

Young Senegalese Try to End French Economic Control

By ROBERT LEE

7-5-66

DAKAR, Senegal—A handful of Senegalese entrepreneurs have broken the tight ranks of French businessmen who dominate industry and large scale commerce in Senegal. But few of their compatriots seem ready to follow them into the breach.

Young Senegalese with secondary or university degrees shy away from the risks of private enterprise, preferring the security and prestige of government employment.

VIRTUALLY all Senegalese industry, with the exception of two peanut shelling plants, remains in French hands, as does all but a small fraction of the import-export trade.

Almost all the open-front yard - goods stores packed along the lower end of Gambetta Avenue, Dakar's main commercial street, are owned by Lebanese. And Frenchmen stand behind the counters of the elegant boutiques that line the other end of the street.

Only at the "super-retail" level on the street or in the open market place, where women sell a few vegetables a day and men break packs of cigarettes, do Senegalese predominate.

THOSE Senegalese who do decide to strike out into more important business activities find the cards stacked heavily against them.

For credit they must turn to French bankers, who are not eager to make loans against the kind of collateral most Senegalese can offer — which is none at all. The bankers' reluctance is interpreted by many Senegalese as a sign of indifference.

Ousmane Seydi, a deputy in the National Assembly and president of the Senegalese Southeast Corp., the largest Senegalese-owned company, puts it this way:

THE CHAMBER of Commerce, where one might expect prospective businessmen to find succor, is in the firm control of the French business community. All businessmen are automatically members with rights to elect officers, but Africans remain a small minority.

Thus, Senegalese businessmen have organized the Federation of Senegalese Economic Organizations, of which Seydi is president. Part of this group's task is to plead the case for private enterprise before a government that talks of a commitment to "African Socialism." No one is sure exactly what that means.

"They talk of a theoretical socialism that does not exist," says Amadou Deme, president of the African Import, Distribution and Export Corp. (AFRIDEX). "It is this fact that gives us hopes."

SO FAR the Senegalese government has taken charge of importing necessities, such as rice and millet, the marketing of the country's prime foreign exchange earner, peanuts, and establishing agricultural co-operatives.

But it has also said it favors the development of a private sector.

To encourage Senegalese enterprises, the government stands ready to accept bids of Senegalese firms that are as much as five per cent higher than the best foreign price.

Most Senegalese businessmen are more worried about their competition than their government's socialistic or-

Will Jones
Appears Today
on Page 37

ientation. They point out that Lebanese merchants often sell at prices that raise strong suspicions that customs duties have not been paid.

MOREOVER, the well-established French trading houses are not above slicing prices to frustrate an adventurous Senegalese who goes outside France in search of cheaper imports.

Deme, whose company is one-fourth owned by the French Company of West Africa (CFAO), reports that his competitors dumped sugar on the Dakar market immediately after he purchased a sizable quantity in Belgium.

"That was not very nice of them," he says. "We are too francophile in this country with our imports."

DEME, LIKE Seydi and like Ousmane Diagne, 30, president of the Senegalese Commerce and Industry Corp. (SOSECI), would like to buy where the price is best, even is that does not please French President Charles de Gaulle.

Diagne, in particular, would like to undertake a joint business venture with Americans, perhaps to build a peanut oil processing plant. "But it would have to be something that the French could not subsequently call American," he warns.

Diagne left his job as a government adviser to agricultural co-operatives less than five years ago to open a grocery store with the \$2,000 he and a partner had scraped together. The company is now capitalized at \$140,000 and employs 327 persons.

ROBERT LEE is a Minneapolis Tribune staff writer on leave under a William P. Gray foreign correspondent's fellowship.

Senegal Leader Buys Out Opposition

By ROBERT LEE

DAKAR, Senegal—Leopold Sedar Senghor, Senegal's pragmatic president, has bought out his political opposition at a price that looks especially attractive in a year when political carelessness has cost two West African presidents their jobs.



Senghor

The announced price is three ministerial posts (of 17), 10 seats (of 57) in the Political Bureau of Senghor's own party, the Senegalese Progressive Union (UPS), and 54 places (among several hundred) in the party's National Council.

In return, the only legal opposition party, the Parti der Regrovenent Africain (PRA-Senegal) has disbanded and joined the ranks of the UPS.

THE ADVANTAGES for Senghor are obvious.

First, it is now certain he will be unopposed in the 1967 presidential elections. Second, the tired muscles of the UPS will be infused with new blood.

Third, his support will be solidified in those areas where PRA-Senegal has been strong, in the Casamance region, that strip of Senegal

ATTRACTIVE PRICE PAID FOR ONE-PARTY CONTROL

wedged between Gambia and Portuguese Guinea, and among school teachers.

These gains appear so tangible and important that some analysts wonder if the real price paid by Senghor might not have been higher than the one disclosed.

According to one report, the unification of the two parties is only the first step in a program of national reconciliation that may include special legislative elections this fall, to give former PRA-Senegal members representation in the National Assembly.

IT MAY also lead to the liberation of Manadou Dia, the former Senegalese prime minister who has been imprisoned since he lost a power showdown with Senghor in December 1962.

One source close to PRA-Senegal leaders insists that the freeing of Dia is part of the merger bargain.

But several American students of Senegalese politics remain skeptical, arguing that Dia's presence on the

political scene would complicate the very situation Senghor has apparently been trying to simplify.

They point out that, although most of Dia's followers are to be found within the PRA-Senegal, the party's leaders have traditionally been rivals rather than supporters of Dia.

ON THE OTHER hand, Dia is reported to be growing blind in a prison located in the far eastern region of Senegal.

Some observers believe Senghor, himself a poet and philosopher with strong humanistic convictions, would like to relieve himself of the onus of having an invalid in prison.

Dia was Senghor's right-hand man in the struggle for independence. He became prime minister and Senghor took the presidency when the country gained full independence from France on Aug. 20, 1960.

Dia and Senghor stood together in 1958 against a group of young intellectuals led by Abdoulaye Ly, Moctar M'Bow and Assane Seck, who broke with the UPS and organized

PRA-Senegal to urge immediate independence.

THEY ASKED the country to vote "no" in a referendum on the question of becoming an "internally autonomous" country within a "French community."

It was at this moment that Guinea, alone among what were then French colonies, voted "no" and incurred the enduring wrath of President Charles de Gaulle.

Senegal followed the advice of Senghor and the UPS by voting "yes" without giving up the idea of obtaining complete independence at a later date — with French blessing.

When this happened in 1960, PRA-Senegal lost its raison d'etre.

Although it has generally been regarded as left of the UPS in the political spectrum, there have in fact been no significant policy differences

between the two parties in recent years.

THE ONLY other opposition to Senghor has come from the Communist Independent African party (PAI), which has been outlawed. Its support is thought to be small.

In achieving reconciliation with PRA-Senegal, Senghor would seem to be following an alternative route to that which led Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah and Upper Volta's Maurice Yameogo to disaster.

Each let his party organization deteriorate while he denounced and imprisoned his opposition.

Yameogo was forced to resign Jan. 4 and Nkrumah was overthrown Feb. 24.

ROBERT LEE is a Minneapolis Tribune staff writer on leave under a William P. Gray foreign correspondent fellowship.



PEKING ERECTS TIDY CIGARET PLANT IN MALI

7-5-66

New Factory a Symbol of Increased Aid

BY ROBERT LEE

[Chicago Tribune Press Service]

BAMAKO, Mali, July 4—The low white buildings, surrounded by green grass and neat white fences would be welcome in any American city.

In Bamako they provide refreshing relief from the brown monotony of mud houses and dirt yards that constitute much of Mali's capital.

Except for signs near the doors, a casual visitor might take the buildings for scientific laboratories instead of cigaret and match factories. It is doubtful that he would recognize them as having been built by the Chinese Communists.

Needs Other Industry

Whether Mali needed the factories as much as it needed industries such as food processing plants is debatable. Tobacco must be imported, and this means the cost of locally-produced cigarets is nearly as high as that of imported French brands, which many Malians who can afford to smoke prefer.

Ignoring this question and assuming that the Malian government wants to manufacture its own matches and cigaetes, western diplomats find indications in the new factories of why Mali has found Red Chinese aid to its liking.

Besides being attractive, the plants apparently are well conceived and constructed. Furthermore, they were built rapidly. The match factory, for which the initial agreement was concluded nine months ago, is completed. This performance contrasts with that of the Russians, who are just completing a 25,000-seat sports stadium they began in 1962.

Live Like Malians

The Malians also like the fact that Chinese personnel, who are believed to number between 800 and 1,000, live at the level of the people they are helping. Persons who have visited the Chinese living compound in Bamako say it is plain, crowded, and uncomfortable despite the modern appearance of the principal apartment building.

American, European, and Russian technicians, on the other hand, live like the diplomatic community in some of the finest homes in town, most of them air conditioned. Unlike the Chinese, they buy expensive imported foodstuffs to supplement local vegetables and meats.

These would seem to be some of the reasons why the Chinese presence in Mali has grown so rapidly. Total Chinese loans for development projects do not, it is believed, equal the 50 million dollars in credits extended by the Russians since 1961, but trade between Mali and China has grown by leaps and bounds.

Malian imports from Communist China, which amounted to only \$84,000 in 1961, reached 10 million dollars in 1965, surpassing those from the Soviet Union.

Bamako stores display Chinese products ranging from toys, such as an Easter egg—so labeled in English—whose sides whirr open as it is cranked to reveal a baby chick, to a variety of cooking utensils. Chinese straw hats are popular.

Local Brewery Closed

The only beer available in Bamako is Chinese. It, too, is labeled in English and costs \$1.20 a quart. A local brewery is shut down for lack of foreign exchange to buy ingredients.

The most commonly-seen Russian products are trucks,

tractors, and other heavy equipment.

However, more Malians seem to be more aware of Russian economic assistance than of Chinese and, because of the sports stadium. The Russians also have provided Mali with considerable help in geological research and education, but they are known for the stadium, a strikingly modern concrete horseshoe nestled in a natural amphitheater overlooking the city.

The Chinese cigaret factory is less well known, but more widely recognized than any American project in Mali.

American aid to Mali, which totals less than 15 million dollars since 1961, has been concentrated in rural development, vocational education, and health.

SENEGALESE SCHOOL FILLS FRENCH NEEDS

Studies Are Tailored to French Standards

BY ROBERT LEE

[Chicago Tribune Press Service]

7-27-66
DAKAR, Senegal, July 20—A visitor to the University of Dakar was impressed by the dazzling whiteness of its buildings, the fresh breeze that blows in off the sea, the lush greenness of gardens trimmed a la Francaise, and most of all by the size of the campus.

"It seems almost too big for Senegal," he said to a young man with books under his arm. "Where do you find enough students to fill it up?"

"We don't," replied the student. "There are only 2,600 of us here. And, while the Cite Universitaire [living quarters] is overcrowded, classroom and laboratory facilities could easily accommodate 3,000 or 4,000 students."

Still Large for Senegal

"Twenty-six hundred," mused the visitor. "That is still quite a few students for a country like Senegal, with a population of 3.5 million and a very low literacy rate."

"It would be if we were all Senegalese. In fact, all except 900 of us are foreigners."

"Mostly from neighboring African countries, I suppose?"

"No, half of all the foreigners are French."

"French? I had no idea French students were that interested in Africa."

Cadaver for Each Student

"Oh, they're not. It's just that this university is much less crowded than those of France. Every medical student can have a cadaver to himself. And the degrees are exactly the same."

"I see," said the visitor, "but I would think a French law student who intended to practice in France would find it a bit irrelevant to study African Law."

"Who studies African law? It's French law we learn here. The degree we earn is valid anywhere in France."

What About African?

"I guess that is pretty nice for the French, but what good is it to an African?"

"It's very handy," replied the student, with a smile. "If I am thrown out of my own country for political reasons, I can always get a job in France."

French degrees that are given here. To qualify for those degrees you have to take examinations on subjects prepared by the French ministry of education."

"Wait a minute. I thought this was a Senegalese university. Why should the French ministry of education have the right to establish the curriculum?"

"Because the French government built the university at a cost of nearly 40 million dollars and pays more than 80 per cent of its operating expenses."

Size Is Questioned

"I understand," said the visitor. "But why did they build such a big institution for such a small country?"

"Oh, it wasn't built for Senegal. It was begun with the idea it would serve all of French West Africa. Happily, French West Africa is no more."

"Then the university must belong to all those countries that were once a part of the colonial West African Federation."

"Nothing So Sensible"

"Nothing so sensible as that. Other West African countries send just about as many students as Senegal but have no say in the administration of the university. It doesn't really matter, tho, since the French run it anyway. The rector is French."

"Isn't he supervised by the Senegalese ministry of education?" asked the visitor.

"Oh, yes, by the director of higher education. It just so happens that the rector holds

TV Trains Native Women

DAKAR, Senegal — A dozen Senegalese women, in bright, floor-length dresses and swirling headdresses, arranged their chairs in a circle to discuss what they had just seen on television: a 15-minute program advising them to feed their youngsters more high-protein foods.

"On this matter of giving eggs to children," began one woman cautiously. "It is said that if you put an egg in a child's mouth he will never be able to speak rapidly."

There was a moment of silence as the other members of the group, most of them illiterate housewives from the lower strata of Dakar society, weighed the traditional counsel against the advice offered them by a Senegalese doctor via television.

Another woman spoke up. "I notice that whites give lots of eggs to their children, and their children seem to talk even more quickly than ours."

The point was made. It was the kind of response the discussion moderator, a Senegalese sociologist named Fara N'Diaye, had not dared hope for. It showed how follow-up discussions can nail down points made in televised instruction.

This is the method being tested in an experiment with educational television financed jointly by the United Nations Economic and Social

Council (UNESCO) and the Senegalese government.

Every Monday afternoon some 500 women, members of a dozen "Tele-Clubs" spread throughout the city of Dakar watch a 30-minute program devoted to nutrition or hygiene. Then, with the help of "animators," they talk about what they have learned.

On Friday nights the same women with their husbands and families crowd the Tele-Clubs to watch an hour-and-a-half variety program that always includes some illustration of topics treated in the Monday afternoon sessions. This gives husbands some idea of what their wives are learning.

The results are surprising. From surveys of participating women done at the beginning of the experiment, in December 1964, and again a year later, it appears that the majority have changed their thinking if not their practices in matters of health and nutrition.

For instance, a sample of 100 women was asked at the start how they would treat a member of the family who contracted malaria, a disease almost no Senegalese family escapes. Not one woman said she would use quinine or quinine derivatives, which are the standard modern treatment.

After 70-odd weeks of tele-

vised instruction, 72 per cent of the same women said they would employ quinine remedies.

However, asked at the same time how they would treat dysentery, only 47 per cent of the women favored anti-parasitic medication, despite the counsel they had been receiving through their Tele-Clubs. Half the women recommended a customary medicine made from guava leaves.

Doctors say traditional Senegalese remedies for both malaria and dysentery have value. A malaria cure is made from plants containing a small amount of quinine, and the guava broth has demonstrated anti-diarhetic, but not anti-parasitic, effects. This was explained to the television audience.

Why then did the women accept a superior malaria medicine and reject a dysentery cure? Those who conducted the pair of surveys hypothesize that the treatment for malaria was adopted because it varied less from traditional practice than the recommended anti-dysentery measures. These include a controlled diet, necessitating the purchase of special foods, and relatively expensive medicines.

Quinine derivatives cost little, on the other hand, and their use is only an extension of traditional practice.

Senegal TV Airs Health Lessons

By ROBERT LEE

DAKAR, Senegal — A dozen Senegalese women in bright, floor-length dresses and swirling head-dresses arranged their chairs in a circle to discuss what they had just seen on television: a 15-minute program advising them to feed their youngsters more high-protein foods.

"On this matter of giving eggs to children," began one woman cautiously. "It is said that if you put an egg in a child's mouth he will never be able to speak rapidly."

THERE WAS a moment of silence as the other members of the group, most of them illiterate housewives from the lower strata of Dakar society, weighed the traditional counsel against the advice offered them by a Senegalese doctor via television.

Another woman spoke up. "I notice that whites give lots of eggs to their children, and their children seem to talk even more quickly than ours."

The point was made. It was the kind of response the discussion moderator, a Senegalese sociologist named Fara N'Diaye, had not dared hope for. It showed how follow-up discussions can nail down points made in televised instruction.

THIS IS the method being tested in an experiment with educational television financed jointly by the United Nations Economic and Social Council (UNESCO) and the Senegalese government.

Every Monday afternoon some 500 women, members of a dozen "Tele-Clubs" spread throughout the city of Dakar, watch a 30-minute program devoted to nutrition or hygiene. Then, with the help of "animators," they talk about what they have learned.

On Friday nights the same women with their

100 women was asked at the start how they would treat a member of the family who contracted malaria, a disease almost no Senegalese family escapes. Not one woman said she would use quinine or quinine derivatives, which are the standard modern treatment.

After 70-odd weeks of televised instruction, 72 per cent of the same women said they would employ quinine remedies.

HOWEVER, asked at the same time how they would treat dysentery, only 47 per cent of the women favored antiparasitic medication, despite the counsel they had been receiving through their Tele-Clubs. Half the women recommended a customary medicine made from guava leaves.

Doctors say traditional Senegalese remedies for both malaria and dysentery have value. A malaria cure is made from plants containing a small amount of quinine, and the guava broth has demonstrated antidiarrhetic, but not antiparasitic, effects. This was explained to the television audience.

Why then did the women accept a superior malaria medicine and reject a dysentery cure? Those who conducted the pair of surveys hypothesize that the treatment for malaria was adopted because it represented far less deviation from traditional practice than the recommended antidyentery measures. These include a controlled diet, necessitating the purchase of special foods, and relatively expensive medicines.

QUININE derivatives cost little, on the other hand, and their use is only an extension of traditional practice.

N'Diaye and his colleagues have found that a combination of illustrative

emphasized cleanliness of the household, reported they still had no garbage cans.

ROBERT LEE is a Minneapolis Tribune staff writer on leave under a William P. Gray foreign correspondent fellowship.

MINNEAPOLIS TRIBUNE
Sun., July 10, 1966

7
W