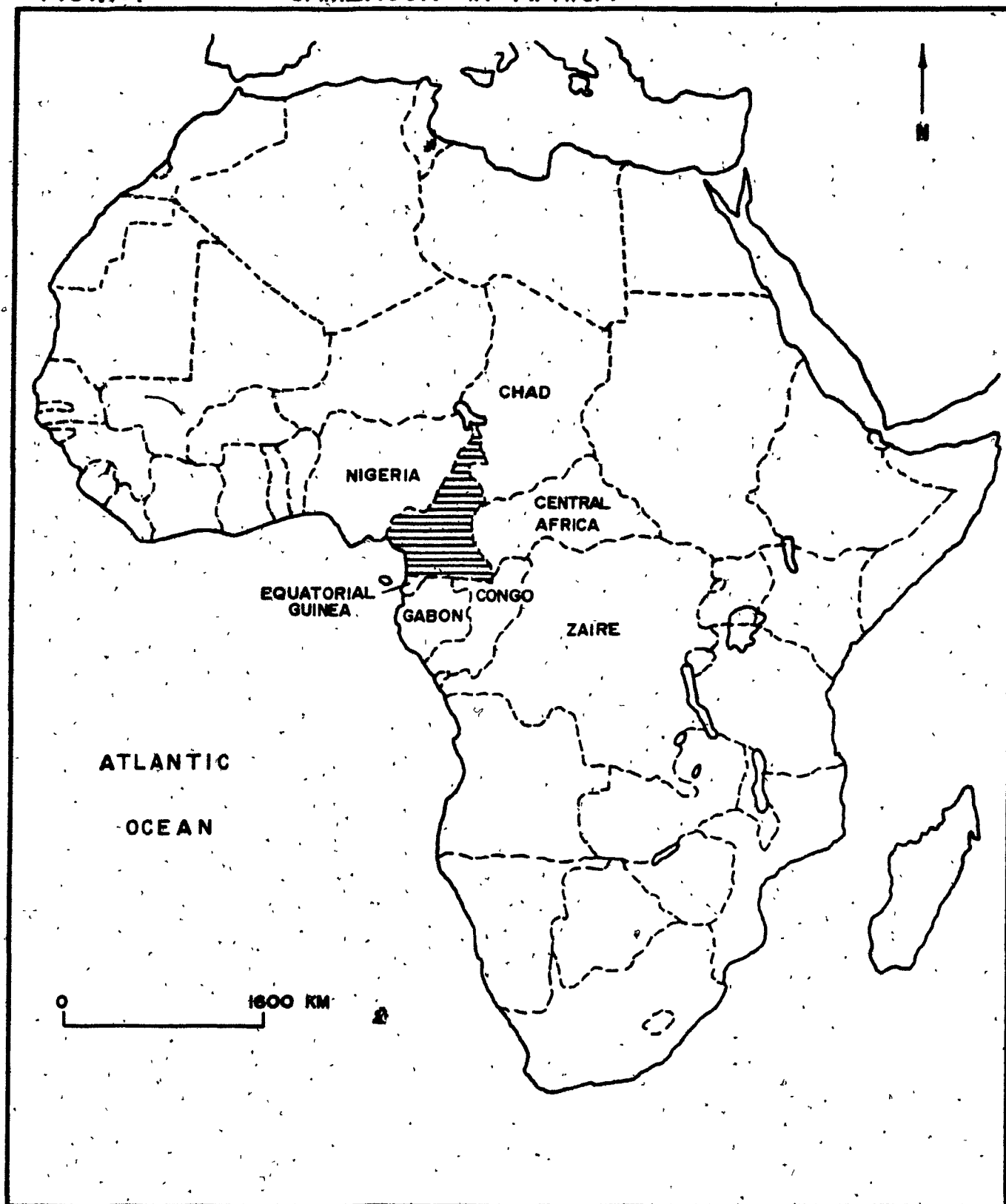
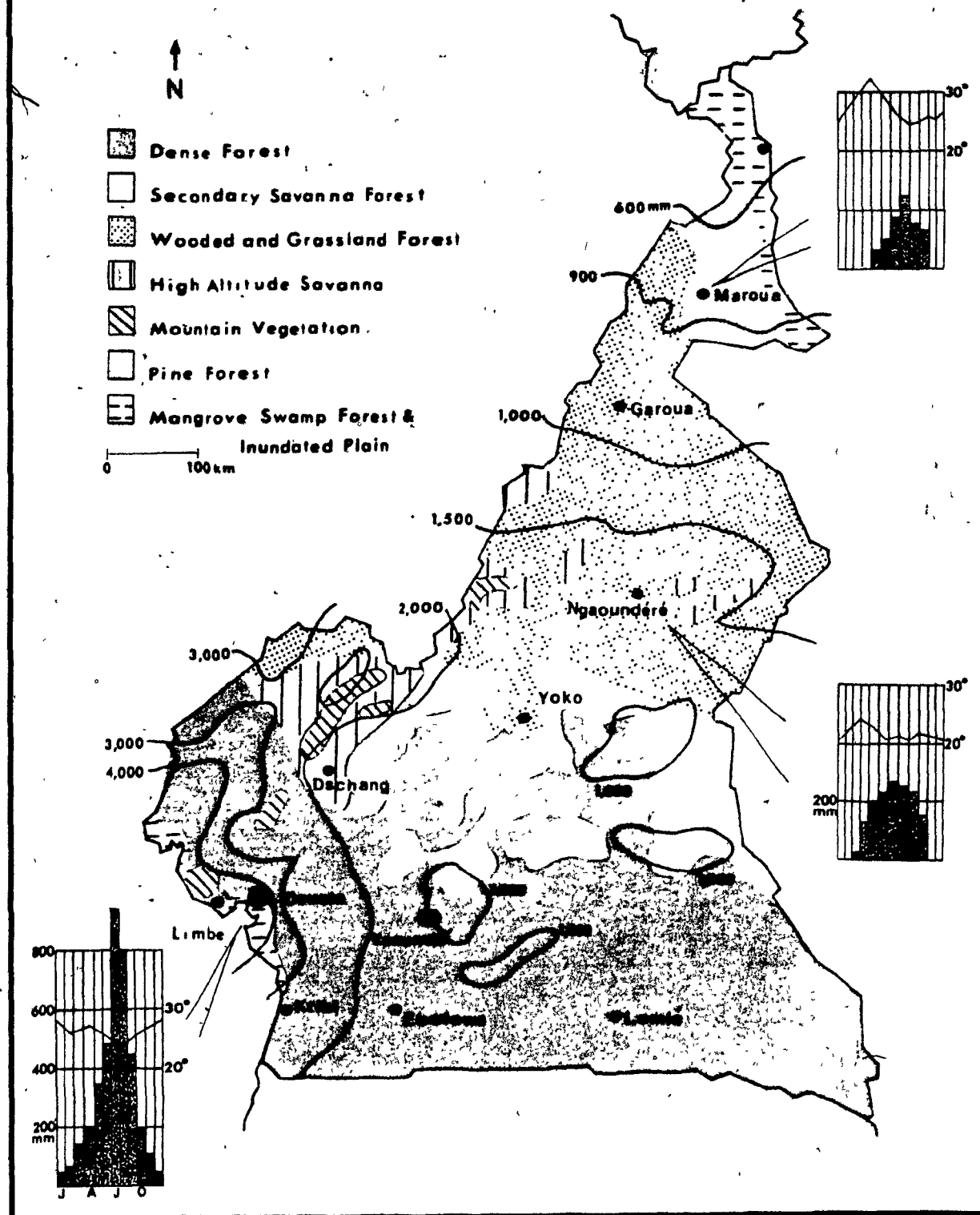


FIG. 11.2
CAMEROON VEGETATION & CLIMATE



Source : Modified from J F Loung (pp 19,26) 1973

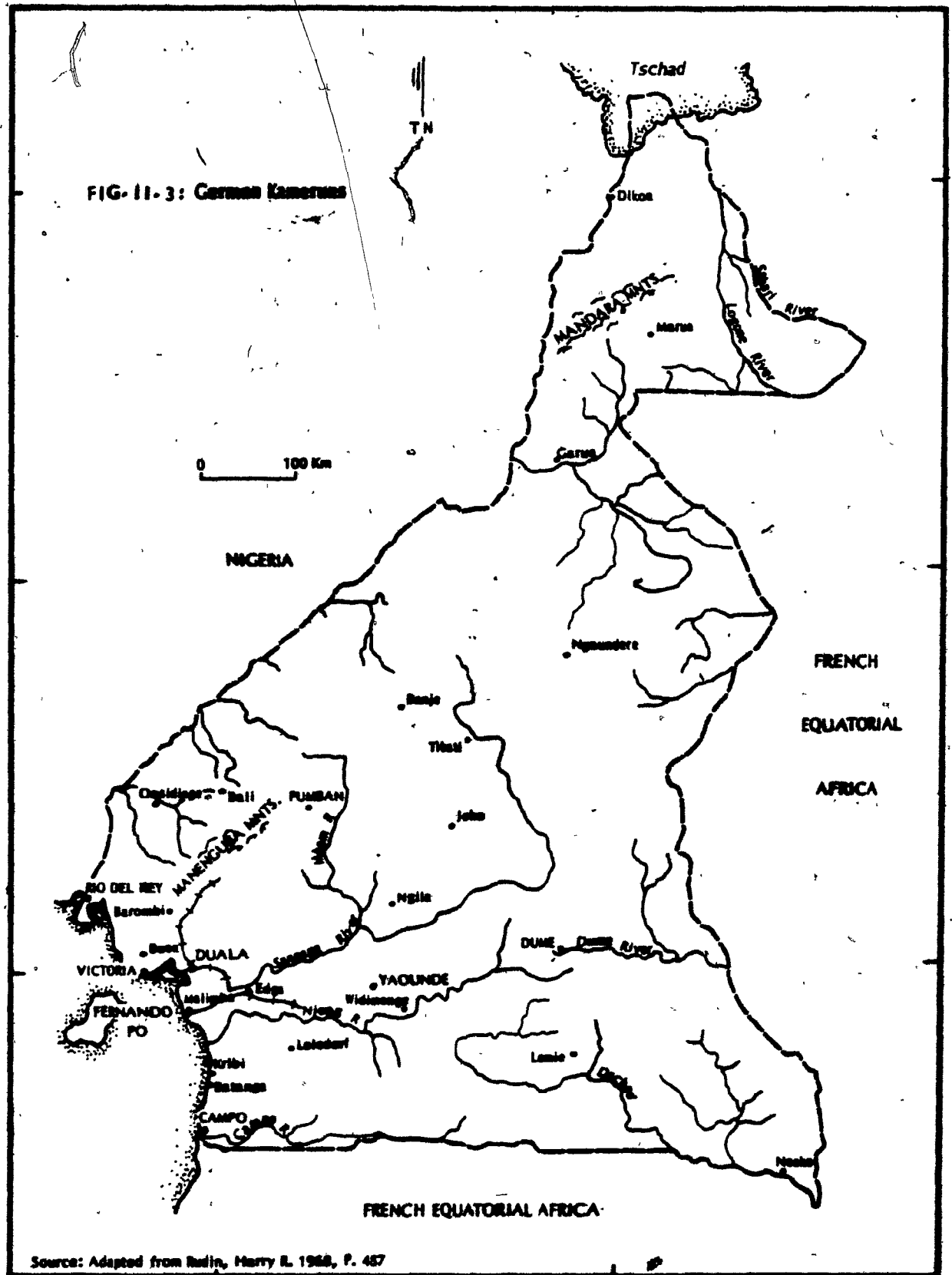
a broad natural and human base for its development. These characteristics, aside from the simple desire to colonize new regions, attracted colonial authorities to establish a plantation system of agriculture in this area. Since its establishment, it has had serious repercussions on the socio-economic and spatial development of the nation in general, and the coastal regions in particular. The objective here is to examine some aspects of Cameroons' history, socio-economic and spatial development in order to provide a broad framework for understanding the different aspects of the plantation system as it operates in the S. W. Province.

1. History

European contact with this part of Africa began in the fifteenth century when Portuguese traders and explorers visited the region. Before 1884 when the area became a colony, many European nations were engaged in various forms of trade, especially slave trade, along the coast.

Modern Cameroonian history began in 1884 when Germany annexed the area (see Figure II.3) which had also been contested by the French and the British. The annexation followed the treaties which Germany signed with some coastal chiefs in 1884. The territory remained under German administration until 1914 when the Anglo-French forces invaded the colony and forced German troops to surrender. In 1919 Cameroon was divided between Britain and France. The division was endorsed in 1922 by the League of Nations. After World War II, the United Nations which replaced the League of Nations

FIG. 11-3: German Kameruns



mandated the territory to Britain and France. It was under these European nations that the colony remained until 1960 and 1961. In 1960 the French sector gained political independence. In 1961 the U.N. conducted a plebiscite to determine the political future of the British sector. The results of the plebiscite indicated that unification with former French Cameroon was preferred to adherence with Nigeria under which the British Cameroons had been administered since 1917. The people of the territory were not given a third choice that would have given them autonomy. Yet there are no satisfactory reasons, because, unlike some colonies such as Sao Tome and Principe, which gained independence in the 1960s, the territory had a relatively richer resource base.

Southern Cameroonians voted overwhelmingly to join former French Cameroon. Economic factors seem to have influenced the decision of many voters. They felt they were not obtaining a fair share of their resources which were exploited and managed by Britain from Lagos. Nigerians dominated almost all sectors of Southern Cameroon's economy. In the absence of the British, they were the decision makers, the business men and women and even the ordinary workers in the few industries that existed. They constituted a small, but dominant proportion of plantation labour as will be examined later. Such a domineering role scared many Cameroonians and influenced their decision when the plebiscite became a political issue intended to determine their future.

For some southern Cameroonians, a break from Nigerian dominance (for better or for worse) was desirable. Other

southerners felt that they would rather be a significant minority in a Federal Cameroon than in a Nigerian Federation. One should also not ignore the fact that many Cameroonians considered themselves more akin to French-speaking Cameroonians than Nigerians, despite the language difference.

On the contrary, Northern Cameroon (the Saduana Province), voted to remain with Nigeria. The plebiscite results are shown in Table II.1.

Table II.1: British Cameroon: Plebiscite Results 1961.

Region	Votes	
	for Nigeria	for Unification
Southern Cameroons	97,741	235,571
Northern Cameroons	146,296	97,659

Source: Levine (1964:212).

The decision by Northern Cameroonians to remain with Nigeria seems to be due to the fact that their northern Nigerian Muslim neighbours did not dominate Northern Cameroon's economy.

In 1961, the Southern Cameroons joined the Republic of Cameroon (as former French Cameroon because known after independence in 1960) to form the Federal Republic of Cameroon. The Federal system of government was however dissolved in 1972 and a United Republic under a President was formed. It has a mixed economy which is often described as "a planned liberal system".

Although the reasons for dissolving the federal system of government are many and very debatable, the economic rationale

appears to have been important. It was uneconomic to continue supporting three assemblies, given the undeveloped resources of the nation at that time. The G.D.P. in 1970/71, the eve of the United Republic, was only 268.5 thousand million francs C.F.A. Another reason that can be suggested is that resources could be better developed by a strong and development-oriented central government for the benefit of both the endowed and the less endowed regions of the country. This political decision put at the disposal of other areas the rich plantation resources of the S.W. Province.

The colonizing powers in Cameroon had different attitudes towards the development of the country. Even though Germany is noted for its less benevolent human attitudes (attitudes not exclusive to it), it is widely accepted that many of the socio-economic and spatial changes which occurred in Cameroon during the colonial period were produced by the Germans, despite their short rule (1884-1914). German legacy (for better or for worse) can be said to be more conspicuous than that of the British and French combined.

Under the Germans, research into tropical agriculture and diseases was initiated and several centers were established for these purposes. Schools were built, railways and roads were constructed, although most of the infrastructure was concentrated within the coastal areas where their economic interest was centered. By the eve of German capitulation in Cameroon some economic and social infrastructure had already been established, though at human cost, through public or private German enterprises. Plantations were perhaps the most

important component of the legacy. The British followed a policy of "Indirect Rule" which enabled them to exploit the resources without too much confrontation with the local inhabitants.

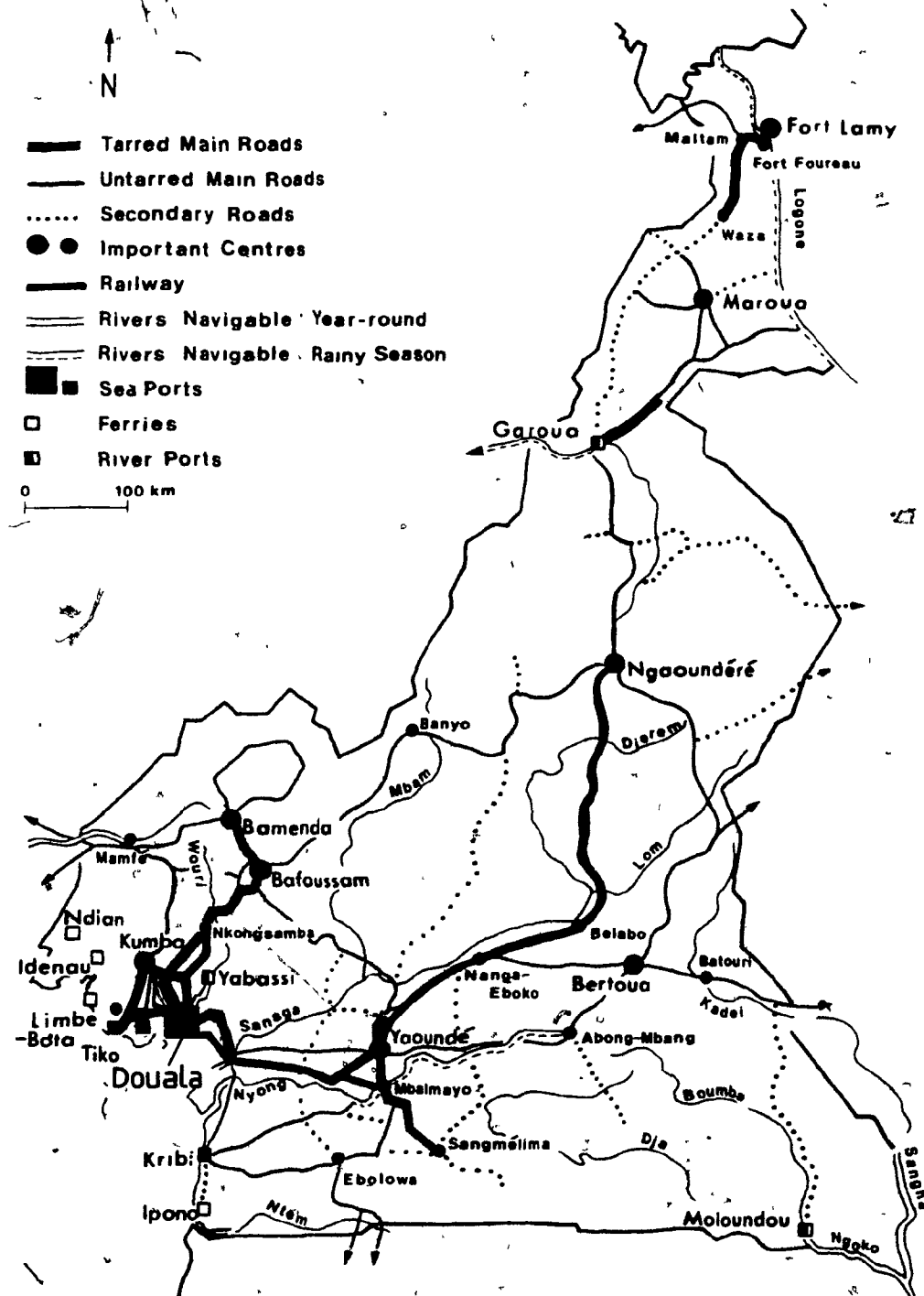
In French Cameroon the situation was not much different except that France had a policy of "assimilation" which placed the administrative burden of the colony on the home government without an intermediary. Despite these administrative differences, the common purpose of colonial rule was to establish institutions and infrastructure which, to a large extent, satisfied mainly external demands. The transport system and the location of large plantations (see Figures II.4 and II.5), for example, are illustrative of this outward orientation.

II. Administrative Divisions: Their Resource Bases

The Republic of Cameroon is divided into ten administrative provinces, North West, South West, Western, Littoral, Adamawa, South Central, Central, Eastern, Northern and Extreme North. The North West and South West Provinces constituted the former British Cameroon (see Figure II.6). Until 1983 only five provinces were in the former East Cameroon. As a result of a re-organization of the former Northern and South Central Provinces, three more provinces have been created.

The Littoral, South West, Central South, Eastern, Central and the North West Provinces have rich agricultural, forestry and important mineral potentials. The concentration of large

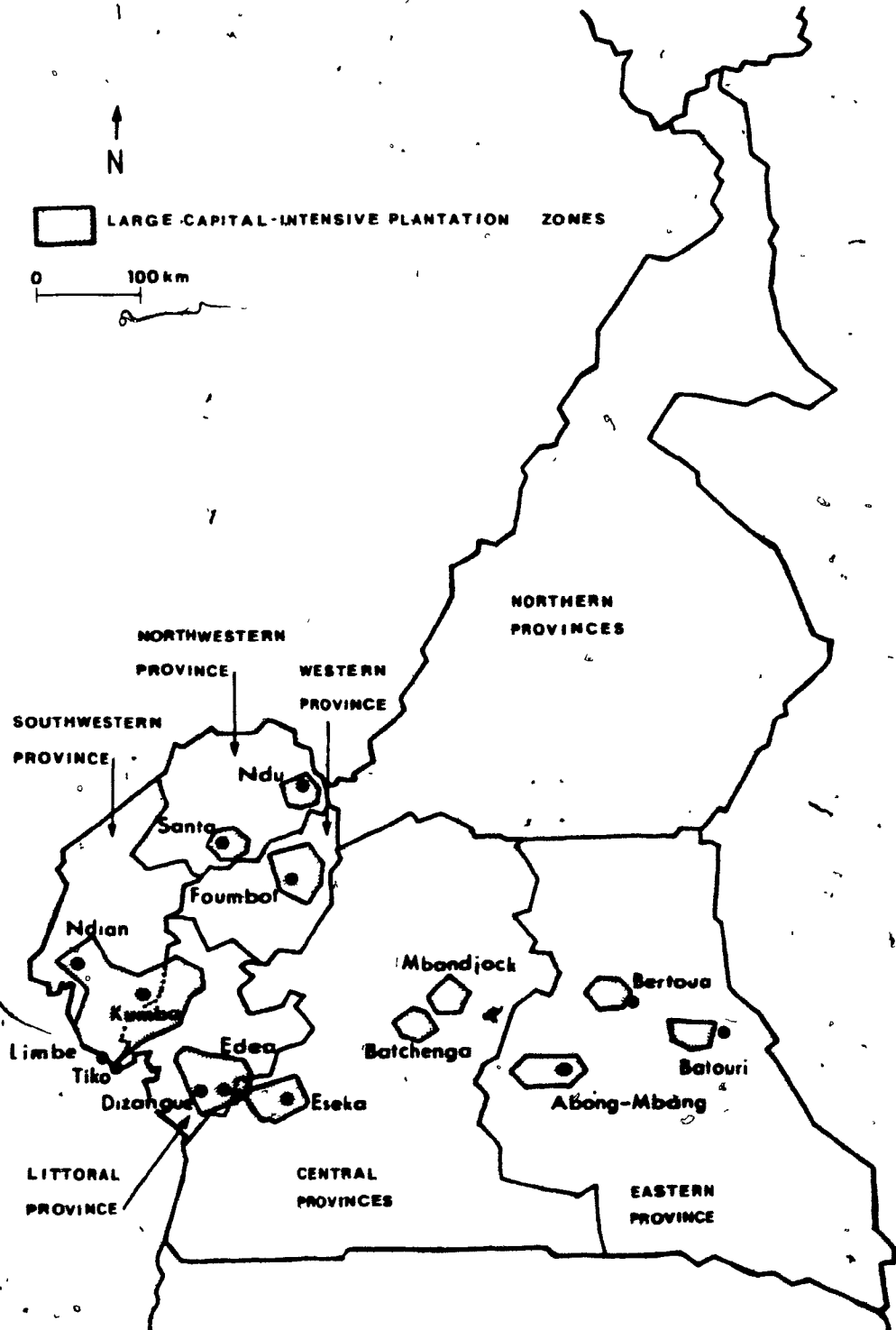
FIG. II-4: CAMEROON TRANSPORTATION NETWORK



Source : Modified from J.F. Loung (pg.72) 1973

FIG. 11-5

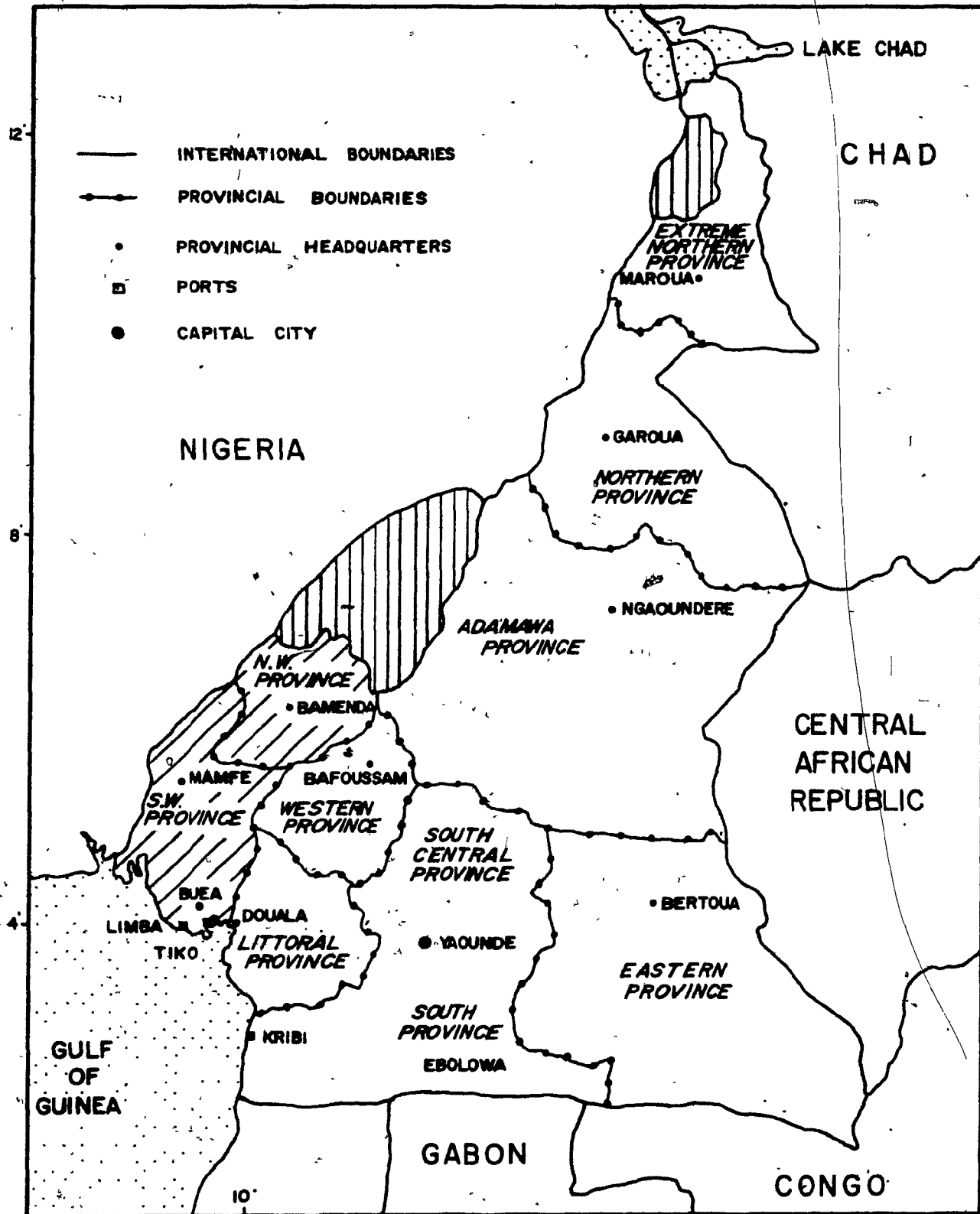
CAMEROON DISTRIBUTION OF LARGE PLANTATIONS



Source : Modified from J.F. Loung (pp. 9.54) 1973

FIG. 11.6

CAMEROON : ADMINISTRATIVE PROVINCES



SADUANA PROVINCE - TERRITORY WHICH REMAINED UNDER NIGERIA AFTER 1961



SOUTHERN CAMEROON - PART OF BRITISH CAMEROON WHICH JOINED FORMER FRENCH CAMEROON AFTER 1961

plantations is mainly in the Littoral and South West whose geographical location near the sea favoured these establishments which produce mostly for foreign markets. On the other hand the two northern provinces are relatively agriculturally deficient because of the predominance of semi-desert and sahelian conditions which limit cultivation to annual crops. The climatic, vegetational, and other environmental differences between the various regions are illustrated in Figure II.7.

Furthermore the geology of the Provinces with a coastal fringe has been explored. It is rich in petroleum, natural gas, iron ore and other minerals, some of which are already being exploited. The mineral potential of the northern provinces is yet unknown since exploration is still concentrated along the coast.

Regional cultural differences are also significant. The three northern provinces with nearly one third of the total population have islamic cultures, while the southern provinces have been greatly influenced by Christian cultures from Europe. These cultural and environmental differences influence the location of certain economic activities and determine the pattern of development.

FIGURE II.7 - VEGETATION: REGIONAL DIFFERENCES.

DENSE EQUATORIAL FOREST ENVIRONMENT



FIGURE V.7 Continued.

WOODED SAVANNA ENVIRONMENTS



FIGURE V.7 Continued.

HIGHLAND SAVANNA ENVIRONMENT



III. The Economy

By African or third world standards Cameroon enjoys relative economic prosperity (ABECOR, April, 1980). The economy has been growing at an annual average rate of five to six per cent for almost two decades. Even though G.N.P. per capita is more an indicator of growth than development, Cameroon's per capita income has increased since independence as already stated. The average inflation rate hovers below the double digit for the continent of Africa. In Cameroon, in 1979 the rate was 5%, and in 1980, 10% as compared to about 11% for the continent (The Economist, Sept., 13, 1982). There are usually no delays in paying for its imports or its loans (ABECOR, April, 1980).

However, there still exist significant characteristics of underdevelopment in the economy. Agriculture remains the backbone of the economy employing more than 75% of the population (see Table II.7), accounting for nearly 65% of all exports, but contributing only about 30% of the G.D.P. Development in many sectors or regions is still lop-sided. Some of these aspects are examined in this section.

(i). Population: Size, Composition, and Distribution.

The population of Cameroon was 7.6 million in 1976, the year of the last census. As in many developing nations, the rate of population growth (2.3 %) is high. Table II.2, shows the distribution of the 1976 population by provinces.

Table II.2: Population Distribution by Provinces(1976 census)

Province	Area(Km)sq	Population	Density	% of Total
South Central	116,036	1,491,945	12.9	19.3
Eastern *	109,011	366,235	3.4	4.7
Littoral	20,239	935,166	46.2	12.1
Western	13,875	1,035,597	74.6	13.0
South West	27,520	620,515	22.5	8.0
North West	17,910	980,531	54.7	12.6
Northern **	163,513	2,333,257	14.3	30.3
CAMEROON	468,101	7,663,246	16.4	100.0

Source: Yves Morel, 1978; (with additional calculations).

*This includes a new province, (South) which was created in 1984

** It comprises two new provinces, Extreme North, and Adamawa.

The population is young. In 1976 nearly 42.2 % was below 15 years of age, 50% was between 15 and 54, and about 7.8 % was over 55.

Population distribution is uneven. It is estimated that by 1990 the rural population will have declined to nearly 50% if the present rural-urban migration trend continues. Douala, the largest town and major port with a population in 1983 of more than six hundred thousand people, and Yaounde, the political capital, host most of the migrant population. The agro-industrial centers at Limbe, Mbandjock and Kribi also attract population from other regions where there is demographic pressure or lack of economic opportunities.

In Cameroon, as in many other developing countries, movements into the urban areas are not due to improvements in agrarian techniques as was the case during the Agrarian Revolution in Europe or North America. Rural-urban differentials which presently exist are responsible. Anticipated returns from urban modern sector employments pull

youths away from agriculture to the towns where they expect higher benefits, if only they find employment. The urban modern sector has however not been expanding fast enough to accommodate the influx of population. The result has been increasing population pressure on limited municipal infrastructure such as transport, health or recreational facilities. The rural-urban development "gap" is due to the absence of linkages between agriculture and industries, and inadequate socio-economic infrastructure in the rural areas.

(ii). Human Capital Formation.

Although there has been progress since 1960, the formation of human capital that will man the various sectors of the economy without too much reliance on foreign expertise is still modest. Cameroon, as many developing nations, still has a low level of technical and managerial skills, few educators, and a small middle and high level personnel capable of managing local activities. Although the schooling rate (67.5% in 1976), is relatively higher than that in some developing countries in Africa, disparities exist between rural and urban areas. More than 85.2% of the schooling population was in the urban areas. Only 19.6% of those attending school completed secondary education; 68.4% finished primary schools, and 1.8% had Koranic education (Econotech., 1981:27). In 1979 only about 1% of the population aged 20-24 was enrolled in high school (World Development Report, 1983:196).

In comparison to developed nations, expenditure on education was until recently low (\$US 9 per capita in 1980).

Although this amount is high relative to that for many African nations, a good proportion is often overhead expenditure which, though important, does not go into the real process of personnel training. The functional illiteracy in the economy is high. Furthermore educational programmes or curricula were, until recently, patterned on colonial systems which had become outmoded even in the metropolis of the developed nations themselves.

(iii). Health.

The standard of health that the citizens of any nation enjoy is an important yardstick for its level of development. Policies regarding housing, education or food production are generally geared towards satisfying human needs which are reflected in the standard of living. Poor housing, poor medical facilities, bad drinking water supply, lack of medical and health personnel, all affect the life span of a given population. The level of development of a community can therefore be evaluated from the distribution, at regional and per capita bases, of these basic requirements.

In 1983, the average life span of a Cameroonian at birth was 50 years. If compared with the average for the African continent (47 years), it is high. In comparison with developed nations such as the U.S.A. whose citizens have an average life expectancy at birth of about 75 years, it is low. Health problems are mainly the shortage of personnel, the lack of balanced diets, poor housing standards and water supply, and diseases in some areas. In 1980 a doctor was responsible for

about 13,670 people and one nurse for 2,435. The burden has reduced considerably since 1960 when one physician was responsible for 48,110 people and a single nurse 3,280. The magnitude of this problem in the large plantations during the colonial period drew the attention of home governments of the colonizing nations.

The absence of local pharmaceutical industries, despite the rich medicinal-plants base, leaves the country perpetually dependent on foreign medical supplies. "Plantican", a pioneer enterprise in the pharmaceutical field is presently only an exporter of raw materials to companies based in the advanced nations. Furthermore, expenditure on health is still low, \$US 4 per capita in 1980.

(iv). Agriculture, Food and Nutrition.

(a). Situation in the African Context.

The objective of this part of the thesis is not to handle the whole question of agriculture, but to show how despite this sector's apparent good performance, there could be a future food crisis because of the relatively poor organization of the food crop sector. In this section the bottlenecks in the agricultural sector shall be examined in order to understand the more parochial analysis of the food problem and large plantation agriculture in the S.W. Province which follows later.

A short review of Africa's agricultural performance is important in order to situate Cameroon in the African context. In Africa, agriculture in general, and food crop production in

particular, have been performing very poorly in recent years. The growth of output in Africa from 1975 to 1980 is shown in Table II.3.

Table: II. 3 :

Growth of Agricultural output in Africa, 1975-1980.

REGION- YEAR AND % INCREASE OR DECREASE (Annual % change rate)

	1975/76	1976/77	1977/78	1978/79	1979/80	1980/81
North Africa :	-1.50	-3.75	8.68	0.20	2.73	2.24
West Africa :	-0.38	-0.14	1.76	2.92	1.79	-0.90
East Africa :	2.96	2.62	0.35	0.72	2.35	-1.84
Central Africa :	-5.65	1.82	0.36	1.78	1.95	-0.09
Total developing:	-0.34	-0.16	2.87	1.50	2.17	1.30
1. Non-oil-exporting Countries	1.35	-0.84	3.33	-0.01	1.32	1.00
2. Major oil-exporting Countries	-4.20	1.45	1.79	5.24	4.13	0.60
3. Countries with a GDP. of less than \$US 100 / capita	5.96	-0.40	2.97	2.45	3.07	1.80
4. Countries with a GDP. of between \$US 200 per capita	-0.30	-4.30	4.40	0.22	-1.30	-5.00
5. Countries with a GDP. of between \$US 300 and 400/capita	4.0	-3.60	4.47	1.60	4.60	3.10

Source: ECA, Survey of Econ. and Social conditions in Africa, 1980-81, April, 1982:89.

The data shows that despite the increase in agricultural production in most of the regions in 1979/80, there was a drastic decline in 1980/81. The lowest growth rate was in E. Africa which has most seriously been affected by drought (my comments).

Output increased from 1.5% in 1979 to 2.2% in 1980. The increase was primarily due to better weather conditions in most parts of Africa, except in the Sahel region where rainfall was lower than normal. In 1979/80, the best performance was in North and East Africa where the primary sector grew by 2.7 and 2.4 per cent respectively, while in Central and West Africa,

growth was only 2% and 1.8%.

Although agricultural statistics from various African countries are generally unreliable, the rate of growth for primary products from 1971-80 which was 1.3% annually, can be seen as an inductive trend in the continent's agricultural performance (ECA, April, 1982).

Despite the relative increase of 3.04% in food production in 1980 as compared to 1.8% the year before, food production continues to lag behind population increases. Nearly 60% of Africa's approximately 460 million inhabitants was undernourished in 1980 and it is estimated that by the year 2000 about 35% will still be underfed. In Central Africa, production of the main food crops (roots and tubers) increased only by 1.8% in 1980, but population growth for the same period in the sub-region was 2.6% (Bessis, 1983:68).

Apart from drought conditions, which affect about 44% of Africa, the low ratio of arable land to total land area in many countries contributes to the poor growth in output. Out of approximately 3 billion hectares of land area in developing Africa, only 6.1% was arable and under permanent crops in 1980. Land, especially fertile land, is scarce. Furthermore investment in agriculture in many countries is small (see Table II.4). A high proportion of the investments goes into the production of export commodities.

Table II.4: Share of Agricultural Expenditure in Total Investment for Selected African Countries (%)

Country	Duration and scope of plan	Share of total Investment in GDP	Share of Public Investment in total Invest.	Share of in Total Investments	Agric. in Pub Investments
Burundi	1978-1982	27.0	-	22.2	-
Gabon	1976-1980	49.0	68.0	3.5	0.5
Gambia	1975-1980	-	-	14.9	-
Ivory-Coast	1976-1980	5.6	32.0	51.9	13.6
Kenya	1979-1983	20.6	-	16.0	18.7
Lisotho	1976-1980	13.5	-	-	32.6
Liberia	1976-1980	9.0	-	19.3	19.3
Madagascar	1978-1980	-	40.2	27.7	22.6
Malawi	1971-1980	23.8	36.7	8.2	19.3
Mauritius	1975-1980	28.0	-	-	-
Morocco	1978-1980	24.0	26.3	16.2	18.0
Nigeria	1975-1980	26.6	66.7	8.3	6.5
Togo	1976-1980	33.0	88.4	21.8	-
Tunisia	1977-1981	25.0	43.0	15.8	26.2
Cameroon	1976-1981	19.5	70.7	17.3	16.6
Tanzania	1976-1980	-	56.8	15.2	-
Uganda	1976-1980	-	-	20.0	-
Zaire	1976-1980	-	-	-	3.8

- Data not available.

Source: The State of Food and Agriculture, 1980 (Rome, FAO, 1980), and plans of various countries.

Land tenure problems in addition to ecological obstacles, impede agricultural development in many countries. The absence of well elaborated agricultural policies are also at the basis of the problems which usually result in food shortages that are generally combated with massive imports or aid. In many instances, aid dampens the ability to develop the local potential to confront long term problems or crises.

Despite these general crises, Cameroon's agriculture is among the most prosperous in the continent. Its export agriculture is well organized and food production is high. About 96% of Cameroon's food requirements are domestically provided. Protein and calory intake per capita have increased

above F.A.O. norms; meat consumption is nearly 33.8 kilos per head. A comparison with the rest of the continent (see Tables II.5 and II.6) indicates that agricultural output has increased modestly. It can be seen that both food and total agricultural production per capita have been fluctuating and the trend is towards a decline due to population increases, and climatic factors which often have negative effects on output.

Table II. 5: Per Capita Food Production Indices:Cameroon
Compared with the African Continent 1971-81(1969/71=101%)

Year	Cameroon	Africa	Year	Cameroon	Africa
1971	103	100	1977	111	92
1972	105	98	1978	100	92
1973	107	93	1979	99	91
1974	112	97	1980	103	91
1975	113	96	1981	102	92
1976	107	95			

Source: FAO, Year Book, 1981:79.

Table II. 6: Per Capita Index of Agricultural Production:
Cameroon and Africa- A Comparison(1969-71=100%)

Year	Cameroon	Africa	Year	Cameroon	Africa
1971	102	100	1977	107	90
1972	104	98	1978	100	91
1973	105	93	1979	99	90
1974	111	97	1980	102	90
1975	110	95	1981	101	90
1976	103	94			

Source: FAO, Year Book, 1981:81.

Yet food production is poorly organized, and the distribution of all that is produced uneven. In some areas meat consumption is 9.5 kilos per capital, in others, 17.5, while certain urban centers consume about 34.2 kilos per head. There still exist logistical and organizational bottlenecks which slow down agricultural development.

Agricultural activities fall under the Ministry of Agriculture and its various administrative and technical divisions. The central administration, the provincial delegations, the divisional and district services control the operation at the various levels, but most of the research is conducted under a different ministry. As a result research priorities may be poorly set and haphazardly co-ordinated between the different ministries if information flow is slow or distorted. The shortage of well trained workers in agriculture or associated fields is still a problem.

Extension workers who disseminate agricultural techniques to the rural population which majority neither reads, write, nor speaks English or French, are still in short supply. The training of this category of workers is almost entirely in urban centers. The result is that when they are sent to work in the villages, they perform their duties like fish out of water. The problem is worsened by the fact that they lack agricultural logistics to enable them to perform their duties efficiently. Often no vehicles are supplied to them and as a result long distances are usually covered only on foot. Even when the vehicles are supplied, the roads to the villages may be very bad. The result is that very few rural farmers are reached.

In some areas there has been constant cropping without any attempts to maintain satisfactory plant nutrient levels. In other areas some crops such as coffee and cocoa have reached their economic life span and there is need for replanting or regeneration through pruning. Plant and animal diseases are also a menace in certain regions, and in some plantation areas,

root diseases, hurricanes and tornadoes are common hazards.

(b). Production per capita

In 1983 one farmer could produce food enough for only half the requirements of a citizen (Barry, 1983:187). Such low productivity indicates that despite the near self-sufficiency in food which Cameroon is enjoying in a continent faced with acute food shortages, the good performance appears to rest on the fact that its geographic milieu is very diversified. More important still is the fact that this sector is yet overcrowded (see Table II.7) by a peasantry which still lacks proper organization.

Table II.7:

Cameroon-Agricultural Population

YEAR	TOTAL					
	Total Population 10 x 100	Agric. population 10 x 100	Active population 10 x 100	Active pop. in Agric. 10 x 100	M/N	M/L
1970	6,781	5,737	3,350	2,834	84.6	49.4
1975	7,520	6,229	3,610	2,987	82.7	48.0
1979	8,245	6,689	3,850	3,123	81.1	46.7
1980	8,444	6,815	3,918	3,162	80.7	51.1
1981	8,650	6,943	3,980	3,195	80.3	46.0
	(Z)	(L)	(N)	(M)	(M/N)	M/L

Compiled from F.A.O., Production Year Book, 1982. (M/L, M/Z, are my calculations).

	1970	1975	1979	1980	1981
M/Z=	41.8	39.7	37.9	37.4	36.9

M/Z: Active population in agriculture as a % of total population.

M/N: Active population in agriculture as a % of total active population.

M/L: Active population in agriculture as a % of total population.

As M/L indicates, the active population in agriculture

was only 46% in 1981, a drop from 51%, which is illusive because Cameroon's agriculture has not experienced the revolution that this sector has had in the advanced nations.. The decrease results from the abandonment of the sector by youths seeking white collar jobs in the towns. Production has not been increasing as a result of increased productivity per unit area, but rather as a result of more land being brought into cultivation. These points will be examined under the case study. Table II.8, shows land use.

Table II. 8: Cameroon: Land Use 1969-1980

Year	1969-71	1974	1977	1980
Total Area	47544	47544	47544	47544
Land Area	46944	46944	46944	46944
Arable and Permanent Crops	5992	6280	6644	6930
Arable Land	5417	5500	5666	5910
Permanent Crops	575	780	978	1020
Permanent Pastures	8489	8300	8300	8300
Forests and Woodlands	26730	26290	25970	25640
Others	5733	6074	6030	6074

Source: F.A.O. Production Year Book, Vol.35, Rome, 1981 p.45.

(c). Agricultural Marketing

The absence of an organized local, let alone export food crops markets, indicates that there are still structural weaknesses which inhibit entrepreneurial development in this sector. Until recently there were no marketing corporatives for food crops. The absence of storage facilities, especially in rural areas often forces farmers to sell their crops even if the prices are low because they fear that perishable items such as vegetables may rot away or that any unsold products from the weekly markets in the villages may have to be head-loaded, sometimes for very long distances over difficult terrain.

Middlemen reap handsome profits from the purchases they

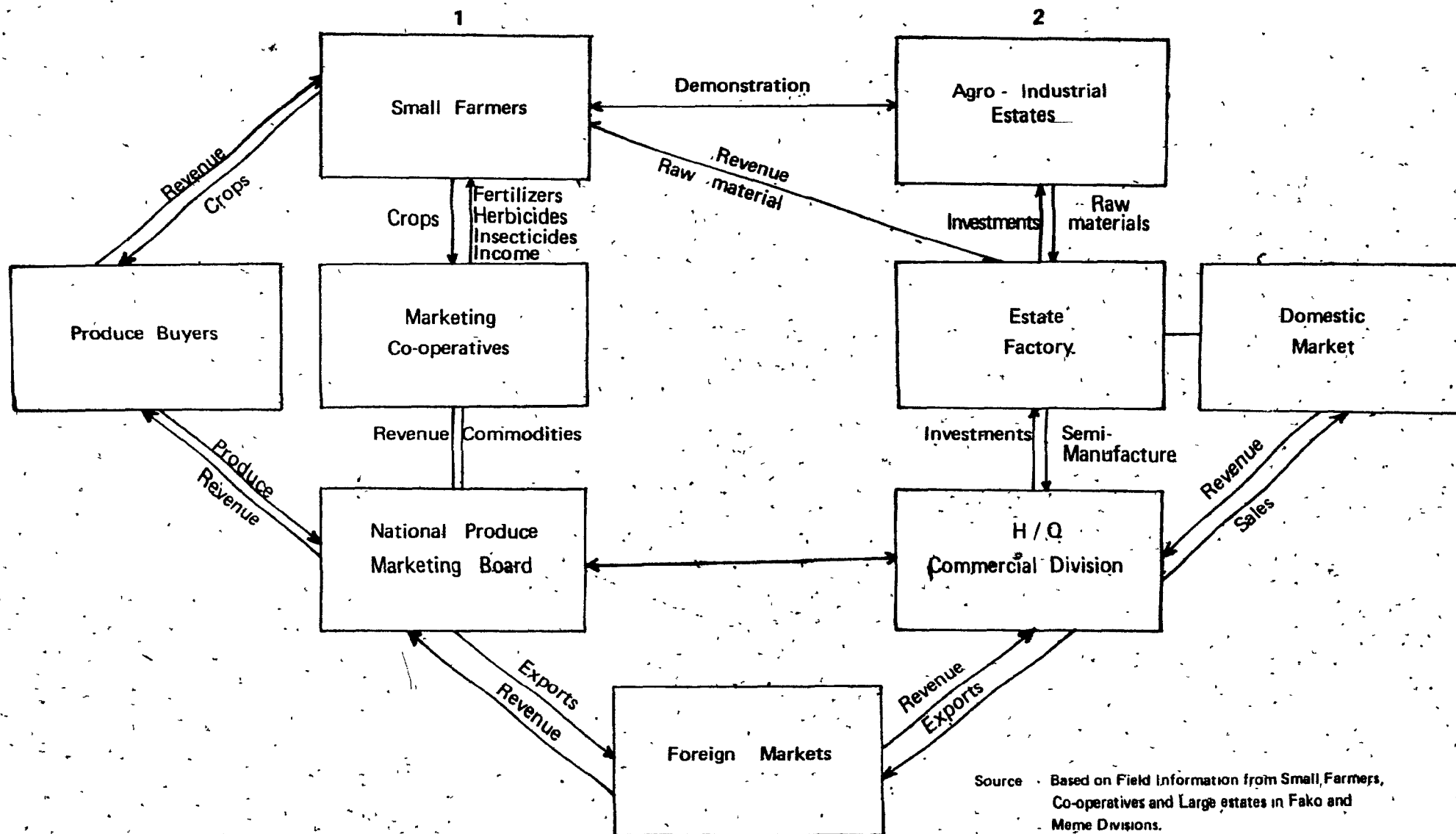
make from rural areas. In 1980 for example, a bunch of plantains bought for 300 francs C.F.A. in some rural areas in Tomble sold at about 575 francs in Douala. However, the farmers do not regret this situation very much because they regard the middlemen as adventurers who risk their lives in vehicles on bad roads to provide the necessary link with the towns. These links would otherwise be difficult to maintain because many farmers have no capital to buy vehicles.

On the other hand the marketing of export crops is much better organized. Figure II.8, illustrates how export crops are marketed. Produce buyers create the important link between small farmers in the rural areas and the Marketing Board which is the main export agent for agricultural export crops. In cases where the crops require rudimentary processing to reduce bulk before exportation, small farmers who produce such crops create links with the large estates which own processing facilities; where this is not the case, marketing cooperatives have been established and encouraged by government policies to handle the crops. The farmers consider that middlemen provide important services because they pay cash for the produce and offer transport services to areas which are sometimes inaccessible.

Generally the agro-industrial companies market their products locally or externally. Often they act independently from the marketing board which, despite its demerits, can be said to perform important functions; this topic will not be discussed in the present dissertation.

Agriculture still lacks the linkages which are necessary

Figure 11-8: Marketing network for Export Crops.



for overall economic expansion and development. There are no viable agro-allied industries to process and preserve local food products. Although the active population in agriculture has reduced, the sector still lacks the efficiency required to feed more mouths, provide export revenue, and release underemployed resources for effective employment in other sectors of the economy. It lacks the potential to sustain the population in case there is a crisis. Agricultural exports are mainly raw materials, with cocoa and coffee still the main revenue earners. Until recently, cocoa and coffee were responsible for more than 50% of all earnings from exports from Cameroon (see Table II.9). Yet their prices are constantly fluctuating, as will be indicated later. The share of these two crops has been falling as a result of increasing predominance of petroleum; also, their prices have fallen in recent years as shown later.

Table II.9: Cameroon: Percentage Share of Cocoa and Coffee in Total Export Earnings

Year	%	Year	%	Year	%
1965	48.5	1973	55.2	1978	60.6
1969	59.1	1974	57.5	1979	49.1
1970	55.6	1975	55.3	1970	41.4
1971	55.6	1976	56.8	1980	33.9
1972	55.9	1977	62.0		

Source: Bulletin de l'Afrique noire, no. 1181 (May, 1983):7.

(v). Transport

Since 1961, much effort has been made to improve the transport network, yet it is inadequate to stimulate economic development in the rural areas. Good all-season roads and

railways are few, and air and water transport are undeveloped (see Figure II.4). In 1982 there were about 2500 kilometers of "tarred" roads and 1143 kilometers of railways serving the country (Barry, 1983:193). Environmental factors such as erosion, land slides, and floods, cause rapid deterioration of the often poorly constructed roads, bridges or railways. As a whole, the transport network is still such that it cannot stimulate agriculture because there is yet no strong link between the rural and urban centers, and the inter-regional movement of people and goods is still costly.

(vi). Employment

It is not easy at this moment to state with statistical precision, the number of Cameroonians out of work or looking for employment because the economy is largely subsistent. Nevertheless, one can say that there is still considerable unemployment and underemployment in the economy. The rate of unemployment and underemployment however varies from province to province and from division to division, depending on the existing economic and social infrastructure. In 1974 the number of wage earners (15-55 years of age) in the public and semi-public sectors was about 281,370. The public service on the whole employed 71,000 (32.1%) of all wage earners in the modern sector of the economy (Min. of Econ. and Plan, 1979:152).

Employees are classified following a "Standard National Classification of Occupations" which was outlined in 1970 by the National Joint Collective Bargaining Agreements and Wages

Board. The classification is based on academic and professional levels as well as on experience. But salaries and wages are still skewed, and until recently, the higher level positions could hardly be filled by Cameroonians.

A survey in 1974 of 290 establishments in the modern agricultural, forestry and animal husbandry sectors, revealed that only 21% of Cameroonians were employed in the supervisory levels (see Tables II.10 and II.11). In the secondary sector the situation was similar, 74% of the supervisory staff were of foreign origin. The tertiary sector showed similar trends with foreigners constituting 73.4% of the supervisory staff (Min. of Econ and Plan, 1979:175). Although Cameroonians constituted 93.7% of the total labour force, they received only 70.6% of salaries earned. The reason for this disparity is the fact that investors in education do so in the hope of earning profits in return, and thus such investments do not provide ordinary labour. Since Cameroonians had lower levels of education, they occupied the lower rungs of the salary scales. The concentration of low-wage earners is still high in the plantations as will be examined later.

Table II.10:**Supervisory Staff per sector of activity in 290 undertakings**

Section of activity	Cameroonians	Expatriates	Total
Primary	57	215	272
Secondary	206	585	791
Tertiary	221	610	831
TOTAL	484	1410	1894

Table II.11**Workers according to their origin, and levels of qualification**

Level of Qualification	Cameroonians	Non-Cameroonian Africans	Others	Total
Management staff	307	58	1,564	1,929
Senior level technicians	1,248	--	3,755	5,003
Technicians	5,892	158	1,468	7,518
Skilled Workers	29,693	583	455	30,731
Semi-Skilled Workers	56,322	1,170	48	57,540
Ordinary Workers	113,976	4,485	188	118,649
TOTAL	207,438	6,454	7,478	221,370

Source: Min. of Econ. and Plan., 1979:155.

(vii). Industrialization, Investments and Foreign Trade.

Although industrialization cannot be regarded as a panacea for third world development problems, the present structure of world trade that favours manufacturers of finished products vis a vis exporters of raw materials, necessitates industrialization in most developing nations despite the popular opinion that markets in many of these countries are small. This need has been emphasized by many authorities and spokesmen of the developing world as well as by some experts in the developed nations.

In the 1960s Raul Prebisch's "import substitution industrialization strategy" became a popular industrial policy for many governments in the third world, and without

comprehensive analysis, many of these governments adopted this policy. Since there was inadequate market research, the new industries failed to create the forward and backward linkages which could provide employment and increase the value added to aggregate output in these economies. Some industries operated at unprofitably low capacities and others were poorly managed. Cameroon adopted this policy which consisted of establishing industries based on imported raw materials for the satisfaction of already existing local tastes (Barry, 1983:192). Many industries were inefficient, they increased the propensity to consume foreign goods thereby maintaining the outward flow of incomes without adding much value to domestic raw-materials.

Even though there has been some improvement, industries still employ only a small proportion of the population (less than 10%), and add very little value (about thirty per cent in 1981), to G.D.P. Some industries such as Cameroon Paper Company (Cellucam) in which the government has invested much local capital still operate at low capacities. Marked regional imbalance in the location of industries is also characteristic. The greatest concentration of industries is in Douala and Yaounde which account for almost 67% and 17% respectively of all employment in this sector (Rambouseki, 1982). Such concentration is the result of economies of scale from which the industries benefit, but environmental consequences may be disastrous, and in the case of market slumps or natural hazards, these places may suffer from mass unemployment and loss of fixed capital investments. The monopoly power which some industrial establishments possess are, in some case,

disadvantageous to consumers. Unfortunately Cameroon's industrial policy has not fully emphasized the location of cottage industries in rural areas.

(b). Investment

Cameroon's external (medium and long term) public debt increased by about 37% a year during 1974-78. These increases can be explained by the fact that there has been some effort in recent years to equip the economy with capital goods. The most important reason however is the fact that the sources of foreign loans shifted from public to private creditors during this period with harder borrowing terms. Concessional loans declined while private financing increased from 36% of total new commitments in 1970-73 to 58% in 1974-77, and 67% in 1978. The major foreign creditors are shown in Table II.12.

Table II.12: CAMEROON'S FOREIGN CREDITORS 1980-1981

Lender	Principal	Outstanding in mid-1981
France	380	484
IBRD	433	456
Federal Rep. of Germany	138	140
Italy	36	23
United Kingdom	81	93
Eurodollar Loans	37	9
United States	20	15
Canada	35	31
OPEC Fund	10	11
Saudi Arabia	23	26
Soviet Union	3	0
African Development Bank	3	3
China	80	80
Libya	2	2
Denmark	4	4
EEC/EIB	1	1
IMF	56	14
Total	1,342	1,393

Source: ECONOTECH., Industrial Cooperation-Canada-Cameroon
Investment Opportunities for Canadians in Cameroon,
Montreal, 1981:11.

The figures are converted to U.S. dollars, at \$1.=210 F.C.A. (The exchange rate at that time). The figures are rounded with 0 Standing for amounts smaller than \$0.5 million. (Fifty Cameroon Francs are equivalent to one French franc, the currency to which the Cameroon franc is pegged).

Agriculture's share was only 10% of the new commitments.

In recent years foreign investors have been attracted to Cameroon. Rambouseki (1982:168) explains that the relatively middle of the road economic policy pursued since independence makes the country "an object of special interest both to proponents and opponents of private enterprise and foreign investment." While seeking to break away, with limited success, from a too exclusive inter-dependence with the French and other Franc area economies by progressively reducing the French share of trade and aid, the authorities nonetheless adopted a relatively favourable attitude towards foreign

investors. Barry (1982:65) explains that it is therefore not risky for the Bank of America, one of the largest, if not, the first commercial bank in the world, to establish its first branch in Francophone Africa in Douala, Cameroon's commercial capital; it is the third American bank, after Chase and the First National Bank, to establish in Cameroon.

The probability of making good profits from investments is high. France considers Cameroon as one of twenty countries in the world where French investors can find the "most favourable climate for investment". Except for administrative bottlenecks, Cameroon offers one of the most liberal investment codes in Africa: free enterprise, freedom to own private property, market competition, proper returns to capital, and free transfer of profits (Jeune Afrique No. 1156, March, 1983:65).

The rich unexploited mineral resources such as iron ore, platinum, bauxite, uranium, nickel, copper, diamond, and especially petroleum and natural gas, are good baits for foreign investors. The undertaking by France and Canada to construct a deep sea port at Grand Batanga to serve tankers which will transport liquid gas (production in 1983, about 40,000 barrels a day), from a new refinery near Kribi (Jeune Afrique, No.1156, 2 May, 1983:65), has not been encouraged solely by their desire to participate in Cameroon's development, but also as a result of profitable returns on their investments.

Unlike Swiss technical assistance and investments which go predominantly to rural water supply and community projects

in Cameroon, most foreign investments are in strategic sectors of the economy which guarantee ready profits or assure regular supplies of raw materials to industries in the investing countries. The spread effects in the domestic economy of most investments are still minimal. As a result there is an impending problem because the debt servicing burden which reached nearly \$US 200 million in 1981 has been increasing.

(c). Commerce

Cameroon depends heavily on foreign trade for its survival. Yet the benefits from such trade are still asymmetrically distributed in favour of many of its industrialized trading partners. The reason for this asymmetry is the dependence on commodities or semi-manufactured exports, many whose income and barter terms of trade have deteriorated. The result has been an increasing trade deficit (see Table II.13). In 1981 Cameroon's exports increased in value by 4% while export earnings declined. The decline was due mainly to:

"decreased revenue from export earnings of agricultural products, primarily coffee and cocoa. Fortunately, 24% increase in crude oil receipts prevented an even steeper decline in Cameroon's export profile. Petroleum sales contributed 39% of Cameroon's 1981 export revenues, thus increasing Cameroon's dependence on its petroleum sector" (U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Public Affairs, February, 1983).

These changes are not exclusive to the two crops mentioned here, they extend to other commodity exports as will be examined later.

Table II.13:

Cameroon: Trade Balance 1970-1981 (in millions of Francs C.F.A.)

Year	Exports (F.O.B.)	Imports	Balance
1970	62.777	67.328	-4.451
1973	81.804	74.221	+7.583
1974	119.272	104.825	+14.447
1975	102.087	128.104	-126.017
1976	127.283	145.963	-18.680
1977	179.319	192.401	-13.082
1978	197.997	237.247	-39.261
1979	243.699	271.160	-27.461
1980	269.856	337.607	-40.751
1981	303.307	386.087	-82.782

Source: (Bulletin de l'Afrique noire No.1181, May 1983 :11).

The following observations may be made about Cameroon's balance of trade.

1. There has been a growing deficit for more than seven years.
2. The deficit with France has been continuous and is increasing.
3. The balance with other E.E.C. (European Economic Community) countries has been negative for more than five years even though surpluses have been recorded with Italy since 1976, except in 1981.
4. The commercial balance with the Central African Customs Union (UDEAC) was positive until 1977 when it became deficit. These deficits with UDEAC countries are important because Cameroon is regarded as a relatively more developed nation within the Union. Nearly all the nations with which Cameroon accumulates these deficits import its plantation commodities; they are also the major financial sources for plantation development in Cameroon. Table II.14, is the balance with selected trading partners.

Table 11.14. Trade Balance with Major Trading Partners (in millions of Francs C.F.A.)

Year	EEC	France	Netherlands	Fed.Rep.Ger	Italy	U.S.A.	Japan	Spain	Gabon	Ivory Coast
1973	- 7,285	- 11,035	+ 18,035	+ 1,102	- 78	+ 795	+ 2,137	+ 2,509	-	-
1974	+14,560	- 15,940	+ 33,982	- 1,538	+ 272	- 1,912	+ 1,003	+ 2,737	-	-
1975	-23,895	- 30,220	+ 17,934	- 3,416	-3,557	- 5,867	- 2,783	+ 2,518	-	-
1976	-11,380	- 31,083	+ 23,587	+ 299	+ 330	- 8,130	- 3,637	+ 2,918	-	-
1977	+ 7,018	- 34,654	+ 40,255	+ 3,684	+3,488	- 6,262	- 5,546	- 168	-	-
1978	- 8,533	- 38,917	+ 44,162	- 6,348	+ 928	+ 3,638	- 8,737	- 144	-	-
*1978	-15,563	- 42,045	+ 43,180	- 5,977	+ 40	- 2,919	- 8,737	- 144	-	-
*1979	-34,432	- 59,813	+ 39,931	- 10,169	+2,377	+34,698	- 2,597	- 1,198	-5,274	+1,938
*1980	-55,115	- 84,645	+ 42,359	- 10,841	+6,575	+65,890	-10,517	- 388	-	-
*1981	-97,541	-100,735	+ 27,737	- 3,769	+2,778	+89,562	-14,762	- 2,072	-	-

* Before correction (except Gabon and Ivory Coast)

Source: Bulletin de l'Afrique noire, No. 1181 of May 1983, p.11; and Econotech Lt., 1981, p.19.

Notes: The Balance with Gabon and the Ivory Coast is for 1979 and 1980.

The proportion of agricultural equipment, in total imports is small. In 1978/79, farm equipment constituted 0.6 per cent of the total value of imports and in 1979/80 this percentage dropped to 0.04. Apart from a small number of agro-industrial enterprises, agriculture is predominantly a smallfarmer activity in Cameroon and as a result the use of capital equipment(imported or domestically manufactured) is limited. Consumer goods to households and enterprises constituted about 22.3% and 22.5% of the total value of imports in 1978/79 and 1979/80 respectively. Food imports have been reduced, but cereals are still an important item. Energy also remains an important component of total imports despite the discovery of natural gas and oil. Cameroon has the potential to produce some of these imports, especially food items, at comparatively lower costs, if only the appropriate resources are properly harnessed.

The volume of trade with other developing nations is small, the reason being that they produce almost identical products which compete for markets in industrialized nations. In 1980/81, the principal trading partners were the U.S. France, the Netherlands, Italy and West Germany. The share of export and import trade of the most important trading partners is shown in Table II.15. An important observation is the unfavourable terms of trade with France(-21%).

Table II.15:

Cameroon: Major Trading Partners- 1980-81: % Share of Trade

Importers from Cameroon	% imports	Exporters to Cameroon	% exports
U.S.A.	34.8	France	40.2
France	18.4	W. Germany	7.2
Netherlands	16.6	Japan	6.4
Italy	6.0	U.S.A.	5.7
West Germany	5.9	Italy	4.8

Source: Barry (1983:198).

Appendix C, is Cameroons' trading partners in almost all parts of the world. Apart from the U.S.S.R., there has only been a small volume of trade with the Socialist and Communist bloc as well as with Canada. Trade with African countries has mainly been with former French colonies, especially Gabon and the Ivory Coast. Trade with Nigeria is inevitable because of geographical and historical factors; yet the volume of official trade across their borders has been relatively small because of underground transactions.

The geographical pattern of trade shows that the markets for some commodities are diversified. But these markets could be expanded and others cultivated if the country takes advantage of its historical background which gives it an opportunity to belong to the Commonwealth, the French Community, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), as well as to UDEAC. In order to cultivate these markets, elaborate market research is required so as to know their potentials and reliability.

Conclusion:

This overview of Cameroon's socio-economic situation provides an indispensable setting for the plantation case study. It shows not only the position of agriculture in the aggregate economy, but also the relationships that exist between some of the variables indicative of the development process. Education, income levels, employment, health and other tangible indicators have been presented as preface to the presentation concerning plantations in the S.W. Province which will constitute the remainder of this thesis.

CHAPTER III

PART ONE : THE S.W. PROVINCE - AN INTRODUCTION

Introduction

Part one of chapter three is a geographical and administrative background of the South West Province. In this chapter, the physical and administrative setting in which the plantations system operates are examined. Such an examination establishes the relationship which exists between the natural environment and the plantation system. It explains why plantations were concentrated in some administrative units.

Administratively, the S. W. Province comprises of divisions, sub-divisions, districts and council units (see Figure III.1, and Table III.1). Geographically, its administrative jurisdiction extends over an area of 27,250 square kilometers. The total population, and its distribution are indicated in Table III.1.

FIG-III-1:

SOUTHWEST PROVINCE: ADMINISTRATIVE
DIVISIONS AND SUB-DIVISIONS

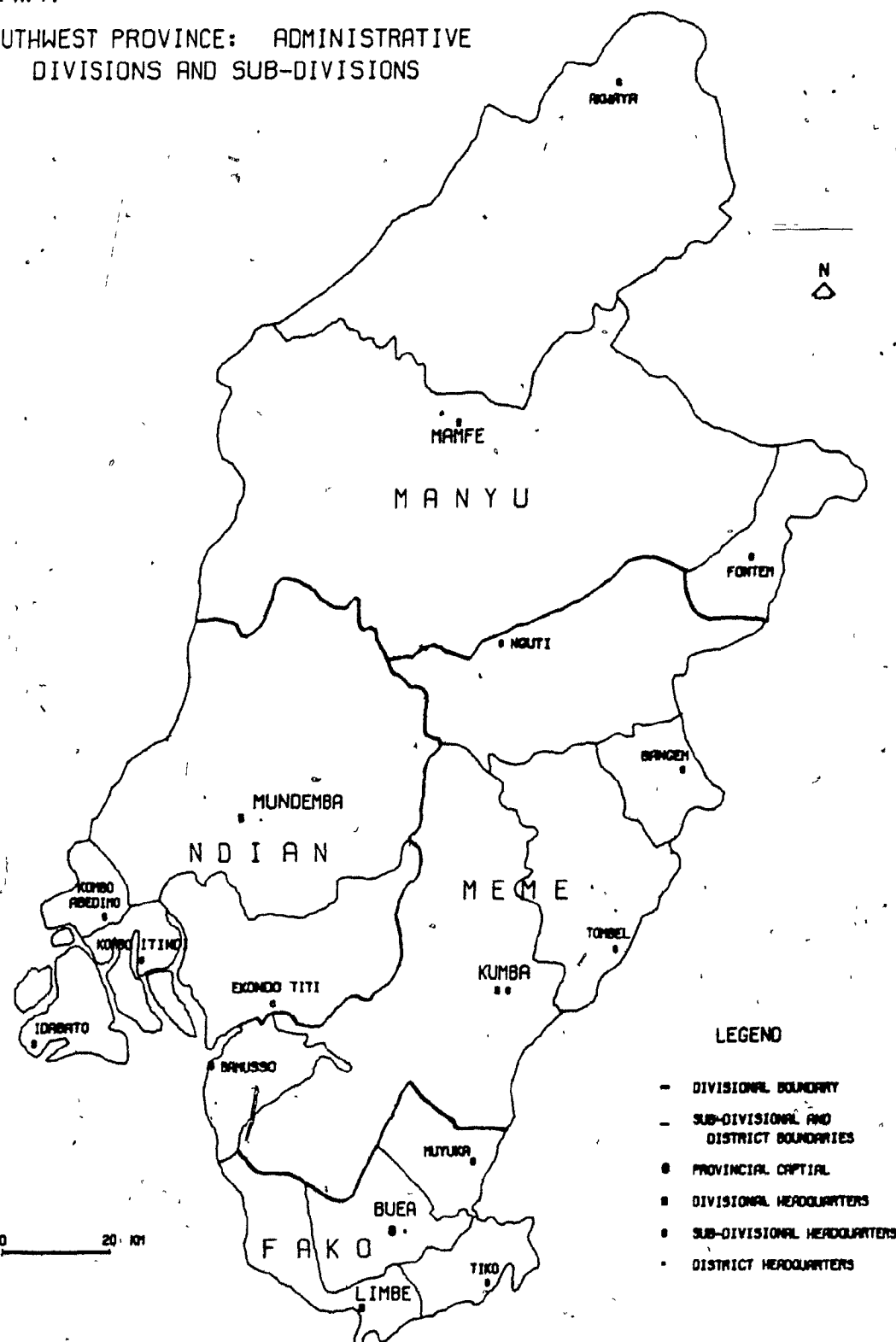


Table III.1:**S.W. Province: Administrative Units and Population Distribution.**

Division	Sub-division and Districts	Total Population	Urban Pop.	Total Rural Pop.	Density/ km.sq.
Meme	Kumba, Nguti, Tombel, Bangem	210,077	72,199	137,878	33.2
Fako	Limbe, Tiko Muyuka, Buea	168,000	98,707	78,239	67.0
Ndian	Mundemba, Bamuso Ekondo-Titi, Kombo-Abedimo, Kombo Itindi, Idabato	79,303	22,233	57,070	11.9
Manyu	Mamfe, Fontem, Akawya	163,135	16,183	146,952	16.2
Total		620,515	200,322	420,193	22.5

Source: Compiled from S.W. Economic and Social Report, 1980-81, and Cameroon's Five Year Economic Plan, 1979.

Population density figures are from the 1976 census; no census has been carried out since that date.

I. Relief, Climate, Soils, and Vegetation

(i). Relief

Mount Cameroon is the dominant physical feature of the Province. Its peak, 4070 meters above sea level and the highest in West Africa, is situated in Fako Division. The mountain is part of a volcanic chain which stretches from the islands of Sao Tome and Principe to Cameroon's Western Plateau. It has erupted five times in this century: 1909, 1922, 1954, 1959, and most recently in 1983. Instead of causing disruption as in other parts of the world, these eruptions have blessed the region with an accumulation of volcanic materials producing very rich soils which have since 1884 supported large plantation agriculture.

Apart from the Cameroon and Rumpi mountains and the

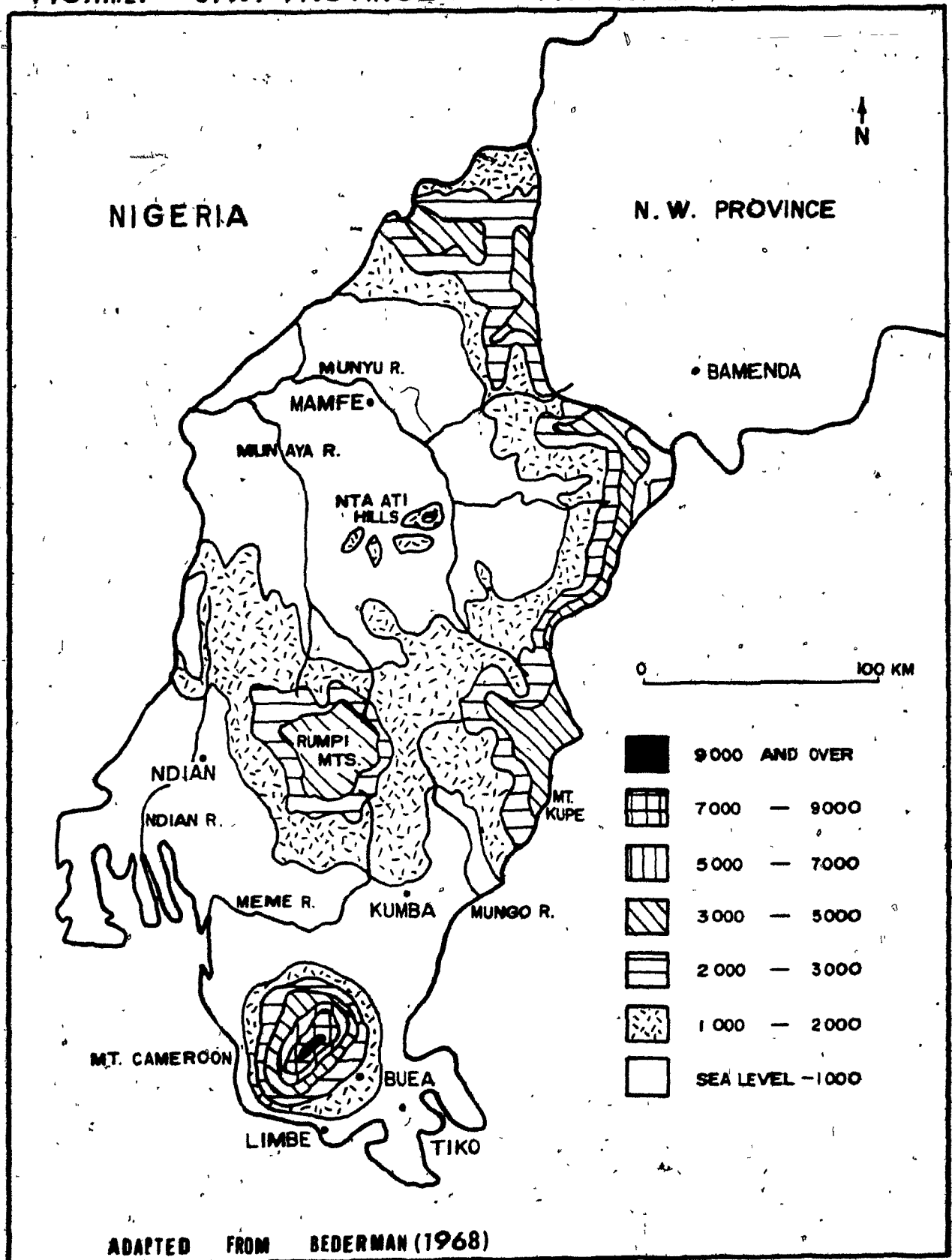
Manenguba Highlands, most of the Province lies below 2000 meters above sea level (see Figure III.2). The gentle undulating region at the foot of Mount Cameroon and the flat, though often flooded plains in other parts of the Province, provide opportunities for mechanized agriculture. These opportunities were exploited in some regions by colonial authorities to establish a plantation infrastructure. The principal rivers are the Meme, the Ndian, and the Manyu. Due to the fluctuations in water volumes, rapids, and cataracts, none of these rivers is particularly good for transport or for hydro-electric generation.

(ii). Climate

Even though micro-climatic types exist in the S.W., the Province is generally classified as having an equatorial monsoon climate. There are two distinct seasons in the region - dry and rainy. The dry season usually extends from November to April followed by the rainy season. The yearly average temperatures are approximately 25 degrees and there is a low yearly amplitude of 3 degrees. The daily variation in temperature is usually between 5 and 10 degrees Centigrade.

The average annual rainfall in the S.W. Province is about 4000 mm. But the disposition of Mount Cameroon and distances from the sea cause local variations. Debundscha, located on the windward side of Mt. Cameroon, receives almost 10,000 mm. annually, one of the heaviest in the World (Loung, 1973:22). Buea, at an altitude of about 3000 feet, receives an annual rainfall of 1000 mm. Rainfall is heaviest between May and

FIG.III.2: S.W. PROVINCE — PHYSICAL FEATURES



October, the intensity decreasing as one goes further inland.

(iii). Soils and Vegetation

Volcanic soils are mostly concentrated in Fako and Meme Divisions. Alluvial deposits are found along the coastal plains and river basins. Ferruginous soils which become laterites when exposed through deforestation or detrimental farming techniques are also found in some areas. The soils are rich, although some volcanic soils lack several micro-nutrients. In some areas such as Tombel, the humus layer is more than 150 centimeters deep. The richness of the soils prompted Kingsley (1897:641) to say:

"I dare say a friend of mine who told me that near Victoria he had stuck his umbrella into the ground one evening and found in the morning it was growing leaves all up its sticks, was overstating the case; still if the incident could happen anywhere, it would be in this region."

She concluded that the rich soils in the region could enable it to compete with any part of the known world in plantation matters. (Ardener et al., 1960:xxiv).

Except for patches of mountain vegetation and islands of savanna grasses within the Province, the dominant vegetation is equatorial forest. Mangrove forests occupy river basins and most of the interior lowlands are occupied by fresh-water forests. Natural vegetation has disappeared in many places because of the activities of the large plantations, lumbering companies and local farmers.

Economic Background

The distribution of infrastructure in the Province is uneven; there are marked inequalities between the urban and rural areas. These inequalities affect the rural-urban distribution of population. The highest concentration of population in Fako Division is in Tiko and Limbe, the chief commercial towns. The population of Kumba is also high because it is the principal urban center of the Province. These towns attract immigrants from Nigeria who in some cases such as Tiko, constitute more than half the population. They also attract migrant labourers from other regions of Cameroon.

The plantations remain the spinal cord of the Provincial economy, providing employment, and earning some foreign exchange. Their ability to create potential and sustainable linkages important for the development of the local economy is now examined.

CHAPTER III

PART TWO : ESTABLISHMENT OF PLANTATIONS IN THE S.W. PROVINCE

INTRODUCTION

The relationship between Europeans and indigenous inhabitants which was hitherto limited to contact at trading posts along the coast, became permanent after large European plantations were established. German companies initiated this system of agriculture which soon became the principal economic activity on which the destiny of the Province has depended for many decades. Since 1884, the territory has been operating large plantations which after independence, have continuously received encouragement from the Cameroon government. Today, the principal agro-industrial companies in the S.W. Province are Pamol, an affiliate of Unilever of London, the largest agro-industrial company in the world, Cameroon Development Corporation (C.D.C.), which inherited German plantations that were relinquished to the British in 1914, and some small privately owned indigenous estates. Table III.2, shows the location, total areas cultivated, as well as the crops planted by these enterprises.

Table III. 2. Plantation Enterprises in the S.W. Province: Area Cultivated and Divisions where they Operate.

Name of Enterprise	Crop	Cult. Area in Hectares		Total	Location
		Mature	Immature		
C.D.C. (1) (2)	Fuel Trees	227.21	276.91	504.11	Fako
	Bananas	540.00	119.40	659.40	Fako
	Pepper	80.90	13.30	94.20	Fako, Meme
	Tea	948.87	284.00	1232.87	Fako
	Rubber	10806.00	8093.00	18899.00	Fako, Meme
	Oil Palms	14885.00	1338.00	16223.00	Fako
	Coconut	--	45.00	45.00	Fako
	Avocado	10.60	--	10.60	Fako
Total		27498.00	10169.60	37668.00	Fako, Meme
PAMOL LTD.	Rubber	n.a.	n.a.	1811.00	Fako, Meme
	Oil Palm	n.a.	n.a.	9356.00	Meme, Ndian
Total		--	--	11167.00	
Mukete Plantations	Cocoa, Oil Palm, Rubber	n.a.	n.a.	1026.00	Meme
Njikam Estates	Coffee, Oil palm, Cocoa	n.a.	n.a.	636.00	Meme
Ngu Estate	Rubber	52	n.a.	52.00	Meme
Bonanza Est.	Oil palm	n.a.	n.a.	335.00	Manyu, Meme
Oben Estate	Rice	n.a.	n.a.	100.00	Manyu
Nakeke Fe	Oil palm	n.a.	n.a.	130.00	Meme
Green Valley Estate	Oil palm	n.a.	n.a.	72.00	Fako
Grand Total				51186.10	

(1) The area includes Njuttitsa Estate (425 hectares) which is located in the Western Province, and Ndu Plantations (608 hectares), located in the North-West Province.

(2) Penda Mboko and Kompina Estates (5444 hectares) which are located in the Littoral Province are included; n.a. means the figures were not available.

Source: S.W. Province Economic and Social Report (1982), Edifric (1983), and various Estate Reports.

In this part of the thesis, the establishment, organization and of plantation institutions for the purpose of production are analysed. Due to problems involved in a typology, as already explained, no satisfactory classification of the plantations in the S. W. Province has been provided, especially because of inadequate data for such an analysis. However, the following category of plantations is discernable- individual, family, village cooperatives, multi-national, and state-owned plantations. Based on processing units, only Pamol and the C. D. C. are agro-industrial plantations. The Cameroon Development Corporation (C.D.C.), is a parastatal corporation, while Pamol is a multi-national affiliate. Apart from Nakeke Fe which is a village cooperative, the others are private individual or family enterprises. Although all the categories of plantations will be examined, the focuss is on Pamol and the C. D. C. which have processing units and which are utilized by the government for demonstration purposes; they are also examined in greater detail because they were established during the colonial period.

German Plantations

German authority over Cameroon became official after the Berlin Conference of 1884 which settled disputes among European nations competing for colonies. After 1884, Germany introduced foreign economic and social systems into Cameroon. Plantations were among some of the most significant spatial changes which

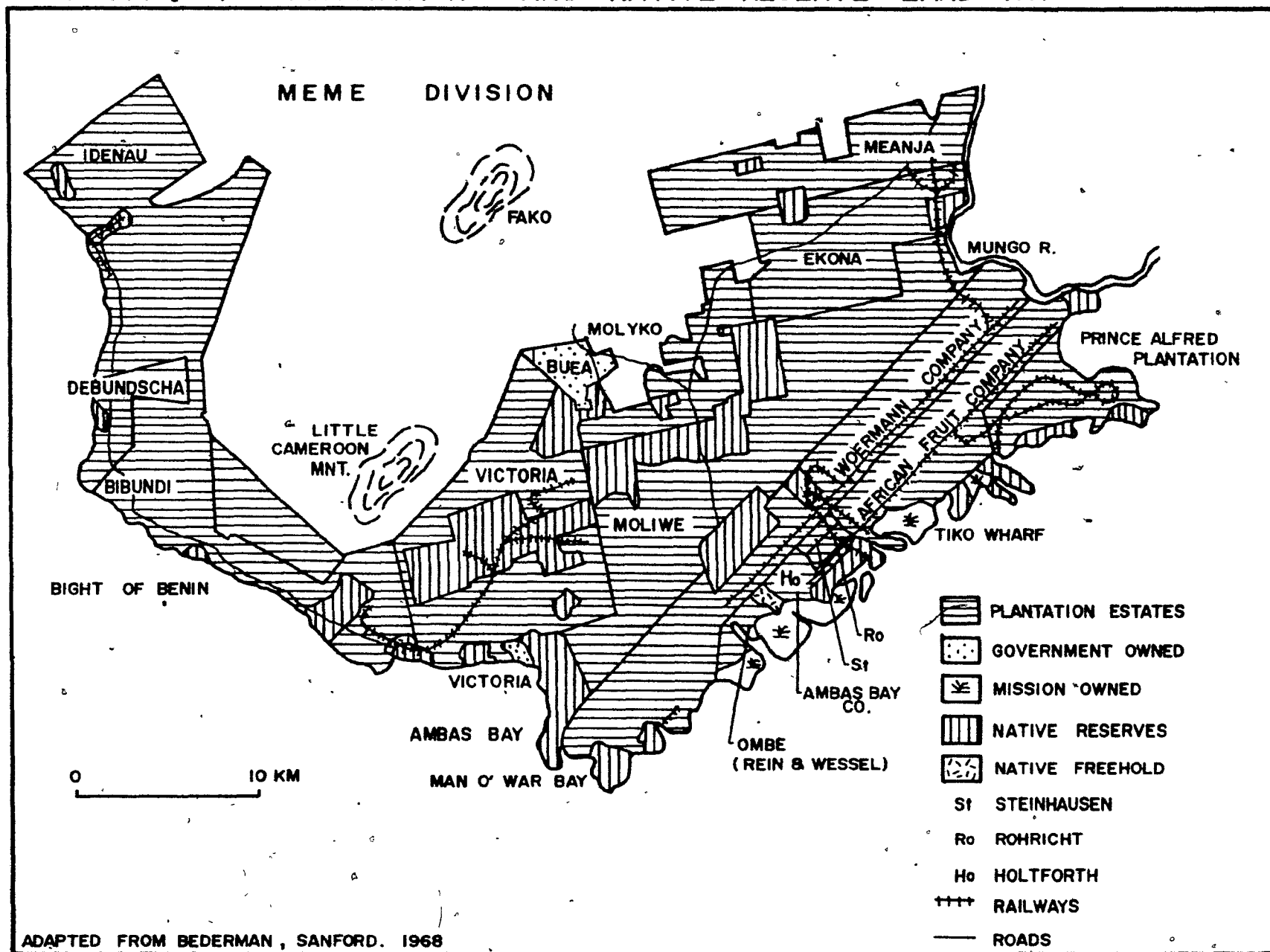
it produced in the coastal regions of Cameroon in general, and the S.W. Province in particular, during its thirty years in the territory. A botanical garden established at Limbe enabled them to experiment with crops such as rubber, coffee, cocoa and bananas, most of which were new cultures. In order to initiate this large-scale system of agriculture, about 83, 000 hectares of the most fertile land at the foot of Mount Cameroon were alienated, and the natives forced onto reserves (see Figure III.3). As a result of haphazard reserves which were created, a spatial system of development that has, in Ardener et al's (1960:269) opinion, created difficulties in regrouping the isolated villages for administrative purposes was initiated. In Limbe where the plantations occupy more than 75% of the total area of the Sub-Division, these problems are acute (see Figure III.3).

By 1913 there were 195 non-Africans engaged in plantation activities in Cameroon with a local work force of 17,827 people; there were 58 estates in the colony, most of which were in Fako (Victoria) and Meme (Kumba) Divisions (Bederman, 1968:14). Aside from rubber, cocoa, oil palm, and bananas which were considered principal plantation crops, kola, tobacco and coffee were also planted.

Observations About German Plantations

(a) Germany established plantations out of commercial interest for its companies. The problems encountered in dealing with indigenous middlemen to obtain valuable forest products in the hinterland made the Germans realize the advantages of

FIG. III. 3 : PLANTATIONS AND NATIVE RESERVE LAND 1914



establishing this economic and spatial institution along the coast.

(b) Most plantations were owned by private German companies such as Woermann, Jantzen und Tholmahlen, or the West Afrikanische Pflanzungsgesellschaft, which were encouraged by their government. Such companies were encouraged to invest in anticipation of high returns on invested capital. Some native inhabitants were subsequently given rudimentary training in the cultivation of the new crops. Kale (1981:89) points out that they were encouraged to cultivate these crops in order to reduce indigenous monopoly in trade with the hinterland. Their participation in export crops cultivation was aimed at making German industries self-sufficient in tropical plantation raw materials.

(c) The Germans tried to preserve the ecosystem by establishing a botanical garden, and other institutions which were oriented towards controlling tropical diseases, and tackling other environmental problems.

(d) Exports included agricultural raw-materials as well as woods and ivory. In 1913 the values of woods and ivory exported to Germany were 634,000 and 536,000 German marks respectively (Morel, 1978:81,83).

(e) Labour was scarce because the native inhabitants were not willing to work on plantations. Of 10,5542 plantation workers in 1927 only 732 were indigenous inhabitants (Bederman, 1968:16). The demand for labour was higher than supply even if the natives were prepared to work in the fields. The Germans instituted forced labour in the plantations as well as in the

Table III.3: SOLD GERMAN INVESTMENTS IN THE SOUTH WEST PROVINCE

<i>Name of Plantation</i>	<i>Owner</i>	<i>Total Acreage</i>	<i>Acreage in Use</i>	<i>Capitalization in Reichmarks</i>
Westafrikanische Pflanzungsverein (WAPV) Bota	West Africa Plantation Co., Victoria and Berlin	18,790	6,580	no information
WAPV, Ngeme and Sachaenhof sections	same	no information	no information	no information
WAPV, Molyko, incl. Malende	same	5,687	3,602	3,700,000
WAPV, Prinz Alfred Missellele	same	6,042	4,692	no information
WAPV, Bimbia and Mabeta	same	11,083	3,018	no information
African Fruit Co. Likomba	African Fruit Co., Hamburg	12,172	7,109	4,000,000
Moliwe	Likomba Kamerun Bananen Gesellschaft A.G., Hamburg	15,672	5,945	1,024,000
Holtforth Plantation Co.	Moliwe Plantation Co., Berlin	34,000	7,636	1,000,000
Ombe	O. Holtforth	1,617	1,617	no information
Bibundi and allied plantation	Rein and Wessel, Oberhausen, Rhineland	603	600	no information
Debundscha	Bibundi, A.G.	31,000	5,994	458,000
Oechelhausen Plantage	Debundscha Pflanzung, Berlin	4,329	1,137	220,000
Isobi Plantation	William Scipio, Mannheim	4,490	1,137	no information
Kamerun Eisenbahn Gesellschaft (KEG)	Bibundi A.G., lease to K. Proving	1,000	544	see Bibundi
Tombel	KEG, Berlin	17,500	2,500	1,380,000
Mukonje Estate	Kamerun Kautschuk Co., A.G., Berlin	5,250	4,500	1,200,000
Ikassa Estate	Gesellschaft Sud-Kamerun, Hamburg	17,375	1,130	1,105,200
Mbonge, Davo, Beafa, Kumbe, Mukoko, Eboka, Transport and Boa Plantation	Deutsche Westafrikanische Handelsgesellschaft, Hamburg	20,289	5,990	710,000
Hernsheim Plantation	Hernsheim and Co., Hamburg	2,964	2,964	540,000
Scheitlin's Estate Tombel	Madame Scheitlin	260	112½	no information

Source: Bederman (1968).

mines (Ambrosi et al., 1963:645). Other parts of Cameróon and neighbouring countries became the source of labour for the plantations.

(f) Transport problems were among the difficulties encountered by planters, but the Germans tried to solve these problems by constructing narrow guaged railways and roads to connect the estates. Wharves were also constructed to handle trade for the plantations and to provide the colonial administration with necessary imports.

By 1914 the Germans had established a source of raw materials for their industries.

Britain and Plantations in the S.W. Province

The capitulation of Germany at the end of the First World War initiated a new page in the colonial history of Cameroon; its authority was substituted by France and Britain to which the colony was mandated by the League of Nations.

Soon after taking over the colony from the Germans, the British and the French decided to auction German investments in the territory. In the French sector, the investments were purchased by Frenchmen and some Cameroonians. Conversely, in the British territory the property was purchased by a London estate agent delegated by former German planters. The investments, mainly plantations and their associated infrastructure, amounted to about 224,600 pounds. Table III. 3, indicates some plantation investments that were sold. As a result of the purchases, the Germans re-established themselves in the region and continued their plantation activities.

However the Second War soon erupted and ended, again with the defeat of Germany and the seizure of its investments in Cameroon. This time the property was put under the "Custodian of Enemy Property".

In order to benefit from the resources of the territory without direct confrontation with the local population, the British created the Cameroon Development Corporation (C.D.C.) in 1947 to take over the plantations. Some plantations were however left in the direct control of British multi-national affiliates such as Pamol and Elders and Fyffes.

The C.D.C.

In December 1946, the Governor of Nigeria, the representative of the British Crown became responsible for the former German plantations. In the same year, an ordinance passed by the Nigerian Legislative Assembly created the C.D.C. to which the Governor was to lease the plantations. The Governor who had paid 850,000 pounds to the Custodian of Enemy Plantations had the right to appoint the chairman and members of the Management Board of this new statutory organization; he therefore had authority over the new establishment which had to repay 850,000 pounds and 3% interest per annum on outstanding capital (C.D.C. Annual Report, 1947:45).

C.D.C.: A State within a State

The main functions of the new Corporation were:

(a) Develop land resources under its control. It could acquire, and develop extensive plantations of tropical

cultures.

(b) To provide medical, housing, educational, and recreational facilities for its employees.

(c) To maintain roads, railways, quays, wharves and to engage in internal and external trade; it became an agent for international shipping companies.

(d) While contributing to government revenue (through taxes), it was to utilize its profits for the advancement of the people. At the same time it was to operate as a profit-making enterprise. The British government emphasized that these functions were conferred on the C.D.C. because the natives were incapable at that point in time of maximizing the benefits from the plantations without external assistance (Bederman, 1968:18). The natives who had petitioned to British authorities about their lands which had been seized were promised active participation in the administration of the new establishment in future. The responsibilities of the C.D.C. were therefore those which are carried out by any modern state. It had become a state within a state.

Pamol

Bai, the oldest of Pamols' estates was opened in 1906 by the Germans. Other estates were established after the First and Second World Wars. Ndian estate was established in 1927, while Bwinga and Lobe were respectively opened in 1931 and 1950 (The Estate Manager, Bai, 1981).

The "raison d'etre" of establishing Pamol as well as other Unilever affiliates in other tropical areas was initially

to create backward linkages for its margarine and soap factories. These required a cheap and regular supply of vegetable oils. While operating as a business concern aimed at making profits, it was also implicit that it would be responsible for the welfare of its workers, if it was to compete for the scarce labour in the region.

Other Plantations

Since independence no new agro-industrial companies have been established in the Province. Some indigenous small estates and cooperatives have however been opened, and the large plantation companies are still expanding the area under cultivation. The organization of the different types of estates is the concern of the next section of this thesis.

CHAPTER III

PART THREE : ORGANIZATION AND MANAGEMENT OF PLANTATIONS
IN THE S.W. PROVINCE

INTRODUCTION

Organization and management generally refers to the breaking down of tasks into components and assigning authority and responsibility for coordinated efforts in an enterprise or organization. Management concerns human, financial, and environmental resources as well as production, marketing, and other factors influencing the efficient functioning of an organization. The system of management applied in any operation depends on its size, historical influences, political, judicial, geographical, and economic factors. Large plantation establishments are no exception to these influences. The purpose in this section of the thesis is to evaluate the organizational and management structure and linkages of plantations in the S. W. Province.

I. The Structure and Organization of Colonial Plantations

Colonial plantations were generally privately owned enterprises, managed by resident owners in the colonies, or by hired managers acting on the orders from Britain or Germany. The staff usually consisted of a few overseers, clerks,

headmen, and on the more prosperous estates a medical attendant. It goes without saying that there were also large gangs of unskilled and semi-skilled Africans employed at collection stations, repair shops, and in weeding, harvesting and tapping operations. Highly skilled employment was reserved for foreigners and a few Africans.

German estates had an administrative rigour which can only be likened to that of a well disciplined army. The brawn of an African worker was of greater importance than his brain power. Colonial management staff and African labourers had a master-servant relationship because workers rarely participated in decision-making at any level of management. The administration was almost a one man business, influenced more or less by personal decisions. In the case of the West Afrikanische Pflanzungsgesellschaft Victoria (W.A.P.V.), perhaps the most important company with its colonial headquarter at Bota, important decisions came from Germany. The German home government often intervened to reduce the number of land disputes between companies (Ardener et al. 1960:309), and to prevent the natives from rising against German planters who were expropriating their lands.

In addition to large companies with colonial heritage, there have been several small and medium sized private estates set up since independence. Some are organized as small businesses and others as cooperative enterprises.

II. C.D.C. - A Public Corporation: Organization and Management

Cameroon Development Corporation was established in 1947

as a public statutory corporation. Its colonial organizational structure was altered in the restructuring of 1973. However in 1983 these changes were almost completely negated by a second restructuring. The pre-1973 structure is illustrated in Figure III.4.

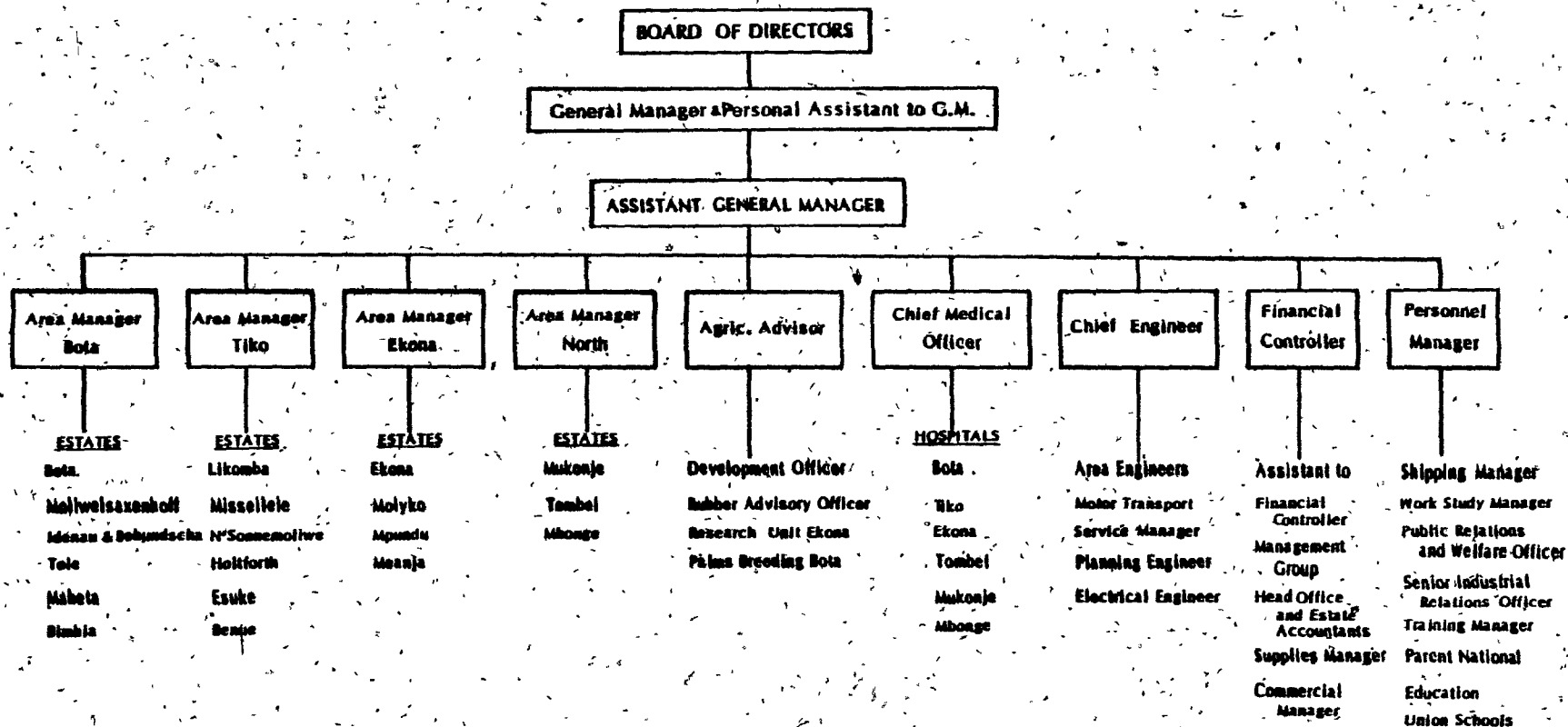
Essentially the Corporation has three levels of administration: the Board, the Headquarter Departments, and the field or estate organizations. The Presidency of the Republic now exercises the overriding influence once the right of the colonial governor.

(i) Board Membership and Functions

At the inception of the Corporation, the number of board members was fixed at a maximum of nine and a lower threshold of six, the chairman-inclusive. The Governor of Nigeria was to appoint members from various sectors of the economy, usually with one position reserved for a tribal representative. The duration of the appointments depended on the decision of the Governor.

In 1947 the board consisted of members from various departments and diverse backgrounds. Those appointed included the Director of Commerce and Industries, the Accountant General, a tribal chief, and three others; their tenures ranged from four months to three years. Apart from the tribal chief, the rest of the members were expatriate colonial authorities some of whom were resident abroad. The inclusion of the tribal chief was an act of tokenism aimed at quelling native agitation.

FIG. III.4 : The Organisational Structure of the C.D.C. 1947-1973



The history of the C.D.C. has proven that those who provide capital for an organization dominate its control. In 1947 the Governor of Nigeria was conferred the duty of appointing board members since he had invested 850,000 pounds in the new establishment. By 1961, because of the Corporation's remaining financial commitments with the Nigerian Government and with the Colonial Development Corporation (now the Commonwealth Development Corporation or ComDev.), important management appointments still came from abroad. ComDev., which had lent the C.D.C. a million pounds was given the right to appoint four board members, a General Manager, a Personnel Assistant to the General Manager, and a Financial Controller; it also acted as a managing agent.

In 1982 there were twelve members on the board; they included the Governor of S.W. Province, the Governor of N.W. Province, a representative of the now abolished Prime Minister's Office, a parliamentarian, and representatives from the Ministries of Agriculture, Finance, Labour and Social Insurance, and Economic Affairs and Planning. Also represented were the Produce Marketing Board (one of the Corporation's shareholders), the clergy, and the President of Cameroon. The chairman and his vice-chair came from the Ministry of Justice and the National Fund for Rural Development (FONADER), respectively. The 1981-82 board had neither foreigners nor tribal chiefs as members. The composition of this board demonstrated the desire to indigenize the management which is often difficult to realize in developing nations even when their citizens have obtained a high level of education.

The "Cameroonization" of the personnel did not, however, make the enterprise less dependent of external resources. It was, and still is, committed to other peoples' savings for its survival and expansion. As a result there has been restructuring to suit principal investors.

The board has been "non-functional" since it was established. Prior to 1982 its chairman was functional despite the fact that there was an executive—general manager responsible for day to day management.

The necessity of a board for a public corporation is debatable. Appleby does not consider them to be necessary, while Dimock maintains they provide essential functions (Hanson 1962: 31-35). Among the functions they may perform are the following:

1. The board approves a working budget and elaborates long term programmes.
2. It is supposed to make appointments to important and influential positions of a corporation.
3. It examines and resolves structural and organizational problems.
4. The board is usually responsible for evaluating the final results of all operations.
5. Boards are responsible for standardizing policies over a corporation so as to assure good and uniform management on which performance can be judged.

If these functions are carried out efficiently goods and services can be produced at a competitive rate.

Though it is often argued that these functions can be

performed by a general manager and his staff, it has been realized that there is often reluctance on the part of a minister or a parliament to delegate all of these functions to one individual. However, it is a general manager and his departmental heads who execute the day to day functions which most directly influence the performance of a corporation. The type of board adopted will be the main determinant of the functions it will perform. Although this topic extends beyond the scope of the present research, it is worth noting that the Policy Board which has been adopted by the C.D.C. has its merits and demerits. Apart from the fact that appointments on political bases may be limited, the board has advantages which may minimize its demerits.

(ii) Merits and Demerits of a Policy Board

1. It gives room for the appointment of people from diverse backgrounds who can judge objectively the performances of managerial staff. Due to their varying backgrounds they can contribute a diversity of ideas and suggestions for the progress of the corporation.

2. The members formulate policies which are implemented by other people whose abilities are judged on how the policies are effected. However, abstract policies can be difficult to implement and results are often ineffective or negative.

3. Departmental favoritism among board members is reduced.

4. The day to day administrative burden is reduced giving the non-functional member the time for more detailed investigation of the questions assigned to him. However, a non-functional

member may regard the activities of the corporation as being trivial to him if he is fully employed in another enterprise or organization. Such a situation is aggravated if such members are employees of enterprises in direct or indirect competition with the corporation on whose board they sit.

Since the members come from almost all departments of the Central Government, the C.D.C.'s policy board acts as a forum where contradictory policies affecting the Corporation are reconciled in order to enhance its profitability. The veto powers often exercised by a minister acting as chair is almost absent, though the Government Commissioner may occasionally act in this capacity. There has not been any study on the impact of the board on the efficiency of the corporation.

(iii) Head Office Administration

The General Manager is at the apex of the executive management team at the head office. His principal function is to execute long term policies elaborated by the board, but he also takes short-term decisions. Operations requiring large capital investments are referred to the board. Although he reports to the board, one cannot assume that he is responsible to it, since he is usually appointed by the President of the Republic.

Until 1973 the General Manager had an assistant. When the assistant's post was re-established in 1983 it was filled by an expatriate employee of multi-national financial institutions upon whom the Corporation still depends for a substantial portion of its investment capital. Until 1983 the headquarters

staff included the General Manager, the Personnel and administrative Controller, the Chief Engineer, a Financial Controller, an Agricultural Development Adviser, the Chief Medical Officer, and the Chief Production Manager. In 1983 some of these positions were abolished. It is worth examining some of these changes since they demonstrate, to a great extent, the capacity and potential of the indigenous people to manage their own destiny.

The Personnel and Administrative Controller is responsible for personnel affairs. The policies he chooses to implement often reflect the decisions of the board.

The post of financial manager was initially reserved for an expatriate ComDev. appointee. Although it was filled by a Cameroonian for a short time, it was again surrendered to an expatriate employee in 1983. The underlying reason for the recent change is that an expatriate employee of creditor institutions is seen to be diligent and more reliable.

Since technology tends to dictate the pace of industrial development today, a coordinator of engineering activities at the head office is required. Before 1982 this function was performed by a chief engineer. But the abolition of the chief engineer's post in 1982 cannot mean that engineering aspects will be relegated to the background, especially as the corporation is expanding and the estates require better roads, housing, water supply, and other infrastructure.

From a developmental point of view, the Agricultural Advisor plays a very important role at the head office. The success or failure of development projects depends, to a great

extent, on the ability of his team to analyse socio-economic, environmental and spatial factors. The results of this work determine the social costs and benefits of the project in question. The Agricultural Advisor's team includes a tea specialist, a tapping advisor, a banana expert, and a palm advisor. These positions have ever since been occupied by expatriate employees often formerly employed in supervising the enterprise locally. Some were "visiting agents" from other companies who were attracted to their present positions by higher pay.

(iv). Field Production Management

Similar to large plantation companies in other parts of the developing world, the field department of the C.D.C. is its largest division. In 1983 there were 18 estates each of which was headed by a manager who reported to the Chief Production Manager at the head office. He implemented field policies, set production targets, supervised estate managers, and coordinated operations on the various estates. He was assisted by field inspectors for rubber and palm.

Prior to 1973 when the post was created, the estates were grouped into areas each of which was run by an area manager. Each of these was in turn directly responsible to the General Manager and his assistant. This structure was due to the fact that the Corporation had expanded to the extent that the estates were widely dispersed, creating communication and transport problems.

The Chief Production Manager's post was created to provide

an additional layer of management to coordinate this very specialized division in order to allow the General Manager to concern himself with running the rest of the operations. The managerial rationale for abolishing this post in 1983 is difficult to pinpoint, but one could suggest that the restructurers found the functions of this position to be redundant with those of the Agricultural Development Advisor. It was however more economic to run the Chief Production office than the latter because Cameroonian employees are payed far less than their expatriate peers.

From 1982 the posts of Group Managers were instituted. This structure resembles the old Area Manager system. Each Group Manager (usually an expatriate) is responsible for one of the crops cultivated. There is also a Small Holder Manager responsible for the smallholder operations contracted to the C.D.C. by the government. These changes are the recommendations of foreign management consultants who were invited by the government to probe into the Corporation's managerial problems. They are aimed at introducing more effective management (C.D.C. Annual Report, 1982:9).

Though it is too early to assess success of these changes, it should be noted that any diagnosis requires a gamut of expert knowledge in many disciplines. It should examine workers' habits, environmental, and other socio-economic factors which influence work attitudes. These problems cannot be studied in one season of the year because seasonal changes have different effects on the various operations on the estates. Furthermore no reliable information can be obtained

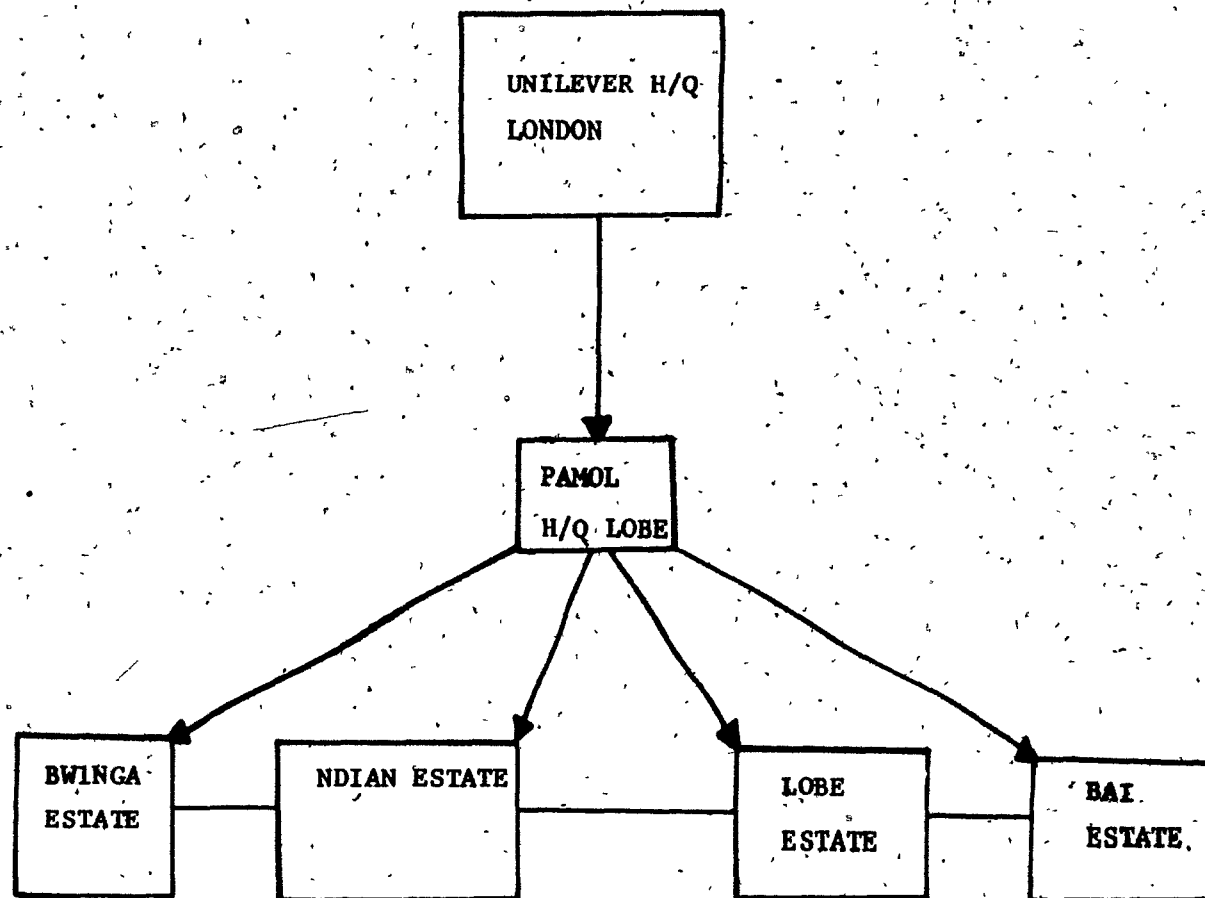
from investigations based on largely biased statistics or on interviews which ignore some strata of the work force. Yet the consultants did not take some of these vital aspects into account. In some cases they recommended that estate managers import certain materials for use in the fields, even though the managers explained that experiments that had been conducted with such materials were unsuccessful. Also, the recommendations of the experts ignored the concept of self-reliant development and created no framework for managerial independence.

III. Pamol Ltd.: Organization and Management

Pamol's central management is in London where the mother company's head office is located. The local headquarters at Lobe is therefore designed to ensure that long term policies taken in London are implemented. Long term decisions concern changes in production capacities and fixed capital project commitments. The geographical distance between Lobe and London make it imperative that some short and medium term decisions be taken in Lobe. Figure III.5, illustrates managerial linkages.

At the top of the local organigramme is the Managing Director who is resident at Lobe. This post is occupied by an expatriate and is analogous to the General Manager in the C.D.C. He is generally one who has had experience in the London office or in other Unilever subsidiaries. At the Lobe headquarters there are the Personnel and Commercial Managers, an expatriate as Financial Controller, a Research Officer, and the Chief Medical Officer.

Figure III.5: Pamol-Management Linkages-1984



Source: Based on field information.

The organization at the estate level is similar to that of the C.D.C. The palm estates are divided into divisions headed by Divisional Managers while rubber plantations are managed individually. There is a Technical Manager who is responsible for the factories, and other mechanical and electrical works.

The C.D.C. and Pamol show more structural and managerial similarities than differences. Until 1983 the degree of Cameroonianization at the managerial level was almost the same for both establishments and the positions which expatriates filled were almost identical. There are however differences in size and geographical diversification; Pamol is a smaller company than the C.D.C. and cultivates fewer crops than the latter. Neither grows food crops nor has established links with small farmers to this effect. They have however established linkages with smallholders engaged in cultivating export crops.

IV. Family Plantations

Although family plantations are the most numerous plantation type in the country, the S.W. Province has very few of them. The most important ones are shown on Table III.2. These plantations have the same managerial merits and demerits of other small scale undertakings. In many cases the managerial functions are shared among family members and the success or failure of the plantation depends on members' management abilities.

V. Cooperative Plantations

In 1981 there were about 86 cooperatives operating in the Province. Their principal concern was the marketing of coffee and cocoa although they sometimes accumulated financial capital for member farmers.

The organization of these units is still poor and is subject to many financial, managerial, and production troubles. For example Nakeke Fe which was established at Mbonge and Illoani in 1968 with the help of a Catholic Missionary Organization based in Germany, continues to be plagued with financial difficulties despite its attempt in 1982 to adopt cooperative management structures. These problems remain the major handicap of such self-help programmes in rural areas.

Conclusion

The large plantations in the S.W. Province have established elaborate administrative and managerial structures which are identical to those of big industrial establishments in other regions. They have decision-making linkages both within and without Cameroon.

Juxtaposed to these elaborated managerial and administrative structures are small family and cooperative establishments with very small decision-making units. These structural and managerial relationships influence other aspects related to plantation development in the S.W. Province; they determine how inputs will be acquired, and decisions concerning production in general. The next section concerns plantation inputs.

CHAPTER IV

PLANTATION INPUTS

A. LABOURIntroduction

In many plantation economies where few employment opportunities exist in other sectors, the plantations are usually the principal employers of labour. However, there is a continuing debate about the conditions of living of plantation workers. The debate concerns housing standards, education and skills of employees, health facilities, and other socio-economic amenities which are requirements for a better quality of life. In chapter four, different aspects of plantation labour in the S. W. Province are examined. Capital and land as plantation inputs are also analysed.

In 1981 the leading agro-industrial companies, C.D.C. and Pamol, employed 23,634 people, over 50% of the total labour force in the agricultural and forestry sector in the S.W. Province. C.D.C. employed 17,506 permanent and 2,528 temporary workers; it was second only to the government which is the largest employer in the economy. Pamol, the largest employer in Ndian had a total labour force of 3600 people during the same period. The number of employees in family and cooperative plantations has remained generally low because of

their inability to expand or due to the fact that they mostly employ family members.

(i) Supply and Demand for Labour

The demand for, and the supply of, plantation labour are hardly in equilibrium because of seasonal or yearly fluctuations on both sides of the market. Tables IV.1 and IV.2, respectively show the labour forces of the C.D.C. and Bai, an estate of Pamol.

Table IV.1: C.D.C. :Labor Force

Year	Number of Employees
1947	16,262
1952	25,569
1957	19,220
1962	15,573
1967	11,836
1971/72	13,350
1977	12,989
1981	20,034
1982	19,514

Source: Annual Reports, 1947-1982.

Table IV. 2: Bai Estate: Labor Force 1977-1982

Year	Number of Employees
1977	602
1978	536
1979	499
1980	520
1981	499
1982	499

Source: Bai Estate Report, 1982.

The type of operations undertaken in an estate influence its demand for labour. During seasons when new fields are being prepared for planting, demand is higher than supply. In 1952 for example, C.D.C. employed about 25,569 workers, the highest

number that has ever been employed during its thirty-seven years history, because of replanting projects in many estates.

The Province has never been able to supply all the labour required because some indigenous inhabitants such as the Bakwerians of Fako Division, generally regard field work under supervisors as an unattractive and unprestigious activity. In order to meet demands, planters often turn to other regions to recruit workers since voluntary immigration or migrations are unable to supplement the short supply in the Provincial market. The North West Province has been the major source of labour for many decades although no single tribe in this area has been able to dominate the labour force. Nigerians were also an important component of the labour force until the late 1960s. The composition of C.D.C. labour in 1967 showed that only 20% came from Fako and Meme Divisions; Nigerians constituted 4%, and French Cameroonians made up 5% of the total work force (C.D.C. Annual Reports). These figures illustrate the changes that had occurred twenty years since the formation of the C.D.C., and seven years after independence. Prior to independence in 1960, Nigerians and French Cameroonians respectively constituted 17.7% and 17.0% of the total labour force. Pamol whose plantations at Ndian border Nigeria, still supplements its labour force by recruiting a few Nigerians.

In recent years the cost of recruiting labour has become a significant component of total plantation expenditure. In 1982 Bai Estate spent 2,935,122 francs C.F.A. on labour recruitment (see Table IV.3).

Table IV.3: Recruitment Expenses-Bai Estate 1974-1982

Year	Estimate	Actual Expenditure	Number Recruited	Cost per Recruit
1974	600,000	661,848	n.a.	n.a.
1975	500,000	506,820	158	3,208
1976	600,000	748,699	120	6,239
1977	747,000	933,485	57	16,377
1978	500,000	570,610	27	21,134
1979	1,126,000	1,582,495	49	32,296
1980	2,765,000	3,164,303	96	32,961
1981	3,134,000	2,935,122	113	25,975
1982	2,361,000	983,090	63	15,605

Source: Bai Annual Report, 1982:4.

It is now very difficult to get labour from the original sources of supply because of relative improvements in information flow pertaining to job opportunities in other sectors of the economy. The new opportunities and the refusal by many youths to accept employment in the fields have increased competition among recruiting agents from many enterprises.

The cost of recruiting a single employee increased by 29,753 francs (927.5%) between 1975 and 1980. The decrease in 1980 and 1982 was due to the fact that some workers were brought to the plantations by their relatives who were already employees in the estate; as a result, lodging and feeding charges which are usually paid to professional recruiting agents were not incurred. This source of supply is however limited and no longer reliable. In some estates such as Debuntscha, it has been noticed that many of those recruited soon abandon estate work and go to the towns or become self-employed in other occupations such as wine tapping or small scale farming in the peripheries of the estates.

The employment of students during the holidays is due to

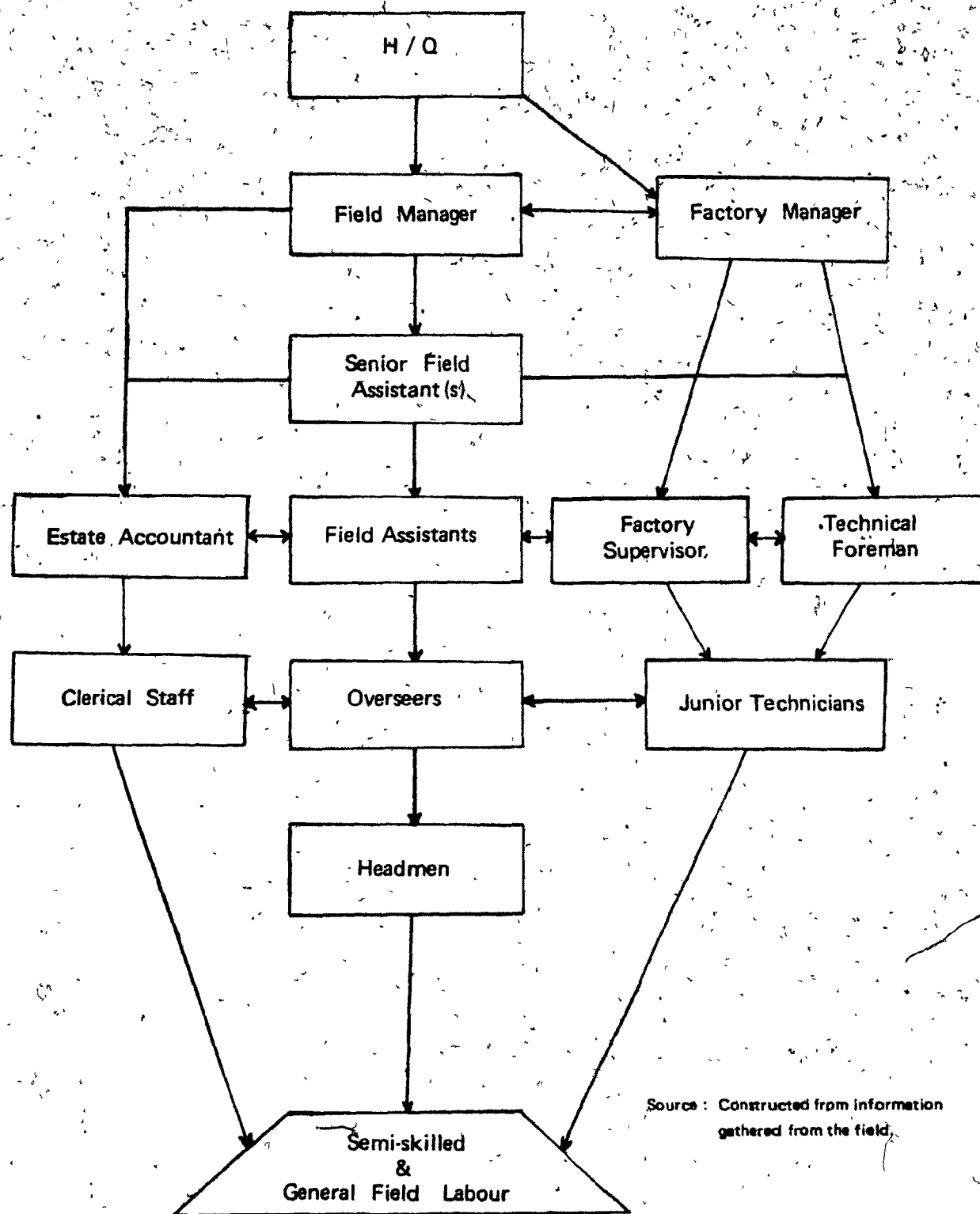
labour shortages in many estates, although such employment is also aimed at helping students during this period. However, many of the holiday makers regard such employment as temporary work from which some wages to supplement the allowances which their parents give them when schools return are earned.

(ii). Organization of Estate Labour

Figure IV.1, illustrates a typical management structure of an agro-industrial estate in the S.-W. Province. The success or failure of this production unit depends on the organization of labour. The estate manager is the authoritative head of this micro-state government. His cabinet consists of field assistants, overseers, and headmen. Assistants are responsible for divisions in the estates and usually control teams of workers which are proportionate to the size of the area under their supervision or in relation to the operations in their sections. Some assistants may be responsible for mature crops which are being harvested or tapped; in such cases they are assigned production quotas; others may be responsible for upkeep in immature plantings. A field assistant's productivity and management skills are judged based on his ability to produce his "quota" at cost below or equal to those budgeted.

Semi-skilled or unskilled labour is usually ganged under headmen or women who are under overseers. In 1980, there were 107 management staff, 187 supervisory employees and 19341 semi-skilled and unskilled hourly workers—employed by the C.D.C. These figures confirm the hypothesis that a small

Figure IV.1: An Organigramme of a Typical Large Estate in the S.W. Province of Cameroon



Source : Constructed from information gathered from the field.

managerial and supervisory staff usually controls a large number of unskilled and semi-skilled workers in plantations in developing countries. The small plantations usually have only a few workers who are managed by one or two people.

(iii). Labour Remunerations

(a) Salaries and Wages.

Earnings in the plantations are a function of the prices of agro-industrial products, government policies concerning wages, labour union movements and other influences on wages and incomes.

Apart from free accommodation, medical care, or subsidized food supplies, the principal forms of payment are wages, salaries and bonuses. More than three-quarter of the employees in the plantations earn "piece wages"; the reason is that most of the work is organized on task bases. Pieces are paid according to wage categories shown in (Appendix B). All workers between categories one and six earn hourly wages, while employees in categories seven to twelve are paid monthly salaries.

In 1981, there was a fixed minimum wage per hour of 60.95 francs C.F.A. for the lowest category of workers in the agricultural sector; this meant that a newly employed worker earned 12,190 francs a month and could after twelve years of service receive a maximum wage of 12,970 francs in that category if he or she is not promoted. A new entrant into the labour force in category seven in the agricultural sector received a salary of 45,145 francs C.F.A. and could after the

same duration of service get 60,190 francs a month, while the monthly stipend for category twelve workers was 267,830 francs

The country has been divided into wage zones which put the rural areas and many primary activities into zone II (see Appendix B); agricultural employees are therefore in this zone. These zones which remain a controversial issue have resulted in zonal wage differentials which turn to perpetuate inequality between rural and urban areas as well as between the various sectors of the economy. Appendix B, reflects wage differences between the various categories and sectors in the economy.

In 1982, the C. D. C. employed 121 workers in categories ten to twelve, 192 in seven to nine, and 19,201 in categories one to six. These figures illustrate that the distribution of incomes in plantation societies is skewed. The differences between expatriate workers and their indigenous peers is even more extreme. In the sixties and early 1970s an expatriate wireless operator earned twice as much as her Cameroonian peer, a situation which is nearly the same today with expatriate managers earning higher than their Cameroonian counterparts.

In order to encourage productivity, tappers, palm harvesters, and tea pluckers in particular, are paid different types of bonuses. There is for example a "quality bonus" paid to tappers for tapping rubber trees with extreme dexterity. In 1982 a tapper could earn half a franc for one kilogramme of rubber collected, but topographic difficulties often forced them to decrease their output in order to reduce the amount of crop they had to transport to collection points since this is usually head-loaded.

Bonuses paid to managers and their supervisors are, to a great extent, the function of the production quotas that are allocated to their estates and sections; if the quotas are produced at costs lower or near the budgeted norms, they get high bonuses which are usually percentages of their annual salaries.

Although bonuses encourage production, some supervisors and their managers use methods which in the long-run are economically disadvantageous to produce their quotas; often they encourage the use of tapping systems which shorten the economic life span of the rubber trees. Similar effects are also noticed for other crops.

Many tasks such as weeding, tapping, chemical spraying and harvesting are set based on norms in other regions such as Malaysia where habits, topography and other environmental factors are not necessarily similar to those in the plantations in the S.W. Province. Often some tasks are not completed, or are unsatisfactorily finished, and as a result some workers do not receive full pay. In 1979/80, 1980/81, and 1981/82, uncompleted tasks in all C.D.C. estates were respectively 3.37%, 3.41% and 3.16% of total mandays worked during these years. High tasks physically exhaust workers, result in low output and wages, which together cause low standards of living. On the other hand however, very low tasks will increase cost of production because little work is done for a day's pay.

The use of tasks is an easy method of assessing productivity, although effective supervision is required to control quality. Properly set task work can encourage

earnings, but in order to arrive at tasks acceptable to the employer and employees, adequate information is required about topography, other environmental aspects, and general factors which affect attitudes towards work.

(b) Workers' Villages and Camps

Kale(1981:88), notes that the rise of plantation camps coincided with the beginning of the plantation industry in Cameroon, and are, as a matter of fact, the direct progeny of this agro-industrial institutional order. In 1981 more than three quarter of those employed in the plantations lived in these villages and camps which provide very cheap accommodation.

Camp communities are organized in the form of quasi governments. In well organized villages a warden is responsible for allocating houses and keeping a register of residents and visitors. A committee which settles disputes among workers or organizes social activities, assists the warden.

These multi-cultural institutions, Ardener et al.,(1960) note, permit high levels of communication and contact among ethnic groups, and re-inforce a sense of community identity and harmony among workers. Despite this positive note, they have characteristics inherent in developing societies; these include "overpopulation" (because facilities are limited), a high proportion of children to that of adults, many dependents, poor sanitary conditions and limited social infrastructure as compared to most towns.

In 1981 Pamol employed 3,600 workers, but there were more

than 11,000 people living in their estate villages; this high number was due to workers' wives and children, and dependents living in houses which were originally built for single inhabitants. C.D.C. estates have the same congestion. In 1968, there were 12,000 people on C.D.C. pay rolls who lived in the camps and villages, but over 16,500 dependents also lived with them. The composition of the population in three Pamol camps is shown in Table IV.4.

Table IV.4: Demographic Composition of Labour-Bai Estate.

Designation	Numbers	AS a % of total Camp Population
Employees	499	28.3
Wives	279	15.8
Children	830	47.0
Dependents	155	8.9
Total	1763	100

Source: Bai Estate Manager, 1981.

There were 602 rooms for a population of 1,763 people. On the average three people occupied a room, and each person was entitled to about 0.3% of a 72 square feet room space. In an earlier study of other estates, Ardener et al., (1960) found that the average number of people in rooms of this size was about three. This pattern is repeated in the more than 120 workers' villages in C.D.C. estates, since the houses are standardized.

The functions and the categories of workers influence the allocation of houses. Even in the estates, there is discrimination between field workers and clerical staff; white collar workers are usually better housed near estate offices;

engineering staff may be housed with them, but the unskilled employees generally occupy the main camps. In many estates the manager lives almost isolated from the camps.

Formerly almost all houses were built of wood (carraboards), but these are being substituted by permanent cement-block buildings because carraboard structures dilapidate very rapidly as a result of rain, termite invasions or other environmental factors. The difference between permanent and carraboard houses is shown in (Figure IV.2).

Despite the transition to permanent buildings, the plans of the camps, the size of the rooms, and other aspects of the villages have generally remained unaltered since independence. The location of managers' houses for example, still shows the distance which this category of workers and their supervisors kept from ordinary employees. Although workers like keeping birds and animals, this fact is still ignored by some managers. Even though Ardener et al., (1960), Bederman (1968), and others have noted that farming is the most important part-time activity for many employees and their families, the attention that is given to "chop farms" which provide some income in addition to food is not sufficient.

In some estates, only marginal land which is not being used by the companies is allocated for this purpose. Some managers even state that this is the cause of absenteeism among workers because they spend more of their time on the farms than on estate work. The reason is that the workers realise that the prices of their farm products are often higher than the daily earnings from estate employment; the more they realise

FIGURE IV.2.

PERMANENT AND WOODEN BUILDINGS IN A PLANTATION VILLAGE



FIGURE IV.2

PERMANENT AND WOODEN HOUSES IN A PLANTATION VILLAGE



this, the greater their affinity for the farms. However, the absence of organized markets for food crops makes this source of income unreliable; as a result the workers try to maintain a foothold in both sectors of production.

It may be argued that if wages are raised employees will concentrate on plantation occupations in order to increase their earnings which could be used to buy food and other manufactured goods. This postulation will hold good if the prices of food items and manufactured goods do not rise faster than workers' earnings; but production and distribution difficulties which were earlier discussed still inhibit this possibility.

Another characteristic of the villages is the absence of electricity in many houses. The reason is that the National Electricity Corporation, SONEL, which monopolizes the supply of this "basic" commodity, charges discriminatory rates for non-industrial and industrialized areas. These profit motives deprive remote areas of essential facilities such as electricity. Since the companies find it difficult to pay the high rates, and due to the fact that estate plants are often not able to supply electricity for whole estates, only senior employees' houses, or factory and club premises are lighted.

Workers' shops were a characteristic feature of plantation institutions in the past. These shops provided weekly food rations to employees who could also buy provisions on credit. The burden of having to travel long distances to buy food and other immediate requirements was reduced. Bederman (1960:28) notes that the high prices which otherwise would have

prevailed in C.D.C. estates and their vicinities were deflated as a result of these shops. However, the items, rice, fish, milk, beverages and other manufactured good, were usually imports which did not create any links with domestic producers. These shops are often regarded as facilities which helped to subjugate workers to their employers through contracted debts (Fossung, 1980).

Today, almost all the shops have been handed to private individuals; the services have been reduced and in some estates, the owners exercise monopoly power. In order to break these monopoly powers, many employees have established small retail stores in their small rooms which as a result usually become congested and unhealthy to live in.

To animate social life in the estates, clubs, film shows and other recreational facilities are usually provided. These facilities which are important, though rudimentary, provide opportunities for workers to punctuate the monotony of plantation work with dances, soccer matches and other activities, even though the work schedule in some estates provide very limited time for these activities.

Clubs are the most important social centers in almost all estates, providing a rendez-vous spot for workers, especially after pay days. In the past, wine, beer and beverages sold in these clubs were subsidized. Due to these credit facilities, many workers usually contracted debts which were above their wages; as a result there was no personal investment income left in their hands. Despite these problems many workers and managers regard clubs as the most important facility which

attracts workers to an estate.

Cinema shows also provide recreation for workers, but the films are usually not educative and less oriented towards solving development problems in the rural areas.

(c) Medical Facilities.

A free medical policy for all employees has been maintained by the companies for many decades. This policy has continued because of the need to maintain a healthy work force capable of withstanding arduous plantation work.

While small plantations, rely on public medical facilities, C.D.C. and Pamol, own private medical infrastructure. Until 1975 C.D.C. owned five hospitals, two at Tiko, the others at Bota, Ekona and Mukonje, and also had semi-hospital installations in other estates. Pamol has two hospitals, one at Lobe and the other at Ndian. However, serious problems have been encountered in carrying out this task which concerns the complete eradication of endemic diseases such as malaria, smallpox, yellow fever, whooping cough, measles, tetanus, or fileria, in the estates.

The major problems have been the shortage of trained medical personnel, insufficient drugs and equipment, and the geographical distances which separate the hospitals from the remote plantation villages. In 1968, C.D.C. had over 12,000 people on their payrolls and more than 16,500 dependents who were all being taken care of by five doctors, sixty-one nurses, sixteen nurse-midwives, and about ninety-one auxiliary staff. Each doctor was responsible for about 5,700 people, a

nurse-midwife for 1781 and an auxiliary medical worker cared for 313 people. In 1981 the number of people under a doctor dropped, but was still above 3,501. The number of people who were taken care of by the two doctors employed by Pamol was 11,000, aside from some patients from the neighbouring villages. The number of people to one hospital bed was about 136. Figure IV.3, illustrates overcrowding problems in the hospitals and clinics.

The shortage of medical staff is a problem which is shared by the whole S.W. Province: In 1980/81 for example, the doctor/population ratio in the Province was one doctor to 14,400 people; one nurse was responsible for 217 inhabitants and a midwife took care of 3,000 women; one hospital bed was for 382 patients (Provincial Deleg. for Econ. Plan., 1982:9).

In 1975 the government took over C.D.C. hospitals; as a result C.D.C. health services have been affected. Today, the hospitals are no longer exclusive to plantation employees. The question may therefore be asked if C.D.C. is a government corporation offering complementary services to those provided by other sectors, or whether the C.D.C. is a competitor with the central administration. However, as a result of shortages in public health facilities, Pamol hospitals and existing C.D.C. clinics still offer important services in many remote areas such as Ndian.

(d) Education and Training

As pointed out earlier, German colonial plantation owners and their home government established research and other

FIGURE IV.3. - A CROWDED SCENE IN AN OUTPATIENT PLANTATION CLINIC .



educational institutions to promote German culture and enhance agricultural activities; but the orientation that the education gave the indigenous people benefited mostly the plantations and the colonial administration.

The plantation companies have continued to play an important role in the education of some employees and their children. Before the late 1970s C.D.C. had 13 primary schools and Pamol established similar institutions in Ndian. Though these schools gave priority to employees children, they nonetheless, accepted a select group of pupils from the vicinities who otherwise might have had no government institutions to attain. Scholarship schemes were established to assist meritorious children who wished to study at higher levels but were unable to finance their studies.

To reduce the illiteracy that existed and still exists in the plantations, adult education classes were started; this programme continued until 1967 when its administration was handed over to the Ministry of Youths and Sports. The scholarship programmes have also been stopped and educational activities are now generally controlled by the government.

In order to directly satisfy corporate requirements, the C.D.C. established a training department to draw up programmes for its employees. The training organized at this level was generally for lower and middle-level workers; higher levels of education were received abroad because in pre-independent S. W. Province there was a complete shortage of higher level technical, administrative, and scientific institutions. The yet limited and less specialized number of such establishments

in post-colonial Cameroon has usually resulted in a quasi-total dependence on facilities in Norway, Holland, Trinidad, Malaysia, Britain and other foreign countries for the training of these higher categories of workers.

The rejuvenation of the managerial staff in the C.D.C. and the Cameroonization of this class of employees has been assured for many years by a "Cadet Management Trainee" programme which has however encountered some difficulties in recent years. The programme has been suspended on financial grounds, but the fact that some of those trained soon resign their appointments cannot be ignored.

The lack of participation in management decisions, shortage of facilities in many estates, the nature of plantation work, difficulties in adjusting to plantation societies by some employees, and the provocation of plantation workers by their white collar peers as a result of the fact that plantation work and agriculture in general, are disdained by elites, contribute to these resignations.

The training of indigenous top level employees in Pamol establishments was given impetus only from 1979 when university graduates were recruited to be trained in various aspects of estate management for two years. The reason for this training is to revamp the managerial core which is ageing. The cost factor is also paramount because indigenous managerial staff earn lower incomes than their expatriate peers. One cannot also ignore the Cameroonization policy which has progressed to the extent that in 1981, 19 out of 24 (83%) managerial positions were filled by Cameroonians.

The immediate benefits from most of the training sponsored by the companies first accrue to the plantations on whose needs it is usually patterned; the end result of all the training is to raise labour productivity, improve managerial efficiency and increase profits.

(iv) Labour Unions and Government Labour Policies.

The weakness of labour organizations due to administrative instruments of colonial rule permitted exploitation. The establishment of the C.D.C. was the beginning of a new era in labour movements in the plantations. The formation of the C.D.C. Labour Union in 1947 strengthened the bargaining position of workers vis a vis their employers. Unlike in German plantations in which dissatisfied workers often agitated in an unorganized manner, post 1947 agitations were usually planned by union management. The Unions became influential in matters concerning welfare, social facilities, incomes and wages.

Often, negotiations between unions and employers were deadlocked resulting in strikes which became a phenomenon in the plantations. In 1959 for example, the C.D.C. Worker's Union, the most powerful union that existed in West Cameroon, called for strike action because 13 of its members were declared redundant at the Mechanical Workshop at Bota. This strike affected 8,000 workers, involved all the estates, and resulted in a loss of 25,000 mandays. In the corporation's thirty-seven year history, there have been a series of strikes provoked by disputes over wages, bonuses, task work, pensions,

retirement benefits and other aspects concerning field operations.

There have been relatively less disputes in Pamol estates. Its work force is comparatively smaller and less financially viable than that of the C.D.C. One may suggest that Pamol workers are relatively more satisfied than their counterparts in the C.D.C., although conditions in both corporations are almost the same.

The introduction of the "Labour Code" into the Province in 1967, and the reorganization of labour union movements over the national territory reduced the strength of individual unions. The National Union of Cameroon Workers, which is an arm of the government, together with the Labour Code, now provide guidelines and regulate labour matters which in the past might have resulted into strikes. As a result of the new organization, there is more arbitration than strikes even in matters which would have in the past resulted in immediate strike action.

Conclusion

Despite the gradual change taking place in the S. W. Province which has a colonial legacy of class and social stratification, a high degree of inequality in the distribution of recreational facilities, incomes and other amenities still exists in many estates. These disparities continue because facilities are provided on the bases of educational attainments or on the categories in which the workers are employed; they may also continue if wage or income policies do not bridge the

inequality gap.

B. SOURCES OF INVESTMENT CAPITAL

Introduction

In order to establish, develop and expand, plantations like many other businesses need financial and technical capital in addition to other factors of production such as land and labour.

Colonial plantations depended on imported capital from the metropolis, although in the later part of the period one can suggest that most of the investments were from exploited resources in the colonies or from the taxes which were forced on the citizens.

Although it is easier for the large companies to acquire investment capital than the small plantations, there is no doubt that in Cameroon, capital is generally scarce relative to land or labour, especially unskilled labour. The shortage of indigenous capital has led to the continuous in-flow of foreign multilateral and bilateral capital.

(i) C.D.C.

The C.D.C. whose share capital was raised from 4.6 to 6.6 milliard Francs C.F.A. in 1982, was established with very little operating capital. It has already been pointed out that the C.D.C. contracted loans from the Nigerian government, the colonial Development Corporation and private banks such as Barclays (D.C.O.) of England from which it borrowed 600,000

pounds in 1959. C.D.C. still relies on foreign capital for its survival. The World Bank (IBRD), European Development Fund (FED), Commonwealth Development Corporation (ComDev.), European Investment Bank, among other organizations, are the major sources of investment capital for the corporation. The sources of investment capital in 1981/1982 are shown in Table IV. 5.

Table IV. 5: C.D.C. Financial Sources.

Source	Year	
	1982	1981
	Amts. in millions of Francs C.F.A.	Amts. in millions of Francs C.F.A.
1. Self generated Funds	503.1	1,510.7
2. Loans		
IBRD	528.0	773.8
CCCE (France)	303.2	436.5
ComDev.	225.7	421.6
FED	172.9	131.9
Sub. TOTAL	1,229.8	1,763.7
3. Cameroon Govn't Subsid	500.0	450.0
Increase in Creditors	618.1	288.6
FONADER Loans to Smallholders	--	12.1
Share Capital	2,000.0	--
TOTAL	4,850.8	4,025.2

Adapted from Annual Reports 1981/82

As seen from Table IV.5 , external loans in 1981 and 1982 were respectively, 1763.7 and 1,229.8 million francs C.F.A. These figures represented about 43.8% and 25.4% respectively of the total liquid capital. The loans together with the subsidies are the major source of finance for the corporation which otherwise would be financially impotent.

Loan repayments for 1981 and 1982 were respectively 307.4

and 319.5 million francs; this was an increase of about 4%. In 1982 interest paid on IBRD loans was 11.6% on capital per annum with an annual commitment charge of 0.75% on undisbursed balances and a front end fee of 1.5% due on the loans which were to be repaid in a period of 20 years after only a five year grace period was allowed (World Bank, May, 1982).

The debt servicing problems that are created because the loans hardly mature to service themselves are worth noting. Since most plantation crops, such as rubber, mature after five years, it implies that the loans have to be serviced from other sources of revenue which might not be available; the crops would not have started producing by the time payments are due. It will be difficult even in the first ten years to service the debts from the proceeds of the crops on which such loans are invested because yields are usually low in the first two or three years following maturity.

(ii). PAMOL.

Pamol operates with a share capital of 25,000,000 francs C.F.A. (Ediafric, 1983:45). Though it is an affiliate of the largest agro-industrial company in the World, it does not have the influence that most large multinational companies usually exercise over governments and their financial institutions. Since the C.D.C. is a state corporation, it has an advantage over Pamol in having access to scarce local capital and to government subsidies or guaranteed foreign loans. On the other hand, through its mother company, Unilever, which has a global influence, Pamol has easy access to foreign capital.

Both C.D.C. and Pamol create greater financial linkages abroad than domestically because the nature of their activities requires amounts of capital than can be procured locally.

(iii). The Financing of Smallholder Schemes.

The National Fund for Rural Development (FONADER) which was created in 1973 is responsible for the financing of family plantations. In 1974/75 it had a capital of 3,870 million francs which was increased to 11,699 million in 1979/80 (Ediafric, 1983:101).

In the S. W., FONADER services are contracted to the C.D.C. which has established a smallholder department to administer these delegated tasks. The loans extended to the smallholders often fluctuate. In 1981 the amount was 12.1 million francs. These loans are repaid from the second year and carry a 0.5% commission for services and an interest payment of two per cent on capital. The success or failure of the farmer will therefore determine his debt servicing ability. Although some family estates are also privileged to acquire foreign loans which are guaranteed by the government, the difficulties encountered by the very small category of plantations is worth noting; these shall be discussed later, and the problems which the small farmer scheme can pose to the economy will also be examined.

C. Land

Land is relatively more abundant than capital, or labour, but the location of economically exploitable land in relation

to demand makes it a scarce commodity in the coastal region where the plantations are concentrated.

In order to acquire this input the companies negotiate with local authorities. The compensation which the native inhabitants receive is usually in the form of wine, cash or promises that the projects would benefit the local communities through employment of their people.

In some cases however, the government which in principle controls all land resources, acquires and leases it to companies which, in return, pay ground rents. Smallholders usually convert part of their small plots into farms for export crops.

The controversies which arose in colonial times regarding the acquisition of this input have already been examined; it is worth noting that they still exist in some areas, such as Limbe where plantations occupy nearly all the economically useful land.

Conclusion

The present financial structure of the plantations indicates a continuous dependence on investment capital from abroad, or on subsidies and other means of support from the government. The smallfarmers and cooperatives are financially depend due to their inability to provide finance for investment purposes from their own resources. Their financial management abilities provide little scope for self-reliant expansion. Land is still relatively abundant in some areas, but in the coastal region, it is scarce, and as a result, controversies often arise between various users. Production is now examined.

CHAPTER V

PART ONE : CROPS, CULTIVATION, AND OUTPUT

INTRODUCTION

The major crops cultivated in the large and smallholder plantations in the S.W. Province of Cameroon are pepper, bananas, oil palm, tea, and rubber. Other crops include coconut, and avocado, but their cultivation is still in the experimental phase. The objective in this chapter is to examine the extent to which the plantations have adapted to innovations through time in order to cope with ecological and technical problems, as well as with changing market conditions. The relationship between cultivation, processing, output, returns on investments, producers, and the whole economy are analysed. Figure V.1, is a map illustrating the spatial location of agro-industrial estates in the S. W. Province. The crops which are cultivated by these micro-units are indicated, and they shall be studied in this section.

Though agriculturalists and other authorities concerned with third world development emphasize the need for crop and market diversification, some countries still specialize in growing one or two crops which were perhaps introduced only during the colonial era. In many countries little or no emphasis is placed on traditional crops, or on large scale agriculture aimed at increasing food production. An examination of individual estates in the S.W. Province reveals

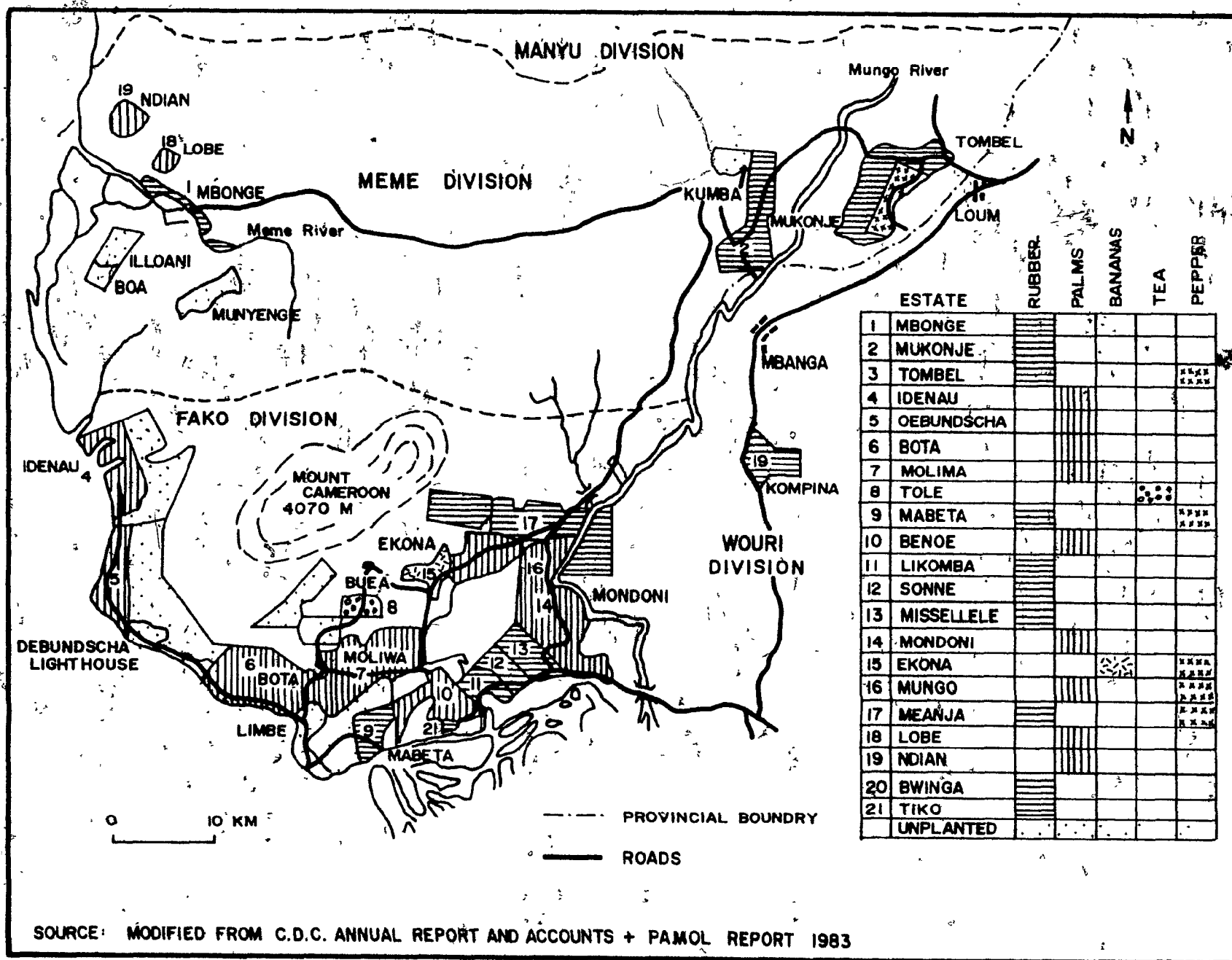


FIG.V.1: SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF LARGE PLANTATIONS IN S.W. PROVINCE: 1984

that they are specialized in one or two crops. Tole, for example grows tea; Lobe, oil palms, and Meanja, only rubber and pepper (see Figure V.1). This confirms the hypothesis that large estates in developing countries, specialize in growing one or two crops. The cultivation of individual crops is now examined.

A. Rubber

Introduction

Modern methods of cultivating and producing rubber have only recently been adopted in the S.W. Province, although rubber exploitation in the region has spun many centuries. The native rubber tree, (Kicksia elastica) was already being exploited by the natives who, employing traditional processing methods, used latex to produce items such as shoes, balls and other goods before the colonial era. The Germans continued to exploit the local rubber tree even after introducing (Hevea Braziliensis), a specie from the Amazon Rain Forest into Moliwe before 1914.

It was after 1914, and especially post 1939 when the Japanese occupied the major producing areas in S.E. Asia, that rubber cultivation in the S.W. Province and many other areas of West Africa expanded. Until other areas were opened for rubber cultivation, the Amazon region supplied more than 90% of European and North America's requirements of high quality raw rubber (Weinstein, 1983:138).

Charles Goodyear's work in 1839 on the vulcanization process was the factor that initially stimulated the demand for

natural rubber in Europe and North America thereby encouraging large scale cultivation in many tropical areas. The development of budding techniques which was started in West Java in 1910 by Van Helten in collaboration with two estate managers, Bodde and Tas (Wrigley, 1969:199) has been a very important innovation. Their work introduced new cultivation techniques and better yielding materials to planters in many parts of the world. As a result of these innovations native rubber trees which grew in scattered stands and yielded relatively lower latex than new progenies became uneconomic and uncompetitive with plantation rubber. Intensive use of clonal rubber as planting material in the S.W. began after 1948 when some species were imported from Malaya. Since 1948, cultivation has expanded and has been based on the new cultivation techniques. In the S.W. Province these new techniques could be acquired only after heavy investments in research and technology which could only be afforded by government institutions or capital-intensive plantation establishments such as Pamol and the C.D.C.

By 1982 rubber occupied about 21,292 hectares and was second only to oil palm in the large and smallholder plantations in the S.W. Province. In 1982 nearly 51% (18,899 hectares) of the total area cultivated by C.D.C. was under rubber and about 1,811 hectares of Pamol's total area under cultivation (9,356 hectares) was also planted with rubber. Today, resources are continuously being invested in rubber cultivation despite growing fluctuations in its price. It is estimated that by 1990, Pamol will have expanded its rubber areas to over 2,000 hectares. Bwinga, with a cultivated area of

over 643 hectares, and Bai estate which has more 1168 hectares of rubber, are the rubber plantations under Pamol. Various development projects in the C.D.C. are also aimed at expanding areas under rubber cultivation and other crops. Smallholder resources have also been oriented towards the production of rubber.

The cultivation of rubber requires substantial amounts of capital and labour in order to provide the meticulous attention which the crop demands from the nursery to the factory.

I. Nursery Operations

Nowadays rubber seedlings are nurtured in nurseries before being transplanted into already prepared fields. Nursery work consists, among other operations, of weeding, fertilizing, disease control, irrigation and budding. It is usually estimated that two rounds of weeding be carried out in nurseries, yet weeds grow so rapidly in some estates that more rounds are required. As a result, the estates where environmental conditions favour luxuriant weed development usually spend more man-days for this operation.

Budded plants have substituted ordinary seedlings as planting material. In order to obtain good planting, budded material has to be very successful. In some estates the success rate hovers around 90%. But high tasks often lower the success rate since budders try to rush their jobs so as to complete a day's work in order to earn full wages and bonuses. The bonus offered to encourage high budding standards has the same merits and demerits which were earlier examined. After budded materials have reached a girth of five centimeters they

are "cut back", and the stumps transplanted into fields with exceptional care in order not to destroy their root systems.

II. Immature and Mature Field Operations

Rubber trees with a girth of less than 50 centimeters are considered immature. Generally speaking, rubber should be mature seven years after it is planted in the S.W. Province and other rubber areas. However, in particularly fertile, well-watered, but properly drained soils, the immaturity period is shortened, especially if the above conditions are accompanied by good field upkeep and disease control methods. Upkeep and the treatment of diseases are among the most important tasks occupying labour when rubber is still immature. Other tasks include pruning, thinning and fertilizing.

In order to have healthy plants, diseases have to be controlled. White root (Rigidiporus Lignosus), Brown root (Phellinus noxius), Armillaria and Red root (Ganoderma pseudoferreum) are the most common diseases which attack immature rubber in the S.W. Province. The symptoms of these diseases vary, but their results, if left unchecked, are unhealthy trees which eventually die. In some estates, diseases are very widespread. Between 1977 and 1980 more than 100 hectares of a monoclonal immature area at Tombel was affected by various diseases. It was noticed that fields, previously planted with cocoa, were prone to root diseases because the roots of cocoa stumps are good host to fungi and other disease-causing bacteria. The rapid spread of diseases as observed in these estates is one of the disadvantage of the monoculture characteristic of plantations. To combat such

widespread diseases requires specially trained gangs and capital equipment which can be provided only through large scale investments.

From the investment point of view, immature plantings in the short run are a great liability to mature areas which provide revenue to sustain immature areas if other financial sources are not available. In 1982, immature rubber occupied 8093 hectares (42%) of all the rubber area, and about 80% of the total immature area under all crops in the C.D.C. These percentages are relatively high compared to mature areas; this is unprofitable because more is spent than is earned.

Resources in mature rubber are mainly employed for tapping and the control of panel diseases. But labour is still employed to treat diseased roots and for weeding. Since paths through which workers pass to tap, collect latex and treat diseases need cleaning, weeding is usually carried out either manually or chemically. Although chemical weeding has disadvantages on the environment, many managers prefer it because it is more profitable, they assume, than manual weeding. However, many chemicals have disastrous consequences on vegetation, fauna and even human beings. Sodium Arsenite for example which is used for killing resistant shrubs and stumps is fatal to animals when they eat the leaves or the barks of shrubs and stumps which have been poisoned with this substance. The immediate effect of these chemicals and herbicides is on plants and grasses, but the long-term consequences of those that evaporate, or are washed into streams in the S.W. Province have not yet been studied. The effects of the chemicals on those who handle them are not being monitored in some estates

which often do not provide the special equipment that ought to be used by "chemical spraying" gangs.

Rubber estates depend heavily on tapping since it influences the incidence of panel diseases, latex production, the life-span of rubber trees as well as the over all cost of production and returns to investments. The adoption of modern tapping techniques is therefore important. Schools have been established where about six weeks of training is usually given to a selected group of unskilled workers.

Many tapping systems are often employed to extract latex from rubber trees. In principle the system employed depends on the age of the rubber trees and the availability of labour and factory infrastructure. In very young mature rubber, the tapping system commonly used is S/2,d3 (half spiral and three days interval); this system is mostly employed in estates without factories. Other systems, often referred to as, "slaughter tapping", are more frequently applied to very old trees so as to maximize latex extraction before replanting programmes start.

There is risk involved in tapping very old rubber trees because ladders have to be used in order to reach the lower branches which are also tapped at this stage. Figure V.2, illustrates this system of tapping. In some cases the tappers fall off the ladders and sustain injuries. As a result, plantations with old rubber trees face shortage of tappers because the tappers fear falling off ladders. The old trees also influence the quality of tapping which affects latex flow and the occurrence of panel diseases such as moldy rot (Ceratostoma-mella-finbriota) and Black stripes (Phytophthora).

FIGURE V.2 - TAPPING USING LADDERS



These diseases are common in many estates where the quality of tapping is poor, or where the climate is very damp. However it has been discovered that regular and proper application of "defolatan", a chemical employed to control panel diseases, controls most of the panel diseases. The quality of tapping is judged from the amount of bark that a tapper consumes or taps off the tree, the tapping slope and the depth of tapping, the ability to treat panel diseases promptly, and the amounts of crop produced. It has also been observed that the time that a tapper commences work is important because maximum latex can be extracted if tapping starts at, or before six in the morning.

The distances from estate villages to some areas where tapping is carried out are often very far. Also, although terracing methods have reduced the inability to plant rubber on steep slopes (see Figure V.3), such a topography creates problems for tappers and thus reduces their performances. Often, transport is provided, but the use of tractors is very frequent, despite the poor roads and existing regulations deploring its use for transporting human labour. When there is no transport these distances are covered on foot every day. The result is late tapping, and often, incompleteness of tasks, or, because of high mid-day temperatures which affect the flow of latex, maximum yields are not obtained from the rubber trees. Moreover, trekking long distances everyday causes physical debility resulting in illnesses, absenteeism and a loss of output and revenue. Such absenteeism has the same effects as the shortage of tappers; it affects output because production can increase only when rubber trees are tapped.

Tapping calendars depend on the climatic pattern that

FIGURE V.3 - PLANTING RUBBER ON TERRACES



prevails in an area. In most estates, tapping starts in September. There is a rest period from January to March as a result of wintering which inhibits the processes of photosynthesis and latex formation. It becomes uneconomic to extract reserves from the rubber trees during this period; yet in some estates, authorities attempt tapping during wintering even though they know that it is not economic. Tapping starts again in March when the trees are fully refoliated. August is usually too wet in many estates for any tapping to be economic; often there are wash outs and very high incidents of panel diseases as a result of rain. During these wintering months there is usually a scarcity of jobs in some estates which results in underemployment and misallocation of labour.

III. Value Added to Latex

Latex is generally not utilized in its natural state; it has to be processed into forms which can be employed in the manufacture of other goods. The factories at Tiko, Meanja, Missellele, Mukonje and Bai are responsible for some of the value which is added to latex before it is exported. Factory processes in Cameroon mainly reduce bulk in order to make handling during transportation easy. The factories therefore control only rudimentary stages in the manufacturing processes.

Manufacturing processes are complicated and cannot be fully explained in this dissertation. It is however worth noting some aspects which affect labour and returns to investments. Rubber is manufactured from coagulated polybag latex or from fresh uncoagulated latex. Some estates which have no factories produce polybag coagulum. The coagulum is

sent to the factories once or twice a month to be processed, but this category of latex produces mainly low-grade crepe rubber. On the other hand, high grade rubbers are manufactured from uncoagulated latex sent to the factories everyday. Latex is mixed with quantities of formic acid and water and passed through various processes to produce white sheets of coagulum. The sheets are dried, graded and packed into bales ready for export. The desire to earn more money often results in tappers adulterating the latex they collect in order to increase its volume. Such adulteration affects the quality of rubber produced. The measures which tappers take are often the result of low wages which they earn.

In order to remain competitive in the markets, high grades of rubber should be produced in factories which operate at profitable capacities. Although market conditions have been relatively unfavourable, factory processes have nonetheless improved over the years. In 1982, Tiko Central Factory, the largest in the country and in the Province, was operating at a profitable capacity of 98%; in 1980 it produced 86% of grade one sheets. Missellele's output of the same grade of rubber was about 78%. Mukonje produced nearly 86% of grade one smoked-sheets during the same period. The quality of smallholder's crop is usually low due to handling problems; but it is a cheap source of raw material which contributes in keeping the large plantation factories operating at near full capacity.

The link between smallholders and large estates makes them vulnerable to any changes that may affect the large plantations negatively. The relationship between smallholders

and large plantations is almost identical to that between the developed and developing nations. The small planters produce raw-materials which are processed by large estates. The difference in the analogy is the fact that the large plantations do not produce goods such as tyres, shoes foam material, and have established no important links with local industries for the production of such goods.

IV. Output

Tapping techniques, market factors and environmental conditions affect rubber output from the S.W. Province. These factors, except market influences have already been referred to in this chapter. Table V.1, is rubber output from 1977 to 1980.

Table: V.1.

Total output of Rubber from the S.W., 1977-1981 (in tons)					
Establishments		1977/78	1978/79	1979/80	1980/81
Pamol		n.a.	n.a.	2,120	2,026
C.D.C.		12,065	11,460	12,413	12,831
Small holders		183	207	243	221
Totals S.W.		12,248	11,667x	14,856	15,058
Cameroon		15,799	15,437	15,735	18,027

x: Total excludes Pamol whose data was unavailable

Source: compiled from Bulletin de l'Afrique noire, September 1982; S.W.Economic Report, 1982, and C.D.C. Annual Reports

The table indicates that output increased from 14,856 tons in 1979/80 to 15058 in 1980/81; the increase was about 1.4%. The table also shows that output from smallholders has been small. The evolution of output can be well understood if production from some estates is examined. Table V.2, is output of rubber from Bai estate.

Table: V.2.

Output of Rubber from Bai Estates 1977-1982(in tons)

Year	Annual estimates	Actual production	Actual variance	%Variance
1977	1200	1127	-73	- 6.1
1978	1330	1123	-207	-15.6
1979	1420	1296	-124	- 8.7
1980	1503	1156	-347	-23.1
1981	1329	979	-350	-26.3
1982	671	584	-67	-13.0
TOTAL	7453	6265	-1188	-15.9

Source: Unpublished Bai Estate Report ,1982.
Totals are my calculation.

From 1981 output declined mainly due to the fact that the trees had reached their economic life-span and could no longer produce much latex; however, rainfall affected output as shown by the number of tapping days lost (see Table V.3).

Table V.3:, Bai Estate: Tapping Days Lost Due to Rain.

Year	Number of days lost
1977	19
1978	29
1979	17
1980	18
1981	15
1982	17
TOTAL:	115

Source: Bai Annual Report, 1982.

Table V.4, is C. D. C.'s production and yields from 1951 to 1982.

Table V. 4. C.D.C. Rubber Production and Yields 1951-1981/82.

Year	Planted Area (in Hects.)			Production in Metric Tons	Yield/Hect. in Metric Tons
	Mature	Immature	Total		
1947	--	--	--	1,314	--
1948	--	--	--	1,335	--
1949	--	--	--	945	--
1950	--	--	--	1,324	--
1951	4,579	1,460	6,039	1,632	0.36
1952	4,731	1,615	6,346	1,584	0.33
1953	4,545	2,028	6,573	1,829	0.40
1954	3,985	2,517	6,502	1,621	0.41
1955	3,939	2,793	6,732	1,549	0.39
1956	4,163	2,760	6,932	1,742	0.42
1957	4,450	2,782	7,232	1,886	0.42
1958	4,347	2,753	7,100	2,279	0.52
1959	4,700	2,913	7,613	2,623	0.56
1960	5,306	3,059	8,365	3,268	0.62
1961	5,568	4,125	8,693	3,832	0.69
1962	5,998	4,676	9,674	4,240	0.71
1963	5,872	5,758	10,630	5,081	0.87
1964	5,900	6,157	11,057	4,860	0.82
1965	7,064	5,126	12,190	6,378	0.90
1966	7,402	4,661	12,063	6,714	0.91
1967	8,066	4,406	12,472	7,254	0.90
1968	7,302	4,698	12,000	6,121	0.84
1969	8,404	3,814	12,218	6,958	0.83
1970/71	9,450	3,454	12,904	8,231	0.87
1971/72	9,370	3,513	12,883	8,296	0.95
1972/73	9,623	3,611	13,234	8,894	1.41
1973/74	10,005	3,356	13,361	10,019	1.20
1974/75	10,425	2,449	12,874	10,205	0.97
1975/76	10,756	2,400	13,156	10,154	0.98
1976/77	10,798	--	--	11,631	1.07
1977/78	10,772	--	--	12,062	1.12
1978/79	--	--	--	11,460	--
1979/80	--	--	--	12,413	--
1980/81	10,096	--	--	12,831	1.16
1981/82	10,806	8,093	18,899	12,182	1.13

--Data not available

Source: Compiled from C.D.C. Annual Reports (Various Issues).

The introduction of high yielding clones and improved tapping techniques have resulted in increased output unlike in the 1940s when planted materials were mostly unselected and unbudded seedlings. Other factors to which reference has already been made cause low yields during certain years. In 1969 insufficient tappers, labour crisis, inadequate supplies

of tapping equipment, and mechanical problems at processing units, all contributed to reduced crop output beyond expectation. Output was still higher than in the previous year, but yields decreased by 01 tons per hectare. In 1981/82 output decreased by .65 tons(5%), and yields by .03 tons (2.6%) per hectare, due to a combination of factors which have already been explained. Table V.5, for example indicates unseasonable rainfall which often prevents tapping or causes washouts. Yields vary from clone to clone and with the age of the rubber trees. Some of the highest yielding clones produce over 1,800 kilogrammes per hectare in places which are considered ideal.

Table V. 5: Rainfall in C.D.C. Rubber Estates in the S.W. Province 1978/1979 and 1979/1980.

Estate	1978/1979		1979/1980	
	Total Rainfall (in mm.)	Wet Days	Total Rainfall (in mm.)	Wet Days
Mabeta	2,414	99	3,139	131
Likomba	1,648	87	1,775	116
Sonne	1,704	66	2,945	83
Missellele	2,447	64	2,692	90
Meanja	510	88	523	96
Mbonge	1,679	70	1,923	69
Mukonje	1,713	111	1,931	116
Tombel	2,448	83	2,869	108
Total	14,563	668	17,797	809

Source: Adapted from Visiting Agent's Report, 1980:33

In 1980, 12,711 rubber trees were lost due to hurricanes. These losses together with other factors, such as Brown bast affect yield per hectare. (Brown Bast) is a pathological problem which reduces yield per tree. It is caused by natural factors or artificial chemicals such as "ethrel latex stimulants", a chemical used for stimulating latex flow. These stimulants may

TABLE:V 6:

C.D.C. RUBBER PRODUCTION 1981-VARIANTS

E S T A T E S	POLYBAG ESTATES				LATEX ESTATES					CORPORATIONS TOTAL
	MABETA	MBONGE	TOMBEL	LIKOMBA		SONNE	MISSELLELE	MEANJA	MUKONJE	
				A	B					
AVERAGE MATURE HECTARES	983	919	1101	632	1641	2004	1414	667	1775	11136
TAPPERS										
Total tappers required	144	117	155	86	422	644	451	244	420	2683
No. of tappers at end of month	130	99	162	86	308	308	576	367	262	2379
Deficit (-) or Surplus(+)	(-)14	(-)18	(+) 7	-	(+) 114	(-) 68	(-) 84	(+) 18	(-) 31	(-) 304
TASKS										
a) Possible to date	39,315	32,320	37,789	20,362	115,634	191,589	121,906	68,235	113,917	741.06
b) Actual to date	26,249	26,659	29,390	18,438	80,446	142,793	94,956	56,306	90,602	565.83
c) Vacant to date	13,066	5,661	8,399	1,924	35,188	48,796	26,950	11,929	23,315	175.22
d) % age out-turn to date	66.8	82.5	77.8	90.5	69.6	74.5	77.8	82.5	79.5	76.3
CROP PRODUCTION										
a) Estimate to date	1,029,000	1,097,000	1,146,000	502,000	2,120,000	2,752,000	1,877,000	772,000	1,855,000	13,150,000
b) Actual to date	892,898	1,003,429	1,106,261	575,654	2,367,891	2,696,927	1,595,446	886,886	1,705,947	12,831,339
c) Variance (Kgs)(+)	(-)136,102	(-) 93,571	(-)39,739	(+)73,654	(+)247,891	(-)55,073	(-)281,554	(+)114,886	(-)149,053	(-)318,661
d) " %	(-) 13.2	(-) 8.5	(-) 3.5	(+)14.7	(+) 11.7	(-) 2.0	(-) 15.0	(+) 14.8	(-) 8.0	(-) 2.4
YIELD										
A. PER PLANTED HA (KG)										
a) This year to date	908	1091	1004	911	1442	1345	1128	1330	961	1152
b) Last year to date	721	970	783	976	1256	1415	1073	1233	958	1016
B. PER TAPPER (KGS)										
a) This year to date	34.0	37.6	39.2	31.2	29.4	18.8	16.8	15.8	18.8	22.7
b) Last year to date	31.5	36.8	31.0	36.4	24.5	19.6	17.2	15.6	18.1	20.1
LABOUR COST (FRS CFA)										
1) Labour cost/kg to date	20.3	19.1	18.2	24.1	21.5	36.6	38.1	42.5	33.3	29.4
2) Supervision cost/ "	2.7	2.2	1.9	1.9	2.5	3.4	3.6	4.3	3.4	3.0
3) Total tapping cost/"	23.0	21.3	20.1	26.0	24.0	40.0	41.7	46.8	36.7	32.4
4) BONUSES										
a)Aver.bonus/kg to date	2.9	3.1	2.7	2.6	2.3	2.8	1.3	2.2	2.9	2.5
b)Aver. bonus/tapper "	100.0	118.1	104.2	82.9	65.2	53.8	22.1	35.1	54.6	57.5
5) Aver.daily earnings /tapper to date	693.0	720.0	714.3	752.0	635.5	692.0	639.6	669.0	628.0	667.0

SOURCE: Adapted from C.D.C. Chief Production Manager's Statement, June 1981.

reduce the flow of latex, and temporary or permanently render some trees barren if they are not well applied on the tapping panel. Generally, they increase yields, but their use has become debatable in many rubber producing countries in S. E. Asia, because it is argued that the use of artificial stimulants results in overproduction, thus low market prices. Other tapper-related factors which were examined also affect production. Table V.6, is a comprehensive analysis of some production variants. One would expect such an analysis to be very reliable and useful for future projections and planning. Most often however, the original data used for compilation is unreliable. The number of tappers, for example declared by some managers may be low because they want the yield per tapper in their estates to appear high, or because they intend to reduce production costs. These statistical manipulations are tantamount to misallocation of resources.

B. OIL PALMS

Introduction

The most prolific crop in plantations in the S.W. Province is oil palm. In 1982/83 the large scale and smallholder estates cultivated approximately 26,000 hectares of oil palm. The oil palm plantations in the S.W. Province constituted about 46.4% of the total area under large and smallholder oil palm plantations in Cameroon. Oil palm is the crop most cultivated by smallholders. In 1981 for example, there were more than 220 smallholders affiliated to Pamol under the oil palm smallholder scheme. Apart from one estate which is located in Manyu, the rest are concentrated in Meme and Fako Divisions even though

Manyu offers ideal conditions for oil palm cultivation.

The oil palm (Elaeis guineensis) is a native of West Africa. Its usefulness to the native inhabitants of West Africa need not be emphasized. Before contact with West Africa, oil was being used for cooking; the palm tree was also being tapped for wine. These uses are still very important in modern West Africa. The Niger Valley which later became the "Oil River Protectorate" of which the S.W. Province was a part, had a prosperous economy dependent on oil before the colonial period. The oil palm drew European attention to this region around 1466 and the first oil exports from the area were made in the early 1580s (Bederman, 1968:38).

But the domestication of the oil palm in capital intensive plantations started only around 1910. By 1913 nearly 2000 hectares of oil palm were already planted in the German colony. Moliwe was the most important estate. These developments in Cameroon took place at about the same time that commercial oil palm production started in S. East Asia. But the tree had earlier been introduced in S.E. Asia in the 1850s as an ornamental plant by the Belgians who had had experience with the crop in the Congo. The first plantations were started by the Belgians at Kuala Selanger, Malaya in 1917 (Courtenay, 1965:75).

The location of oil palm plantations near the coast was influenced by the same factors which have been considered under rubber. However, oil palm requires slightly different conditions to grow.

I. Conditions for Growth and Cultivated Materials

Oil palm requires high and evenly distributed rainfall throughout the year especially when the plant is still very young. A reasonable amount of sunshine which is evenly distributed throughout the year is required for healthy growth and good yields. Drought conditions inhibit growth and affect yields; but heavy rains without sufficient sunshine hamper fruit formation and ripening. Oil palm requires soils which are rich in potassium, magnesium, copper and zinc, and have a PH that is almost neutral. Many areas of the South West Province meet these requirements.

Capital intensive methods of production have eliminated the use of wild seeds as planting material and the nursery has become the starting point for the production of new high yielding hybrids from processes known as "Palm Breeding". In these aspects which require high levels of technology, the large plantations have a great advantage over other types of agriculture because they have more financial and technical linkages than other farmers. C.D.C. and Pamol have a specialized division responsible for these innovations. But the dissemination of such knowledge has been limited to a small number of farmers within the vicinity of the large plantations. To adopt these innovations requires capital which most farmers have difficulty acquiring.

The oil palm, like the coconut, is rarely self-fertilized and since there are no vegetative methods yet for its propagation, breeders usually manipulate the female and male inflorescence to develop species which produce either more oil and small kernels or larger kernels with reduced amounts of

oil. West African oil palms are grouped into three types depending on the form of their fruit. The first group is the (dura) which is a poor oil yielder, but a high kernel producer because of its thin mesocarp; the second specie is the "tenera"; it has a thicker mesocarp, a high oil content, but a small kernel. The last specie is the (pisifera) which has a thicker mesocarp, a small kernel and no shell. It is often female sterile, and as a result there are usually many fruit failures; the fruits frequently rot before maturity, or ripen very poorly. it is a hybrid with characteristics considered to be mid-way between those of the tenera and the dura (Wrigley, 1969:193). If resistance to diseases or other environmental hazards are considered, the tenera will be the most suitable specie for producing oil. Dura, bred with pisifera in West Africa produces nearly 100% tenera.

The Germans were the first to breed palms in the S.W. Province. Pisifera which had been located in Idenau was bred with an improved Deli specie they had imported from the far East in the 1930s and planted at Ngeme. The resulting tenera progeny was planted at Idenau which became the first estate in the world to cultivate this specie in a commercial scale (Bederman, 1966:40). Until recently, pisifera pollens for cross-breeding were imported from the French Research Institute (IRHO) in the Ivory Coast. A national research institute, a branch of which is responsible for tree crops has been established to provide these services. If good varieties are selected for planting, cultivation costs may be minimized because they will resist diseases and will be environmentally adaptable. The new varieties have the ability to produce fruits

throughout the year, which is a requirement of commercial oil palms. The introduction of new oil palm varieties has reduced immature periods to about three or four years. The shortened gestation period provides an opportunity for investors to earn quick returns on their investments.

Some of the returns on investments are used for purchasing fertilizers for the palm tree which requires the highest amount of this input, since it exhausts more plant nutrients than most tropical plantation crops. For example the oil palm takes up about 2,045 kilogrammes of nitrogen, nearly 15 kilogrammes of rock phosphate and almost 59.1 kilogrammes of potassium sulphate per 0.40 hectare a year. It is only in the absorption of potassium sulphate that the banana plant surpasses the oil palm; banana intake of potassium sulphate is about 91 kilogrammes per hectare a year. Fertilization programmes are often discontinued as the trees become mature. However before maturity is reached, about 100 grammes of muriate of potash are applied in the first month of planting; the amount is often increased to about 600 grammes in the second half of the fourth year. Sulphates of ammonia are also applied and the amounts vary from 100 grammes in the third month to 300 in the fourth year.

Many by-products from the oil palm bunches are very good fertilizer, yet they are rarely used since the general emphasis is chemical fertilizers despite their relatively high costs, and often negative environmental effects. The use of chemical fertilizers creates links with industries which require infrastructure that may only be provided by factories and financial institutions in the industrialized nations. As a

result, the agriculture has generally depended on foreign suppliers of this important commodity.

The oil palm has a long economic life span of about twenty-six years; this allows a long period for depreciation and therefore an opportunity to continue many operations for a long time before the plants become uneconomic. Harvesting is the major task which occupies most of the field labour as the palms become mature and start bearing fruits. As the trees grow older and taller, harvesting becomes difficult because the fruits can no longer be easily reached from the ground, even with long knives mounted on poles. At this stage climbers are employed to harvest fruits from the old trees (Figure V.4). Climbing palm trees in order to harvest the fruits is a traditional method which has continued to be used in capital intensive plantations due to absence of innovations in this area or for the simple reason that climbers can be employed at low wages.

It may be argued that improved harvesting techniques will cause unemployment. But it is also known that new techniques can reduce the risk to climbers. Also, although such innovations may produce unemployment in the short-run, the long-term effects could be beneficial since harvesting and collection costs might reduce, thereby increasing profits if market conditions are favourable. Assuming that such profits are reinvested, and that the investments are not mainly labour saving, new jobs could be created in other areas, and the economy would expand providing further opportunities for other people. Such innovations which improve conditions under which workers work are still absent in many large oil palm

FIGURE V.4 Continued

PALM NUT HARVESTING METHODS



FIGURE V.4 - PALM NUTS HARVESTING METHODS



plantations.

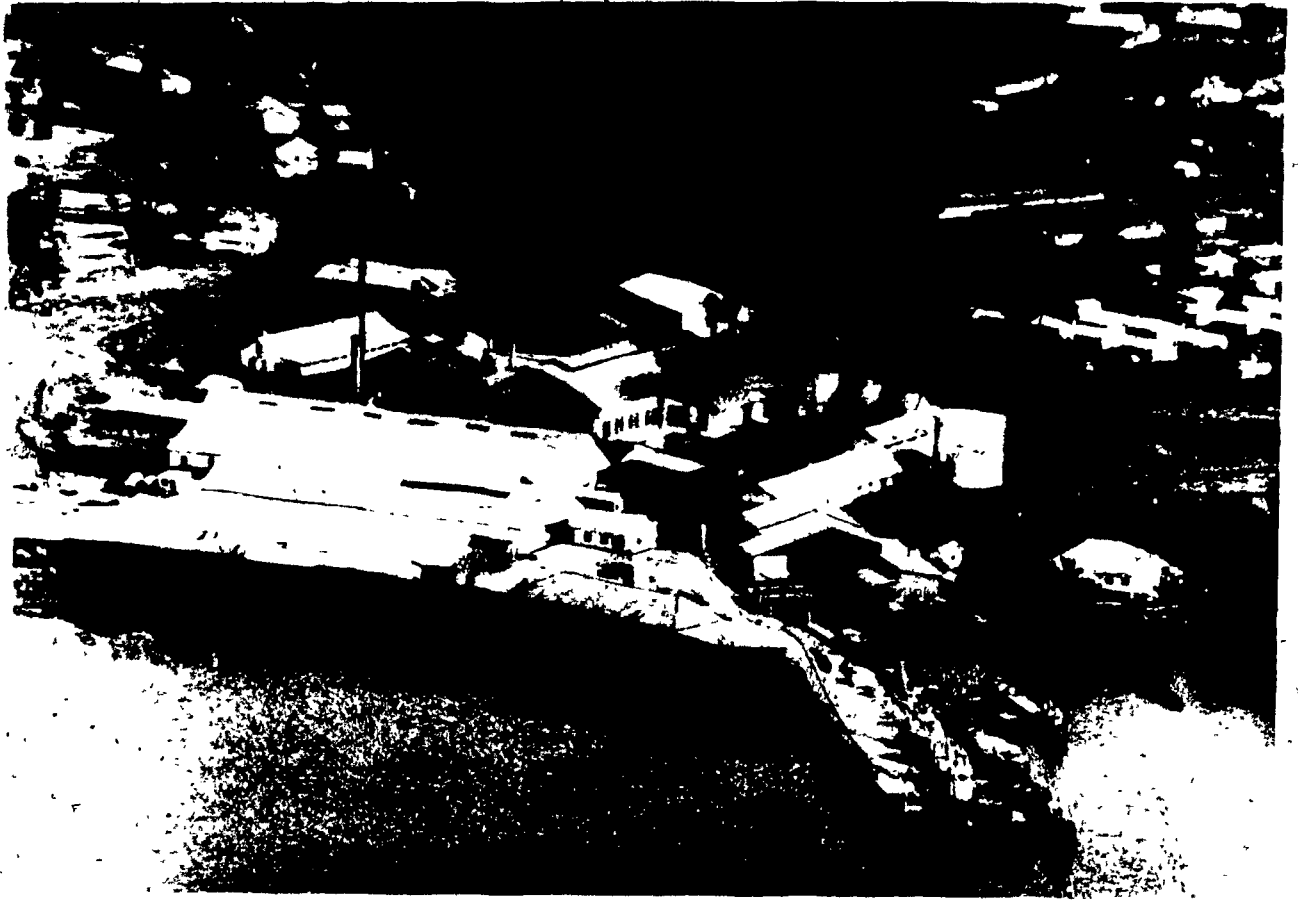
II. Processes and Output

The quality of oil that will be produced from the oil palm fruit depends on the time lapse after harvesting and the beginning of factory processes. Other factors which influence the quality of oil produced are, the efficiency of factory processes and the degree to which the fruit is ripened. Scientific observations and investigations have shown that fruits which are too ripe or unripe, produce low quality oil. Furthermore, fruits which remain unprocessed for long after harvesting produce more free fatty acids (f.f.a.) which lower the quality of oil manufactured. When palm fruits are efficiently processed the free fatty acid content is as low as 1.5 per cent or generally lower than 5 per cent.

On the average the f.f.a. content of the oil produced in 1982 in Idenau, Mondoni, and especially Lobe and Ndian, was lower than 3.5%. The first two factories belong to the C.D.C., while the others are Pamol installations. In 1974, with aid from a missionary body in Germany, two hand mills, were installed at Illoani and Mbongo. The aid was given to encourage cooperative movements among the Barondos who inhabit a remote area of Meme Division. The hand mills produce low quality palm oil, but their usefulness, especially in these areas which are almost inaccessible, is immense. The factory at Mondoni has substituted the Bota mill which had not only become uneconomic, but whose location (see Figure V.5) was meant to serve foreign markets. The new location is more convenient to palm estates without factories, and better

FIGURE V.5

LOCATION OF THE OLD OIL PALM MILL AT LIMBE



situated for domestic palm oil trade which in recent years has become more lucrative than external trade. Another reason for the locational change is the fact that Bota has lost its port function to Douala which now handles nearly all foreign trade to the S.W. Province and other regions of Cameroon. It is also added that the factory at Bota had become too obsolete to be economical.

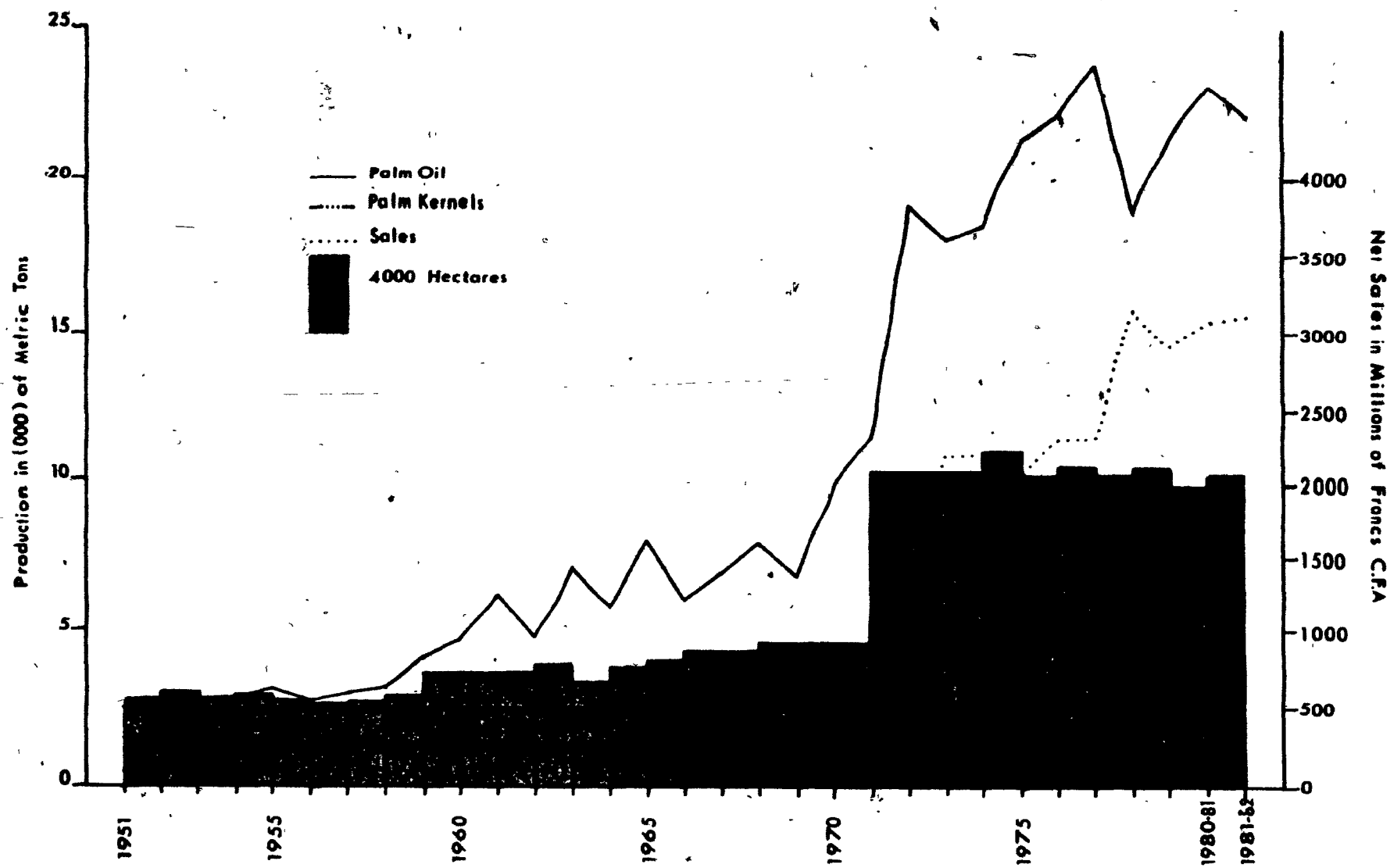
Disappointingly however, the factory at Mondoni which is the largest in Cameroon, and perhaps one of the most modern in Tropical Africa, operates at low capacities as do most of the other factories in the Province. In 1981/82, extraction at Mondoni was only 19.30% compared to 20.70% and 20.67% in 1980/81 and 1979/80 respectively. In 1982 the extraction rate for kernels at Mondoni and Idenau were 2.08 and 2.29% respectively (Annual Reports, 1980-1982). The ability to continue in business is a function of these rates because they affect revenue. These low capacities are generally due to shortages in the supply of fruits.

The production of palm oil in Cameroon is expected to reach 1000 tons in 1985/86 (Ediafric, 1983). Production is dominated by a few agro-industrial companies and medium scale farmers. The leading producer of palm oil in Cameroon is, Cameroon Oil Palm Company (SOCAPALM); it is closely followed by C.D.C and Pamol in that order. The contribution of plantations in the S.W. to total output have been significant. In 1979/80 C.D.C. and Pamol produced 39,183 tons of palm oil and 80,29 tons of palm kernels; these amounts represented respectively 76.0% and 32.2% of total production from all oil palm plantations in the country.

The output of palm oil has been fluctuating and yields have increased only slightly. An examination of output from the C.D.C. illustrates these phenomena (see Figure V.6). Yields increased to one ton per hectare in 1961 after remaining below this level for many years. It was only in 1977/78 that they rose above 1.4 tons per hectare. Yields have been lower than those generally obtained from a crossing of Deli from the Far East and pisifera from Africa. In the Ivory Coast the yield is about 5.5 tons per hectare and it is considered higher than that obtained from the Deli, and two tons more than yields from African x African strains (Ollagnier and Gascon, 1965). However, the Deli has potential for high yields in adverse conditions and as a result, it is also cultivated in many countries in West Africa.

The shortage of labour, especially during peak periods has been an important constraint on production. Ripe fruits are often left in the fields unharvested. The result, as already mentioned, is the short supply of fruits to factories. Development projects at Debuntscha and some other estates have also been abandoned as a result of labour shortages. Even in estates with relatively adequate labour forces, low output results from the fact that some areas are not accessible. Access is important not only because harvesting can be facilitated, but also because the palm fruit which is quite perishable can be easily and quickly transported to factories. The Germans realized this problem and constructed a labyrinth of small gauged railways and roads, even over difficult terrain, to connect various corners of the estates to the factories (see Figure V.7). Some of these roads and railways

Figure v.6 : Palm Oil and Kernels : Trends in Area Planted, Production, and Revenue from Trade



Source C.D.C. Annual Reports

FIGURE V.7

TRANSPORTING OF PALM NUTS BY NARROW GAUGED RAILWAY



have been neglected and those which are still in place are most often in a poor state thereby causing evacuation problems, especially during the rains.

C. TEA

Introduction

Commercial tea production is little more than a century old, but the first use of this beverage is almost lost in Chinese legends which go back as far as the Chou dynasty in the twelfth Century B.C. when it was the common drink of upper and middle class citizens (Courtenay, 1965:174). This beverage was first sold in London in 1657 and from this date its trade expanded.

The teas most important to growers are the China, Assamica, Indo China types, and the hybrids of these varieties. The differences between these varieties stem from their leaves and their adaptability to various environments. The quality and the quantity of teas that are produced depend on these factors.

The spread of this alkaloid plant, the cultivation of which first started in S.E. Asia, to other areas was due to the fact that mercantilists wanted to reduce the monopoly power of some European companies which were involved in its production and commercialization. Tea cultivation is still concentrated in S.E. Asia, but parts of Africa and South America now grow it.

C.D.C. is the principal cultivator of tea in Cameroon. Until recently, the crop was exclusively cultivated in the S.W.

and N.W. Provinces, but it is now grown in other provinces. It was Germany's desire to control a source of production that compelled it to introduce the first tea seeds into the Botanical Garden in Victoria before 1928. In 1928, the seeds of the "Manupuri" specie were transplanted to an eighteen hectare area at Tole from Victoria. Tole was the only tea estate until Ndu was established in the N. W. Province. Today, tea is also cultivated in other provinces; but in 1977, the C. D. C. took over Ndu estate from Estate and Agency Limited to become monopoly producer of tea in Cameroon.

I. Cultivation Requirements and Techniques

Tea is considered a sub-tropical crop though it can grow in many other climates which do not have long severe winters or prolonged droughts. Tea requires rainfall evenly distributed throughout the year with a minimum requirement of about 127 centimeters, an amount which is considered ideal, with no fixed maximum. A mean temperature of about 13 degrees Centigrade (55 Fahrenheit) is ideal with a maximum requirement of 85 degrees Fahrenheit beyond which relative humidity is considered too low for the crop. These conditions favour good foliage and improved flavour from the leaves.

The plant prefers soils with PH values between 4.5 and 6.5 because aluminium which is required by tea bushes cannot be extracted from soils that are purely alkaline in nature. The 6.5 PH threshold is vital and the availability of aluminium is very important in determining tea soils (Courtenay, 1965:177). According to Eden (1958:1), tea areas should have deep permeable, well-watered, but properly drained acid soils.

Although Tole experiences short periods of drought, and mild thunder and lightening, the climate and topography are good for tea cultivation. Rainfall averages 1997.2 millimeters annually with average yearly temperatures of about 26.7 degrees Centigrade and a relative humidity of about 80%. The topography is undulating and the soils, though with very little clay, are volcanic with a PH level of 4 to 6.

The location of the tea plantation at Tole was not favoured by climatic and edapic conditions alone; factors which have already been evoked to explain the development of coastal lands by colonial authorities for commercial export-oriented agriculture also influenced the establishment of the tea estate at Tole. But after the eighteen hectares tea plot at Tole were established in 1928, no effort was made to expand its cultivation until during World War II. Shortages in the supply of tea to British West Africa during this period forced the Manager of the Cameroon Plantations (ex-German estates), to expand tea production. His aim was to make the territory self-sufficient in tea. His objective could be met because production was principally to satisfy the demands of a few people in the colony. Another reason for expanding tea areas was to supply Nigeria with its needs. Increased manpower was therefore used to meet these objectives. Surplus output was exported to Nigeria and other British West African dominions. According to British authorities, increased production was for the "War effort" in West Africa (Bederman, 1968:50). Despite these efforts, cultivated areas remained small and output was minimal.

In recent years however, extensive areas in the Western

Province have been brought under tea; the North West Province also cultivates tea, and more areas in the South West Province are being surveyed for further expansion. These expansions are possible because better planting material and new methods of cultivation which are both labour and capital intensive have been introduced in the S.W. Province. Planting materials can either be clonal seeds, grafted buds or vegetatively propagated single leaf-cuttings. Propagation of leaf cuttings is a recent innovation which is being encouraged in Sri-Lanka because of the high quality tea leaves this method produces. It is still economically not feasible for bud grafting methods to be used for large scale planting schemes. The most commonly used planting materials at Tole and other tea estates in Cameroon are vegetatively propagated plants and clonal tea seeds.

But in an attempt to choose planting material and suitable environments for tea in the S.W. Province, costly and futile experimental projects have been undertaken. Even though an experimental plot does not need to exceed approximately six hectares for economic reasons, large areas were often prepared and later declared unsuitable. The experiments have been repeated because the previous results were doubted by some authorities since tea bushes left to grow wild in some experimental plots were growing relatively well after many years. These projects which are often repeated provide employment and profits to contractors, but they waste resources which could be employed in other sectors or operations.

As tea becomes mature, plucking becomes the most important task which employs the greatest number of workers; it also constitutes the highest expenditure item for the tea

grower at Tole and many other tea cultivating areas of the world where mechanical plucking has not yet been introduced. Plucking is an important operation because it determines the type of leaves to be manufactured and therefore the quality of tea infusions which are derived from different types of leaves. A good tea infusion can be made from what is called fine plucking. Fine plucking means that only two leaves and a bud are plucked at the tip of the young shoot; three leaves and a bud also make good tea infusions, but pluckings of more than three leaves produce low quality tea.

Women pluckers are usually preferred to men because they are more dexterous at plucking. At Tole, more than half the labour force is women. In 1966 the estate employed more than 435 women; today, the number is over 800. In 1979 two women out of three could not write their names.

In countries such as Japan, high labour cost and the need to increase output have resulted in the mechanization of plucking. However, mechanized plucking has disadvantages. Machines may pluck up to six leaves and a bud, or only a bud. If six leaves are plucked, subsequent plucking rounds which are necessary to keep factories working at profitable capacities may be retarded. Furthermore, mechanization will substitute labour in the fields and result in unemployment among workers. Such unemployment will be a very serious problem among Tole women whose occupational mobility is hindered by lack of formal education or skills which can enable them adapt to other occupations.

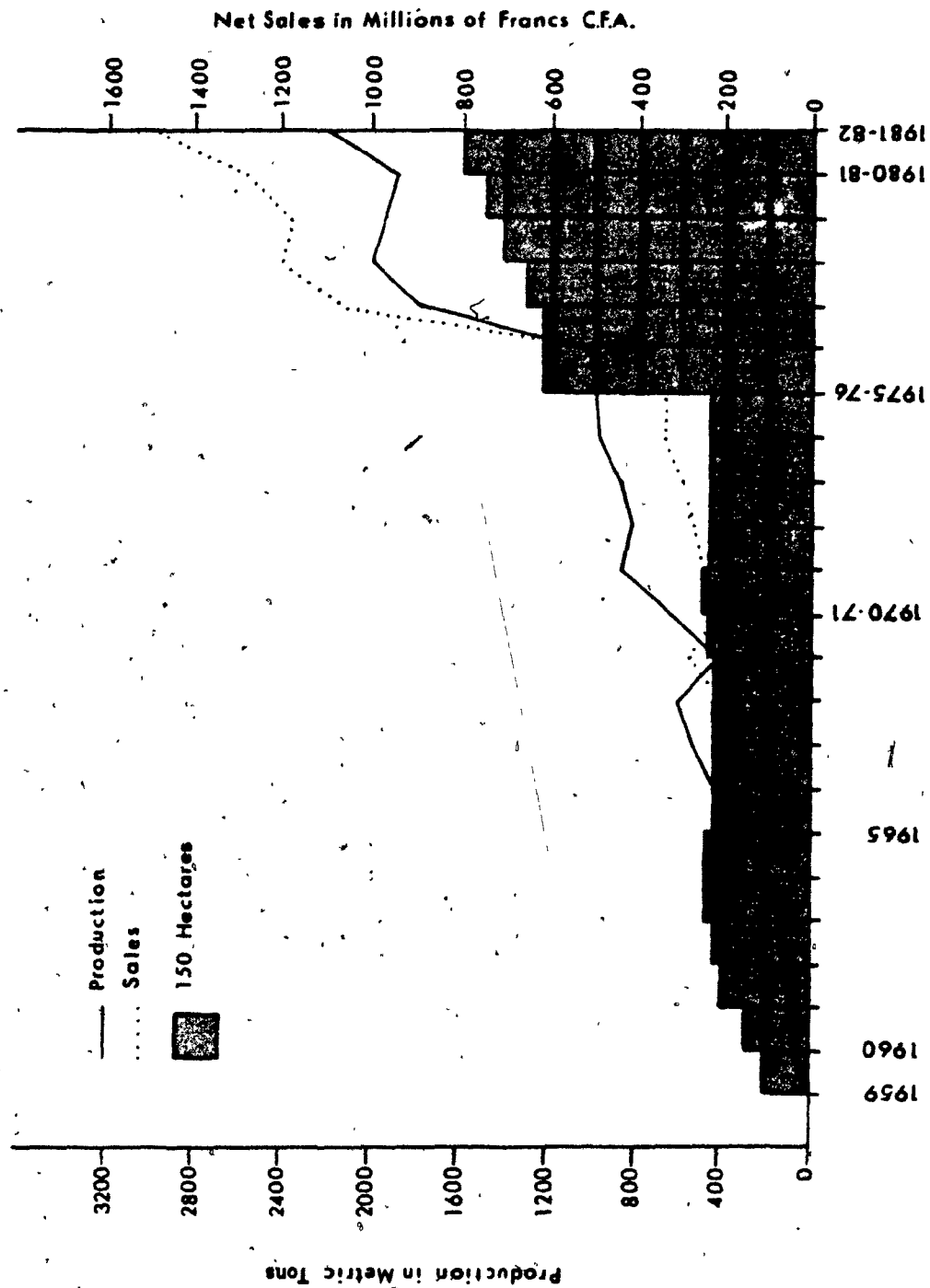
II. Factory Processes and Output

The lack of capital and know-how was reflected in the factory processes during the early years of the industry. Withering and drying processes were carried out in open air or in barns under which fire was made; fermentation was poorly effected and sifting and grading processes were carried out manually. The completion of a factory in 1958 ushered in better processing methods which improved the quality and increased the quantity of the product. Here again capital deepening methods improve the quality and increased the quantity of a highly demanded product. Today, three fine grades (Blue label or Broken Orange Pekoe Fannings; and Broken Pekoe Souchong (leafy) or Red label, of tea are being produced. Here again capital deepening methods had an advantage over manual labour.

The output of tea has increased very modestly over the years since 1928. In 1947, production was 11,888 kilogrammes and from 1948 to 1954 nothing was produced because of financial difficulties which temporarily halted various processes. Although work recommenced in 1954, it was in 1958 that an output of about 11,616 kilogrammes was recorded. In 1981/82, output increased to 2,125.7 metric tons, (13.13%) from the previous year and yields were 2.2 metric tons per hectare. Output and area cultivated are shown in Figure V.8. Smallholders still produce a very small quantity of tea; in 1981/82 their production was only 5 metric tons.

Drought often affects production as was the case in 1980 when output dropped by 71 tons (3.6 per cent), but the fall in output of 177.342 kilogrammes in 1967 was the result of new plucking techniques. Although the new method had long-term

Figure v.8 : Changes in Tea Production, Sales, and Cultivated Area: 1960-1981/82



Source C.D.C. Annual Reports

advantages, it produced short-run adverse effects since workers required a transition period to learn the new techniques; during this period production was negatively affected.

The planted area at Tole can now be considered economic for a factory, because according to Harler (1964), in order for a tea plantation to be considered economically feasible to support a factory and building expenses, it should, on the average cultivate an area of about 202.4 hectares (about 500 acres). An estate of this size will provide enough wet leaves to support a factory and will require a labour force of nearly 750 workers. Though these figures may vary due to different environmental and labour circumstances, it is worth noting that the crucial point is whether or not the factory is operating at full capacity. Already the factory has been working beyond capacity and as a result the machines usually break down causing temporary suspension of factory processes. Evidence at Tole now indicate that the factory will be over worked when all the affiliated development project at Saxenholf come into maturity. One of two options has to be chosen; a new factory will be needed at Saxenholf, or the capacity of the factory at Tole will be increased and transport infrastructure between the two places improved to facilitate the transportation of harvested leaves from Saxenholf to Tole.

D. COCOA

Cultivation Techniques, Problems and Output

Cameroon is the fourth African, and fifth world producer of cocoa, yet it is of Tropical Middle American origin. Cocoa was brought to the Island of Sao Tome by the Portuguese in

1822, and in the late 1880s it was introduced into Cameroon. As demand in Germany increased its authorities in the colony, especially under Governor Puttkamer, intensified cultivation by persuading the natives to grow cocoa in order to supplement the output from the large plantations. The native inhabitants have since continued to cultivate cocoa even though the large estates abandoned its cultivation because it was considered unprofitable. The risks were shifted to small farmers who are often ignorant of world market conditions because of government subsidies which maintain a high price in the domestic market.

The centre of cocoa production in the S.W. Province during colonial times was in the plantations in Tiko and Meme Division. The main location of cocoa producing areas today is in Meme Division. The centre of production in colonial times has therefore shifted from the large estates in Tiko Plain to small and medium-sized farms in Meme. In Tiko, priority is now given to crops which large companies consider to be more profitable.

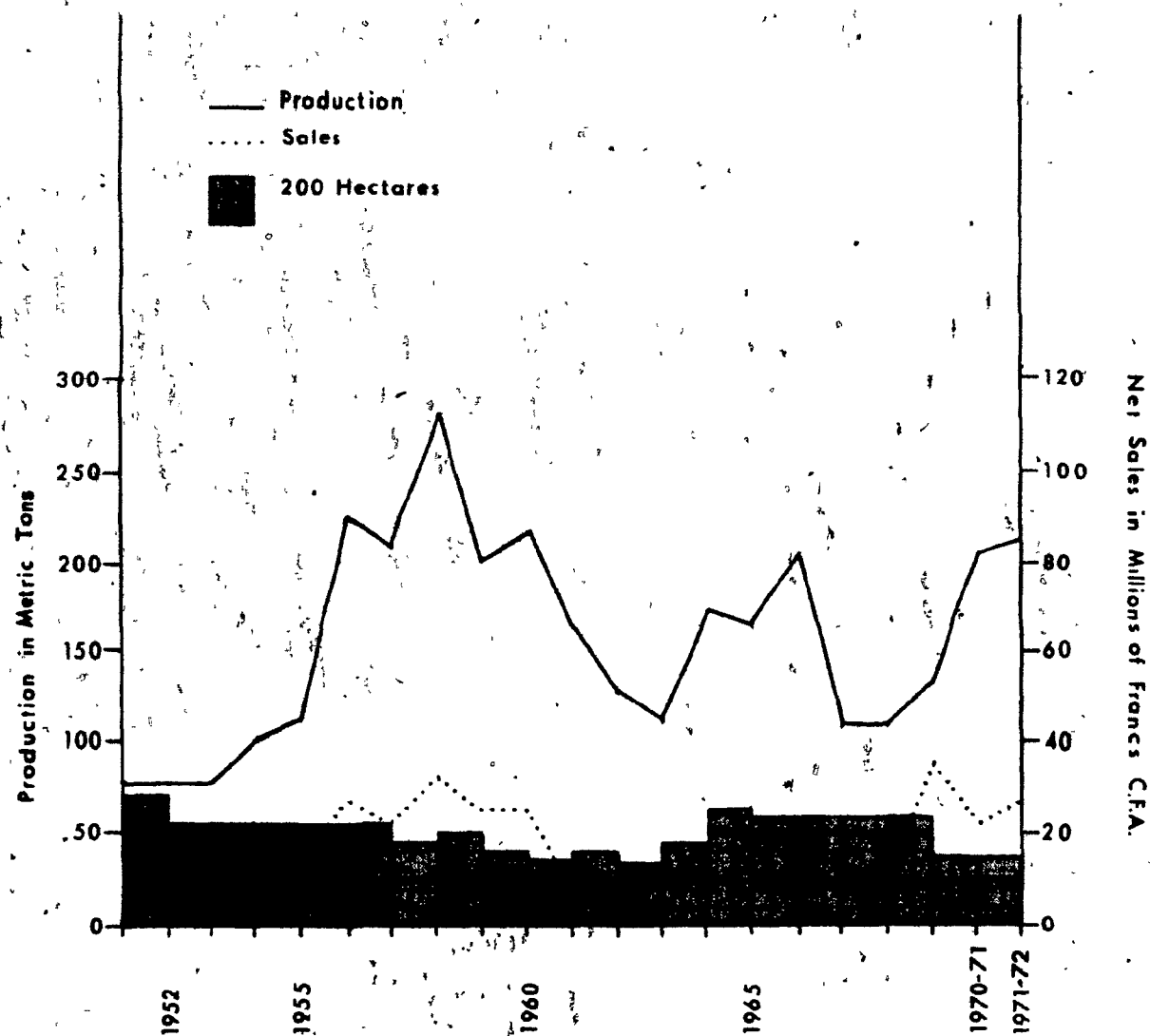
By 1912, almost 10,000 hectares were already under cocoa in the S.W. Province. But the 1914 World War caused serious destruction to cocoa estates, and during the inter-war period, what was not destroyed, grew wild. By 1947 Mukonje and Tombel were the only important cocoa estates left in the Province. In many places, rubber, oil palm, and bananas were replacing cocoa; this was the case in 1939 when about 633 hectares of rubber seedlings were planted at Bai as a substitute for cocoa. However, the establishment of the C.D.C. started a re-habilitation programme for cocoa at Tombel and Mukonje. Capital was allocated for research and foreign technical

know-how was sought from the West African Cocoa Research Station at Tafo in Ghana. New planting materials such as the cross-breed of the Trinitario and Upper Amazon varieties were introduced.

Yet the results of the research were not properly disseminated to the local farmers, who, though producing a reasonable amount of crop, continued to grow the Amelonado specie which was not resistant to diseases. There was a momentary improvement in cocoa trade, but this was misjudged for a permanent improvement in market conditions. As a result cultivated areas were increased. However serious down-turns in the markets, as will be examined later, and other problems soon set in to discourage further expansion. By 1967 the total area under cocoa had dwindled to about 468 hectares. In 1971 cocoa cultivation was completely abandoned by large estates when the C.D.C. ceased cultivation in all of its cocoa-producing plantations. Figure V.9, shows cocoa output and sales from C.D.C. estates. The fluctuations which riddle the markets are discussed in the second part of this chapter.

The reasons for abandoning cocoa cultivation are mainly the problems that were posed by diseases and pests, and the effects of market conditions. The common and most destructive disease is Black Pod (Phytophthora palmivora) which derives its name from the fact that it blackens cocoa pods and destroys the beans inside them. its control requires regular spraying with copper. Capsids are also very destructive to cocoa; the most common are (Bathycoelia thalassima) which is the principal cause of pre-mature ripening of cocoa pods and (Sahlbergella singularis) and (Distantiella theobroma), which destroy more

Figure V.9: Trends in Cocoa Cultivation, Production, and Sales 1952-1971/72



Source: C.D.C. Annual Reports

than 80% of the cocoa crop in Ghana and Nigeria by sucking the sap from the pods, thereby rendering them green-ripe and causing the beans to become dry and useless. To combat these diseases requires investments which the estates considered unprofitable.

Cocoa requires a large labour force because of the tedious manual operations involved in its cultivation and rudimentary processing for exports. Often whole families are involved in some processes (see Figure V.10). The initial tasks after preparing the fields for cocoa is the planting of shade trees to ward off the direct rays of the sun, but the main tasks which occupy most cocoa farmers after selected species have been planted is the control of diseases. Harvesting requires semi-skilled labour; this task is carried out, on the average twice weekly during peak periods and therefore demands a large labour force which is also responsibly for cracking the pods. Cracked beans are put inside boxes where they are mixed every few hours to permit proper fermentation.

After fermentation, which usually takes a few days, the beans are dried in barns in the open air or in slates inside furnaces where they are constantly turned to permit uniform drying. The dry beans are packed into bags for export. These processes which determine the grades of beans commercialized, are often poorly effected manually; as a result if the beans are left in the open in humid environments, they soon mold. These processes can be mechanized, but the costs and benefits of mechanization to society have to be evaluated. Research into these aspects cannot be expected from the large companies which have abandoned cocoa cultivation. The government which

FIGURE V.10

CRACKING COCOA PODS DURING HARVESTING



presently conducts almost all research in agriculture has not undertake such studies, but at this point in time, mechanization of any of the processes will result in unemployment.

5. BANANAS

1. Cultivation and the Impact of Ecological Factors

Very detailed studies have not been made on indigenous crops in the S.W. Province. Nevertheless, it is believed that most banana species that grow in the plantations in this region originated from other parts of the world, especially from Middle America, the suggested centre of origin of the banana plant. According to Bederman (1968:30), about 137 banana suckers were imported and planted on the alluvial soils at Tiko in the British Cameroons at the turn of the nineteenth century. This area soon became the spring-board for an important banana industry in British Cameroon and the Spanish off-shore island of Fernando Po. An industrial dimension was however given to this crop only in the 1940s. In fact it was the creation of the C.D.C. and a review of agricultural activities in the ex-German plantations that ushered in the banana "boom" in the territory, especially in Victoria and Kumba Divisions.

The S.W. Province provides good climatic and fertile soils for bananas as it does for the other crops already discussed. There is abundant rainfall, high temperatures, and rich alluvial and loam soils, the former type of soil being ideal for bananas when drained as the Germans did in many estates. Soil fertility too can be maintained because the banana plants provide good canopy and their rotting stems,

leaves and rejected fruits, replenish the soil with some of its lost nutrients. Other factors were not adequately examined. Though the Germans cultivated bananas, they did so only inside rubber inter-lines; bananas were also planted only as shade plants for cocoa. As the C.D.C. realized, banana production was full of problems (see Table V.7).

Table V.7: DESTRUCTIVE AGENTS AND THE BANANA CROP
year/damage

Agent	1955	1956	1957	1958
Panama disease(plants)	885,000	581,000	637,000	645,255
Cigar End(stems)	65,000	9,000	9,000	10,485
*Storms (plants)	2,971,000	1,787,000	868,000	1,005,020
Elephants (plants)	132,000	159,000	115,000	85,090

Source: C.D.C. Annual Reports, 1955-58.

* Tornadoes damage bananas in many plantations because wind breaks are usually absent since planes which frequently spray the plant have to fly very low; this natural hazard is frequent in March, April, May and October.

Among banana diseases which were frequent and are still common in the region are, Signatory leaf-spot (Mycosphaerella musicola) Cigar End disease (Trachysphaera or Verticillium) and Panama (Fusarium oxysporum var cubense). Nematodes or eel worms (Radopholus similis) and Caterpillars (Plusia chaloites) also damage bananas. The effect of these diseases and pests on banana shoots, stems, leaves and fruits had far reaching consequences on banana cultivation since it had to compete with other crops for the resources that were available in the region at that time.

Another problem for the banana producer is tornadoes; although not as frequent, and obviously not as devastating as in parts of Middle America and the U.S.A., their effects are nonetheless felt (see Table V.7). As though these problems

were not enough, elephants inflicted their own toll on the banana crop resulting in the abandonment of several areas. By 1958 the total area under bananas in the large plantations was approximately 1500 acres or about 6075 hectares.

Despite these draw backs, banana cultivation was not wholly abandoned by the British nor the C.D.C., and even though the area planted was reduced at one time or the other, there was frequent investment into research pertaining to banana cultivation. Many trials revealed that the Lacatan variety, if constantly treated with "nemagon", would be preferable to other varieties such as Gros Micheal, robusta, or the Giant Cavendish, which were prone to Cigar End or Panama diseases. Transport constraints continued to affect production and Tombel which was one of the few estates with banana drying facilities, exported its crop through East Cameroon until the C.D.C. completed the construction of a bridge over the Mungo River which was until then being crossed by a ferry during the rainy season when tide were high.

The question can be asked why, despite the environmental hazards banana production was not completely abandoned. The following suggestions may be made. First material for planting or replanting can be easily obtained from an initial banana "mats" through selective pruning processes which also enhance bunching and steady sucker succession. Since this process is not costly, planting material can be obtained with relative ease. The second reason and perhaps the driving force behind the continuous cultivation of this crop is that bananas take less than twelve months to start producing fruits. It is evident therefore that returns on all forms of investments will

be very fast, all other things being equal.

II. Banana Production and Small Farmers in the S.W. Province

The ease with which the colonial authorities and large banana companies coopted the indigenous farmers into cultivating this crop may be explained from these two premises. In order to promote cultivation among the natives, a very strong Cooperative Union, "The Bakweri Cooperative Union of Farmers", (BCUF) was formed. By 1954 the Cooperative already had a membership of 384 (an increase of 234) in one year, and produced nearly 80,000 exportable banana stems.

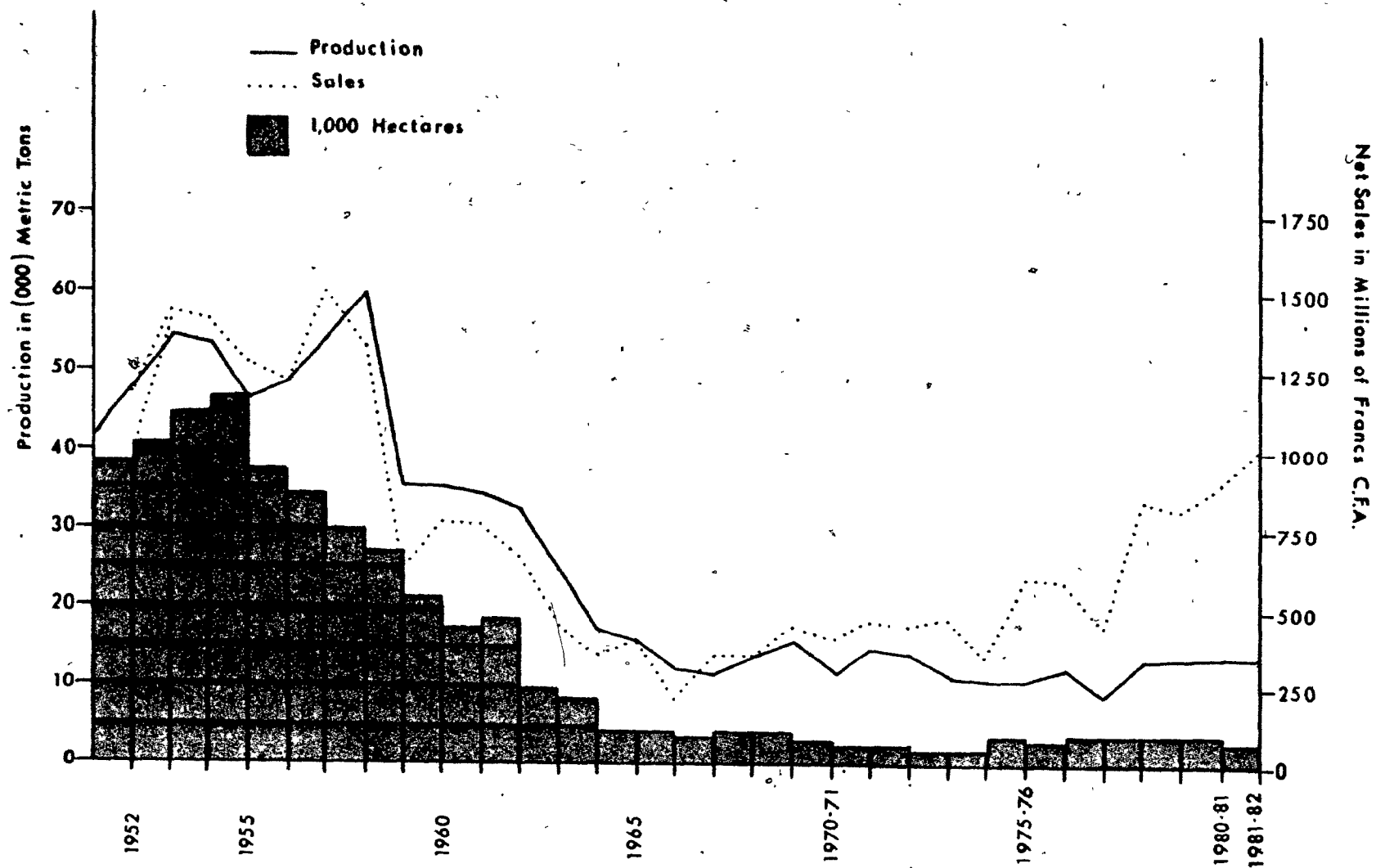
To tap profits or benefits from this powerful local productive force, the large companies established backward linkages with the Cooperative to purchase the bananas, and forward integration into foreign markets where they were demanded. The local producers were therefore integrated into the mercantilist system through the large companies. The integration of local small farmers into international markets is usually evoked as a merit of large companies, although the disadvantages of this link are also many.

Meanwhile, despite the fact that there were leakages in the income and investment circuit of the local economy, mainly as a result of foreign control of capital and markets, the share of the benefits from banana production brought what in relative terms can be called a "banana boom" to the local farmers who re-invested almost all their earnings into banana production, especially in Victoria and Kumba Divisions. Small banana farms scattered, inside thick virgin forest, became a popular feature of the landscape.

The local farmers, deceived by this temporary boom, did not foresee that comparative advantages are changeable through time due to technological advances, socio-political decisions, market conditions, or natural factors. These changes were manifested as soon as the former British Cameroon unified with the East Cameroon in 1961; these changes are discussed under trade. As a result of the changes, in addition to natural hazards, many producers decided to discontinue the cultivation of bananas which in 1962 constituted about one-third the value of all exports from West Cameroon. The effects were immediately manifested spatially and socio-economically. The area under banana cultivation started to decrease because other crops were substituting it in various plantations. In 1982 banana occupied only 793 hectares. The area is likely to be reduced even further, and the output may soon be lower than 13,518 metric tons which were produced in 1982, if there are further slumps in its market. Figure V.11, is changes in banana production, sales and area cultivated. The decline led to the collapse of the BCUF with corresponding effects on most of its members.

Today, the production of exportable bananas in Cameroon is regulated by quotas which are allocated according to hectares and previous output. The effect quotas have on production is both negative and positive, but this issue will not be handled in the present discussion. The C.D.C. which is the only producer of exportable bananas from the S.W. Province occupies third place among the producing companies which in order of importance are Cameroon Banana Company (OCB) 1350 hectares, Banana Estates of Njombe and Pendja (700 hectares),

Figure V.11 : Banana: Fluctuations in Cultivated Area, Production and Revenue: 1952-1981/82



Source: C.D.C. Annual Reports

C.D.C. (650 hectares), Nassif-PMB (500 hectares), ESSOM-NJALEU-KAME-BOUBOU (150 hectares), TIANI (70 hectares), and IFAC, 30 hectares (Ediafric: 1983).

PEPPER

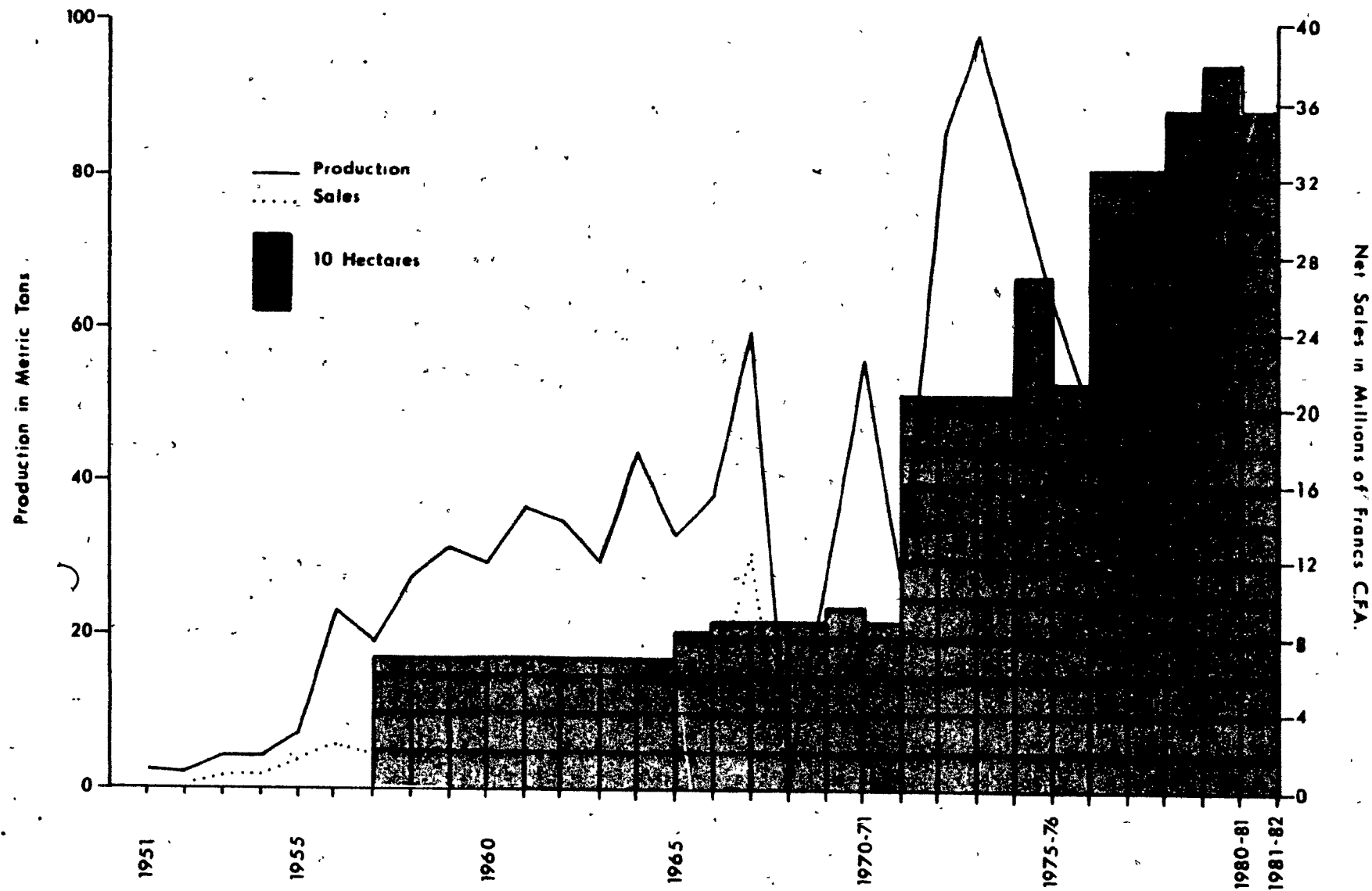
Introduction

Pepper grows wild in the forest in some parts of the S.W. Province of Cameroon. In Mbo, in the S.W. Province, it is called, "swaah". Over the centuries, the natives have used it for cooking and for medical purposes. It is therefore not very certain if the crop was brought to this area from outside since adequate studies have not yet been carried out on local plants in the country. However, because most historical annals indicate that it was a very important item in the East Indies, and has continued to be so today, it can be assumed that it originated from the this part of the world.

I. Cultivation

Pepper was first planted at Meanja in about 1937 and it was later cultivated at Bimbia (in Mabeta), Mungo, Ekona and Tombel Estates. Little was done to expand cultivation before the formation of the C.D.C. By 1953 there were only twelve mature and four immature hectares of cultivated pepper in the region. However, there has been a slow, but gradual expansion of the area under cultivation. In 1981 the area under pepper was 95 hectares, and production had passed from one ton in 1947 to 66.4 tons in 1981/82 (see Figure V.12). The area under pepper cultivation has not expanded significantly because colonial authorities had other regular sources of supply.

Figure v.12 :Pepper : Changes in Cultivated Area, Production and Revenue from Trade



Source C.D.C. Annual Reports

Pepper is a vine which needs supports as it starts growing. Its cultivation does not require much investment. The major tasks in pepper estates are providing support for the vine, pruning, mulching, weeding, and spraying, aside from harvesting which starts only when the vine mature. Support for pepper at Tombel and Meanja is provided with "Never Die Trees" (Spodias Monbin). Although these trees provide permanent anchor for the vines, they have the disadvantage that they compete with them for soil nutrients unlike dead-bamboo supports, and may also provide unwanted shade if allowed to grow uncombed.

II. Processing and Output

The main processing centers for pepper berries are Mungo and Meanja. After the clusters of berry have been harvested, they are taken to the processing plant where they are dumped into large vats of boiling water where they remain for about twenty minutes before being removed into a machine that separates the pepper from the chaffs. The next process is drying, and it takes place in the open air where the sun's natural energy is used. The pepper is then winnowed using a Winnowing Machine. White pepper which results from these processes is put into bags and each weighs 63,7 kilogrammes which are then packed ready for export. Black pepper is also produced. There has been gradual increase in both output and yields over the years. Between 1961 and 1966, the average yield per hectare was 1,500 kilogrammes; however there was a fall in 1964 of about 97 kilogrammes per hectare (see Figure V.12). But pepper cultivation may expand without necessarily creating

substantial direct employment opportunities in its estates because limited work is required; however, if its market is lucrative, profits could be re-invested into the economy to produce multiplier effects.

Conclusion

In an unusual way, this chapter has examined the stages in the cultivation and processing of different crops. The reason for this undertaking is to understand the link between field operations and changes which have taken place through time and space. Collectively, the S.W. Province has, since 1884, been producing a variety of export crops, most of which are foreign to its environment. Individually, the estates have specialized in the production of one or two crops.

In order to combat diseases and pests, and to produce crops which can compete in foreign markets, the plantation companies have constantly adopted innovations in the fields of cultivation and processing. Over the years therefore there has been significant investments in research to improve production processes. Unlike in some advanced nations, these innovations have been both capital and labour intensive. The result of these innovations has been the expansion of areas cultivated with certain crops, but the area under other crops such as bananas has reduced as a result of continuous environmental problems coupled with unfavourable market conditions which have also resulted in the abandonment of certain crops such as cocoa. These changes have, in certain cases, affected small farmers who are linked to the large estates. In the next chapter, market conditions are examined.

CHAPTER V-Part TwoTRADE PROSPECTS FOR PLANTATION PRODUCTS FROM THE S.W. PROVINCE

INTRODUCTION.

There is much heated debate on how far continuing relationship with the developed market economies either helps or hinders the development process in developing nations, and no agreement is likely to be reached in the immediate future, since it helps some forms of development but thwarts others (O'Connor, 1978:189). These relations which are largely due to trade have so far been less beneficial to underdeveloped countries than developed nations because the prices of their primary commodities in the advanced economies are relatively lower than those for many manufactured products exported to third world nations. Hufbauer et al's, (1972) analysis of U.S. trade with some developing countries, together with other studies which have been carried out by other scholars, indicate that this often refuted view requires re-examination by industrialized market economies.

Although this debate about commodity trade shall continue, at least for the foreseeable future without a definite solution to the problem, it should be realized that a small fall in commodity prices is equivalent to a cut in the so much emphasized foreign aid to developing nations because planters

or miners in these countries, like those in the industrialized nations, make their production decisions in anticipation of future returns on their investments. Their ability to recruit new employees, maintain labour in its employment or expand production capacities, among other things, is a function of present and future prices that are paid for what they produce. Yet trade prospects for many commodities from these nations have been very gloomy over the years. C.H. Fei et al., note:

"the prospects for substantially expanding exports in the light of well recognized trends in world demand are by no means favourable. To the extent that primary product exports of the less developed world are consumer goods depending on changes in per capita income levels abroad, relatively low income elasticities of demand for such goods are often encountered. Because the exports are raw materials directly related to industrial output abroad, the continuous rapid evolution of mature economy technology has led on the one hand, to well known difficulties associated with the advent of substitutes and on the other, as the production process becomes more and more complicated and products more finely differentiated, to a continuous decline of raw material components in the total output. Though the subject is not without controversy, the inductive evidence indicates that the traditional exports, often a heritage from colonial past, are unlikely to provide increasing foreign exchange earnings for the less developed economies in the future" (1964:301).

As noted earlier, studies carried out on commodity markets (see Figures 1.1, 1.2, 1.3, and 1.4) show many fluctuations in these markets. Smith (1979:204) notes that fluctuations are most serious for commodities with long investment lead-times and high proportions of fixed cost in total costs (for example mining and tree crops) which tend to alternate between rather long periods of boom and depression. There is no doubt therefore that producing a primary commodity

for sale in more or less competitive markets is a very risky business.

The drive of governments to improve these market conditions has spun the whole of this century. As early as 1907 for example, the Brazilian government organized a coffee retention scheme to boost sagging prices. The Great Depression caused the greatest fall in many commodity prices and forced producer governments to initiate international action to stabilize prices. Raul Prebisch's aggressive presentation of primary commodity instability as a key issue for developing countries in the 1950s drew great attention in the world arena. Furthermore, the political independence of many former colonies and their strife for economic sovereignty since the late 1950s, especially in the light of growing protectionist policies by developed nations, have provoked further inquests into the role that commodity trade plays in the development of third world nations.

Planters in the S.W. Province of Cameroon are also affected by these commodity crises because they participate in international trade, but still maintain a position that ensures them only the control of rudimentary processes in the system. By examining the market trends for some plantation crops, these problems can be understood.

A. Rubber

Natural rubber faces great competition from its synthetic counterpart. In order to understand the fluctuations in natural

rubber trade, it is necessary to analyze the market trends for synthetic rubber which has over the years become an almost perfect substitute for natural rubber. An analysis of this nature will consider the similarities, the kinds and the uses of the different types of rubbers which enter world markets in order to understand the factors that influence their demand and supply. It would be presumptuous to attempt an elaborate analysis of these factors in this thesis; nevertheless, an overview of the interaction in their markets is necessary in order to understand how planters in the S.W. Province are affected by these market changes.

Grilli, et al., (1980:30-31), point out that natural rubber is a typical export commodity with more than 90% of world production entering the world market, but that only a small percentage of total production is used in the main producing countries; in 1972-74 this percentage was 8.5 compared with 2.5% in 1952-54. On the contrary, synthetic rubbers are mostly consumed in the producing countries with only about 25 per cent of global production entering world trade.

Asia remains the leading producer and exporter of natural rubber and it accounts for about 94% of the exports. The rest of the product comes mostly from Africa. Malaysia is the most important producer and exporter of rubber, accounting for about 50% of the world's total export, while Indonesia contributes nearly 26%, Thailand, 12% and Sri Lanka 5 per cent. Table V.8, shows global export and import of synthetic rubber.

The markets for natural rubber are still in the developed

Table V World Synthetic Rubber Exports and Imports,
by Main Countries and Economic Regions,
1955 to 1977, Selected Average and Growth Rates
(thousands of metric tons)

Economic region and country	1955-57		1966-68		1972-74		1975-77		Growth rate (annual percentage)		
	Average	Percentage of world total	Average	Percentage of world total	Average	Percentage of world total	Average	Percentage of world total	1955-57 to 1966-68	1966-68 to 1972-74	1972-74 to 1975-77
Exports											
Developed countries	234.7	78.9	925.3	87.2	1,570.5	85.9	1,590.2	83.7	13.3	9.2	0.4
Western Europe	1.8	0.6	431.3	40.7	936.0	51.1	969.9	51.0	64.5	13.8	1.2
North America	232.9	78.3	424.8	40.0	374.6	20.6	343.1	18.1	5.6	-2.1	-2.9
Japan	...	--	65.2	6.1	254.1	13.9	273.0	14.4	--	25.4	2.4
Other	...	--	4.0	0.4	5.8	0.3	4.2	0.2	--	6.4	10.2
Developing countries	...	--	9.0	0.9	43.5	2.3	33.5	1.7	--	30.0	8.3
Central planned economies	62.9	21.1	126.7	11.9	215.1	11.8	277.1	14.6	6.6	9.2	8.8
Eastern Europe	40.4	13.6	74.3	7.0	128.2	7.0	151.6	8.0	5.7	9.5	5.7
U.S.S.R.	22.5	7.5	52.4	4.9	86.9	4.8	125.5	6.6	8.0	8.8	13.0
World total	297.6	100.0	1,061.0	100.0	1,829.1	100.0	1,900.8	100.0	12.3	9.5	1.3
Imports											
Developed countries	198.3	67.7	761.1	73.3	1,347.2	73.6	1,328.1	69.3	13.0	10.0	-0.5
Western Europe	151.9	51.8	584.4	56.3	1,053.8	57.6	1,034.9	54.7	13.0	10.3	-0.6
North America	15.5	5.3	91.4	8.8	205.3	11.2	211.3	11.2	17.5	14.4	1.0
Japan	9.6	3.3	52.4	5.0	25.5	1.4	21.9	1.2	16.7	-11.3	-4.9
Other	21.3	7.3	32.9	3.2	62.6	3.4	60.0	2.2	4.0	11.3	-1.4
Developing countries	23.1	7.9	142.3	13.7	301.1	16.5	322.5	17.1	18.0	13.3	2.3
Asia	3.6	1.2	29.7	2.9	100.5	5.5	122.8	6.5	21.1	22.0	6.2
Africa	1.0	0.4	24.4	2.3	77.5	4.2	85.1	4.5	33.7	21.0	3.2
Latin America	18.5	6.3	88.2	8.5	123.1	6.8	144.6	6.1	12.8	5.7	-2.4
Centrally planned economies	71.6	24.4	134.9	13.0	181.7	9.9	258.1	13.6	5.9	5.1	12.4
Eastern Europe	46.1	15.7	90.6	8.7	139.7	7.6	189.8	10.0	6.3	7.5	10.8
U.S.S.R.	25.5	8.7	34.7	3.4	27.2	1.5	57.1	3.0	2.8	-3.9	28.0
China	...	--	9.6	0.9	14.8	0.8	11.2	0.6	--	7.5	-8.8
World total	293.0	100.0	1,038.3	100.0	1,830.0	100.0	1,890.0	100.0	12.2	9.9	1.1

--Not applicable

... Zero or negligible

Sources: Enzo, R. Grillo, et al, 1980

economies even though consumption has been decreasing. Between 1955 and 1957 natural rubber consumption in the advanced nations was 82%, but this fell to 67% during the period 1972-74, and is likely to decrease further, despite the fact that the introduction in 1970 of "radial tires" into North America and Japan showed a renewed upward swing in consumption as was the case during World War II. Radial tires require a high percentage of natural rubber in the total rubber mix (Grilli, et al., 1980:31). However, consumption of natural rubber in the major consumer countries such as the U.S.A., has reduced considerably. Between 1963 and 1965, the U.S. consumed 21%, and Japan only 9% (Cutajar et al., 1967:51). Table V.9, is the export and consumption of natural rubber at a global scale.

(i) Rubber as a Commodity

Natural rubber, unlike synthetic rubber, is traded in commodity markets. The markets are nearly perfect, and changes in supply and demand as well as in expectations are monitored and greatly influence prices. These changes and expectations may be due to strikes in the major consuming industries such as automobile and tire manufactures, or the result of transport difficulties, or political uncertainties. But demand for natural rubber is insensitive to price changes in the short term, although quite sensitive to economic activity. Natural rubber supply is not very responsive to price movements in the short term, "short term elasticities of production are in the order of 0.1 to 0.2" (Grilli, et al., 1980:35). These low price

**Table V.9: World Natural Rubber Exports and Imports,
by Main Countries and Economic Regions,
1955 to 1977, Selected Averages and Growth Rates
(thousands of metric tons)**

Economic region and country	1955-57		1966-68		1972-74		1975-77		Growth rate (annual percentage)		
	Average	Percentage of world total	Average	Percentage of world total	Average	Percentage of world total	Average	Percentage of world total	1955-57	1966-68	1972-74
									to 1966-68	to 1972-74	to 1975-77
Exports:											
Developing countries	1,758.6	94.9	2,304.6	96.4	2,980.6	98.8	3,058.2	98.7	2.5	4.4	0.9
Asia	1,645.4	88.8	2,138.4	89.5	2,779.3	92.1	2,878.0	92.9	2.2	4.5	1.2
Malaysia	701.0	37.8	1,076.7	45.1	1,484.3	49.1	1,537.0	49.6	4.0	5.5	1.2
Indonesia	696.4	37.6	686.5	28.7	790.0	26.2	800.0	25.8	-0.1	2.4	0.4
Thailand	133.2	7.2	221.9	9.3	332.6	11.7	370.6	12.0	4.7	8.0	1.7
Sri Lanka	94.2	5.1	135.0	5.6	132.3	4.4	144.1	4.7	3.3	-0.3	2.9
Others	20.6	1.1	18.3	0.8	20.1	0.7	26.3	0.8	-1.1	1.6	9.4
Africa	111.2	6.0	165.2	6.9	201.3	6.7	180.2	5.8	3.7	3.3	-3.6
Latin America	2.0	0.1	1.0	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Developed countries	...	--	...	--	...	--	...	--	--	--	--
Centrally planned economies	95.4	5.1	85.1	3.6	35.6	1.2	39.8	1.3	-1.0	-13.5	3.8
World total	1,854.0	100.0	2,389.7	100.0	3,033.7 ^a	100.0	3,097.5 ^a	100.0	2.3	4.1	0.9
Imports:											
Developing countries	107.2	5.8	176.3	7.4	281.7	9.3	341.1	10.9	4.6	8.1	6.6
Asia	26.1	1.4	78.2	3.3	125.8	4.1	119.1	3.8	10.5	8.2	-1.8
Africa	5.0	0.3	19.7	0.8	23.8	0.8	67.2	2.2	13.3	2.8	42.0
Latin America	76.1	4.1	78.4	3.3	132.6	4.4	154.8	4.9	0.3	9.1	5.3
Developed countries	1,516.1	81.7	1,563.3	65.8	2,046.2	67.4	2,097.4	67.1	0.3	4.6	0.6
Western Europe	697.4	37.6	763.2	32.1	923.0	30.4	906.6	29.0	0.8	3.2	-0.6
North America	633.4	34.1	485.6	20.4	691.0	22.8	787.1	25.2	-2.3	6.0	3.3
Japan	112.5	6.1	242.3	10.2	321.8	10.6	298.9	9.6	7.3	4.8	-2.5
Others	72.8	3.9	71.2	3.0	109.5	3.6	104.8	3.3	-0.2	7.8	-1.4
Centrally planned economies	233.4	12.6	636.9	26.8	706.3	23.3	686.5	22.0	9.5	1.7	1.0
Eastern Europe	86.8	4.7	167.8	7.1	223.2	7.4	233.8	7.5	6.2	4.9	1.6
U.S.S.R.	87.4	4.7	287.4	12.1	268.6	8.8	216.4	6.9	11.4	-1.1	-7.0
China	59.2	3.2	181.7	7.6	214.5	7.1	236.3	7.6	10.7	2.8	3.3
World total	1,856.7	100.0	2,376.5	100.0	3,034.2	100.0	3,125.0	100.0	2.3	4.2	1.0

-- Not applicable

... Zero or negligible

a. Including allowance for discrepancies in available statistics.

Sources: Enzo, R. Grilli, et al, 1980

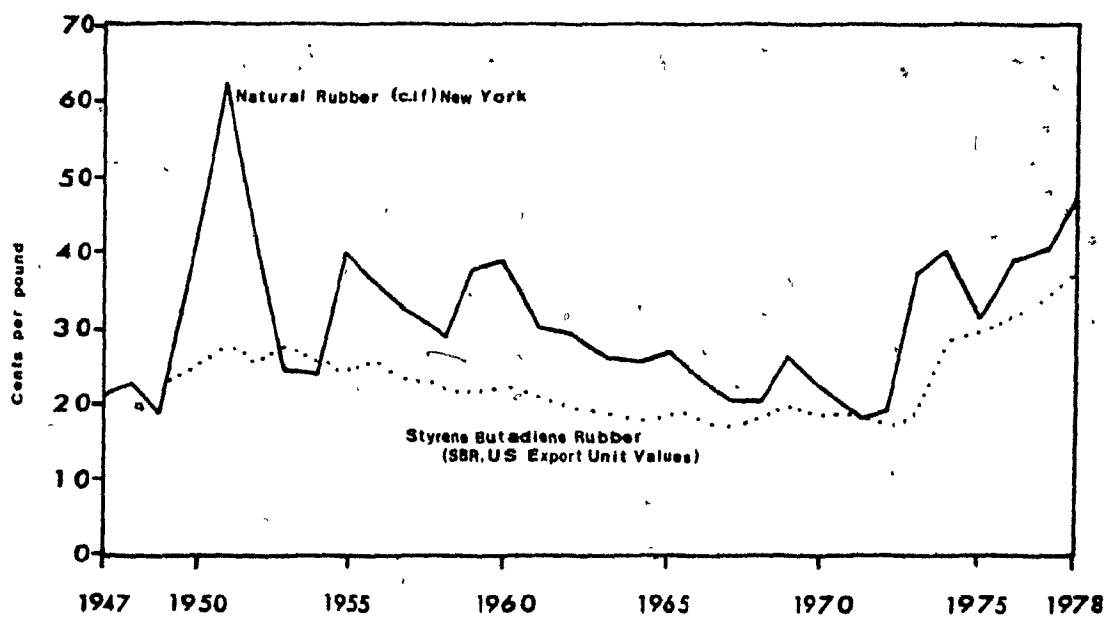
elasticities cause natural rubber prices to fluctuate widely in the short term whenever changes in economic activity induce even relatively small shifts in demand or when the flow of supply is reduced temporarily. Synthetic rubber is the main contributor to these fluctuations. The relationship of natural and synthetic rubber prices is shown in Figure V.13.

Since rubber from the S.W. is sold principally to European and North American markets, the prices which are offered are directly affected by these market changes which are often beyond the influence of the producers. Figure V.14 is the fluctuations in C.D.C. rubber output, sales, and area under cultivation. The Figure indicates that often, revenue earned from sales decreases because output increased, whereas prices fell, and production could not be adjusted. In 1963 for example, rubber production was about 11.3 million lbs., but prices fell from 60 to 58 francs C. F. A. per pound, thereby resulting in a decrease in net earnings.

(ii) Geographical Orientation of S.W. Rubber Trade

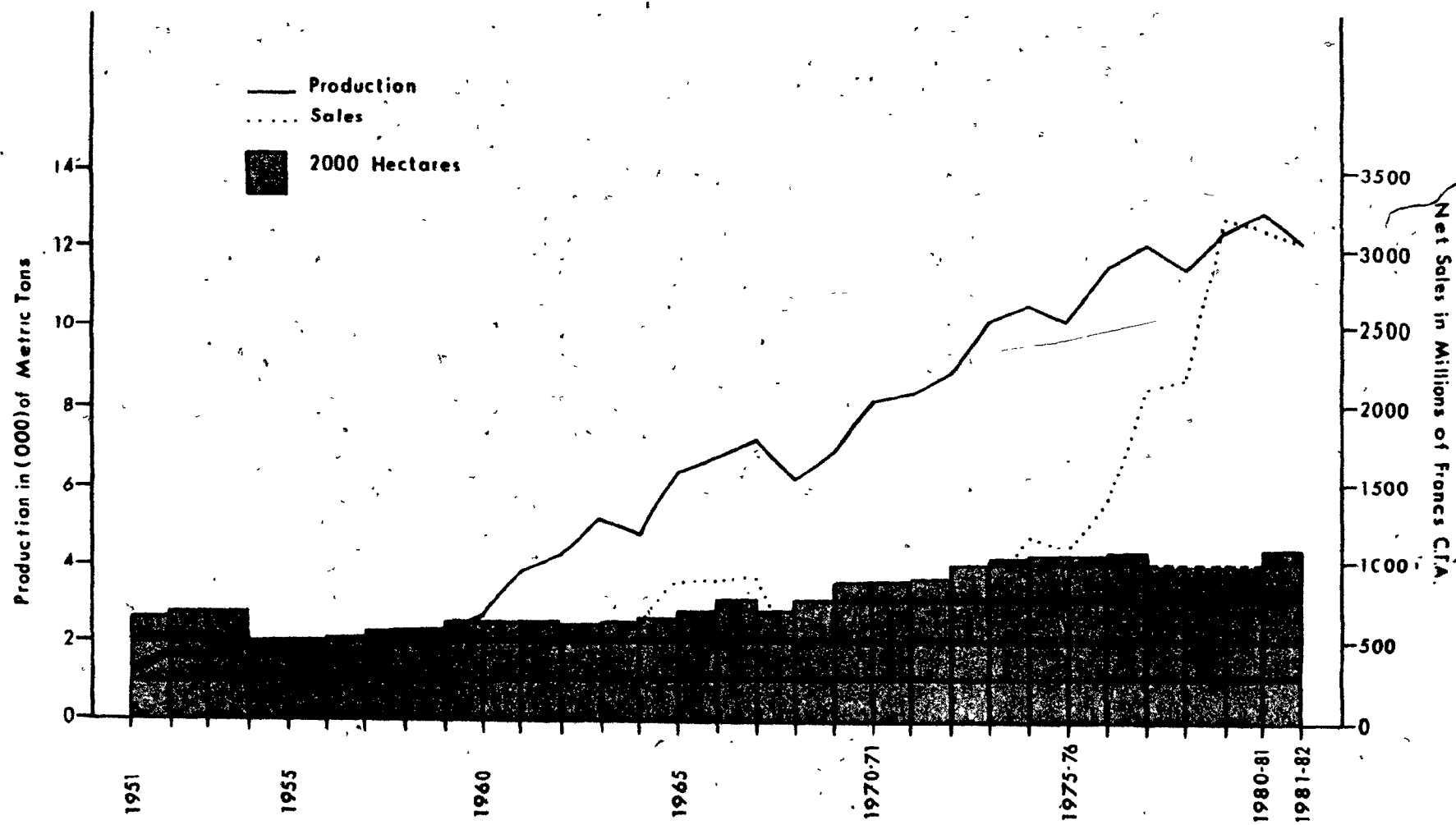
The S. W. Province produces more than 60% of all natural rubber from Cameroon. Western Europe imports almost all the rubber from the S. W. Province. The principal markets are in France, the Netherlands, and until recently the British market also handled rubber from Cameroon. In 1978/79, France imported about 68% of S.W. rubber; this share increased to 86% in 1979/80 and to 87% the following year. The Netherlands is now the second customer, while Britain is no longer an important importer. Until 1980/81, West Germany was the second important

Figure V.13 Price Trends of Rubber: 1967-1978



Source: Adapted from Enzo, R., Grilli et al., 1980:34

Figure V.14 Rubber: Changes in Planted Area, Production, and Revenue from Trade



Source: CDC, Annual Reports

importer of S. W. rubber, but its share of exports has decreased.

(iii) Future Demand for Rubber from the S. W. Province

The future demand for natural rubber from the S.W. and the rest of the natural rubber producing world depends on the degree to which it can be substituted by synthetic rubber. Substitution depends not only on the prices of natural rubber as compared to those of synthetic rubber, but also on the special qualities that are required by consumers. The demand for natural rubber continues because it still has some qualities that synthetic rubber lacks.

The main technical advantages of natural rubber are high tensile strength, high tear, resilience as well as its resistance to impact and abrasion. Synthetic rubber on the other hand offers resistance to environmental factors such as oxidation and ozonization; it also resists chemicals and solvents such as gasoline, kerosene, benzol, degreasers synthetic lubricants and hydraulic fluids which natural rubber cannot resist. These qualities are currently provided to a large extent by Styrene-butadiene rubber (SBR) which is almost a general purpose synthetic rubber in use today (MRRDB, 1974; Ruebensaal, 1975; Dworkin, 1975). The uses of various types of rubber reflect consumers' preferences. Table V.10 indicates these uses. Fluctuations in demand for the different types of rubber will therefore depend on their usage. Rubber producers have become very specialized because of the special qualities required by consumers. For example "block rubber" which was

Table V.10E Elastomer Consumption in Developed Countries, by Major Uses, 1970

Use	United States		European Economic Community		Japan	
	Thousands of metric tons	Percent	Thousands of metric tons	Percent	Thousands of metric tons	Percent
Tire						
Passenger car	855	34.0	420	22.6	110	14.1
Truck/bus	445	17.7	325	17.5	192	24.6
Tractor/industrial	100	4.0	75	4.0	21	2.7
Bicycle/motorcycle	3	0.1	25	1.4	13	1.7
Aircraft	9	0.4	3	0.2	0.3	--
Retreading	130	5.1	75	4.0	10	1.3
Inner tubes	45	1.8	50	2.7	39	5.0
Other products	20	0.07	20	1.1	15	1.9
Total	1,607	63.8	993	53.4	400	51.3
Nontire						
Latex products	203	8.1	195	10.5	74	9.5
Belting	30	1.2	40	2.2	43	5.5
Hose	50	2.0	45	2.4	15	1.9
Footwear	90	3.6	75	4.0	68	8.7
Wire and cable	30	1.2	40	2.2	12	1.6
Other	507	20.1	471	25.3	167	21.5
Total	910	36.2	866	46.6	379	48.7
Total consumption	2,517	100.0	1,859	100.0	779	100.0

Sources: Enzo, R., Grilli, et al., (1980).

Cont.

Table V.10 Natural Rubber Consumption in Developed Countries, by Major Uses, and Natural Rubber Share in Each Use, 1970

Use	United States			European Economic Community			Japan		
	Thou-	Share of	NR	Thou-	Share of	NR	Thou-	Share of	NR
	sands metric tons	total (percent)	share (percent)	sands metric tons	total (percent)	share (percent)	sands metric tons	total (percent)	share (percent)
TIRE	400	70.4	24.9	384	54.8	39.0	154	54.4	28.5
Passenger car	124	21.8	14.5	110	15.7	26.0	31	11.0	27.0
Truck/bus	222	39.1	50.0	190	27.1	58.0	90	31.8	45.0
Tractor/industrial	30	5.3	30.0	45	6.4	60.0	10	3.5	45.0
Bicycle/motorcycle ...	...	--	--	7	1.0	30.0	8	2.8	60.0
Aircraft	8	1.4	90.0	3	0.4	90.0	0.3	...	100.0
Retreading	13	2.3	10.0	25	3.6	33.0	5	1.8	55.0
Inner tubes	2	0.3	5.0	2	0.03	5.0	4	1.4	10.0
Other products	1	0.2	5.0	2	0.03	10.0	6	2.1	04.0
NONTIRE	168	29.6	19.0	317	45.2	36.6	129	45.6	34.0
Latex products	67	11.8	33.0	65	9.3	33.0	21	7.4	28.0
Belting	12	2.1	15.0	12	1.7	30.0	22	7.8	51.0
Hose	...	--	--	11	1.6	5.0	6	2.1	40.0
Footwear	22	3.9	25.0	26	3.7	35.0	30	10.6	44.0
Wire and cable	1	0.1	3.0	6	0.9	15.0	4	1.4	33.0
Other products	66	11.6	13.0	197	28.1	42.0	46	16.3	27.5
TOTAL CONSUMPTION	568	100.0	22.6	701	100.0	37.7	28.3	100.0	36.0

- Not applicable

... Zero or negligible

Sources: Enzo, R., Grilli, et al., (1980).

introduced by Malaysia into World markets in the mid 1960s has special characteristics which can be guaranteed by producers unlike sheet or crepe rubber. These qualities which include, its dirt, ash, volatile matter, or nitrogen contents, as well as its plasticity and colour, make it a new product. The ability to keep abreast with changing consumer requirements through innovations and technological progress is very important.

Producers in the S.W. Province, as well as those in Sri Lanka, Thailand, Liberia, Nigeria and the Ivory Coast, have adopted this innovation so as to maintain a foothold in the competitive, but sagging markets. However these changes which are generally initiated and financed from abroad, rarely create linkages with shoes, upholstery, tires or other final goods producing industries within the S.W. Province in particular, and other provinces in general. These links within the domestic economy which can guarantee a stable, though relatively small market for natural rubber without too much dependence on foreign markets are rare. The reason is not hard to understand; synthetic rubber dominates the Cameroon market. In 1981 and 1982 synthetic rubber constituted about 70% and 69% respectively, of total rubber consumed in Cameroon (Bulletin de l'Afrique noire, 1983, No. 1191:7). Obviously a large percentage of this product is imported; as a result capital flows to synthetic rubber producers who are encouraged to remain in business while the natural rubber cultivators experience declines in the markets for their products. The total consumption of rubber in Cameroon therefore shows that natural

rubber producing countries are also responsible for the shrinking natural rubber markets.

These market trends, both in the domestic and foreign markets, require research which the rubber companies could sponsor. Such research is important because C.D.C., aided by the world Bank, and other multilateral and bilateral financial sources, is expanding its rubber area; this expansion is also being carried out by other companies such as the Cameroon Rubber Company (Hevecam). These expansions cannot rely solely on external markets because world consumption between 1985 and 1990 is expected to expand only by 4%. Moreover, China is the only country likely to increase its imports substantially. East European countries will increase their imports only by 2 per cent per annum, and it is unlikely that other nations will augment their imports significantly. Table V.9, indicates world consumption trends.

The problem in the rubber market is not that the prices of natural rubber are lower than those of synthetics (see Figure V.13), it is rather that of fluctuating returns on investments, and the uncertainty about the future of natural rubber, given the continuous polymer research by the U.S.A. and other developed nations since the Second World War.

The failure of international rubber agreements is a major concern. For example, the International Rubber Regulation Agreement (IRRA) which was established between Britain (for British Malaya, Burma, North Borneo and Ceylon), Holland (for the Netherlands East Indies), France (for French Indo-China), India and Thailand in 1934, soon collapsed. The post-1945

attempts by UNCTAD and GATT, at stabilizing prices have generally proven less successful than would be expected. These failures, which are due to conflicting interests between producers and consumers or to selfish tendencies among producers, seem to affect these markets, and there appears to be no remedy in the immediate future.

II. PALM OIL AND KERNEL TRADE

(i) Demand for Palm Oil and Kernels

The marketing of palm oil and kernels is directly tied to that of other vegetable oils and the movements or cycles in their trade are interrelated.

The principal vegetable oils are derived from groundnuts, soya beans, cotton seeds, sunflower seeds, sesames, olives, palm nuts and kernels, coconuts, and castors. The main uses of oils are cooking, other household purposes and industrial application. The manufacture of detergents, cakes and margarines as well as lubrication in industries are very important uses.

Palm nuts and kernel oils are mostly used for the manufacture of margarine, hair oils and soaps. Their use in making cakes for dairy cattle, pigs, and horses is due to the fact that they, together with their by-products, contain about 20% to 57% crude protein and carbohydrates. They are also used for food because of their vitamin A (palmitic) and linoleic acid contents.

In West Africa palm oil is principally used for cooking because there are few industrial uses. Its use in agriculture

in Cameroon is limited because dairy farming is not yet capitalized and animals are still left to the good will of nature.

The demand for oils is highly determined by their quality and uses. The price of one type affects that of others, other things being equal.

(ii) Geographical Orientation of Trade

From a geographical point of view, oil palm and kernel trade is polarized between consumers in the developed countries on the one hand, and producers in the developing nations on the other. The principal world exporters of palm oil are, Malaysia, Ivory Coast, Nigeria, Zaire and Indonesia; these nations also export more than two thirds of palm kernel. The U.S.A. as well as E.E.C. countries, especially the U.K., the Netherlands and West Germany, are the main consumers of palm kernel. The major palm oil importers are the U.S.A, West Germany, the U.K., the Netherlands, Iraq and Japan; but the U.S.A. is the leading importer. Cameroon is an important producer of high quality palm oil and kernels in West Africa, but on a global scale, its production is still insignificant. The S.W. Province produces more than half the total output from Cameroon.

The major importers of Cameroon oil and kernels are Italy, The Netherlands, France and West Germany. Until 1961 Britain controlled an important share of the export from Cameroon, but this has reduced to less than 20%, most of which is produced by Pamol. In 1980/81, nearly sixty per cent of the

export revenue to Cameroon from palm oil and kernel came from S.W. plantations exports.

Although production, and prices have been relatively stable (see Figure V.6), as compared to crops such as cocoa and bananas (see Figures V.9 and 11), over production from S. E. Asia has often resulted in falling prices. In 1981/82 for example, C. D. C. realized a decrease in net sales because of falling prices (see Figure V. 6). Often however, prices rise, but output is low due to climatic conditions, as was the case in 1963. But tariffs imposed on oil exports restrict the market and affect prices. Tariffs have been high on semi-refined oil. The E.E.C. for example levies a tax of 12% on this grade of oil as opposed to 4% on the crude product. These discriminatory trade policies by developed nations which turn to inhibit the establishment of manufacturing industries in the developing nations have become an important topic in the "North-South Debate".

Fortunately there is increasing domestic demand for palm oil for household consumption in Cameroon which has encouraged local sales and diverted trade from the foreign to the home market. But, despite increased domestic sales, there is growing inflation in the local oil market as a result of smuggling by local sales agents. Before the near collapse of the Nigerian economy, the situation was different; the smuggling was from Nigeria to Cameroon. The reason for this reversed situation is that there is acute shortages in Nigeria and other neighbouring countries that has resulted in higher prices in these markets. It is unlikely that smuggling will stop in the immediate future

given the fact that there are no integrated development plans within the Central nor West African regions, despite the existence of customs unions, UDEAC and ECOWAS. Differential prices for identical products in markets in member nations are indicative of this lack of joint efforts by countries in these regions for the development of their sub-regions.

C. Tea and Cocoa Trade

Introduction

Tea, cocoa and coffee are very close substitutes which are all exported from developing countries. Though coffee is not included in this study because it is not an important crop in the large plantation in the S. W. Province, and although the marketing of these beverages can not be discussed in detail in the present study because of the scope this will require, the inter-relationship in their markets can not be ignored. These commodities constitute a very important percentage by value of the total commodity exports from developing nations. Between 1972-74, coffee was second only to mineral oil as an earner of foreign exchange. Out of a total earning of \$47,000 million (excluding oil revenues) by developing nations from commodity exports, coffee, tea and cocoa respectively earned \$3,700, \$660 and \$1,000 million during the same period. Cocoa and tea respectively constituted 22.7 per cent and 0.3 per cent of all earnings of commodity exports from Cameroon during the same period. These crops are the major agricultural exports, and, aside from petroleum products, the principal foreign exchange

earners for Cameroon. Fluctuations in their prices and revenues therefore have serious repercussions on the country's economy.

By world standards, Cameroon is an important producer and exporter of cocoa after Brazil, Ivory Coast, Ghana and Nigeria in that order of importance. Tea is mostly exported by Sri Lanka, India, Uganda, Kenya and other S.E. Asian countries. Cameroon is the thirteenth producer and exporter of coffee beans but its tea exports are still very small. Again, the major markets for these commodities are in Western Europe and North America. The methods in which these products are marketed seriously affect prices as will be shown by examining their markets.

1. TEA

Marketing Methods and their Effects on Prices

According to Manohara (1974:84), tea is marketed in three ways:

- 1) Direct export
- 2) Ex-garden Sales
- 3) Auction sales

1) Direct Export

Direct exports are made through forward contracts. Even though this method provides ready markets, it has some disadvantages among which is the fact that once the price has been contracted with a foreign buyer, the exporter cannot earn extra revenue even if prices rise in the future. On the other hand however, any future fall in prices does not affect the

exporter. The main influences on this method are environmental factors such as climatic changes which affect output and the quality of teas produced, and the competition that exists among producers to secure markets in the industrialized nations. Sri Lanka and India sell most of their high quality tea through this system even though Manohara (1974:86) notes that this method deprives them of additional revenue which could be earned if prices rise in the future. Tea exports from Cameroon enter the European markets through this system.

2) Ex-Garden Sales

"Ex-garden sales" can be conceived as "distress sales". "Panic selling" takes place immediately after production because commodity producers want to earn immediate foreign exchange (Helleiner, 1978:17). The absence of good storage facilities and the fear of unfavourable future changes in the markets are often an important reason for these sales.

3) Auction Sales

Auction markets handle most of the tea that enters world trade. The price of this commodity is determined mainly by the major tea-auction centers such as Calcutta, Colombo, London, Nairobi, Cochin and Chittagong. The first three are the leading markets, but London is the most important since it is the principal auction market for teas in the developed world. It became an important tea auction center since 1839 when the first tea auction was held there.

In 1971, the London auction market imported 26.7 per cent of Indian tea, 17.3 per cent of Sri Lanka's tea and 35.3 per cent of East African exports. The first tea export from the

S.W. Province to the London Auction Market was in December, 1958.

The role of brokers in these markets is very important. Their functions include financing both sellers and buyers, acting as consultants as well as taking the whole marketing burden from buyers and sellers. The concentration of these important functions in the hands of a few brokers gives them power to influence prices because they often connive for their own interests. It can be suggested that co-operative behaviour is probable among competing middle-men when their numbers are few even though formal collusion does not exist.

Brokers may give signals to their colleagues in the market not to bid prices inconvenient to them. This situation shows that production is in the hands of the tea growers while the prices at which the teas are sold are determined elsewhere beyond their influence. Tea markets are also riddled with market imperfections; while teas which are not in packets are generally imported duty-free into the markets of the developed nations, (except Japan), the packeted product is subject to duties. In 1974 the E.E.C. levied a 5% duty on packeted teas while the other teas were untaxed. Furthermore, freight charges are higher for packeted teas than the unpacked product. Moreover, the blending of teas is almost exclusive to the advanced nations which re-sell the blends to other countries, including the initial producers, at relatively higher prices than what they originally paid for the imports. The explicit aim of this policy is to discourage value-adding processes in the producing less-developed nations whose share

of the profits as a result is reduced.

The above market determinants do not have serious effects on producers in the S.W. Province of Cameroon at the moment since production has not yet reached the level which permits substantial exports into foreign markets. However, these problems have to be envisaged and solutions sought as production increases.

(ii) Politics and the Geographical Orientation of Trade

The marketing of S.W. tea has been subject to political, natural, technical as well as economic influences. During the early stages of the industry, local consumption was mainly by a small number of Africans and Europeans in the colony, but the level of output did not permit a significant percentage of exports. Later, British and Nigerian markets exercised monopsony powers over tea from the S.W. Province.

In 1944 however, the governor of Nigeria informed the tea growers in the Southern Cameroons that their tea was no longer wanted in the Nigerian market; this decision, he said was because there was now adequate supply of higher quality tea from East Africa. There was however no proof that Cameroon tea was of low quality because no complaint had ever been made about the quality of tea from this region before 1944. East African tea had never been said to be of superior quality to that from Cameroon. The decision could therefore be considered a diplomatic move in favour of British East Africa which had a different colonial status in the British Empire from Cameroon which was only a mandated territory, and could be granted

independence at any time.

One can note that colonial ties, ideological alliances, kinship or other personal relationships, play very important roles in shaping international trade or relations. Manoharan (1974), justifies the preferential treatment which East African tea receives over Indian tea in London markets along these lines of argument. He argues that Kenyan tea has not been proved to be superior to Indian and Sri Lankan teas; he however admits that supplies from East Africa are regular during all seasons. However, the serious drought which has hit the East African and Sahel region since the late 1970s has affected these supplies.

Until 1965, the major market was the U.K. Between 1962 and 1966 the average purchases by the British Market was over 50% of the total sales per annum. The Belgian market was also important although some of the product was also sold to Nigeria. The domestic market became very important after independence in 1961, and was expanded as a result of a 60% import duty imposed on foreign teas in 1966 by the Cameroon Government.

Even though less than one third of the tea produced today is exported, smuggling to neighbouring nations, together with import restrictions have caused shortages in the local market resulting in high prices. Tables V.11, and V.12, illustrate the changes in local tea prices in some areas in the S.W. Province.

Table V.11 : Tea-Changes in Wholesale Prices 1968 to 1978

Grades of Tea	Quantity sold (in gms)	Year		% Change in Prices
		1968	1978	
		Prices in Francs C.F.A.		
Blue Label	400x100	18,750	40,000	113
Yellow Label	400x100	18,100	38,000	106
Red Label	400x100	17,295	36,000	108

Table V.12 : Changes in Retail Prices 1972 to 1977

Table V.12 : Changes in Retail Prices 1972 to 1977				
Grades of Tea	Quantity Sold (in gms)	Year		% Change in Prices
		1972	1977	
		Prices in Francs C.F.A.		
Blue Label	100	50	90	80
Yellow Label	100	48	80	67
Red Label	100	46	75	57

Source: Adapted from Fossoh, 1979:18 (Unpublished Undergraduate Thesis).

On the average the change in wholesale prices for all grades of tea sold during this period was 106 per cent. Prices in some rural areas (for example Nyassosso, Boa, Lebock, Njungo, Mbetta, Modeka or Mbonge) of 100 grammes of grade three tea were on the average, 150 Francs C.F.A. due to added transport costs (Fossoh, 1979). A hundred grammes of grade one tinned tea costs over 250 francs C.F.A., and 25 sachets of 100 grammes of fine tea cost 500 francs during the same period.

Although tins utilized for packing teas were often riveted at Tole, the metal sheets used were generally imported. Often there were considerable delays in receiving consignments. Although these delays can be imputed, to some extent, to bureaucratic procedures which often characterize external trade in many developing nations, it was noticed that they usually

stemmed from strikes or other labour problems abroad. The delay in the supply of such intermediary inputs usually caused stoppages in some factory process. Such dependence on foreign sources of supply of vital inputs which could be procured from local industries such as the aluminium plant at Edea, reduce the linkages that could be created within the local economy. Also, the product becomes expensive as a result of these problems in acquiring inputs.

Even though there are these problems, coupled with occasional slumps in tea markets, as in 1981/82 when unsold stocks in C. D. C. warehouses rose to about 630 tons, markets in neighbouring countries seem to be lucrative.

2. COCOA

Introduction

Apart from Brazil and some other Latin American countries, the production of cocoa is highly concentrated in West Africa. Brazil, Ivory Coast, Nigeria, Ghana and Cameroon are the leading world producers and exporters of cocoa. Unlike most other crops from West Africa, cocoa is mostly produced by small family planters, except perhaps in the Ivory Coast where large European or Government plantations exist. Cocoa, as tea and coffee, is mostly consumed in industrialized nations. The principal consumers, in a descending order of importance are, the U.S.A., West Germany, the Netherlands, U.S.S.R., U.K., France, Japan and Canada.

(i) Factors Affecting Demand

The demand for cocoa is influenced by factors which are slightly different from those affecting other beverages. Aside from natural factors, the demand and supply of cocoa are a function of fluctuations in chocolate markets and those of other products manufactured from the beans. The markets for complimentary products such as sugar, milk and oils also influence the prices of cocoa beans and those of final products manufactured from them.

(ii) Fluctuations in Supply, Demand and Prices

Cocoa supply has been affected in recent years not only by drought and disease, but more importantly by political upheavals in Ghana and Nigeria which caused economic problems. Due to these civil and military crises, Ivory Coast became the leading producer of cocoa in West Africa. A temporary fall in supply which resulted from these problems momentarily drove prices upwards. In the early 1970s, the unit value of exported cocoa grew at average rates of 7.9 per cent a year, while export volumes grew by 1.7 per cent annually (Singh et al., 1977:77). In 1974, prices of cocoa beans averaged 98 cents a pound after increased supplies and relative decreases in demand had caused them to fall to a record low of 17 cents per pound in 1965. The fall in prices in 1965 was due to chaotic marketing which followed the collapse of the Cocoa Producers' Alliance (CPA) which had been created in 1963 by the major world producers of cocoa Ghana, Nigeria, Brazil, the Ivory Coast, Cameroon, and Togo, which accounted for more than 80% of

total output (Tewel, et al., 1969:224). There are yet no very binding agreements between producers and consumers.

(iii) Reasons for Market Instability

Cocoa is generally sold in commodity markets to which reference has already been made. It can be noted however that its prices fluctuate relatively more than those of tea. There are many problems in reaching an international agreements in its market.

Consumers usually lose interest in the agreements when prices are falling; similarly, producers tend to ignore the various quota arrangements as prices rise in their favour. Cocoa and other commodities constitute a small proportion of the trade of major consumer nations while most of the producers, for example Cameroon, have these commodities as major exports; as a result, negotiations between consumers and producers are often rendered difficult. More important still is the fact that producers usually compete among themselves for the markets in the developed nations instead of agreeing on policies which could make them bargain from a position of strength with the consumers.

The lack of consensus is usually due to selfish nationalistic tendencies which ignore the fruits that could be reaped from collective efforts. Furthermore, stabilization policies which are usually commended for producer countries by international organizations such as UNCTAD or GATT are not very favourable because the producers do not generally have enough funds to support such schemes. Funds provided by other

international organizations for example, the International Development Assistance (IDA), the World Bank, or the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), for these purposes often leave the producer countries indebted because interests have to be paid. Fluctuations in these markets will therefore continue, at least in the foreseeable future.

As a result of fluctuations in output, consumers have devised ways of reducing their dependence on cocoa butter by substituting or reducing its content with fats and oils; they tend to produce filled and enrobed chocolate bars. Producers have no market innovations to counter the effects of these developments by consumers. As a result changes in the demand side of the market almost dictate the prices of cocoa. The fluctuations in the cocoa market have been too frequent that nobody has faith in its market any longer.

(iv) Effects of Market Fluctuations on S. W. Producers

Although Cameroon is still a leading producer of cocoa, it can be argued that cocoa markets are no longer lucrative. The cocoa trade became so unprofitable for S.W. producers that the large plantations which have a choice in such circumstances decided to abandoned its production to small farmers. The fall in revenue earned from cocoa trade is illustrated by C.D.C. sales(see Figure V.9). Prices in 1965 were so low (14 million Francs C.F.A. for 162 metric tons, as compared to 9 million for 110 metric tons in 1963), that the corporation carried out a campaign to deflower cocoa trees. It was a costly and fruitless

solution to the problem, but it demonstrated how disgruntled and outraged producers can become if market conditions become unfavourable.

The hard commercial facts are that investments in an industry or any undertaking must generate adequate returns so as to provide further resources for re-investment in order to remain viable. This is hardly the case for cocoa farmers in the S.W. Province who are sustained mainly by government subsidies. The subsidies are the result of low prices that are offered in world markets which do not enable the farmers to break-even with production costs. For example, the prices paid for a kilogramme of cocoa in the local market in 1980/81 and 1981/82 were respectively 300 and 310 francs C.F.A., while those offered for identical weights of cocoa during the same period in the New York Spot Market were US\$ 110.26 and 86.18 respectively. The primary difficulty regarding subsidies is that the policy can be continued only at the expense of other sectors and projects which provide the resources or which are deprived of investment capital in order to support the scheme.

(v) Geographical Orientation of the Cocoa Trade

France, Belgium, Luxemburg, West Germany, Italy, the U.S.S.R., and the Netherlands are the major importers of Cameroon cocoa. In 1978/79, 1979/80 and 1980/81 the Netherlands imported respectively 77, 75% and 74 per cent of S.W. cocoa. Germany, the second most important customer, in 1978/79 and 1979/80, imported respectively, about 7% and 9 per cent of the total export.

Until 1914, Germany was the principal market. Although France's share of the market in 1980/81 fell to 7.6% it was still the second customer. In 1979/80 and 1980/81, the U.S. imported only 2% and 3% respectively of Cameroon's total cocoa exports. Britain which was an important importer during the colonial period and the early part of the 1960s no longer imports Cameroon cocoa. Although other importers control a small share of the market, their share could be expanded through further negotiations in order to reduce monopsony. The expansion of domestic processing units, and cultivation of the local market will encourage further production; but there is need for market research.

D. THE BANANA TRADE

There has been a great decline in the banana trade since independence (see Figure V.11). The various ramifications that have taken place in Cameroon, coupled with declines in world commodity markets, have affected banana cultivation, exports and revenue derived from trade more than any other plantation crop in the Province. In 1963 the F.O.B. prices of 17,147 francs C. F. A. per ton was the lowest ever recorded. Even though prices rose in 1968, output was not high to take advantage of the rise, partly because of weather conditions, and more important, as a result of declining faith in the banana market. Although prices improved in 1981/82, they are unlikely to encourage additional output.

The initial market for S.W. bananas was Germany which had by virtue of its authority over the territory controlled this

source of raw material for its home consumers until it was evicted from the region. Britain, yet another colonial power, took over from Germany and continued the monopoly and monopsony which had been exercised by the Germans. According to Bederman (1968:36), bananas from the territory enjoyed "special privileges in the British market". Tariffs were concessional and the product was transported by Elders and Fyffes, a subsidiary of the United Fruit Company, a British based trans-national corporation which was engaged in various activities in Nigeria and Southern Cameroons. All bananas from the S.W. Province were handled by the British Ministry of Food.

Although the market was seemingly protected, Cameroon bananas had to compete with those from more favoured British West Indian islands.

The unification in 1961 of the Southern Cameroons and former French Cameroon did not leave banana trade unaffected. Although Britain did not openly express its disappointment over Southern Cameroon's unification with the former French territory, its decision to terminate the preferential treatment it accorded bananas from Southern Cameroon by September 1963 could be judged as an expression of its unhappiness to see the former colony under a different sphere of influence.

After 1963 all bananas from Southern Cameroon which was no longer regarded as part of the British Commonwealth were subjected to a seven pounds ten shillings per ton tariff. Producers in the S.W. Province faced a dilemma as their crop was no longer readily accepted in British markets, and was still barred from French markets, although their territory had become

part of the Federal Republic of Cameroon, a member of the French Community. After negotiations (which were often deadlocked) with France, and further agreements with the Federal ~~government~~ of Cameroon, it was agreed that bananas from the territory be accepted into the French market which was exclusively for the "French Community" nations, (Bederman, 1968:36). However, producers in the former British Cameroon could be allotted a percentage of the quota which was initially assigned to East Cameroon by France only from 1967.

In the meantime West Cameroon had to sell its bananas, and the only way to do this was to reduce the export duties which it formerly imposed on bananas. The duty, 1s 6d per bunch, was reduced to 9d, resulting in a loss of 2 pounds per ton on export duties. Meanwhile, Elders and Fyffes Ltd., itself engaged in banana production at Likomba Estates, was given the monopoly power to purchase, at a free on board (F.O.B.) price, all the bananas from the region. Since Elders and Fyffes is an affiliate of a multi-national corporation with a global influence, it diversified its banana markets to Britain, Italy, the Netherlands, and France. However, banana trade soon became a bad business and forced the company to discontinue its commercial activities in the Province. In 1967 it sold its estates at Likomba to the C.D.C. and relocated its operations out of the territory. This geographical re-location of activities out of regions experiencing a depression is characteristic of multi-national Corporations constantly searching for profits. From 1967, France became the major importer of S.W. bananas. In 1978/79, 1979/80 and 1980/81, it

respectively imported about 70%, 74% and 80% of the bananas from the S.W.Province.

From 1967 French markets were opened to banana producers in the S.W.Province. After this date S. W. banana producers were excluded from the high tariffs which France imposed on imports from non-community members. In return however, they were subjected to French exports which were relatively more expensive than those in many markets outside France. For example, the difference between fixed prices for French imports to markets in member nations and prices in other competitive world markets in 1961 were about 58% for food stuff and 35% for printed cotton (Cutaja et al., 1967:118); The most significant feature of the French market and its community nations is the deliberate regulation of prices by France. Crops such as coffee, groundnuts, palm oil, and bananas as well as petrol entering French markets were given some price preferences; in return wheat, sugar, dairy products, textiles, cars and domestic appliances had to be imported from France, usually at higher prices(Cutaja, et al.,1967:118).

Although this system assured producers in the S.W.Province and other members of the C.F.A. Community of markets for their products, it on the other hand reduced members' incentives to diversify markets and expand production. This agreement has been substituted by the "Yaounde Convention" which Nabudere (1979) considers to be a phase of neo-colonialism because many of its clauses are similar to the old agreement. Cutaja, et al.,(1967), re-iterates that in this system France keeps all the external accounts of the Community

members and influences their monetary and trade policies, especially as C.F.A. countries in deficit with non franc zone nations have to be financed out of France's exchange reserves.

(ii) Effects of Multi-national Companies on Banana Trade

The hegemony of some industrialized nations is greatly manifested by their multi-national corporations which control the transportation and distribution of many third world imports and exports, aside from other influences they exercise over many production units in less developed countries. Their influence permits them to dictate prices. Banana trade is illustrative of the marketing strategy of multi-nationals.

Three multi-nationals, United Brands, Standard Fruit and Del Monte handle nearly 70% of all bananas entering world trade. The competition which takes place among them as they try to increase their market shares in different regions is the root cause of low banana prices. Their commercial policies are such that greater benefits accrue to the grocers in the developed nations (Garreau, 1977:238). In many cases however, these companies have given up field work to local enterprises and are concentrated only in supplying technical know-how, investment capital, or transport facilities for distribution. The pattern in which the production and commercial functions are distributed is such that there is bound to be inequitable allocation of profits. Garreau (1977:238) maintains that only 11.5% of the profits go to the producing countries, while the rest goes to multinationals and other foreign enterprises which intervene at different stages in the transportation and

commercialization processes. The future of the industry therefore depends on these companies.

(iii) Effects of Decline on Smallfarmers

The collapse of the banana industry has affected the S.W. Province; it caused unemployment, rendered some fixed capital redundant, and generated other socio-economic and spatial problems within the whole society. Fixed capital investments such as drying houses at Tomble and other estates, office buildings, for example the B.C.U.F. buildings at Debanda, Tiko and Bota wharves, and other infrastructure which specialized in banana production or export, are no longer useful, and in many cases they have dilapidated. The Cooperative Movement collapsed and its members became jobless. The small quota which is presently allocated to S.W. producers indicates that the future of bananas in the S.W. Province is not promising unless market conditions improve. Figure V.11, illustrates the decline in banana output and the fluctuations in revenues from sales.

E. Pepper Trade

The production of pepper is dominated by India, Indonesia and Malaysia which together produce about 80 per cent of global output; Latin American countries, especially Brazil, are also becoming important producers of this spice. Cameroon is a producer of spices in Central Africa and the S.W. Province contributes a significant share of the total national output.

Over 70 per cent of the total world output enters the world market. The principal consumers of the commodity are the

U.S.A., E.E.C. countries (mainly West Germany and France), and the U.S.S.R.. The price of white pepper in these markets has been rising slowly due to increasing demand. The S.W. Province produces nearly 50% of the total output from Cameroon.

Output and pepper sales have also been fluctuating as Figure V.12, indicates. Due to natural factors, a poor yield may be followed by a good harvest thereby resulting in low revenues from sales. In 1968 for example, there was almost no output following very high yields in 1967. The S.W. Province and other producing areas of Cameroon export both white and black pepper to Western Europe, but further investment into pepper will depend on the markets at home and abroad, and it is only market determinants that will influence C.D.C's decision to make it an important crop in its estates. The research is necessary because in recent years pepper markets have also not been lucrative.

Conclusion

After analysing trade in plantation products, it can be concluded that there exist major links between the producer and the consumer with output being mostly a function of demand. The examination of trade also shows that commodity markets are generally riddled with uncertainties and fluctuations which render producers less certain of the future of their investments. The pattern of trade which existed during the colonial era whereby exports from the plantations were either raw material or semi value-added products, has perpetuated. Subsidies have been used to promote local output, but these

tend to encourage borrowing or a draining of resources from other sectors to support the policy.

Domestic trade has been encouraged for some crops due to uncertainties in foreign markets and increasing demands at home. But underground commerce with neighbouring countries results in domestic inflation. The products have rarely created industrial linkages (except those that reduce bulk) within the S.W. and the socio-economic space of other provinces in Cameroon due to protectionist policies by industrialized economies, coupled with competition from synthetic products; together, these factors inhibit the expansion of trade in raw materials and thwart industrialization and spread effects.

At this point, it is worthwhile turning attention to other linkages and impacts which plantations have on the economic life of the Province or the nation as a whole. These aspects include export and import revenues, the demonstration effect and food production. These relationships and influences are examined in the proceeding chapter.

CHAPTER VILARGE PLANTATIONS AND LINKAGESIntroduction

Hirschman(1958), was the first to propound the "Theory of Linkages" which has become one of the most important concepts applied in analysing differences in the rates and patterns of development between regions within a country, or between different nations. Explicit or implicit in the concept are the relationships which are established within or without a given socio-economic space for the purpose of producing and marketing goods and services. These linkages include information flow, acquisition of investment capital, technical assistance, managerial expertise, other production and commercial relations or spatial relationships. The degree to which these links are created within an economy can determine the pace and pattern of growth and development, other things being equal.

The emphasis, among other things, includes inducements to domestic investments. These inducements may result from activities in many sectors; those resulting from increased activity of the export sector include backward, forward, and final demand linkages (Watkins, 1963:55).

Backward linkages, according to Watkins, are measures of the potential inducement to invest in the home production of

inputs (which include capital goods) for the expanding export sector.

Forward linkages on the other hand are the ability to induce investment into those industries which use the output of the export orientated industries as inputs.

Final demand linkage refers to the ability to encourage investment in domestic industries producing consumer goods in the domestic market for export producing activities or factors.

Generally speaking, the creation of forward linkages is a function of the size of domestic or foreign markets. The more limited the domestic market, the greater will be the tendency to establish these links abroad. Furthermore, protection in foreign markets against manufactured imports may impede processing within the economy of the raw material producer and force the linkages abroad.

Final demand can be limited by the levels of incomes, their distribution and the number of workers employed in export orientated sectors. This link can also be weakened if a large proportion of incomes generated within the economy accrues to foreign factors of production, for example transfer earnings, dividends, or excessive purchases of foreign capital goods, as opposed to that fraction which accumulates in the local economy. Watkins (1963:56), emphasizes that this leakage or weakness in the final demand link is due to the fact that primary producers are notoriously susceptible to indebtedness, and that the burden will be greater the more capital intensive the staple.

Weakness in final demand linkages will therefore depend

on the leakages within the income and investment circuits which are influenced by the propensity to consume domestically produced goods. The degree of inequality in the distribution of incomes will also be a major determinant of the demand linkages within the economy. The more skewed the distribution of incomes, the greater will be the tendency to import luxuries or orientate local factors towards the production of such luxury goods for the satisfaction of a limited class of citizens. Paquette (1971:22), suggests that leakages which are due to incomes accruing to foreign factors could be reduced through taxes. This suggestion holds good only when tax policies are rationally formulated and rigorously applied.

It is often postulated by some scholars that the growth and development of many third world economies has been retarded, among other factors, because potential linkages necessary for growth and development are generally created abroad leaving the domestic institutions weak and unable to generate the forces necessary for accelerated expansion and development. Frank (1978:113), questions why in the underdeveloped world generally backward and forward linkages have not, or have only tardily, generated development based on a domestic producer goods sector.

The absence or limitations of forward or backward linkages in Africa, Asia and Latin America due to the production of raw materials in the nineteenth and part of the twentieth centuries are, due to the facts that processing was a major business of the metropolitan countries. Some processes were left in the hands of the raw material producers only when

the operations were rudimentary, transportation of bulky products too costly, or production by low-wage labour in the colonies more advantageous. Foreign control limited the amount of processing which could conflict with metropolitan economic, financial or socio-political interests. Capital invested within the colonial economies was in non-linkage creating processes. The main linkage was investments in transport for the purpose of evacuating products to the metropolis and insuring administrative and military control in the territories. The transport pattern that developed in the colonies is well analysed by Taaffe et al., (1963:502-529).

Demand in the colonies was orientated towards imported goods that competed with forward-linking domestic production activities through price advantages and marketing privileges that manufacturers in the metropolis had over producers in the colonies. Where some raw materials processing occurred locally, it was usually financially or commercially controlled or its installations owned outright by foreigners who then imposed similar limitations on potential domestic spread effects of these processes. Market competition of imported foreign products or (in Africa) domestic production was, and still is, wherever necessary, supplemented or even supplanted by foreign (or settler) political power in the colonial or neo-colonial countries (Frank, 1978).

It will be unrealistic to say that the situation in many nations is still as it was in colonial times; however some of these factors continue to influence the development pattern in many of these nations. Frank exaggerates the issue to some

extent, but he makes the point that the sources of these privileges then and now must be sought not only in the economic, political and ideological alliance of private domestic export interests with foreign ones, but also in the great dependence on the metropolitan powers of the supposedly independent states for raw materials exports or import duties for fiscal revenue and finance, which subjugate them to metropolitan powers not only through direct foreign loans, but also through metropolitan management of the world monetary institutions and mechanisms.

The creation of linkages within the socio-economic and geographical space of the S.W. Province and Cameroon by plantations has been implicitly or explicitly discussed in relation to inputs, cultivation, manufacturing and marketing processes. These linkages include the acquisition of spare parts for factories and other industrial installations, engineering expertise, provision of fertilizers, pesticides, research for new planting materials, and the acquisition of equipments for use in the fields, as well as other commercial linkages. It was earlier noted that major linkages were created abroad. The proceeding section is an analyses of the revenue, and the demonstration effects of plantation activities.

I. Revenues

Reference had earlier been made to some aspects of plantation revenues and incomes, but it is worthwhile examining export and import taxes which are paid by the plantation companies since they affect the domestic and international

economies.

Capital accumulation in the Province has been handicapped over the years, as a result of low revenues due to "unequal exchange" which transfer the expansion multiplier abroad irrespective of whether the means of production are domestically owned or not. The remittance of personal incomes abroad by local inhabitants as well as foreigners employed by the plantation companies or other sectors is worth noting.

Government policy concerning remittances abroad are very favourable. In recent years however, the need to reduce income leakages, stabilize foreign exchange, and encourage local investments has forced the government to impose short-term restriction on remittances. Writing on the policy, an executive of Pamol explained:

"Whilst Exchange Control regulations with regards to the remittance of personal savings of expatriates are very reasonable, no remittances can be made until the expatriate has been resident in the territory for a period of six months. This can create problems for individuals who have to meet boarding school fees, mortgage repayments, or subsistence for wives and children remaining in Europe" (Unilever Plantation Group, London, Sept., 30, 1980:4).

Despite leakages and weakened potentials, the plantations in the S.W. Province still contribute some revenues to the government treasury through taxes or other multiplier. But multipliers created from personal incomes are weak because many workers earn very low salaries and wages. Table VI.1, indicates some revenues derived from taxes on C.D.C. activities. It is also estimated that over ninety per cent of all taxes collected from Ndian Division are duties and other

Table VI.1. Taxes Paid To The Government By The CDC 1971-1982 (in millions of Francs C.F.A.)

Year	Export Duty	Inspection Fees	Land Rents	Turnover Tax	Import Duty	Company Tax	Business Licence	Stamp Duty
1971	21.5	3.1		38.9	31.4	-	-	-
1972	21.6	2.9		39.2	29.8	-	-	-
1973	10.3	2.4		41.5	14.3	-	-	-
1974	41.3	2.1	116	27.6	5.0	-	-	-
1975	88.3	1.7		61.6	5.4	44.1	2.7	0.6
1976	105.4	1.8		132.1	6.8	48.8	2.3	2.4
1977	107.7	1.3		154.3	25.6	62.2	13.6	1.1
1978	108.2	2.8		190.0	11.9	272.3	8.1	3.5
1980	120.0	3.2		214.9	21.4	407.9	6.6	1.6
1981	125.1	2.7	79.4	358.9	36.3	162.3	9.3	2.2
1982	125.9	1.1	87.7	364.5	.5	97.6	7.9	2.6
Totals:	875.3	25.1	282.5	1,623.5	188.4	1,095.2	50.5	14.0

Source: Compiled from CDC Annual Reports and Accounts,

taxes paid by Pamol and its employees (Unilever Plantation Group, London, 1980).

Turnover tax (see Table VI.1) is the most important source of revenue for the government from all C.D.C. operations; it increases in progression with the turnover. Company tax is second to turnover tax, and export duties are the third most important source of revenue. Import duties, as already mentioned, are relatively low. Inspection fees are paid to the government, but "Visiting Agents" from abroad who come every year to the C.D.C. because of an agreement between Comdev., and Camdev., also attract a fee.

It can be suggested with impunity that between 1884 and 1959, only a small proportion of revenue from all sources of plantation activities accrued to the S.W. Province because its destiny was directly in the hands of foreigners. But one could note however that the Germans invested substantial sums in the colony. After 1917, any revenue derived from plantation operations was directly or indirectly controlled from Lagos through the intermediary of the Eastern Nigerian government under which the Cameroons was ruled. As a result, the multiplier effects which usually accrue to an economy from earned and re-invested revenues can be said to have been truncated or limited by foreign control and exportation of resources.

After 1974 the S.W. Province became completely integrated into the United Republic, and the quasi-autonomy which it exercised over its resources, was relinquished to a more centralized administration. Responsibilities shifted from the

states to the central government and financial and fiscal policies were no longer the responsibility of the states. In the S. W. Province, apart from the taxes which existed before this period, others that had hitherto been popular sources of revenue in East Cameroon and France were introduced; these included the "Business License and Stamp Duty" taxes. It is worthwhile examining the implications of some taxes.

(i) Import Duties

From Table VI.1, it can be seen that import duties are relatively lower than export taxes. The reason can be found in the "favourable climate for investment" and the "leading sector" concepts. The climate for investments concept is generally discussed in relation to multi-national companies; but it also applies to large multi-provincial or inter-state enterprises, especially in free market economies. The concept states that, given a stable and ideologically acceptable political institution in addition to certain financial, trade, managerial, or other privileges, large companies would establish in a given socio-economic and geographical milieu.

In Cameroon, the concessions which a large industrial or agricultural undertaking may enjoy include: "exemption from import duties and taxes on equipment and raw materials, reduced export duties, exemption from internal consumption and income taxes, and guarantees that firms will not be subject for specific periods (up to 25 years) to any new taxes or duties that might be enacted after the investment is made" (U.S. Dept. of State, Bureau of Public Affairs, Feb., 1983).

The implications of such a very liberal policy cannot be examined in this study, but it is obvious that the policy reduces Cameroon's ability to earn reasonable incomes from these investments. The grace period is so long that some investors might evade any profitable contributions to the economy; they may relocate their activities after making reasonable profits in a very short period. If this happens frequently, as may be the tendency, the potential of the economy will continuously be weakened. On the other hand, one may argue that the policy is encouraging to exporters because the exports, being less costly, will be able to compete in foreign markets.

In order to encourage agricultural development, some of these concessions have been extended to large plantations companies. Some implications of these privileges on plantation operations in the S.W. Province are worth examining. Modernization in the large plantations is demonstrated by the use of capital equipments. Plantations in the S. W. Province import most of these inputs, some of which could be purchased locally. In many instances, some authorities import goods or equipment which are either obsolete, not at all useful to the companies, or generally benefit only a few employees. These items are imported because some local personnel make personal gains from foreign manufacturers with whom they sign contracts to import goods irrespective of whether such items serve useful purposes in the importing economy or not. These arrangements the extort the importing economy through outflows of capital to manufacturers.

In recent years such imports have piled up as useless or obsolete stock in supplies divisions of many estates. In effect such piled-up stocks are capital which otherwise would have been profitably invested or put into circulation. Where the wastage is by government corporations or subsidized private companies, the tax-payers, directly or indirectly shoulder the burden if the enterprises become financially less viable. The trickle down and demonstration effects which are the reason for these privileges are not very visible. The smaller farmers who are not given these privileges do not benefit very much from the policy because the imported equipments are not generally adapted to their needs or put at their disposal.

(ii) Export Duties

The main reason for imposing duties on exports from Cameroon, as in many other developing nations is to earn revenue. The effects of these duties are passed on to foreign consumers who have to pay more for what they purchase.

While export duties are an important source of revenue for national treasuries in developing nations, they affect the competitiveness of the exports in foreign markets and contribute to future depressions in those markets, if set at unreasonable levels. If export taxes go beyond a certain limit, foreign consumers will turn to other sources of supply that can offer the same products at lower prices, or they may look for substitutes.

It is believed that restrictive quotas that could be tantamount to high tariff policies resulted in the United

State's campaign for the development of natural rubber substitutes. McHale(1966:46-52), explains that the rapid research for alternative products to substitute natural rubber have been blamed on "The Stevenson Restriction Scheme" which is also examined by Whittlesey (1931). The immediate impact of this scheme which restricted natural rubber exports from Malaya to the U.S. was a severe rise in prices from October 1922 with very moderate dips in 1923 and 1924.

The rise in prices in 1925 with no attempts to adjust the quotas in order to bring them down, led American manufacturers to initiate official and unofficial campaigns against the policy. When it became clear that their campaign was almost futile, greater emphasis was turned towards polymer research programmes and renewed American interest abroad to control natural rubber producing areas. It was during this period that American companies established rubber plantations in Liberia. The consequence of these programmes has been a fall in natural rubber prices because of competition from synthetic substitutes.

These policies can survive only if there is cooperation among all producers, as well as a proper analysis of the reaction at the other end of the market spectrum, so as to prevent the policies that are implemented by producers from becoming disastrous boomerangs. It has been observed however that rarely do producers in developing nations cooperate.



(iii) Land Rents

In many rural areas in Cameroon, land is communally owned. In order to acquire this input, the large businesses often use methods which have already been examined. Where the government leases economically unoccupied land to agro-industrial enterprises, or other entrepreneurs, ground rents are paid in return.

Between 1970 and 1975 rents due from the C.D.C. to the Ministry of Lands, Equipment and Housing were 116 million Francs C.F.A. However the C.D.C. has been appealing to the government for exemption from payments (C.D.C. Annual Reports, 1975-1982).

Land taxes are not only to earn revenue; they are also a means whereby the efficiency and competitiveness of a company could be assessed. The profitability of a company can be determined only when the costs of hiring factors and other overhead expenditures are not zero. It could be suggested that these costs distinguish colonial plantations which employed many factors at almost zero prices, from contemporary plantation companies that compete, or ought to compete, with other sectors for factors of production. On the other hand however, national corporations which ought to operate not solely as profit makers, need some concessions although such privileges permit the companies to operate under shadow prices, thereby creating difficulties in assessing their efficiency.

Other taxes paid to the government include council and employee personal income taxes, as well as those paid by Workers' Credit Unions. Credit unions provide loans for the

education of workers' children and for other very necessary investments which otherwise would be almost impossible because the banks which are mainly profit-making institutions located in the urban centres rarely offer financial assistance for some categories of workers. The taxes have a negative effect on development in these areas since they raise the interest rates paid by workers for the loans which are acquired from the Unions.

II. Demonstration Effects

Introduction

Although the demerits of large plantations are recognized by many authorities, as already noted, their leadership role in the agricultural revolution in developing countries is also applauded. The large plantation is regarded as:

"as an island of progress in a sea of traditional agriculture has obvious advantages. In the first place, it may have brought a new crop to the area and through its processing plant and marketing arrangements may have made possible the adoption of the new crop by local farmers. This has largely been the history of rubber growing in Malaya. Or again it may have revolutionized the methods of cultivation, quality and yield of an existing crop, as in the case of sugar cane in Java. Or again by producing large quantities of a crop of standard quality and thus justifying the special means of transport required, it may have opened up new and distant markets and enabled the small grower to share in these markets, as in the case of bananas in the Caribbeans" (F.A.O., Rome, 1966).

In a study, "The Bergs Report", by the World Bank in 1980 of agricultural development in Africa, this role was re-iterated. However Mkandawire (1982:173), remarks that the

study unabashedly advanced the widely discredited "trickle down" theory of growth by maintaining that large private farms provide major shares of market output in many countries, and that in such countries, "any growth-orientated strategy must include these islands of high productivity in agriculture", because they can be used to spearhead the introduction of new methods. The report, he adds, maintains that projects in some countries such as Nigeria succeeded because they did not ignore larger farms which have political clout and provided an informal channel to the government for reporting successes, obstacles and failures. The large farms therefore provide demonstration (over the fence) to smaller farmers.

Many observers of agricultural development in the Sub-Saharan region do not accept that the "Political clout" possessed by the larger-scale farmers benefits all small farmers because some large scale projects only provide immediate gains or opportunities for a few people in terms of kick-backs on contracts, misappropriation of resources meant for the smallholders, or speculative land deals for capitalist farming (Mkandawire, 1982).

(i) Smallholders and Demonstration effect

The relationship between large plantation companies and small farmers in the S.W. Province has already been alluded to concerning the production strategies adopted by the agro-industrial companies. Their ability to disseminate agricultural technology and to link small farmers to financial sources which had also been referred to earlier shall further

be examined.

In order to qualify for government loans or to be legible for assistance from the large plantation companies, the smallholders have to establish one to three hectares within the orbit of the large estates. In the S.W. Province, this explicitly means that the farms are to be located within the vicinity of C.D.C. and Pamol estates. The rationale is that small farms would benefit from the know-how of the large establishments which would supply them planting materials and make periodic supervision before approving the loans to be granted by Fonader. The purchasing, processing and marketing of small farmer products shall be handled by the corporate plantations which will also keep the farmers' accounts. The programme emphasizes the fact that by allying with large plantations in this scheme, families will be self-employed, hence reducing rural exodus and thereby checking unemployment. Priority is given to staple export crops in which the large corporations are specialized.

The proponents of smallholder rubber cultivation, for example, defended the scheme by emphasizing that rubber cultivation will bring diversification to other agricultural activities without opposing them in any way because the development of one hectare of rubber will only mobilize the planter one day out of three; they also maintained that the diversification will be a guarantee against the market fluctuations of the other products (C.D.C., 1976:4). In this particular case rubber is said to have an advantage over coffee, and cocoa which in their opinion provide only seasonal

incomes.

It would be false to say that this scheme does not have its advantages, especially if one considers the fact that similar schemes have succeeded in Malaysia and other S.E. Asian countries. In Malaya for example the smallholders produce about three quarter of all the rubber crop, but this scheme began long ago and conditions have changed over time; thus its adoption by other nations now requires elaborate research on the demand and supply sides of the markets, as well as on the social and spatial impacts of the scheme. If the scheme is examined in the context of the S.W. Province, it would be seen that it has demerits. The concern of this study is however not to examine all the disadvantages or advantages of the scheme, but rather to analyse some pertinent aspects related to location, incomes, the administrative weaknesses of the programme, and its effect on food production.

It is worth starting by examining the effects of locating smallholder farms near large estates. The spatial location of large plantations, especially in areas such as Fako Division, leaves only infertile marginal agricultural lands in their vicinities for the ill-equipped smallholders. It implies therefore that the small farmers will be exploiting marginal lands which require substantial applications of fertilizers and other forms of capital which are limited, despite the Fonader loans. The chances of making profit from such investments in the light of present commodity market trends are therefore sombre.

Even if one assumes that the lands they occupy are

fertile, one is confronted with the problem of concentrating very specialized agriculture in areas (except Ndian, and part of Meme) which are nearly saturated, and almost have no space for other economic activities that obviously require land. The concentration of an activity of this nature in a region often renders that region vulnerable to negative ecological or socio-economic changes that might occur. Since the case under study is export staples, such changes may occur due to market slumps, or climatic hazards. Banana production in the S.W. Province is a good example of such changes.

Although the proponents of the scheme assume that earnings will be regular and stable, experience from the large plantations themselves shows that price instability, coupled with uncertain natural conditions are common phenomena which the cultivator cannot control.

The implication of the programme is that areas which are really regarded as rural may not benefit from the scheme since there are presently no modern means of communication that link them to the corporate estates. It is implicit therefore that the spatial disparity in development which was initiated during the colonial era will be perpetuated and even re-inforced especially if the scheme succeeds. The consequence will be continuous migration, even if it occurs in reduced waves, and the results on regional demographic balances and overall regional development would have been triggered with either negative or positive consequences on the host and source regions as the case may be.

Another short-coming of this scheme which can be dubbed

"The Export Trap Accord", between the government, the large plantations and the small farmers (the most vulnerable party of the accord), is that although the maximum size of the small farm was to be three hectares, the large plantations could approve that a farmer increase the size of his farm by a few hectares. Although the reason might have been to give enterprising farmers an opportunity to expand their capacities, there are some problems involved. Assuming that other constraints do not debar these expansions, it would mean that the farm size could increase beyond the managerial limits of a family, except perhaps large polygamous families. Any expansion will require non-family labour which will be difficult to get, given the fact that the large plantations already have inadequate supplies of labour.

In order to acquire non-family labour would require small farmers to offer higher wages than are paid in other occupations or similar employments in order to persuade or attract those who are already working, or the unemployed in the urban unemployment pool who are anticipating "better" white-collar jobs. It is unlikely that the small farmers can afford such wages.

Another achille's heel of this linkage is the fact that corporate companies keep the accounts of the smallholders. The rationale for this arrangement may be the fact that many small farmers cannot read nor write. It is however unlikely that this is the case since this category of farmers is the elite group of smallfarmers that could understand elementary credit/debit accounts, or principles of farm budgeting, if tutored by

trained extension workers. Furthermore, although the good intentions of the arrangement may be undoubted, its implementation leaves ample room for fraud or mismanagement. Since the debits originate from estate managers who either supply equipment or provide services to the smallholders, it is not unlikely that some managers might transfer their operational cost to smallholders even without offering any services or supplying them with any materials. They will transfer these costs in order to reduce the total costs in their estates so as to project themselves as efficient managers.

The costs which are shifted to smallholders constitute part of their capital which has to be repaid in addition to interest calculated on unpaid principal. These payments together with those on services which might not have been rendered to the smallholder, can be burdensome if the farmers are unsuccessful. Failures have occurred, and it is likely that they may continue if the present poor standards of upkeep in smallholder farms are not checked. Many failures are also likely to occur because, aside from the loans from the government, the farmers require additional capital since rubber, tea or most of the crops require substantial investments even if only one hectare is planted. For example, in 1976 the cost of one hectare of rubber in a smallholder farm from year one to year six, was estimated at 653,694 francs C. F. A.; this is however the minimum amount that can be spent under very frugal financial management. Furthermore, the ability to succeed will depend on the brain and not the brawn

force of the farmer; the former has however not been will developed in the farmers.

(ii) Large Plantations and Food Crop Cultivation

The production of export crops in both large plantations and small farms entails the shifting of inputs-land, capital and human resources, from one form of production to the other, given the fact that resources are scarce, especially for the small farmers.

Since large plantations grow only export crops, except perhaps Tombel which recently allocated some marginal lands in its estate for plantains, yams, cocoa yams, maize, and "egusi" (see Figure VI.1), their chances of disseminating knowledge pertaining to food production are doubtful. The large plantations will therefore be of little assistance to small farmers who might want to grow food crops which, unlike the exports products, can provide both food for auto-consumption, and income, if sold.

It is apparent that the advice of some "experts" who assert that agricultural development in the Sub-Saharan region should depend on export crops as the nucleus around which extension work, input supply, and marketing services should be built, because they also assist food producers (Mkandawire, 1982:169), is influencing Cameroon's agricultural policy. However, the scarcity of resources, as already mentioned, results in trade-offs in favour of export crops which receive relatively greater encouragement from the government.

Since these linkages are mostly established for the

FIGURE VI.1

TOMBEL ESTATE FOOD CROPS CULTIVATION : PLANTAINS, EGUSI, YAMS,
AND COCO-YAMS



FIGURE VI.1

TOMBEL ESTATE FOOD CROPS CULTIVATION : PLANTAINS, EGUSI, YAMS
AND COCO-YAMS



production of export crops, the elite farmers tend to shift their resources into the production of these crops which provide opportunities for government loans, some of which, as noticed, are never used for agricultural investments. The result has been a growing shortage of food which has resulted in inflation in the Province, especially in Limbe and Buea. The situational aggravated as most of what is produced is transported, though with difficulty, to Douala.

Proponents of the smallholder scheme may argue that the S.W. Province has comparative advantages in the production of export crops which can provide revenue for the purchase of food items from other provinces or countries. Opponents of the policy will however object that the comparative advantage concept is no longer as useful as it was for most European countries because of ramifications in the international arena. Furthermore, it is maintained that provinces, like nations ought not to depend on external sources for their food. Although the dependence of a province on other regions within the same country does not render it as vulnerable as a nation depended on others for its food supply, it would be irrational not to develop a food base where there are no environmental deterrents, if genuine development is to be achieved without too much reliance on the spread effects from export crops. Even in the case of Canada which is often assumed to have benefited from the spread effects of its staple export commodities, Buckley (1958:444-445), maintains that the theory was "practical and efficacious" as a theory of economic growth only to 1820, after which other sources of national economic growth

and change, are impossible to ignore.

Although some experts emphasize the production of export crops which they regard as the engine of development in many developing countries, they nevertheless recognize that in order for an economy to develop from a solid base, food production should be promoted where possible. The colonial authorities in the S.W. Province did not develop food crop and dairy agriculture to be self-sustaining and progressive, but they nevertheless recognised the importance of vegetables, milk, meat and cheese as sources of protein. These items were produced in a limited scale to meet the demands of some workers in the estates and government establishments in the territory. Buea Farms had a piggery, raised cattle, and cultivated vegetables. The cattle provided milk which was pasteurised or made into butter. Pigs and cattle were imported from Britain in 1948 to revamp the production of meat and milk which declined after the Germans left. C.D.C. authorities expressed:

"Progress is being made with the establishment of flocks of sheep on the various estates in order, eventually to assist in varying the local diets which are now too restricted" (Annual Report, 1948).

In order to reduce risk from tsetse flies, animals were culled in the farm in Buea and sent to the estates. The animals, according to the authorities, were doing well.

By 1955 there were piggeries at Tombel, N'ssonne and Mokundange, and rejected bananas from the estates were an important source of food for the pigs. In the same year the milking herd was increased to 102 animals. As a result of links created with the Veterinary Department, there was a low disease

incidence and an increase in milk production to 30,483 gallons.

Unfortunately however, the cultivation of vegetables was discontinued and the breeding of pigs also stopped on grounds that these operations were "unprofitable". Cassava cultivation which was started during the Second World War was also discontinued because it too was "uneconomic". Despite the uneconomic performance of some export crops, their cultivation was never completely abandoned, but as soon as food crops and dairy farming showed signs of being unprofitable, production was immediately discontinued even though the nutritional levels of the inhabitants were, and still are inadequate. The lack of interest in expanding food crop cultivation was demonstrated when the C.D.C. handed over Buea Farms to the Southern Cameroon Government's Prisons Department in 1967. The farm continued to operate even after independence, but the post-colonial authorities have not shown interest in this important aspect of agriculture in the Province. Attempts are being made to discontinue the project at Tomble which could be expanded to incorporate small food-crop producers, and encouraged in many other regions.

Large Plantations and Village Communities.

The concept that plantations are usually frontier institutions, as well as the contention that they are creators of reserves for indigenous inhabitants, are well documented as already examined. The plantations in the S. W. Province are illustrative confirm to these concepts. In some areas of the S.W. Province where the central government's impact is not yet

being felt, the plantation companies seem to assume its functions, as they did in colonial times. In villages such as Njangasa, on the Cameroon side of the Cameroon/Nigerian border, the lack of transport and other communication facilities has isolated the area from almost all development that has taken place in the urban centers in Cameroon since independence.

It was only in 1980 that the population, about 1500 at that time, became linked to some urban areas by a track of road constructed by the C. D. C. The use of Cameroon currency in this area, was encouraged only by C.D.C. workers who, together with a British multi-national survey team, were engaged in surveying a 17.2 thousand hectare area for the cultivation of coconut, rubber or palms. But the absence of proper planning for rural development will still create reserves which may not provide facilities that can ensure better standards of living, and quality of life in this region whose valuable forestry and fishery resources are being haphazardly exploited and exported to Nigerian markets which are easily accessible by sea.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONSummary

The problems of developing countries have created a dilemma among people in all walks of life, and different regions of the world. Despite development theories and efforts to provide acceptable standards of living comparable to those in developed countries, malnutrition, and poverty still exist in many nations in the tropics. Yet many of these former colonies have potentials to provide basic needs for a majority of their populations.

Since the 1950s, the debate concerning what policies should be adopted to alleviate the problems in developing countries has intensified. Some scholars advocate industrialization in developing countries, others stress that specialization on agriculture for exports which can be exchanged for manufactured goods is the solution; to others, a balance between industrialization, agriculture and exports is the best policy. Still there is no agreement.

However, many authorities agree that agriculture will be the mainstay of many developing economies in the tropics, at least in the foreseeable future. Agriculture will continue to provide employment for a majority of people, and revenue for development projects in many nations. Yet the agricultural

sector in these nations has not been transformed to sustain real development. In many nations agricultural policies remain incomprehensive or focussed on modernizing the export sector to the disadvantage of food crop production for domestic requirements. In the export crops sector, production continues to be concentrated on a number of crops, most of which were introduced during the colonial era.

In Cameroon, specialization in export agriculture was started after 1884 by the Germans. Following the annexation of the territory in 1884, German companies established large commercial plantations for the production of raw materials for European industries. Politically, German plantations in Cameroon were concentrated in what became the S.W. Province after independence. Before 1914 when German forces in the colony were attacked by Anglo-French troops, its companies had expropriated lands along the coast, pushed the indigenous inhabitants on to reserves, and established plantations for the cultivation of export crops such as rubber, oil palm, bananas, cocoa, and tea; nearly all the productive forces in the territory had been incorporated into plantation activities, and the whole economy oriented towards satisfying Germanys' needs at home and in the colony.

Britain, which succeeded Germany in the Southern Cameroons, continued to exploit the resources of the region through the Central Administration in Lagos. In 1947 however, Britain established the C.D.C. The aim was to divert the benefit from plantation operations which had over the years, accrued to foreign capitals, towards the development of the

colony. But the structures and the operations of the new corporation were such that they could not stimulate and sustain development. The C.D.C. continued to depend heavily on foreign financial, technical, and managerial sources of inputs, and also perpetuated Cameroon's status as a raw-material exporter. Today C.D.C. remains an important corporation, but the structures have not altered significantly. Apart from the C.D.C., Pamol, an affiliate of the world's largest multinational agro-industrial company which operated, and continues to operate plantations in the province was also established with structures similar to those of the C.D.C. Native farms were also incorporated into the production of export crops.

After independence in 1961, the plantations in the S.W. Province continued to be the mainstay of the economy of the region and an important component of the aggregate economy of the Federal Republic of Cameroon. But the decision to unify with the former French territory created market difficulties for the plantations in the S.W. Province. From 1961 the territory was no longer a member of the British Commonwealth and as a result its products such as bananas, were refused the privileges they formerly enjoyed in British markets. Although the territory was now part of Cameroon, a member of the French Community, France still hesitated to accept S.W. exports into its markets. Between 1961 and 1967 when France finally accepted some of the exports from the S.W. plantations, export revenue on which the territory depended for its survival was lost because of market problems. Even though France accepted

the products from this region, it did so on condition that French exports had to be purchased even if they were more costly than those in other European markets.

The creation in 1972 of the United Republic of Cameroon brought plantation resources directly under the Central Government of Cameroon. From 1972 plantation resources in the S.W. Province, along with other income producing activities in other provinces have been harnessed to bring relative prosperity to the aggregate economy of Cameroon. Such prosperity attracts foreign investments, but, those which go into the plantation sector still do not encourage the major linkages which are vital to rapid national development without too much reliance on external management, finance, or know-how.

Since 1972, the large plantations which occupy approximately ten per cent of the total agricultural land in Cameroon, and produce about 5% of the output from this sector, have been encouraged to spearhead an agrarian revolution which has incorporated smallholders in the vicinities of the large estates, as well as cooperatives. However the emphasis is still on export crops whose foreign markets have become less lucrative as a result of competition from substitutes, and protectionist policies by developed countries.

The competition, coupled with environmental problems have compelled the plantations to adopt modern techniques in many operations and processes, even though these have continued to be combine with cheap labour. Although these innovations permit the plantations to maintain a share in the shrinking markets, fluctuations in export earnings, and uncertainty about the

future of some crops continues. These fluctuations and uncertainties weaken the potential of plantations to create multipliers and sustainable linkages within the domestic economy. In as much as the value added to raw materials is effected only in the developed economies, linkages will continue to be created in these nations.

Although the S.W.Province will, depend on the plantations, if not for revenues, then for substantial employment, at least in the foreseeable future, it is becoming questionable whether the economy can rely on plantation activities and export earnings to initiate, stimulate, and sustain other projects that can generate domestic investment, provide skilled employments, and enhance equitable regional development and income distributions. Given the fact that they produce mainly crops for exports, it is uncertain that they can produce food on a large scale and in a more organized manner than the peasant sector, especially in the light of the present food shortage in the African continent.

At this juncture, it is important to re-iterate the purpose of this thesis which, as initially stated, is to exhume, examine and explain the factors which thwart the contribution of plantations to development in the S.W.Province. A major constraint is international trade which is still asymmetrically in favour of manufacturers and distributors in developed nations. Other factors include domestic policies which relegate many agricultural workers to low wage categories thereby preventing them from effectively contributing to domestic saving and investments. Also, emphasis on export

crops on both large and smallholder estates results in production problems for a poorly organized food producing sector.

Furthermore, the plantations cannot sustain meaningful development because most operations are still organized around a mass of undifferentiated workers whose skills and academic or professional attainments cannot harness other resources in case of slumps or other problems in the plantations. A major constraint is the social structure in plantation societies which still inhibits workers from participating in management and discourages individual initiative. The spatial organization and location of plantation activities triggers population exodus from some areas. But unlike in the past those who now come to the plantations abandon estate employment soon after their arrival and move to the main cities where they enter the urban unemployment pool.

Another reason for the reduced economic viability of the plantations is the debt servicing burden. Although foreign capital will continue to be required if local financial institutions cannot provide the capital needed for development, it should be noted that foreign investments hardly mature before interest or repayments are due. These factors reduce the potential of the plantations to provide an improved standard of living for people directly employed in their activities, or indirectly through multiplier effects for many people in the rest of the economy.

Proposal

In the light of the observations already made, the present importance of the plantation question in the Province lies not in arguing about what it contributed in the past, but in enacting new policies which can make the plantations viable and genuine partners of development.

In order to obtain substantial benefits from the plantations, domestic agricultural policies, which in comparison with those in many African nations have not been unsatisfactory, ought to be reviewed. The re-examination is necessary in order to make agriculture an important component of development endeavours, comparable to this sector in many developed nations.

It is well known that most European economies were propelled to their present state of development by judicious agricultural policies which made this sector the bedrock of their development, despite environmental problems. Agriculture spearheaded the Industrial Revolution in Europe and North America; it provided food for growing populations, raw materials for industries, and created other linkages within local economies. As agriculture developed, it released surplus labour and capital for other sectors which it assisted in establishing. Improvements in transport further enhanced its modernization by opening up distant markets and increasing contacts between the rural areas and the towns. In many countries private individuals, communities, and governments jointly participated in the revolution. In all these efforts

to improve the quality of life for the population through increased quantities and better qualities of goods for home and foreign markets, well meditated and propounded policies guided the path of the revolution.

It would be unrealistic to think that the S.W. Province or Cameroon can follow the same path which European nations took to modernize their agriculture, improve the standards of living of agricultural workers, and the rest of their populations. The path has become rough because of ramifications in the international arena, coupled with differences that exist between these societies. However, any agrarian policy, no matter what path is taken, or logistics and methods applied, should aim at providing basic needs of the societies implementing the revolution. Food production should complement export agriculture and provide a solid base for domestic development. Food, produced in an organized manner and at low prices, should reduce the transfer of capital abroad which usually results from massive food imports, especially during adverse climatic conditions. Also varied and regular output of food crops will improve nutritional levels of the population and increase its potential to contribute to development efforts. A re-allocation of some plantation resources for this purpose is necessary. Large scale food production units should be established in the neglected regions of the province.

The plantation companies, in collaboration with the government should establish medium-sized industries which utilize domestic raw materials to produce finished goods for home markets. Agro-alimentary industries are particularly

important in order to process and preserve local products. The linkages between the smallholders and the large plantations should not be limited to export crops cultivation; food crops based on domestic needs ought to be given even greater priority in all farm categories. Better infrastructure should be provided on the large plantations to educate smallfarmers in the cultivation of both food and export crops, and in the management of small-scale farms. Smallfarmers should be given the opportunity to participate in making policies which affect them and should not be the weakest partner of an alliance. It is important that well organized cooperatives, as well as individuals be encouraged to participate in the revolution which should cover all areas of agricultural development.

Joint projects are recommended for plantation companies within the Central African sub-region so as to eliminate duplicate and unprofitable investments by individual nations in a region with relatively small markets. Greater cooperation in financial, technical, and managerial aspects pertaining to meaningful development within the region could reduce excessive dependence on foreign capital and assistance, for,

"their role can at best be marginal and supportive of national development endeavors; it can never be an initiating role. External assistance can strengthen the forces working for new development strategies if the country has already set its course and has launched its own direct attack on poverty" (Mahbub ul Hag, 1967:75).

Since autarky is not the solution to the present problem, international trade will continue to be important. It will be necessary therefore to improve management techniques, modernize

equipment and upgrade labour standards by changing the structure of plantation societies, providing facilities and education which ensure hygienic conditions in workers' villages, improved earning capacities, and overall aspects which improve the quality of output and life. In this respect, social workers, health inspectors, and professionals from government departments could pay regular visits to the plantation villages so as to insure that acceptable standards of living are maintained, and to educate the workers on various aspects of good health and self-reliant development.

Since changes in international markets affect almost all producers, national or regional policies cannot be formulated in isolation from other producing nations. Greater cooperation among commodity producers in the developing nations, is necessary in order to stabilize prices. Judicious planning and better management of domestic resources within developing nations will encourage major trade links among them and reduce some of the shocks that arise from too much dependence on markets in advanced economies. However, in order to propound agricultural, industrial, or trade policies which can be successful, there must be adequate information at the disposal of planners or policy-makers in these areas. Such information in Cameroon and most developing nations is still inadequate, and the repercussions of such a gap in development planning are clear:

"If you do not have enough information to start with to know where to look for the information you need or to know what new information could be assembled, your initial inferiority is bound to be sharpened and perpetuated.....this unequal bargaining

situation will affect all relations between investing and borrowing countries whether labelled aid, trade, investment, transfer of technology, technical assistance or any other" (Singer et al., 1977:379).

These suggestions are easier to make than to implement, but they could be practically realized if technocrats, politicians, scientists, businessmen, economists, geographers, and people in all walks of life who are entrusted with responsibilities at all levels, are dedicated, less egoistic and foresighted.

Co-operation among commodity producers in the developing nations should be regarded by industrialized countries as a positive step towards North-South harmony. But in order to co-exist without confrontation between the two groups of nations, the authorities in the industrialized nations should listen to the opinions of spokesmen from the developing countries. Although the advanced economies cannot be the culprits for all problems in the developing nations, they could, through these opinions restructure their economies to accommodate the belief that commodity exporters in the developing nations do not earn equitable returns from trade vis a vis manufacturers of finished products in developed societies; these views are now regarded as a "new orthodoxy" because if more than one hundred and twenty nations base their action and policies (though different and less effective in some cases) on a particular set of beliefs, those beliefs are important (Ingram, 1978:118). This approach can revamp the global economy and end the North-South debate about commodity trade.

APPENDIX

Appendix A:

The First One Hundred Agro-Alimentary Firms in the World

Name	Position	Country of origin	Number of Countries in which it operates	Number of Employees	Operating Account, Tax Excluded (in bill- ions of \$)
Unilever*	1	Gt. Britain, Netherlands	70	357000	13666667
Nestle Alimentana	2	Swiss	47	138809	5603155
Swift (Esmark)	3	U.S.A.	10	33500	4615715
Kraftco	4	U.S.A.	16	50410	4471427
Beatrice Foods	5	U.S.A.	28	65000	3541216
Greyhound (Armour)	6	U.S.A.	12	54482	3458336
Borden	7	U.S.A.	25	46700	3264502
Ralston Purina	8	U.S.A.	28	51000	3073210
General Foods	9	U.S.A.	18	47000	2986692
C.P.C. International	10	U.S.A.	41	42500	2570273
Associated British Foods	11	Gt. B.	6	77663	2525521
Coca Cola	12	U.S.A.	14	31755	2522150
Taiyo Fishery	13	Japan	8	24209	2489517
Consolidated Foods	14	U.S.A.	3	71000	2379862
United Brands (AMK)	15	U.S.A.	16	50000	2230106
Pepsico	16	U.S.A.	20	49000	2080759
Gervais-Danone	17	France	12	67785	2035037
General Mills	18	U.S.A.	21	46398	2000103
Carnation	19	U.S.A.	15	21709	1886828
Nabisco	20	U.S.A.	20	47000	1793049
Central Soya	21	U.S.A.	13	9713	1749304
CSR Colonial Sugar Refining	22	Australia	2	13000	1679855
Ranks Hovis Mc Dougall	23	Gt. Britain	13	64339	1652112
Standard Brands	24	U.S.A.	31	21900	1647939
Norton Simon	25	U.S.A.	1	28000	1599831
Tate and Lyle	26	Gt. Britain	25	23000	1551876
Ancher Daniels- Midland	27	U.S.A.	-	4052	1551289
Iowa Beef Processor	28	U.S.A.	-	5790	1537198
Canada Parkers	29	Canada	4	15000	1479492
Campbell Soup	30	U.S.A.	7	32921	1468199
Heinz	31	U.S.A.	12	32206	1438251
Oelker Grupp	32	W. Germany	-	-	1423630
Associated Milk Producers	33	U.S.A.	-	3561	1416298
Anheuser-Busch	34	U.S.A.	-	12205	1413091
Union International	35	Gt. Britain	9	17431	1405392
Gavenham Ltd.	36	Gt. Britain	1	41100	1390000
J. Lyons	37	Gt. Britain	9	45000	1366004

Cadbury Schweppes	38	Gt. Britain	20	45000	1299088
Quaker Oats	39	U.S.A.	11	25400	1227345
Unigate	40	Gt. Britain	8	39000	1145308
National Distillers	41	U.S.A.	9	14345	1088557
Spillers	42	Gt. Britain	5	32082	1057828
Amstar Corporation	43	U.S.A.	1	-	1046820
Groupe Cooperatif					
GAMA	44	France	-	6528	1046120
Del Monte	45	U.S.A.	21	32100	1042608
Beecham	46	Gt. Britain	2	16523	1035053
Svenska M. Riskfore-					
ning	47	Sweden	-	-	1029160
Snow Brand Milk					
Products	48	Japan	-	10933	1012339
Kellogg	49	U.S.A.	19	17000	1009818
Pillsbury	50	U.S.A.	12	26300	1004231
Oscar Mayer and Co.	51	U.S.A.	2	13329	972438
Groupe Cooperatif					
Mac Mahon	52	France	-	-	970024
Heublein Inc.	53	U.S.A.	3	18123	967700
Geo A. Hormel and Co.	54	U.S.A.	-	8698	943163
Kirin Brewery	55	Japan	-	16254	934707
Brooke Bond Liebig	56	Gt. Britain	24	100000	904847
American Beef Packers	57	U.S.A.	-	3104	896904
Distillers	58	Gt. Britain	8	20600	888570
Seagram Ltd.	59	Canada	11	17500	885678
Ajinomoto	60	Japan	2	5910	885366
Pet Inc.	61	U.S.A.	8	17700	883238
Anderson Clayton					
and Co.	62	U.S.A.	2	19000	878999
Bass Charrington	63	Gt. Britain	5	75475	851634
Allied Breweries	64	Gt. Britain	9	58000	840068
Jos Schlitz Brewery					
Co.	65	U.S.A.	2	6900	814524
Reckitt and Colman	66	Gt. Britain	38	26000	781965
United Biscuits	67	Gt. Britain	-	-	765620
Castle and Cook	68	U.S.A.	2	23308	753131
International Multi-					
foods Corp	69	U.S.A.	6	7891	751926
Missouri Meat Packers	70	U.S.A.	-	2500	727051
Molson Industries	71	Canada	2	10928	708000
Campagne Financiere					
Lesieur	72	France	4	-	691270
Beghin Say	73	France	2	10374	688176
Nisshin Flour	74	Japan	-	3943	677569
Booker Mac Connell	75	Gt. Britain	-	34200	671261
Meiji Milk Product	76	Japan	1	6297	661526
Kane Miller Corp.	77	U.S.A.	-	5168	660901
Union Laitiere Norm-					
ande	78	France	-	-	650690
Arthur Guinness	79	Gt. Britain	16	9078	641492
Liggett and Myers	80	U.S.A.	3	6700	627348
Koninklijke Wessanen	81	Holland	-	-	621620
Sodima Yoplait	82	France	13	-	620828
Rumasa	83	Spain	-	-	607420
Rowntree Mackintosh	84	Gt. Britain	9	31000	592090

Campbell Taggart	85	U.S.A.	1	15522	590171
Burns Foods	86	Canada	-	5264	581777
Mjølkeentralen	87	Sweden	-	-	549840
Morinaga Milk Indust.	88	Japan	1	5073	523804
Pernod Ricard	89	France	1	4400	514737
Hershey Foods Corp.	90	U.S.A.	1	7200	513999
Di Giorgio Corp.	91	U.S.A.	-	6000	507986
Heineken N.V.	92	Holland	11	-	491460
Scottish Newcastle					
Breweries	93	Gt. Britain	-	-	484264
Withbread	94	Gt. Britain	-	29263	484032
Mars	95	Gt. Britain	-	-	475820
Ward Foods	96	U.S.A.	2	8304	472820
Hygrade Foods	97	U.S.A.	6	3600	471497
Perrier	98	France	-	-	465901
Libby Mc Neill and					
Libby	99	U.S.A.	13	6190	464710
Hiram-Walker Gooder					
ham Worts	100	Canada	3	-	455269

- = data not available

Source: Garreau (1977:258-60).

APPENDICE B

SALARY SCALE — PRIMARY SECTOR — ZONE I

(Date of application: February 1, 1981)

NOTE: SH = HOURLY WAGE
SM = MONTHLY WAGE

Range Category	A		B		C		D		E		F	
	SH	SM	SH	SM	SH	SM	SH	SM	SH	SM	SH	SM
I	71.27	14 255	72 17	14 430	73 07	14 615	73.98	14 795	74 89	14 980	75 79	15 160
II	75 80	15 160	77 37	15 475	78 94	15 790	80 52	16 105	82 12	16 425	83 71	16 740
III	83 71	16 740	87 76	17 555	91 84	18 370	95 91	19 185	100 00	20 000	104 07	20 815
IV	98 78	19 755	113 39	22 680	127 97	25 595	142 56	28 510	157 19	31 440	171 78	34 355
V	165 71	33 145	180 25	36 050	194 73	38 950	209 24	41 850	223 74	4 750	238 21	47 640
VI	234 04	46 810	248 28	49 660	262 52	52 505	276 77	55 355	291 03	58 205	305 27	61 055
VII	52 775		56 295		59 810		63 325		66 845		70 375	
VIII	70 375		78 280		86 200		94 115		102 035		109 945	
IX	109 945		117 860		125 785		133 700		141 615		149 535	
X	126 475		136 885		144 665		157 715		168 135		178 550	
XI	178 550		187 475		196 405		205 335		214 260		223 190	
XII	223 190		232 120		241 045		249 970		258 895		267 830	

SALARY SCALE — PRIMARY SECTOR — ZONE II

(Date of application: February 1, 1981)

Range Category	A		B		C		D		E		F	
	SH	SM	SH	SM	SH	SM	SH	SM	SH	SM	SH	SM
I	60 95	12 190	61 74	12 350	62 51	12 505	63 70	12 660	64 07	12 815	64 84	12 970
II	64 84	12 970	66 18	13 235	67 54	13 510	68 87	13 775	70 24	14 050	71 55	14 310
III	71 55	14 310	75 06	15 010	78 56	15 715	82 06	16 415	85 54	17 110	89 04	17 810
IV	84 51	16 905	97 00	19 400	109 48	21 900	121 95	24 390	134 45	26 890	146 93	29 390
V	141 74	28 350	153 70	30 740	166 55	33 310	178 95	35 790	191 36	38 270	203 75	40 750
VI	200 17	40 035	212 37	42 475	224 55	44 910	236 72	47 345	248 90	49 760	261 06	52 215
VII	45 145		48 160		51 165		54 430		57 180		60 190	
VIII	60 190		66 965		73 735		80 500		87 280		94 050	
IX	94 050		100 815		107 585		114 365		121 125		127 900	
X	126 475		136 885		144 665		157 715		168 135		178 550	
XI	178 550		187 475		196 405		205 335		214 260		223 190	
XII	223 190		232 120		241 045		249 970		258 895		267 830	

SALARY SCALE — PRIMARY SECTOR — ZONE III B
(Date of application: February 1, 1981)

Range Category	A		B		C		D		E		F	
	SH	SM	SH	SM	SH	SM	SH	SM	SH	SM	SH	SM
I	54 22	10 845	54 90	10 980	55 59	11 120	56 28	11 255	56 97	11 395	57 66	11 535
II	57 66	11 535	58 68	11 775	60 08	12 020	61 31	12 265	62 54	12 510	63 75	12 750
III	63 75	12 750	66 86	13 375	69 95	13 990	73 04	14 610	76 16	15 230	79 25	15 850
IV	75 26	15 050	86 38	17 275	97 49	19 500	108 62	21 725	119 73	23 945	130 85	26 170
V	126 34	25 270	137 41	27 485	148 47	29 695	159 54	31 900	170 59	34 120	181 66	36,330
VI	178 50	35 700	189 35	37 870	200 18	40 040	211 04	42 210	215 17	44 380	232 74	46 550
VII	39 920		42 590		45 250		47 910		50 570		53 230	
VIII	53 230		59 225		65 210		71 200		77 190		83 175	
IX	83 175		89 170		95 155		100 890		107 135		111 705	
X	126 475		136 885		144 665		157 715		168 135		178 550	
XI	178 550		187 475		196 405		205 335		214 260		223 190	
XII	223 190		232 120		241 045		249 970		258 895		267 830	

**HIERARCHIC SALARY SCALE — SECONDARY AND
TERTIARY SECTORS I — ZONE I**
(Date of application: February 1, 1981)

Range Category	A		B		C		D		E		F	
	SH	SM	SH	SM	SH	SM	SH	SM	SH	SM	SH	SM
I	97 28	16 860	101.81	17 645	106.35	18 430	110.85	19 215	115.38	20 000	119.91	20 785
II	119.91	20 785	124 43	21 570	128.96	22 355	133 48	23 175	138.01	23 920	142 53	24 705
III	142.53	24 705	152.49	26 430	162.43	28 155	172.39	29 880	182 35	31 605	192 31	33 335
IV	182.52	31 635	198.54	34 415	214.54	37 185	230.58	39 970	246.59	42 745	262.61	45 520
V	253 33	43 910	269 77	46,760	286 23	49 610	302.68	52 465	319 13	55 315	335.59	58 170
VI	329.70	57 150	333 01	61 190	376.31	65 225	399 61	69 265	422.92	73 305	446.24	77 345
VII	66 845		72 825		78 810		84 790		90 750		96 755	
VIII	96 755		102 035		107 305		112 585		117 870		123 145	
IX	123 145		133 700		144 255		154 810		165 360		175 920	
X	148 790		159 210		169 620		180 040		190 460		200 870	
XI	200 870		209 800		218 720		227 655		236 580		245 510	
XII	245 510		254 445		263 370		272 295		281 210		290 140	

**HIERARCHIC SALARY SCALE — SECONDARY AND
TERTIARY SECTORS I — ZONE II**
(Date of application: February 1, 1981)

B

Range Category	A		B		C		D		E		F	
	SH	SM	SH	SM	SH	SM	SH	SM	SH	SM	SH	SM
I	79.35	13 755	83.01	14 390	86.69	15 025	90.36	15 660	94.05	16 300	97.70	16 835
II	97.70	16 935	101.41	17 580	105.10	18 215	108.81	18 860	112.54	19 505	116.22	20 115
III	116.22	20 145	124.31	21 545	132.43	22 960	140.53	24 360	248.64	25 765	156.76	27 170
IV	148.77	25 785	161.83	28 050	174.91	30 320	195.06	33 810	201.06	34 850	214.12	37 115
V	206.57	35 805	219.96	38 125	233.38	40 450	246.77	42 770	260.18	45 100	273.59	47 420
VI	268.78	46 590	287.78	49 880	306.80	53 180	325.80	56 470	344.79	59 760	363.79	63 055
VII	54 490		59 370		64 250		69 125		74 010		78 880	
VIII	78 880		83 185		87 485		91 790		96 090		100 395	
IX	100 395		109 000		117 600		126 205		134 810		143 425	
X	148 790		159 210		169 620		180 040		190 460		200 870	
XI	200 870		209 800		218 720		227 655		236 580		245 510	
XII	245 510		254 435		263 370		272 295		281 210		290 140	

**HIERARCHIC SALARY SCALE — SECONDARY AND
TERTIARY SECTORS I — ZONE III**
(Date of application: February 1, 1981)

Range Category	A		B		C		D		E		F	
	SH	SM	SH	SM	SH	SM	SH	SM	SH	SM	SH	SM
I	69.96	12 125	73.24	12 695	78.47	13 255	79.72	13 815	82.57	14 380	86.25	14 950
II	86.25	14 950	89.50	15 515	92.80	16 080	96.07	16 650	99.36	17 220	102.62	17 790
III	102.62	17 790	109.79	19 030	116.95	20 270	124.11	21 510	131.29	22 760	139.44	23 995
IV	131.50	22 795	143.02	24 790	154.56	26 790	166.09	28 790	177.62	30 785	189.17	32 790
V	182.60	31 650	194.44	33 700	206.30	35 760	218.15	37 810	230.02	39 870	236.11	40 925
VI	232.00	40 215	254.46	44 105	271.26	47 015	288.05	49 930	304.85	52 840	321.67	55 755
VII	47 825		52 090		56 370		60 650		64 925		69 205	
VIII	69 205		72 980		76 750		80 530		84 295		88 070	
IX	88 070		95 625		103 170		110 730		118 270		125 820	
X	148 790		159 210		169 620		180 040		190 460		200 870	
XI	200 870		209 800		218 720		227 655		236 580		245 510	
XII	245 510		254 435		263 370		272 295		281 210		290 140	

HIERARCHIC SALARY SCALE — TERTIARY SECTOR II — ZONE I B

Range Category	A	B	C	D	E	F
I	19 460	20 185	20 900	21 625	22 355	23 080
II	23 080	24 570	26 060	27 560	29 050	30 545
III	30 545	33 220	35 880	38 555	41 220	43 895
IV	41 655	44 710	47 755	50 810	53 855	56 910
V	54 900	58 085	61 270	64 475	67 655	70 840
VI	69 600	73 060	76 765	80 350	83 925	87 510
VII	75 645	81 630	87 605	93 585	99 570	105 555
VIII	105 555	112 590	119 625	126 660	133 700	140 735
IX	140 735	153 050	165 360	177 675	190 000	202 310
X	171 110	180 040	188 965	197 885	206 820	215 750
XI	215 750	224 675	223 605	242 530	244 175	260 390
XII	260 390	269 315	278 245	287 170	296 105	305 030

TERTIARY SECTOR II — ZONE II

Range Category	A	B	C	D	E	F
I	15 855	16 450	17 035	17 635	18 215	18 820
II	18 820	20 030	21 250	22 460	23 675	24 885
III	24 885	27 070	29 245	31 425	33 605	35 785
IV	33 960	36 445	38 935	41 415	43 905	46 385
V	44 755	47 360	49 960	52 560	55 155	57 760
VI	57 645	59 670	62 585	65 510	68 420	71 340
VII	61 670	66 615	71 365	76 210	81 070	86 045
VIII	86 045	91 790	97 525	103 265	108 995	114 735
IX	114 735	124 775	134 810	144 850	156 890	164 930
X	171 110	180 040	188 965	197 885	206 820	215 750
XI	215 750	224 675	233 605	242 530	244 175	260 390
XII	260 390	269 315	278 245	287 170	296 105	305 030

HIERARCHIC SALARY SCALE — TERTIARY SECTOR II — ZONE III

B

Range Category	A	B	C	D	E	F
I	13 995	14 515	15 040	15 565	16 090	16 615
II	16 615	17 685	18 755	19 835	20 920	21 990
III	21 990	23 910	25 830	27 750	29 670	31 595
IV	30 010	32 200	34 395	36 595	38 790	40 985
V	39 560	41 860	44 165	46 455	48 760	51 055
VI	50 170	52 755	55 340	57 675	60 500	63 090
VII	54 105	58 380	62 660	66 935	71 215	75 495
VIII	75 495	80 515	85 525	90 585	95 625	100 655
IX	100 655	109 465	118 270	127 080	135 890	144 690
X	171 110	180 040	188 965	197 885	206 820	215 750
XI	215 750	224 675	223 605	242 530	244 175	260 390
XII	260 390	269 315	278 245	287 170	296 105	305 030

Source: ECONOTECH LTD., 1981.

**ORIENTATION GEOGRAPHIQUE DES EXPORTATIONS
DE PRODUITS AGRICOLES**

Q = en tonnes V = en millions CFA	1978-1979		1979-1980		1980-1981	
	Q	V	Q	V	Q	V
Cacao en fèves	66.865	45.221	65.544	40.095	91.230	42.388
France	2.825	1.922	5.083	3.321	6.927	4.567
Pays-Bas	51.739	34.249	48.950	29.340	67.926	31.469
Allemagne fédérale	4.638	3.051	5.811	3.563	6.644	3.040
Italie	1.302	991	1.169	789	1.124	531
USA	-	-	1.308	837	3.361	1.523
URSS	1.501	1.315	-	-	250	100
Autres pays	4.860	3.693	3.223	2.245	5.098	1.130
Bananes fraîches (1)	75.559	6.021	73.400	5.350	55.439	1.871
France	52.759	4.143	55.770	3.865	44.542	1.503
Royaume Uni	19.885	1.597	19.622	1.485	10.856	36
Italie	2.864	280	8	-	-	-
Autres pays	51	1	-	-	41	-
Café arabica	18.275	11.646	28.779	21.310	27.965	16.956
France	7.942	5.455	6.713	4.963	4.553	2.984
USA	2.628	1.299	5.325	3.762	4.681	2.638
Italie	4.064	2.540	5.254	3.889	4.334	2.771
Allemagne fédérale	1.220	835	5.627	4.233	8.667	5.197
Autres pays	2.241	1.517	5.860	4.463	5.730	3.368
Café robusta	62.120	37.587	69.639	46.100	73.743	42.896
Pays-Bas	16.112	9.790	23.430	14.970	17.848	10.304
France	22.733	13.451	17.008	11.130	17.663	10.376
USA	6.753	4.097	7.386	5.154	10.569	5.999
Italie	8.163	5.081	11.358	7.820	12.978	8.080
Allemagne fédérale	4.226	2.623	6.322	4.198	7.435	3.908
Autres pays	4.133	2.545	3.935	2.828	7.250	4.220
Caoutchouc naturel	4.513	1.003	5.672	1.621	4.238	1.178
Allemagne fédérale	613	132	-	-	-	-
France	3.078	700	4.853	1.382	3.604	1.019
Royaume Uni	-	-	40	12	16	4
Pays-Bas	30	5	16	5	74	23
Autres pays	792	165	763	222	544	132
Bois bruts	400.239	14.582	522.706	22.335	417.441	17.839
Pays-Bas	84.525	1.870	102.260	2.804	88.188	2.406
France	49.942	1.806	79.681	3.379	53.669	2.562
Belgique-Lux.	40.448	1.969	30.463	1.658	30.621	1.236
Allemagne fédérale	37.232	1.488	53.959	2.759	49.419	2.514
Italie	27.575	1.044	41.492	1.776	30.826	1.493
Royaume Uni	6.758	305	9.436	507	6.066	364
USA	1.559	62	1.140	51	373	22
Suède	1.122	43	1.643	66	266	13

(1) ventilation des valeurs FOB par pays faite à l'aide du prix moyen à l'exportat.
.../...

C

Q = en tonnes V = en millions CFA	1978-1979		1979-1980		1980-1981	
	Q	V	Q	V	Q	V
Bois bruts (suite)						
Danemark	152	481	3.628	166	876	56
Espagne	28.652	1.054	63.762	2.752	54.563	2.785
Autres pays	122.273	4.500	135.242	6.417	102.574	4.388
Arachides décortiquées .	3.411	488	3	-	-	-
France	1.908	231	-	-	-	-
Italie	-	-	-	-	-	-
URSS	1.500	256	-	-	-	-
Danemark	-	-	-	-	-	-
Espagne	-	-	-	-	-	-
Autres pays	3	1	3	-	-	-
Thé	326	143	916	174	1.226	322
Belgique - Lux.	-	-	-	-	-	-
Royaume Uni	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tchad	291	130	794	140	1.204	314
Autres pays	35	13	122	34	22	8
Palmistes	7.474	548	10.154	812	3.261	188
France	3.552	281	3.467	270	-	-
Pays-Bas	2.202	144	1.761	134	-	-
Allemagne fédérale	1.000	61	-	-	-	-
Italie	-	-	-	-	-	-
Danemark	200	19	1.120	83	1.265	78
Autres pays	520	43	3.806	325	1.996	110
Huiles brutes de palme .	11.505	1.535	7.397	949	11.807	1.217
France	1.684	247	1.440	190	6.518	634
Pays-Bas	3.053	375	2.376	299	2.372	290
Allemagne fédérale	509	67	-	-	1.986	188
Italie	5.657	770	2.379	302	930	105
Autres pays	602	76	1.202	158	1	-
Coton égrené	14.088	4.459	21.991	7.349	26.589	10.386
France	4.348	1.390	7.411	2.335	8.215	3.025
Allemagne fédérale	1.218	415	1.929	670	2.515	1.015
Royaume Uni	-	-	-	-	-	-
Japon	4.825	1.554	5.284	1.846	11.409	4.536
Autres pays	3.617	1.099	7.367	2.498	4.450	1.810
Crustacés de mer	278	272	546	738	1	2
USA	71	42	215	168	-	-
Japon	16	26	78	217	-	-
Autres pays	191	204	252	353	1	2
Chocolat	3.944	2.126	4.639	3.044	4.793	3.424
France	3.884	2.089	4.518	2.971	4.483	3.220
Gabon	26	17	58	34	89	62
Congo	17	11	43	26	74	48
URSS	-	-	-	-	-	-
Autres pays	17	9	20	13	147	94

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C

Q = en tonnes V = en millions CFA	1978-1979		1979-1980		1980-1981	
	Q	V	Q	V	Q	V
Cacao en masse	11.482	9.756	15.647	10.978	13.470	5.976
France	9.692	8.130	13.841	10.007	9.448	4.456
Pays-Bas	-	-	-	-	396	230
Italie	54	45	162	58	324	41
USA	216	156	1.404	731	1.799	407
URSS	1.450	1.373	200	167	1.400	806
Autres pays	70	52	40	15	103	36
Beurre de cacao	6.327	5.854	5.700	6.692	4.213	5.279
France	3.562	3.297	3.363	3.971	4.120	5.174
Pays-Bas	100	93	-	-	2	2
URSS	800	717	-	-	-	-
Japon	-	-	10	14	20	24
Autres pays	1.865	1.747	2.327	2.707	71	79
Total export	1899190	198.905	2990369	296.981	2.415.672	290.851

Source : Ediafric (1983)

GEOGRAPHICAL ORIENTATION OF TRADING

(in millions F CFA)

COUNTRY	1978/79		1979/80	
	Exports	Imports	Exports	Imports
TOTAL WORLD	198 905	250 356	296 981	311 953
TOTAL EUROPE	154 038	182 733	188 436	223 846
of which: E.E.C.	137 644	163 081	174 838	207 032
France	55 590	108 896	68 153	139 033
Belgium-Luxembourg	4 055	6 239	4 383	6 572
Netherlands	48 804	6 833	56 453	12 199
Federal German Republic	9 476	19 095	15 996	21 992
Italy	13 081	10 623	22 180	19 431
United-Kingdom	5 804	8 974	6 956	8 695
Ireland	5	993	53	1 046
Denmark	109	1 429	663	1 064
A.E.I.E.	373	1 028	868	6 358
Norway	8	776	7	398
Sweden	49	3 414	194	1 977
Switzerland	200	2 295	78	2 971
Austria	1	3 164	7	584
Portugal	115	279	582	428
Other countries of Western Europe	10 541	5 076	11 304	6 568
Ireland	—	2	—	24
Finland	62	337	241	469
Spain	6 363	4 364	7 054	5 543
Gibraltar	—	—	—	—
Malta	5	2	7	3
Yugoslavia	3 590	58	2 788	63
Greece	521	256	1 207	313
Turkey	—	57	7	153
Andorra	—	—	—	—
Eastern Europe	5 480	3 548	1 426	3 888
U.S.S.R.	5 358	1 153	1 237	1 789
East Germany	4	938	36	453
Poland	114	581	153	938
Czechoslovakia	—	398	—	327
Hungary	4	202	—	44
Romania	—	191	—	228
Albania	—	—	—	10
AFRICA TOTAL	14 463	19 202	18 710	25 888
NORTH AFRICA				
Spanish North Africa	416	782	515	998
Morocco	174	353	50	883
Algeria	—	301	1	83
Tunisia	—	116	—	6
Libya	27	—	—	8
Egypt	215	12	464	18
Sudan	—	—	—	3

C

COUNTRY	1978/79		1979/80	
	Exports	Imports	Exports	Imports
BLACK AFRICA				
of which: U.M.O.A.	1 529	2 800	3 444	5 848
Ivory-Coast	1 423	1 004	3 240	1 302
Benin	10	10	36	502
Upper Volta	12	3	86	—
Niger	2	—	1	5
Senegal	74	713	44	663
Togo	8	1 073	37	3 376
U.D.E.A.C.	8 903	11 359	11 177	11 637
Gabon	4 475	10 376	5 399	10 673
Congo Brazza	1 795	847	2 547	811
R.C.A.	2 633	136	3 231	153
U.E.A.C.	2 188	470	2 494	2 635
Tchad	2 158	469	2 470	2 564
Zaire	30	1	24	71
OTHER COUNTRIES OF WESTERN AFRICA	1 368	3 726	914	4 650
Gambia	—	—	3	—
Guinea Bissau	—	—	—	—
Guinea	431	2 737	172	3 816
Sierra Leone	—	—	3	—
Liberia	2	6	—	8
Ghana	23	2	3	3
Nigeria	912	980	739	825
Mauritania	3	3	2	—
Mali	3	3	3	1
OTHER COUNTRIES OF CENTRAL AFRICA	57	50	5	94
Ruanda	—	—	3	—
Burundi	3	—	3	—
Angola	—	3	2	—
Malawi	—	49	—	94
Equatorial Guinea	57	1	—	—
EAST-AFRICAN COMMUNITY	3	12	1	10
Kenya	—	3	1	6
Ouganda	—	3	—	—
Tanzania	3	1	—	4
TOTAL AMERICA	22 963	20 357	78 789	28 063
NORTH AMERICA	22 753	14 290	78 233	17 372
U.S.A.	22 751	13 305	78 154	15 979
Canada	2	985	79	1 393
St-Pierre-et-Miquelon	—	—	—	—

C

COUNTRY	1978/79		1979/80	
	Exports	Imports	Exports	Imports
LATIN AMERICA	209	6 076	556	10 691
Mexico	184	183	180	2
Guatemala	—	—	—	3
British Honduras	—	—	—	—
Salvador	—	—	—	—
Nicaragua	—	—	—	3
Costa Rica	—	—	—	3
Panama	—	—	—	520
Panama Canal area	—	—	—	—
Cuba	—	4	—	3
Haiti	—	—	—	3
Dominican Republic	—	4	—	10
Guadeloupe	16	—	65	—
Martinique	—	—	13	—
Jamaica	—	3	—	—
West Indies	—	29	260	70
Trinidad and Tobago	—	1 840	—	2 877
Aruba	—	3	—	—
Curaçao	—	2 623	15	6 165
Columbia	—	3	—	8
Venezuela	—	31	—	60
Guiana	—	—	—	—
Surinam	—	—	—	—
French Guiana	—	4	2	—
Ecuador	—	—	—	—
Peru	3	3	—	12
Brazil	—	935	7	749
Chile	—	3	—	3
Bolivia	—	—	—	—
Paraguay	—	3	—	10
Uruguay	—	—	2	—
Argentina	9	405	12	108
ASIA (TOTAL)	7 055	27 700	10 957	33 700
WESTERN ASIA (TOTAL)	—	166	2	444
Cyprus	—	3	—	3
Lebanon	—	3	2	19
Syria	—	3	—	3
Irak	—	3	—	3
Iran	—	1	—	8
Afghanistan	—	3	—	3
Israel	—	147	—	423
Jordan	—	—	—	—
Saudi Arabia	—	2	—	1
Kuwait	—	—	—	—
Bahrain	—	—	—	—
Masqat and Oman	—	16	—	—
Yemen	—	—	—	—
South Arabia	—	—	—	—

C

COUNTRY	1978/79		1979/80	
	Exports	Imports	Exports	Imports
EASTERN ASIA (TOTAL)	7 055	27 534	10 955	33 258
Pakistan	—	1 877	—	2 328
Indian Union	362	324	—	225
Ceylon	—	21	—	1
Nepal Bhoutan	—	81	—	34
Burmese Union	—	—	—	—
Thailand	—	192	217	193
Laos	—	—	—	—
North Vietnam	—	3	—	3
South Vietnam	—	3	—	3
Indonesia	5	9	2	8
Malaysia	104	110	167	99
Singapore	—	—	—	—
Philippines	—	34	—	98
Portugese Timor	—	2	—	10
Mongolia	—	—	—	—
Republic of China	1 280	7 248	319	5 721
North Korea	—	13	—	13
South Korea	—	411	27	46
Japan	5 853	10 945	8 363	13 417
Formosa	329	4 870	1 757	7 705
Hong-Kong	2	1 397	103	2 158
AUSTRALIA AND OCEANIA (TOTAL)	27	44	—	56
of which: Australia	27	17	—	25
New Zealand	—	27	—	31
Pacific Islands	—	—	—	—
British Oceania	—	—	—	—
New Hebrides	—	—	—	—
New Caledonia	—	—	—	—
French Polynesia	—	—	—	—
UNDETERMINED	359	320	89	395

Source: ECONOTECH LTD., 1981.

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