

**Urban Design as a Tool for Re-Imaging a Capital City:
Planning Conakry, Guinea after Independence**

by

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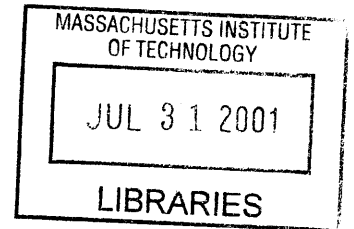
Submitted to the Department of Urban Studies and Planning
In Partial fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master in City Planning

at the

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

June 2001

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ABSTRACT

Guinea, unlike any other French colony in West Africa, had refused assistance from the French in transitioning to an independent nation. As a result much of what the French had created began to decay lying unused by the new nation and abandoned by the French, leaving behind what were described as ghosts. These ghosts were abandoned buildings and railways throughout the country. There were other ghosts besides the abandoned infrastructure of the French. They had in fact influenced the shape of cities and architecture.

In this research I intend to answer the following question: How does a newly independent former colonial capital city use urban design plans to create a new image representing the new nation? To answer this question I will explore the attempts of Conakry, Guinea to use an urban design plan (1963) to redistribute land and resources to create a new post-independence image. This question thus entails an analysis of intentions. What actions did the plan propose to create a unique image of a capital city in an independent nation opposed to a colonial territory? How were the political, social and economic ideals of the new nations represented in the design?

To understand the design plan I first examine Guinea and Conakry's historical past to gain an understanding of the existing conditions at independence. I then explore the theory of creating a national image, African responses to independence and several case studies in order to understand common trends and the process of re-imagining a post-independence capital city.

Analysis of the 1963 urban design plan for Conakry reveals four large gestures that were to create a post-independence image for the city. First, the plan decentralized the urban and political city centers. Second, circulation focused on developing connections within the City opposed to creating a flow toward the port and out of the City. Third, public services were to be distributed equally throughout the City for all citizens. Lastly, the City was to become homogeneous, where all people were equal, and segregation ceased to exist.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I have many people to thank and recognize for their assistance throughout my studies at MIT and during the thesis process.

I would like to thank my thesis advisor, Larry Vale, thesis reader, Anna Hardman, and academic advisor, Marc Schuster, for your guidance and encouragement.

Thank you to all the amazing babysitters, without you I don't know when I would have done all my work. Particularly I would like to thank Milena and Jodie, who were there on a daily basis. Rossana, Ana, Madhu and Erica- thank you for being there when I was in a pinch. You ensured that I could complete my work and Elijah would get all the attention he needed.

To my family- Mom, Lisa, Craig and Selma thank you for the encouragement, study breaks, and help with Elijah. Elijah, thank you for being such a sweet baby. You both bring so much joy to me.

Lastly, to my husband Aaron, you have been the greatest support to me throughout the thesis process and my studies at MIT. Without you my success would not have been possible. Thank you for your devotion and endless encouragement.

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**I: INTRODUCTION:
CONAKRY AND THE CREATION OF AN IMAGE**

I: INTRODUCTION: CONAKRY AND THE CREATION OF AN IMAGE

In the middle of the twentieth century the collapse of colonial empires led to a surge in the formation of new nations. Many of these nations felt compelled to establish their own identity and, as part of this, a new image for the capital city. This thesis attempts to understand how regimes, in newly independent former colonial nations, have tried to use urban design plans to create a new image of the capital city, as a representation of the post colonial regime in the new nation. The 1963 Conakry, Guinea urban design plan is explored as one case of a nations attempt to redistribute land and resources to create a new post-independence identity.

Guinea, led by Sekou Toure, was imbued with systems and institutions created by its former French colonial rulers, particularly within Conakry itself. The French had developed a method of zoning that segregated the city by ethnic and economic means and only those in the most privileged zone were afforded services and infrastructure. For the French, Conakry had been a site of resource exploitation and extraction, and was dependent on the port and exports. At the end of the colonial era, Guinea was the only former French Colony in West Africa to reject assistance from France as it embarked on independence. As a result the French destroyed many of the resources they had developed and Guinea was left without the technical or financial assistance that many other nations received in establishing self-rule. Consequently, Guinea turned to the eastern bloc nations for assistance.

Each newly independent society faced many challenges in the move to create identity and autonomy. Nations have to decide what to do with the physical structures left from the previous regime and how to establish a new political regime. For the nations of West Africa, national boundaries were not representational of ethnic boundaries, leaving the new nation without a unified population. The new nations had to cope with the need to build new institutions, accommodate rapid urbanization and general disparities within resource distribution. Lastly, one of the greatest hurdles to complete independence were persistent and often pernicious negative foreign influences manifested in neocolonialist and dependent international relationships.

In response to the many challenges African nations had to face they took one of three responses to independence and the establishment of a unique and autonomous identity. Some nations became even more nationalistic and often developed hostile opinions of western nations. Other African nations developed a foreign policy of nonalignment and positive neutralism, allowing the nations to preserve economic independence and accept assistance from any nation. Lastly, some new countries experimented with different variants of socialism unique to Africa.

During colonialism the indigenous physical environment was transformed by the introduction of western architecture and planning. To create a national image at independence the emergent nation set out to establish a form representational of the new nation. The creation of a new urban form was directly related to nationalism. In many countries, the creation of a new and conspicuous capitol complex signified the autonomy and power of the new regime.

There were many different ways in which a nation could make a statement of its new image using urban design. Of the three possible ways in which a nation could respond to a regime change the first two would establish a new image for the nation and the third would inhabit the existing form and image. The first way of establishing a new image was to create a new capital city in a new location. The other approach was to redesign the existing capital city. The third possibility was the nation could choose to assume the identity and image of the former regime and occupy the unchanged capital city.

Sekou Toure and the leaders of Guinean independence chose to retain the capital city in Conakry. Toure achieved power in an extremely divided ethnic state with a platform of equality for all ethnic groups. To move the capital from Conakry would be to leave behind the only “ethnically neutral” city. In choosing to remain in the same city, the Toure administration chose to have the city redesigned to represent the new regime and distance itself from the French regime.

Unlike many other nations who utilized urban design plans to re-image the capital city, there is no literature that describes Toure’s intentions or desires for the 1963 plan. There is a

chance that the literature may exist, but not in sources available in the United States, but in Guinean national archives. For most post-independence heads of state undertaking capital redesign, the design was an obsession or top priority, frequently appearing in speeches or period literature. This appears not to be the case in Guinea. Thus, we do not know whether the plan was a national priority or not.

In 1961 a team of designers from Yugoslavia was invited to develop a new plan for the city. *Conakry Plan Directeur d'Urbanisme* was the culmination of collaborative work between the two nations and was completed in 1963. This was one of the first urban design plans to attempt to re-image a post-independence capital city in Africa. Most of the plan was never implemented, due to an immature financial state and underestimation of urban growth. Nevertheless the plan itself gives us insight into the intentions of re-imagining in the early stages of independence.

Conakry's new image was to be created through the decentralization of the city's major urban and political systems. The city was to be oriented away from the port and former French seat of power and focus inward to the mainland. Resources and services were to be distributed throughout the city more equitable than under French control. Lastly, the city was to become a homogeneous entity, free of ethnic divisions.

The next chapter explores the history of Conakry's growth and the challenges it faced at independence as a result of its past. The third chapter examines the theory of identity and image creation, and case studies of other capital cities. This serves to explain how a post-independence nation could respond to its past and establish a new image. The fourth chapter analyses Conakry's attempt at the creation of a new image utilizing the 1963 Yugoslavian urban design plan. The final chapter discusses the implementation of the plan, both the planned and actual results. Lastly, I conclude with remarks delineating how a post-independence nation, through its intended plans, may re-image the capital city.

II: CHALLENGES

II: CHALLENGES

THE FRENCH IN CONAKRY- COLONIAL RULE AND INDEPENDENCE

The existing state of Conakry in 1963 was a direct result of its historical past. The physical, political and economic conditions, established by the French colonial regime, created challenges for Guinea to overcome in the development of a national identity and image. The challenges that the city faced at independence would drive the goals and objectives of the urban design plan

Development of a Capital City

Prior to 1880 French involvement in Guinea was limited to occupying Boke on the Nunez River, and Boffa, Dubreka, and Binty on the Mellacourie River (Fig. 1). Off the coast of what is present day Conakry, the British occupied the Isles de Los as part of the Sierra Leone Company since 1818. These were the Islands of Tamarra, Kassa, and Roum. Sierra Leone was interested in pushing its territory as far north as possible along the Atlantic coast. The French posts were blocking their way. Around 1880 in attempt to secure a post on the mainland and out maneuver the French, the British began negotiations with the chief of the small Konakry tribe on the Tombo Peninsula (an island during high tides), the closest mainland point to the Isles de Los. The French out maneuvered the English and went to the superior chief of the Kaloum Bagas in Dubreka and signed a treaty gaining control of the Tombo Peninsula, which is part of current day Conakry. The French had a double motivation for taking this land. The first motive was to recover the dignity that they had recently lost in being defeated at Matacong Island and to prevent the English from encircling their 4 existing posts in this part of the coast.¹

The acquisition process in 1880 did begin as that of negotiating for the purchase of land by the French. A treaty signed by the king in Dubreka (Bale Demba), the chief of Conakry

¹ Stern, J. The French Colonies: Past and Future. (New York: Didier, 1944) 164. Hargreaves, J.D. Prelude to the Partition of West Africa. (New York: MacMillan & Co Ltd, 1963) 130, 230-1, 247.

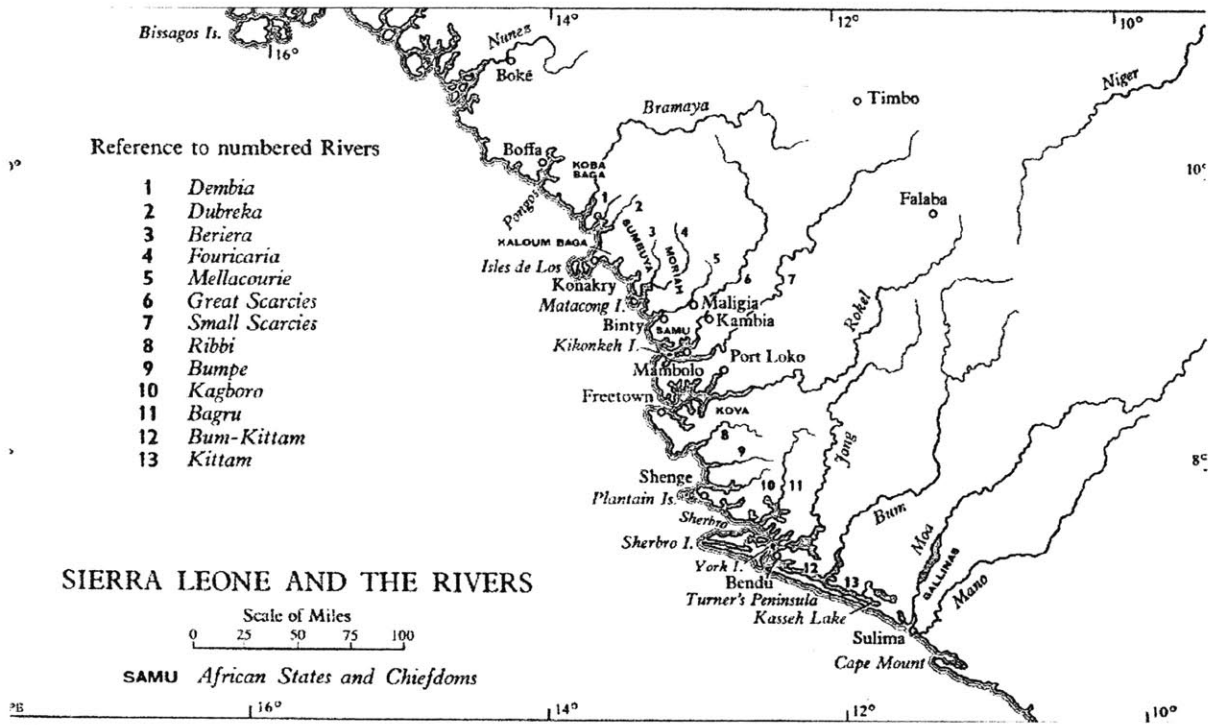


Figure 1: Southern Guinea Coast with French Territories and British Sierra Leone
Source: Hargreaves, J.D. *Prelude to Partition of West Africa*. 130.

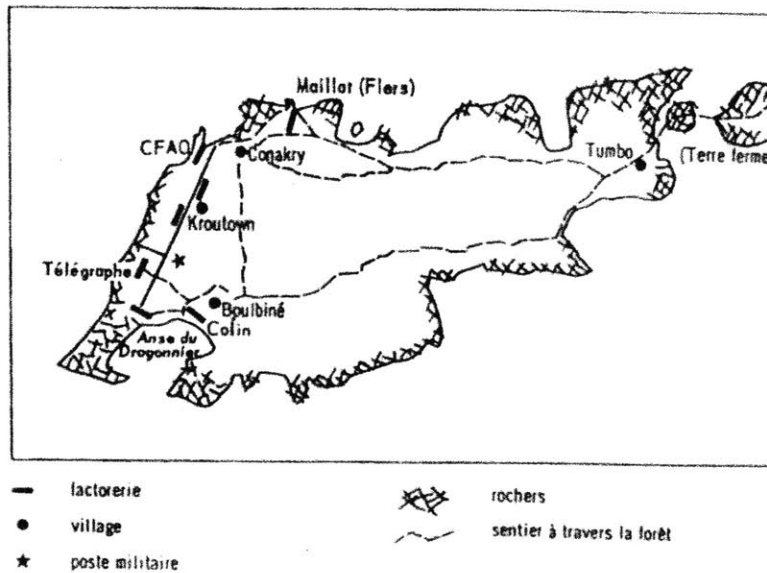


Figure 2: Villages and Buildings of Tombo Island, c. 1889
Source: Goerg, Odile. "Conakry: Un Modele de Ville Colonial Francais?" 314.

(Benti Sori), and the chief of Boulbinet (Takou) allowed the French to declare the area a French protectorate for an annuity of 400 gourds, equivalent of 2,000 francs. An additional clause was added in 1885 to acquire land for the construction of a French post. From the beginning the creation of a French protectorate and post was contested by the Fulbe of the Fouta Djallon. When the French constructed a telegraph office in 1886 without the consent of the Guinean treaty signers, protests erupted and a higher annuity was demanded. Following the death of Bale Demba at the end of 1886, the French saw the opportunity to demonstrate their power and commenced a campaign of bombarding the villages. By May of 1887 the French had completely annexed Tombo. A treaty was signed in 1889, committing France to continue the annuity payments until 1897.²

The French had their stronghold at Boke and Dubreka prior to the acquisition of Tombo. From Boke they sent expeditions into the Fouta Djallon. Dubreka, just to the north of the Isles de Los and Tombo was the administrative center of the Guinea coast. In the early 1880's there were three French buildings in the Tombo Peninsula, all of which were trade buildings (Fig. 2). After the establishment of a French protectorate this establishment remained a commercial site, dependant on the export of rubber, for nearly 10 years before French administration or the militia moved here. In order to strengthen their position against the English, still occupying the Isles de Los, the French also negotiated to control Kaloum, the adjacent part of the peninsula moving inland, in 1887.³

Since the 1830's the French had been looking for a new commercial center to locate south of Dakar and Goree Island. After Conakry had been established as a French protectorate and control of the land secured, the French Commandant in Dubreka decided that Conakry should be the new commercial site and port the French were looking for because of its deep water and projection. Also, the location was relatively uninhabited and devoid of any strong

² Goerg, Odile. "Conakry: Un Modele de Ville Coloniale Francaise?" *Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines*. Vol. 25, no. 99, 1985. 310-313.

³ Riviere, C. *Guinea: the Mobilization of a People*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977) 39-49.
Urbanisticki, *Conakry: Plan Directeur d'Urbanisme*. (Zagreb: 1963) 11-12.

political powers. The French developed the city to be a profitable port of export for the colony's many resources.⁴

In 1885 the head of Dubreka moved to Conakry and a post and telegraph office was opened. In 1890 Conakry was declared the chief French location among the southern rivers of the Guinea coast. In 1893 Guinea was officially established as a colony and Conakry as the capital. It wasn't until about 1900 that they were able to begin construction of a governmental nature.⁵

Following the bombardments of the Baga Villages the population on Tombo, once 300, fell to under 100 people. With such a small population and part of the existing villages destroyed, Conakry appeared to be an open location for the French to create a new city. After Guinea was declared an official colony with Conakry as its capital, the colonial administrators conceived of the site as the ideal French Colonial capital city. The new ideas of sanitation and hygiene and the separation of differing lifestyles could be implemented freely with a fresh terrain to design.⁶

In 1900 the French drew up a plan for the Tombo Peninsula (Fig. 3, 4). This plan was a response to a three-phase construction plan, tied to economic growth for 1890-1910. The plan initially displaced just the Conakry and Boulbinet villages and eventually called for building where the villages of Tombo and Kroutown were. The village of Conakry, unlike the others was relocated to a point further east as this space was not to be a residential area.⁷

⁴ Goerg, Odile. "Conakry: Un Modele de Ville Coloniale Francaise?" 309.

⁵ Goerg, Odile. "La Guinee Conakry." In *Rives Coloniales*, edited by J. Soulillou. (Marseille, France: Editions Parentheses, 1993) 84-5.

⁶ Goerg, Odile. "Conakry: Un Modele de Ville Coloniale Francaise?" 310.

⁷ Goerg, Odile. "From Hill Station to Downtown Conakry: Comparing French and British Approaches to Segregation in Colonial Cities at the Beginning of the 20th Century." *Canadian Journal of African Studies*. Vol. 32, No. 1, 1998. 12.

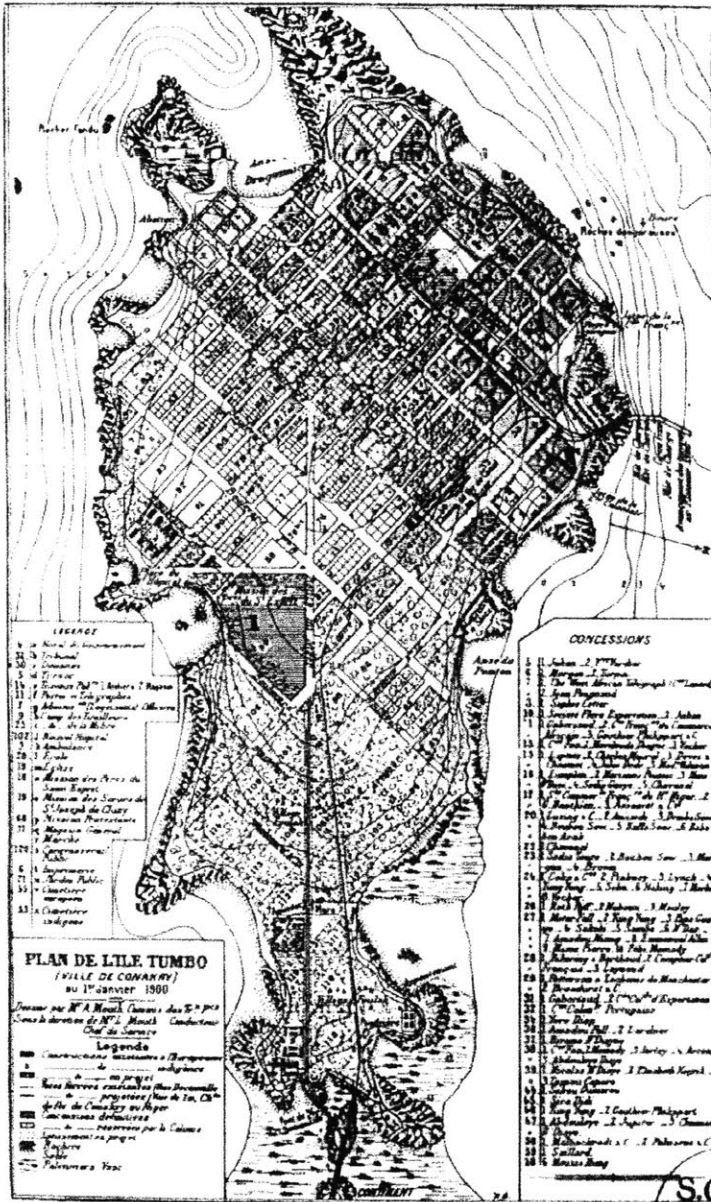


Figure 3: 1900 French Plan for Conakry, drawn by Famechon
 Source: Goerg, Odile. Pouvoir Colonial, Municipalities et Espace Urbain, Conakry-Freetown des Annees 1880 a 1914. vol. 1. Carte 11.

Figure 4: Subdivision of Lots c. 1912
 Source: Goerg, Odile. "Conakry: Un Modele de Ville Colonial Francais?" 314.



The seat of French power was placed at the western most tip of the peninsula. As this piece of land was secured early in the acquisition process, it was between the villages of Conakry, Kroutown and Boulbinet, without displacing any of the existing Africans.

The Famechon 1900 map of the city identifies the occupants of the lots and lets us discern who lived approximately where in the City. The French population clustered around the government and administrative buildings at the western tip. At the southwestern end of the island, at about where Boulbinet existed were several of the Sousous chiefs and notables. The next layer of inhabitants moving eastward was English, Portuguese and other non-Western whites. Senegalese probably of the Wolof tribe occupied the south-center of the island. The area furthest east was left for indigenous Guineans, typically the Fulbe who had strong ties with the French through trading.⁸

The French plan for the city was formal and set up on a grid reminiscent of Paris or Washington, DC (Fig. 5). As the city expanded the grid grew in response. By 1904 the city had grown to include some buildings on the Kaloum peninsula. The city had filled the Tombo Island and was becoming dense on Kaloum by 1940.⁹

The plan for Conakry was centered on commerce development and the facilitation of exporting goods (Fig. 6). At the center was the Avenue de Commerce, or 3rd Boulevard. This was the commercial heart of the city where shops, warehouses and other institutions were located. This route connected directly to the port and original market at the north. The second market place, three hangars, was built in 1900 in the center of the island after the plan was done because the original at the port was too small to accommodate the city. In 1954 the third market was built on the site of the second.¹⁰

At the north of the peninsula was the port. The railroad that stretched across Guinea culminated here. Also nearby were the customs house, general store, market, and courthouse. Moving inland from the port area, between the French and other nationalities

⁸ Goerg, Odile. "La Guinee Conakry." 84.

⁹Urbanisticki, Conakry: Plan Directeur d'Urbanisme. (Zagreb: 1963) 11-13.

¹⁰ Ibid., 87-8, 95.

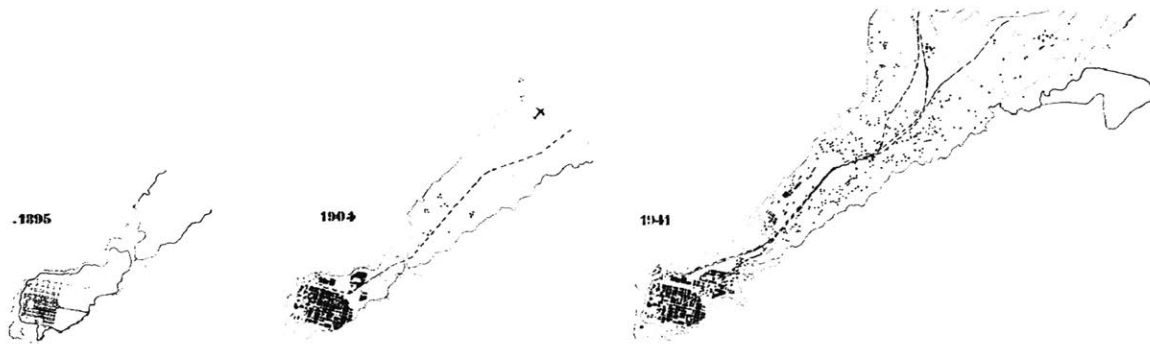


Figure 5: Growth in Conakry From 1895 to 1941
 Source: Urbanisticki. Conakry: Plan Directeur d'Urbanisme. 12

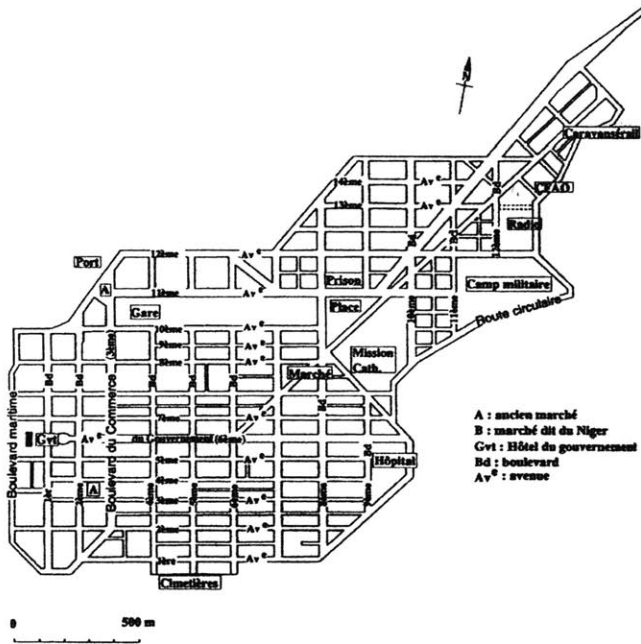


Figure 6: Key Points of Interest in Conakry
 Source: Goerg, Odile. Pouvoir Colonial, Municipalities et Espace Urbain, Conakry-Freetown des Annees 1880 a 1914. vol. 2. Carte 10.

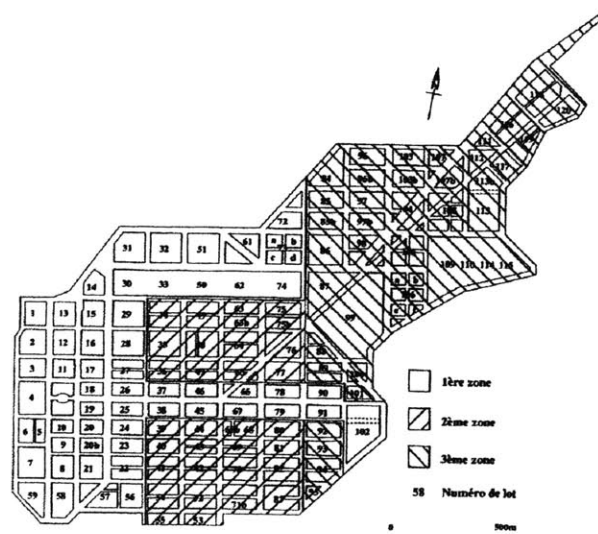


Figure 7: The Three Zones
 Source: Goerg, Odile. Pouvoir Colonial, Municipalities et Espace Urbain, Conakry-Freetown des Annees 1880 a 1914. vol. 2. Carte 14.

homes was the school. The engineering office was located on the coast halfway from the port to the Hotel du Gouvernement, which was at the center of the western coastline. The Hotel du Gouvernement is situated such that those sailing up and down the coastline would see it and it faces the English Isles de Los. Just to the north of the Hotel du Gouvernement is the ambulance and the post and telegraph office. Just to the south are the printer's office, treasury, and administrative offices. Along the southern coast there are a public garden, separate cemeteries for the French and Africans, and the slaughterhouse (directly adjacent to the African cemetery). Further to the east on the southern coast is the Hospital Ignace Dean, removed from the French residential area due the perception of the French that a hospital is the storage house of disease and a threat to their health and safety. Near the Kaloum end of the peninsula was a caravanserai, or an inn for travelers, located adjacent to a Fulbe village. At the entrance to the peninsula from Kaloum it was necessary to build a bridge as this strip of land flooded during the high tides making Tombo an island.¹¹

Originally, until 1901, the city was divided into two zones: that around the Hotel du Gouvernement and that of the rest of the city. In the first zone residents were required to spend more on the construction of their homes. In 1905 this was expanded to be 3 different zones (Fig. 7), delineated by minimum cost of construction per square meter and dictation of acceptable building materials.¹² The first zone was built on the western and northwestern coasts of the peninsula and through the center, cutting the second zone into two parts. The second zone was at the middle of the island divided into north and south sections by an extension of the first zone. Lastly, the third zone was at the eastern end of the peninsula leading inland.¹³ It was thought that the division of the city would potentially solve “problems of urban health, elevated mortality rates, and sanitation.”¹⁴ Additionally, zoning was driven by the fear of fires, resulting in the regulation of acceptable building materials.

The division of zones was not overtly on racial segregation but on economic segregation. The first zone allowed only buildings that cost a minimum of 7.5 francs per square meter, to

¹¹ Ibid., 84.

¹² Goerg, Odile. “From Hill Station to Downtown Conakry.” 12-13.

¹³ Goerg, Odile. *Pouvoir Colonial, Municipalites et Espaces Urbains*. (Paris: Harmattan, 1997) maps 14 and 15.

¹⁴ Goerg, Odile. “From Hill Station to Downtown Conakry.” 3.

construct, and the population was entirely French. The second zone maintained a minimum of 4 francs per square meter. The population of the northern half of the second zone was non-French European and the southern half was indigenous. The third zone, also called the indigenous zone had a minimum of 1.5 francs per square meter.¹⁵

Given the lack of an African middle class, the economic zoning virtually assured ethnic segregation with the exception of a few African nobles able to afford the costs of the first zone, otherwise called the central zone. Despite the division by economic means, the third zone was officially called the native zone. Furthering the distinction between the zones, uses that were deemed dangerous, such as the hospital, prison, and military camp were built in the third zone. Given limited resources for the implementation of infrastructure such as sewage, paved roads, waste removal, and piped water were only supplied in the first zone.¹⁶

To further promote the segregation of ethnic and economic groups the French declared, for all zones, that it was illegal to build using indigenous construction materials and techniques. Traditional materials such as adobe and thatch were thought to be unsafe by the French. Instead, relatively expensive materials such as corrugated metal for roofs, cement, bricks, paint, and certain types of wood were imported from Marseilles, France. All homeowners in all zones were required to build a permanent structure in a European fashion on their lot within two years.

The construction standards were not always adhered to. In both the first and second zones Rectangular homes of one and two stories were typical. The buildings of the first zone were built using masonry, were two stories and more elaborate than the second zone's more simplified single story wooden villas, or casas. The third, eastern most, and indigenous zone was composed of huts.¹⁷

The three zones of construction most affected the housing stock since the majority of all administration, government and public buildings were located in the first zone. The French

¹⁵Goerg, Odile. "La Guinee Conakry." 86.

¹⁶Goerg, Odile. "From Hill Station to Downtown Conakry." 12-13.

¹⁷Ibid., 85-6.

owned all of the homes, particularly those of Africans¹⁸. In the 1950's in order for the French government to create homes for the administrative officials in the first zone high-rise apartment buildings were built. One example is the Boulbinet Towers; two identical 10 story towers built on the former Boulbinet village.¹⁹

The 1940's were marked by the expansion of Conakry. No longer was Conakry considered just to be Tombo but it was now the combined land of Tombo and Kaloum now. With this expansion, the former inhabitants of the second and third zones were pushed further inland and the French occupied these zones. As a result it was necessary to update these areas with more modern forms of construction. The corrugated metal roofs were replaced with slab roofs, and fans and air conditioners replaced the wraparound verandahs.²⁰

The French described African occupied quarters such as Boulbinet and Coronthie, originally settled by Baga and Sousous nobles in the first zone, as "bidon villes" or slums at the end of the 1940's. Indigenous quarters had been built without regard for building regulations, modern construction techniques or "civilized" and "sanitary" modes of life. Roland Pre, governor of Guinea in the 1950's, cites two reasons why the African population of Conakry lived in "substandard" housing. First, Africans were not entitled to own land thus making it difficult for an African to be able to build a permanent structure for themselves to live in. Secondly, African quarters weren't well planned. As a result, collective urban resources were not allocated space in these quarters. Pre believed that until the social and communal facilities had been allocated land, private land could not be subdivided or sold.²¹

Pre cites three solutions to the indigenous housing problem in Conakry. First, it must be possible for Africans to have the means to participate according to Guinean regulations; this indicates the development of some form of financing assistance, possibly in the form of loans. Second, this organization providing financial assistance needs to be decentralized

¹⁸ Pre, Roland, *L'Avenir de la Guinee Francaise*. (Paris: Lescaret, 1951) 234.

¹⁹ Goerg, Odile. "La Guinee Conakry," 96-102.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 101-2.

Pre, Roland, *L'Avenir de la Guinee Francaise*, 245-6.

²¹ Pre, Roland, *L'Avenir de la Guinee Francaise*, 233-234.

enough so that it can reach all urban areas in need. Lastly, he advocates the strict enforcement of building regulations requiring modern construction.²²

France's aim after World War II was, with its holdings in West Africa, to become an economic power equal to that of the USA or USSR, at least in the mind of Roland Pre, Governor of French Guinea. He believed the natural and agricultural resources located in Guinea, and the rest of French Africa, were the key to wealth for France and Africa (Fig. 8). These resources were what Africa was to the French, as demonstrated by the French map of Guinea included in his book. The map shows all of the cities and villages that were sources of bauxite, gold, diamonds, other metals, and agricultural products. All of the roads in Guinea connected these sources to Conakry. Additionally, the railroad and airports served to strengthen this transportation network.²³

When Pre answers the question "What is Guinea?" in his text, he describes it as a prosperous country due to its great exports, particularly of fruits. Additionally, it is a nation where considerable growth and increased wealth can be realized.²⁴

Pre described the population of Conakry as mixed. In 1949 the population of Tombo Island was believed to be 36,000, of which 1950 were French and 791 other Europeans. Including the suburbs Conakry's population was estimated at 45,000.²⁵

Conakry grew rapidly partially caused by the mining efforts of bauxite and iron in the city outskirts. The population of Conakry doubled from 1939 to 1949.

At the start of the 1950's Conakry was growing onto the Kaloum peninsula. There were three axes into the peninsula, which divided the new districts of the City. There was the north and south routes and the railroad down the center. The railroad ran through the center of mines as a direct connection between the mines and the port. Along the northern and

²² Ibid. 235-236.

²³ Ibid. 13-16.

²⁴ Ibid., 23-27.

²⁵ Ibid., 30.



Figure 8: French Map of Guinea in the Late 1940's
 Source: Pre, Roland. *L'Avenir de la Guinée Française*. 20.

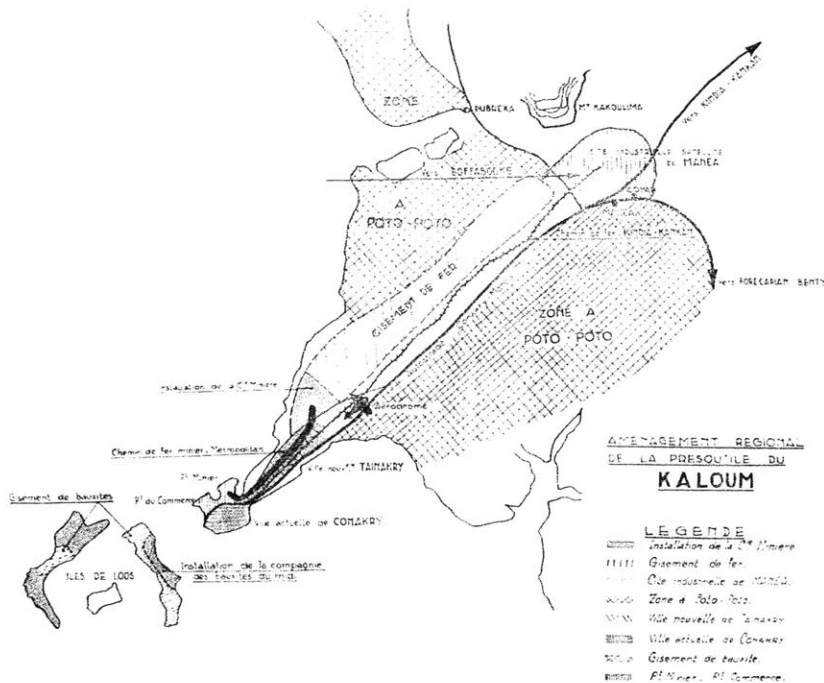


Figure 9: French Plan for Growth in Conakry in the Late 1940's
 Source: Pre, Roland. *L'Avenir de la Guinée Française*. 20.

southern coasts were new housing and administrative buildings. In 1949, at the time Roland Pre's book was printed there were three subdivisions in progress in. Donka was planned for individual families to build at their own expense. Dixinn was planned for the Fulbe people to upgrade their homes from huts to modern structures with financial assistance of the administration. The third was public housing planned along the southern coast of Kaloum to provide a first modern home for Africans. In order to provide infrastructure and resources to Kaloum, Pre suggests incorporating the suburbs of Kaloum into Conakry as one large city.²⁶

As Conakry grew, new facilities were needed to support the population (Fig. 9). At mid 20th century some projects planned for the city were the expansion of the medical center, an educational center, a school health program, a city hall, and a new stadium (in Kaloum). Additionally, there was the need for more electricity, improved water supply and roads.²⁷

Pre proposed expansion of the port on the northern coast in response to expected increased agricultural and mineral production and exportation. There would be both a commercial and mining ports. The port was scheduled to be ameliorated by 1951. A metropolitan rail line was to be added, connecting the port to a new iron mine running through the center of the Kaloum peninsula. There was an industrial center proposed in the suburb of Manea. The neck connecting Tombo and Kaloum was filled, widening it and making room for multiple roads to cross. Additionally, the French made plans for the Isles de Los, which they now controlled.²⁸ Conakry (and Guinea) had now outgrown its purpose of outmaneuvering the British and by the 1950's it had become a major source of income and resources for the French.

The Political Structure

The colonial era in Guinea can be broken into two separate ages. The first was from 1890-1945. At that point an era of decolonization began, culminating with independence in 1958.

²⁶ Ibid. 245-248.

²⁷ Ibid. 249-255.

²⁸ Ibid. 257-260.

When the French took control of Guinea, all existing forms of governance were destroyed and replaced by a French system that did not afford rights to the African populace. The French National Assembly governed the colonies and allocated significant power to those administering the colonies. French law was adapted to suit the colonies. A colonial Governor, who was appointed by the French Colonial Minister, led the nation. Power was then distributed to French administrators and African canton chiefs, appointed by the French Governor. The French established a monetary tax system that directly affected the traditional African lifestyle, which relied on a bartering system. The French would not accept the African society's currency for tax payments. This forced the Africans to move to urban centers where they could find salaried work. This rural to urban migration disrupted the traditional subsistence household economy. To further aggravate the situation, canton chiefs would abuse their power and collect more taxes than were actually due. This tax system led to a general suspicion and dislike of the colonial government, an attitude which continues to be manifest today toward the current national government.²⁹

France did not budget enough money for Guinea to develop its infrastructure because the colony was of minimal original importance to the French. As a result it was necessary to export goods to their highest capacity to generate capital. Exports were predominantly tropical fruits grown on French owned plantations. Additionally, European trading companies, based in France, ran mines and the exploitation of natural resources. Because Guineans farmed on a subsistence level they did not participate in the economic flow of exporting. The French economic structure forced Guineans to migrate to urban areas or French plantations in order to earn enough to pay their taxes to the French government, thus beginning the system of urban migration.³⁰

The process of decolonization began in 1945, when over the course of the next thirteen years three major changes were instituted. First, Guineans were granted citizenship, all adults having suffrage by 1957, and since they were no longer French subjects they were entitled to representation in the government. Second, multiple competitive political parties were

²⁹ Waldstein, Alfred. Guinea Social and Institutional Profile. (Conakry: USAID, 1991) 59-60.

³⁰ Waldstein, Alfred. Guinea Social and Institutional Profile. 61-62.

developed. Lastly, the Parti Democratique de Guinee (PDG) became the predominant political force.³¹

From 1946 to 1956 Guinea sent Africans from the different political parties to the National Assembly in Paris. The conservative Fulbe led parties, backed by the French administration, dominated Guinean national representation in Paris and aligned themselves with the French Socialist Party. Sekou Toure led the radical and nationalist PDG as the main competition against the Fulbe parties. The party focused on creating interethnic support and by 1956 held 62% of the votes and sent Sekou Toure to the French National Assembly and in 1957 the party won 59 of the 60 seats in the Territorial Assembly. In 1957 Sekou Toure formed a Guinean national government, which shared the executive power with the French administration.³²

Elimination of Resources

On September 28, 1958 under the leadership of Sekou Toure, the Guinean population voted against the De Gaulle Constitution and continued status within the French Empire due to the lack of equitable relations proposed between France and African nations and organizations. As a result of the no vote, Guinea became the first independent former French colony with Sekou Toure as its President. Over the next two months the French completely withdrew from Guinea and severed all relations. All French government employees were re-assigned to other posts in West Africa. In response, Sekou Toure reassigned the French housing to upper level officials in the new Guinean government. Guinea received little financial assistance from Western nations at the onset of independence and thus turned to the Eastern Bloc nations.³³

France, in attempts to punish Guinea for its no vote, withdrew all technical and financial assistance. They pulled out personnel such as teachers, doctors and technicians. Additionally, they destroyed documents and took all office supplies and equipment with them. Guinea was left without trained personnel to fill the vacant positions and run the

³¹ Ibid. 64.

³² Ibid. 64-65.

administration. While Guinea had made progress toward being self-sufficient during the 13-year decolonization period preceding independence, they were not prepared or capable of fulfilling all the roles and functions of an independent government.³⁴

³³ Nelson et al. Area Handbook for Guinea, (Washington, DC: Foreign Area Studies, American Univ., 1975) 37-40, 99.

³⁴ Waldstein, Alfred. Guinea Social and Institutional Profile. 68.

WHAT ARE THE CHALLENGES OF A POST-COLONIAL CAPITAL CITY?

During the late 1950's and early 1960's more than 50 nations achieved independence from their colonizers leading to an emergence of new underdeveloped nations without the vast resources of the developed world. These new nations had many challenges to face given their independent status. Without the wealth and guidance of the former colonial power, many new nations didn't have the expertise to run their new nation and often lacked the resources needed. Essential to independent nations was the establishment of equality among its citizens; this is a theme that underlies virtually all challenges to an independent nation. Additionally, was the need to create a new national identity and unity within an often ethnically divided nation. In light of the physical structure and political system of the former regime the new nation had to decide how to govern itself, whether to keep and occupy the former system or to create a new system. Lastly, and the topic of this research is how would the nation represent itself in its physical realm to create a new independent image?

Existing Physical Structures

The colonial regimes were not concerned with equality in their city planning. For example, Gwendolyn Wright in *The Politics of Design in French Colonial Urbanism* described the work of Ernest Hebrand a young architect and Urbanist. Hebrand believed in a unified need of all people for air, light and leisure yet felt it necessary to maintain design policy entailing zones divided by socioeconomic class and occupation. He used a divider such a canal to separate the indigenous population, employed and housed in the industrial area across the division line from the higher-class housing.³⁵

This system of zoning and segregation of not only socioeconomic class but ethnicity and rank in society prevailed through the colonies. In Conakry, the French had employed a system of zoning (discussed in the previous section on the French in Conakry) that was exclusionary and created a strong disparity between Tombo, home of the elites, and Kaloum, home of the Africans. This became the first challenge to the new independent nation. How could the new regime create a greater sense of equality in the City?

³⁵ Wright, Gwendolyn. *The Politics of Design in French Colonial Urbanism*. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1991) 64-65.

French planning of Conakry oriented all toward Tombo (Fig. 10). All roads and rail lines lead into Tombo and out the port. The port while well sited as a port, is in a key location of the city and blocks access to the ocean of Tombo's inhabitants. As a result Kaloum was divided in a manner that divided the north from the south without connection between the two. As the coastal edges provided preferred housing sites and the center contained minerals that could be mined, roads were created only running along the north and south coasts. Down the center of the peninsula were the railroad, industries and mines creating a visually undesirable and circulation division of the peninsula. Additionally, the airport was situated in the midst of the suburbs on the southern coast of Kaloum, blocking further expansion of the City. Lastly, Donka Hospital, the only hospital in Kaloum was located adjacent to the railroad and industrial areas, creating an undesirable atmosphere and less than hygienic location.³⁶

Former Power Structure

For most colonial nations the colonized population did not have the right or opportunity to participate in the governmental system. Colonial political systems were modeled after that of the colonizing nation, yet giving the colonial leaders sovereign powers over the Africans. For most emergent independent nations the lack of possible involvement in the colonial political system created a shortage of persons with the expertise to run an independent nation. As a result, the first decade of independence politics were marked by "personal rule and political domination and political life has pivoted around individual leaders..."³⁷ While this independent rule by the elite seems reminiscent of politics under the colonial regime it is almost to be expected given the few qualified individuals and negative example set by the colonial regime.

For nations that maintained close ties with their former colonizers, escaping the past political regime and structure was more difficult than for nations such as Guinea and Ghana who had severed ties with their former colonial oppressors.

³⁶ Urbanisticki. *Conakry: Plan Directeur d'Urbanisme*. 22-24.

³⁷ Rakodi, Carol. "Global Forces, Urban Change, and Urban Management in Africa." In Rakodi, *The Urban Challenge in Africa*. (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 1997) 27.

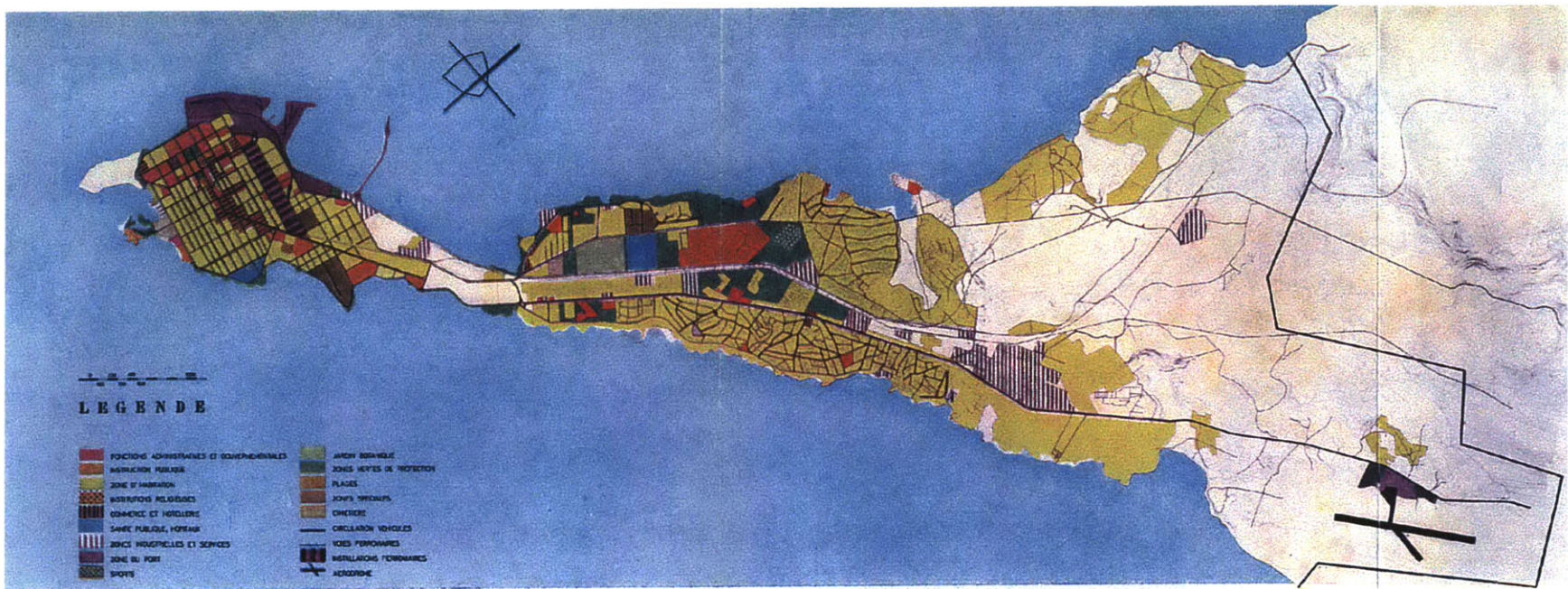


Figure 10: Land Use in Conakry Prior to 1963.

Source: Urbanisticki. Conakry: Plan Directeur d'Urbanisme. Following p. 32.

'Lapido Adamolekum in *Sekou Toure's Guinea* identified three main hurdles for achieving a new political system in Guinea. First it was necessary to establish a central authority. This entails the structuring of a political organization that could distribute authority from the center to the smallest quarter or village. Second, it was necessary to bridge the gap between the elite and the masses, creating a political equality amongst all people unlike the French system. Lastly, was to develop a system where the masses could be involved in the political system.³⁸

National Boundaries Without Regard for Ethnic Boundaries

The process of colonization was not about the indigenous populations. It was about power and capital gain. As a result little attention was paid to where national boundaries were drawn and they became a function of the colonizers power and conquest amongst the efforts of the other colonial powers. This created one of the largest challenges to the independent nations aside from a lack of resources, a lack of a common identity and unity.³⁹ Each nation was faced with the necessity of creating some form of union between all ethnic groups, when they were historically opposed, or make the choice to disband as a nation into smaller splinter nations. While no nation at the onset of independence chose the latter, many nations have been plagued by political overthrows and civil wars between the ethnic groups.

Sekou Toure in describing Guinea, states that it is 'constituted as a juridical state rather than a historical entity.'⁴⁰ Prior to independence, when the creation of positive ethnic relations became a goal of the nation, Guinea had been known in French West Africa for its intense ethnic rivalries.⁴¹

Guinea is divided into four natural regions: Lower Guinea (the coastal area), Middle Guinea (the Fouta Djallon), Upper Guinea (grassy savannahs), and the Forest Region (south eastern most part). These four natural regions also reflect the ethnic composition of Guinea (Fig. 11). The Susu and the Baga people today predominantly inhabit Lower Guinea. The Fouta

³⁸ Adamolekum, 'Lapido. *Sekou Toure's Guinea*. (London: Methuen & Co., 1976) 16-40.

³⁹ Adamolekum, 'Lapido. *Sekou Toure's Guinea*. 116.

⁴⁰ Toure, Sekou. *Concevoir, Analyser, Realiser*. Vol XII (Conakry: 1966) 44.

⁴¹ Adamolekum, 'Lapido. *Sekou Toure's Guinea*. 125.

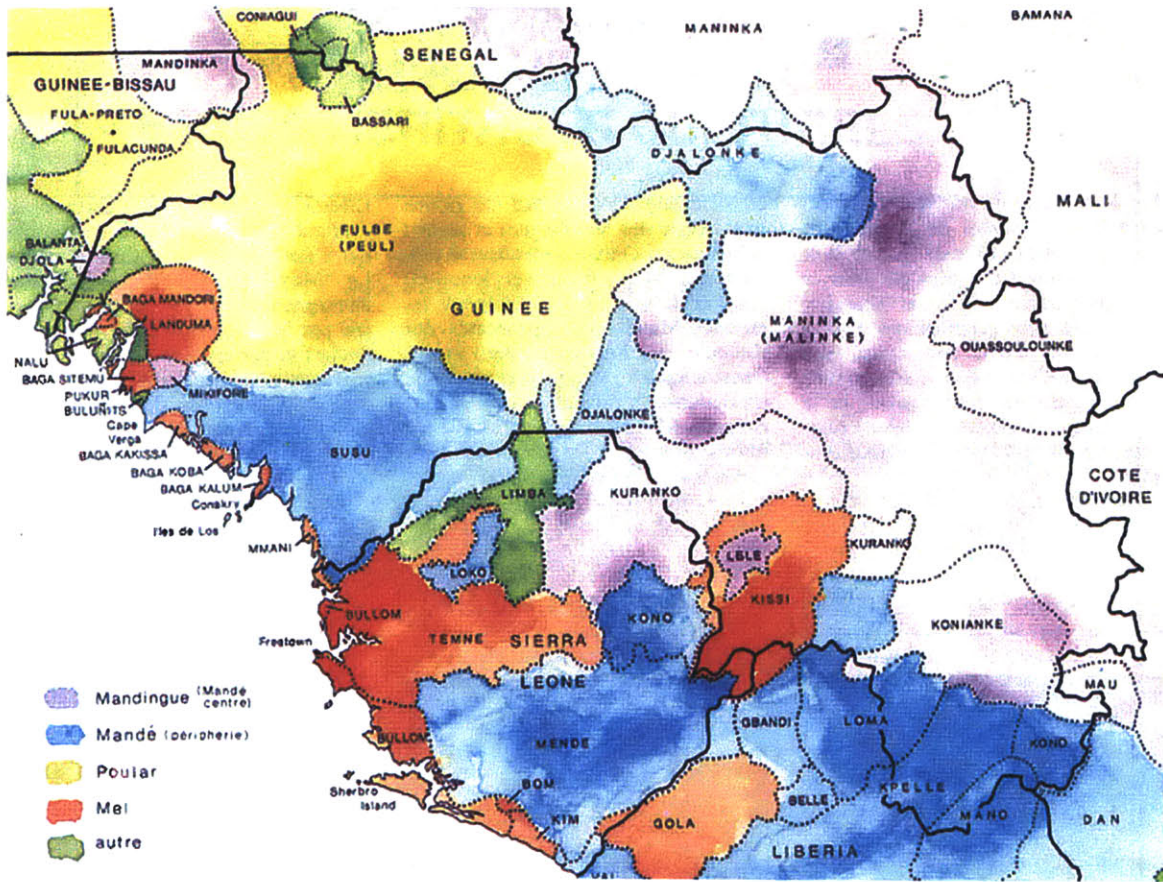


Figure 11: Ethnic Groups of Guinea

Source: Lamp, Frederick. La Guinée et Ses Heritiges Culturelles. 2.

Djalon is the home to the Fulbe population. Upper Guinea is the Malinke people who are descendants of the former Mali Empire (possibly once centered around Kankan in Upper Guinea). The Forest is the center of Christianity and Animism within the predominantly Muslim nation. The Kissi, Kpelle (Guereze), and Loma (Toma) are the three major ethnic groups of the Forest. All of these ethnic groups spill over into the bordering post-colonial states. The ethnic boundaries and the established colonial boundaries are in no way related to one another.⁴²

Around 1960 in Conakry many of the ethnic groups lived in separate quarters of the City and typically had different occupations by ethnicity. Of the approximately 50,000 inhabitants of Tombo, Conakry at independence, 20,000 were Sousous, 8,500 Baga, 8,500 Fulbe and 5,000 Malinke. The Fulbe predominantly occupied Dixinn along the northern coast of Kaloum. The Baga were predominantly fishermen and carpenters and lived in Boulbinet and on the islands. The members of the forest groups, while few in number, typically were members of the military and lived where there were large groupings of military personnel.⁴³

New Institutions to Accommodate

A new government implies new structures to house the government. As a result it is necessary for the new independent nation to design and build facilities to house its new administration. A new nation is faced with the choice of re-using existing ex-colonial facilities or creating new. They could build on the former site of destroyed colonial facilities or found a new site altogether. The selection of location is dependent on what the new nation chooses to represent about itself. In the case of Conakry, it was decided that due to the unequal nature of the French government in Guinea, it was essential to distribute or decentralize the location of government facilities, particularly to remove them from the French core on Tombo.

⁴² Lamp, F. La Guinee et Ses Heritige Culturels. (Conakry: Service d'Information et de Relations Culturelles, USIS, 1991) 2.

⁴³ Urbanisticki. Conakry: Plan Directeur d'Urbanisme. 14.

Educational facilities step to the forefront of new institutions that were needed. Access to education was not something that all subjects of colonial regimes had access to. The level of access varied from colony to colony.

Population Growth and “Rapid Urbanization”

At the onset of the 1960's only approximately 18% of Africa's populations lived in urban areas, while the average in West Africa was slightly lower at approximately 15%. Within West Africa, Senegal had the highest urban population at 32% and Ghana had 23%, whereas Nigeria, the most populous nation of West Africa, and Guinea each had 14% of the total population living in urban areas.⁴⁴ In 1958 Conakry constituted 3.9% of the total population of Guinea. Due to the nature of Colonialism and the need of the indigenous populations to find salaried jobs with which to pay taxes there was a strong draw to the urban centers, which in the 1950's urban growth ranged from 4 to 6%. This contradicted the restrictive attempts of the colonial leaders to limit growth in the urban areas and the creation of a limited number of industrial and other low skill employment opportunities. While after independence this rate grew even higher with most of the growth coming from migration from rural areas. Conakry was one of the few West African capitals to see an urban growth rate of over 10% in the 1960's and early 1970's.⁴⁵

Much of the high growth rates can be attributed to the income disparities between rural and urban areas, thus causing a rural exodus. This placed an increase on the already strained formal sector employment opportunities, the rising unemployment rates of the urban areas, and shortages of housing. In most African nations a large percentage of industrial employment was in the capital city, in Guinea half of industrial work was located in Conakry whereas one-third was in Accra and Lagos, two-thirds in Abidjan and 87% in Dakar. Secure and more lucrative employment is typically the main cause cited for rural-urban migration while another secondary cause is cited as a better access to education.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Rakodi, Carol. “Global Forces, Urban Change, and Urban Management in Africa.” 32-4. And The World Bank Group. “New Release No. 99/2155/AFR: Guinea Receives Urban Development Credit” <http://worldbank.org/html/extdr/extme/2155.htm>

⁴⁵ Rakodi, Carol. “Global Forces, Urban Change, and Urban Management in Africa.” 32-4.

In 1958 the population of greater Conakry was 78,400, whereas less than a century prior it consisted of no more than 300 people in a few small villages. Shortly prior to independence it experienced a large explosion in the population, having nearly doubled from 26,000 in 1946 to 50,000 in 1955. In the Plan Directeur d'Urbanisme for Conakry a population of 300,000 was estimated to occupy greater Conakry by 1990. The planners expected 25% of the Guinean population to be living in urban areas by that time and hoped to slow rural urban migration.⁴⁷

To slow urban growth, one proposed option was to modernize agricultural practices, making rural farming more profitable and desirable. Another idea was to develop mining and industrial centers within the country. Lastly, was to develop a higher quality of transportation infrastructure, including international airports within the interior, thus reducing the international traffic through Conakry.⁴⁸

In the two years following independence Conakry saw even higher growth rates than before independence. Within the Tombo island there was a 42% population increase, in Kaloum's closest suburbs 45% and in the further suburbs 79% growth. Overall, greater Conakry saw a 45% population growth. Within Tombo the greatest densities are found in Boulbinet, Sandervalia, Almamia and Koronti ranging from 400 to 600 persons per hectare in predominantly single story housing. Whereas, in Kaloum's suburbs housing was much more dispersed.⁴⁹

Such growth rates led to a shortage of housing and legally buildable land in Conakry. Planning and land registry offices were unable to cope with the influx of requests. As a result there was a surge of unplanned informal housing. Mining in Conakry, conducted by the French, occupied a large part of land down the center of Kaloum, this land; virtually uninhabitable was essential for the provision of housing.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ Ibid. 36-7.

⁴⁷ Urbanisticki. Conakry: Plan Directeur d'Urbanisme. 8,13.

⁴⁸ Ibid. 7.

⁴⁹ Ibid. 15.

In 1960 only 59% of Conakry's population was employed. The majority (20.8%) of actively employed persons worked in the industrial sector. This was followed by 14.9% in administration and military, 11.2% in commerce, 8.9% in public service, 8.9% in transportation and communication, 8.9% in other positions, 7.4% in culture and education, 7.2% in construction and 5.9 in artisans services.

The significant portion of employment other than industry in Conakry was located on Tombo, at the tip of the peninsula. For those who lived in Kaloum there was a 5 to 10 kilometers to travel, without public transit, to get to the employment center. Thus, in order to encourage the growth of the employment sector it was necessary to move away from the colonial core of the City out to where the majority of the population lived.

The plan argued that given the increased urban growth and industrialization it was also necessary to consider the sources of food for the urban residents. A new emphasis need to be placed on agricultural and fishing practices, so that they can move beyond subsistence farming and the abandoned plantations can function profitable and provide for this growing population.⁵¹

Lack of Resources and the Changing Economy

The economies of the newly independent nations, at the time of independence were dependent on the export of a few products, typically raw materials and agricultural products. Industry only accounted for 9% of exports in Sub-Saharan Africa.⁵² This rendered the nations dependent on the World Market for revenues. Additionally, the costs associated with running the mining facilities was too much for local entrepreneurs to run, necessitating foreign assistance, and furthering dependency. Additionally, affected was agriculture, where the knowledge base and necessary technology was not able to increase production in order to meet the demand.

⁵⁰ Ibid. 15.

⁵¹ Ibid. 17.

⁵² Rakodi, Carol. "Global Forces, Urban Change, and Urban Management in Africa." 29.

In Guinea, French and Syro-Lebanese plantation owners dominated the agricultural sector that produced at a level for export. While Guinea was rich in mineral resources, which were actively mined and exported by the colonial regime, the export of coffee and bananas accounted for approximately 80% of the exports in 1957. The Guineans were but cheap labor in the agriculture system and were not involved in the management of the plantations. Much as they were lacking qualified personal to run the government and administration they were lacking qualified individuals to run the plantations and produce crops efficiently.⁵³

To cope with the lack of resources, it became necessary to balance the location of all land uses so as to achieve the optimal results possible from the different sectors of the City. Housing, employment and transportation need to be balanced such that the employees commute time is reduced and there is adequate employment opportunities for all citizens. Key to the provision of a well-balanced system is the infrastructure that ties it together. Roads, water and services were required of new developments.⁵⁴

With the growth of an economic system and industry, comes the need for infrastructure. Without the vital infrastructure to provide a means of transporting, shipping and provision of electricity industry cannot function profitably.

Conakry the plan argued, with its limited land supply was constrained in how much land could be allocated for industrial purposes. Yet, the many inhabitants of the City generated a demand for more jobs. Therefore it became necessary to attempt to find a balance of support for industrial growth balanced with residential growth. Another constraint on industrial development was tourism, seen to be another source of economic survival. Industry was perceived as a blight on the landscape and a deterrent to tourism. One solution was the implementation of a public transit system that would make employment and industrial centers more accessible.⁵⁵

⁵³ Adamolekum, 'Lapido. Sekou Toure's Guinea. 42.

⁵⁴ Urbanisticki. Conakry: Plan Directeur d'Urbanisme. 24.

⁵⁵ Ibid. 19.

General Disparities

The new nation was faced with the decision of how to represent itself in the social, political and economic realms. Yet those Africans that had been educated under colonialism and were capable of taking leadership positions were biased by their education. They had been schooled and trained in Western language and thought. How were they to represent their nation and culture with their western ideals?

Sekou Toure in *Toward Full Re-Africanisation* cites this intellectual assimilation as a great challenge to the new nation. This led to a disparity between the “intellectual elite and the rural masses.⁵⁶” He believed that the efforts of the French to indoctrinate the Guineans into a depersonalized and western way of life, believing their own roots to be primitive and savage, made the Guineans to be “more French than the French themselves.⁵⁷” Participation in the intellectual elite led to advantages that the masses did not have available.

Under the colonial regime additional disparities separated the elite and the masses. Typically, the line was drawn between Europeans and Africans. All land in Guinea was owned by the French, who felt at the time of conquest the land belonged to no one, therefore it should belong to them. Thus, the Africans living in Conakry did not have the right to own the property they lived or worked on, whereas their French counterparts did. Within the military, a French man of the same rank and position as an African was allowed greater privileges. The French governmental administration served the needs and purposes of the French and dictated the lives of the Africans under its control. These issues of an ex-colonial nation’s past create pressures on the new independent regime. Due to the colonial reign the masses are skeptical and do not trust the government and the elite. How must the new nation respond in order to bridge this and create trust, unity and equality in the society?

Foreign Influences and Negative International Relations

Given the above-mentioned lack of resources, both financial and intellectual, the former colonies had little choice but to turn to foreign nations for assistance. While there were

⁵⁶ Toure, Sekou. *Toward Full Re-Africanisation*. (Paris: Presence Africain, 1959) 9.

⁵⁷ Toure, Sekou. *Toward Full Re-Africanisation*. 10.

definite positive advantages to such collaboration, there were also definite risks involved as well. These risks have led to two different theories of development particular to post independent nations: dependency and neo-colonialism.

When the relations between nations remained that of respect and fairness, there were no risks. But, given that many of the former imperialist nations did not wish to accept the end of the imperialist era perpetuated the risk. Additionally, other nations who had not participated in the era were looking to become involved, such as the US and USSR.⁵⁸

While the new nations were trying to escape the influence and power of the former colonial regime, it was not only the former colonial powers that were threatening to the independent status of the emergent nations. The United States and the USSR were often cited as potential threats, practicing a new form of imperialism- neo-colonialism. The independent nations, while in need of foreign assistance to assist in national development, had to be wary of the intentions of those nations offering assistance. Were they looking to exploit the former colony depriving them of their resources and potential profits? For many nations that maintained relations with their former colonial rulers suffered continued dependence on the foreign power.

Contrasting the potential dangers of the powerful nations interests in the developing nations, were the potential benefits of their interests. It appeared that a clever head of state could reap benefits from both the Soviet Bloc and the Western Powers by playing the two power groups against each other as each tried to buy the emerging nations interest. The nation's ability to remain neutral and not become subject to one system or the other was critical to this.

There were two forms of development theory that focused directly on the negative relationships created between globally powerful nations and the post-independence nations. They were neo-colonialism and dependency theory. The writings and speeches of Sekou Toure often mentioned neo-colonialism and the imperative need to avoid it.

⁵⁸ Tolno, Charles Pascal. Colonialisme et Sous-Development en Afrique. (Conakry: Editions Tolga, 1991) 10-12.

Neocolonialism

Webster's dictionary defines Neocolonialism as "economic domination, and consequent political power over, underdeveloped nations by former colonial powers."⁵⁹ Neocolonialism, according to Yolamu Barongo, is international relations that lead to "a nationalistic feeling of a sense of subordination, exploitation, and deprivation."⁶⁰

Lenin described the relations of the developed and underdeveloped nations, much the same as neocolonialism. He believed that there are two groups of nations. One is "a handful of civilized nations which possess financial capital" who exploits the majority of nations who are the "oppressed and exploited peoples of the colonies and dependent countries."⁶¹

While pre-independence African nationalism was aimed at fighting colonialism, postindependence African nationalism aimed at fighting neocolonialism. Kwame Nkrumah, in his 1957 independence speech said "The independence of Ghana is meaningless unless it is linked to the total liberation of Africa." Neo-Colonialism was seen as a threat to all the freedoms that had been gained through independence.⁶²

Ghana was the first African nation to gain independence and be exposed to the new pressures of a new nation: "rapid development and modernization". Nkrumah felt neocolonialism to be both the external and internal forces that would hinder or prohibit the new nation from achieving full independence, development and modernization.⁶³ More specifically he said: "The Neocolonialists of today endeavor to achieve their ends not merely by military means, but by economic domination, psychological infiltration and subversive activities even to the point of inspiring and promoting assassinations and civil strife."⁶⁴

In March 1961, The Third All-African Conference was held in Cairo. It was resolved at the conference "that neocolonialism which is the survival of the colonial system in spite of

⁵⁹ Lexicon. The New Lexicon Webster's Dictionary of the English Language. (New York: Lexicon Publications, 1990) 670.

⁶⁰ Barongo, Yolamu. Neocolonialism and African Politics. (New York: Vantage Press, 1980) 38.

⁶¹ Lenin. In Barongo, Yolamu. Neocolonialism and African Politics. 46.

⁶² Barongo, Yolamu. Neocolonialism and African Politics. 7.

⁶³ Ibid. 9.

formal recognition of political independence in emerging countries which became the victims of indirect and subtle forms of domination by political, economic, social, military or technical means, is the greatest threat to African countries that have newly won their independence or those approaching this status.⁶⁵” Western Nations responded hostilely to accusations of neocolonialism and threatened to cease or cut their financial assistance.

Belief in what neocolonialism is ranges from just economic domination to economic, political, socio-psychological and cultural domination. There are some situations where there are non-dominating relationships between a powerful nation and an emerging nation. In these situations there is a relationship of understanding and respect between the two, where the weaker nation can influence the stronger nation. Some examples are: China and Tanzania, The Soviet Union and Ethiopia, the US and Zaire.⁶⁶

Neocolonial relationships can exist because of emerging nations dependence on former colonial powers. Since the emerging nation is dependent on the power for its survival, the power nation is in a dominant position, giving it an unequal position in the relationship. Yet, we must understand that this is true to a certain degree. Today, there is a certain degree to which nations must be interdependent. Therefore we must interpret the above relationships to be those where there is an underlying system of inequality where one nation is in a dominant position or is in the position to manipulate the other.⁶⁷

Neocolonial relationships are not only postindependence relationships between ex-colony and colonizer; they also include new relationships with nations that may never have participated in colonialism. Some nations particularly singled out for potential neocolonial relationships are the United States, Israel, Great Britain, France, Belgium and South Africa.⁶⁸

⁶⁴ Ibid. 10.

⁶⁵ Ibid. 11-12.

⁶⁶ Ibid. 13-15.

⁶⁷ Ibid. 17-19.

Dependency Approach

Webster's dictionary defines dependant, dependence, and dependency as requiring financial, material and emotional support, being subordinate.⁶⁹ The dependency approach evolved from studies in Latin America. It is the convergence of neo-Marxism and United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America tradition (ECLA).⁷⁰

The dependency approach focuses on the relations between the center nations, the developed colonial powers of the west, and the periphery, the underdeveloped newly independent nations. The European center nations can also be described as metropolitan countries and the periphery as satellites.⁷¹

The greatest obstacle to development is the *international division of labor*, not a lack of capital or entrepreneurial skills. The international division of labor functions by transferring the surplus from a *periphery* region to a *center* region, also known as capitalism. There are two parts to capitalism: the center and peripheral regions. When the surplus is taken from the periphery it becomes underdeveloped, as the center region profits and develops. In order to ensure growth and development, an underdeveloped nation needed to break all ties with the outside world and focus on self-reliance. This required a “revolutionary political transformation.”^{72,}

The neo-Marxists believed that “monopoly capitalism” was at the root of dependency. At the end of the 19th century small businesses were beginning to be replaced by large and controlling corporations. These corporations had the ability to function globally exploiting underdeveloped populations.⁷³

Dependency didn't only exist in terms of economic and political dependency, but also intellectual dependency. Much like economic dependency, “academic dependency entailed the export of raw data from the Third World to the First, where its surplus (generalized

⁶⁸ Ibid. 28-29

⁶⁹ Lexicon. *The New Lexicon Webster's Dictionary of the English Language*. 257.

⁷⁰ Blomstrom, Magnus and Bjorn Hettne. *Development Theory in Transition*. (London: Zed Books, 1984) 27.

⁷¹ Peet, Richard and Elaine Hartwick. *Theories of Development*. (New York: The Guilford Press, 1999) 107.

⁷² Blomstrom, Magnus and Bjorn Hettne. *Development Theory in Transition*. 76.

knowledge) was released, fashioned into theories, and exported back to the Third World as pearls of wisdom.⁷⁴”

The intellectual or educated population of the emerging nation were schooled in the colonial language and learned about their history from the colonial perspective and sources. They were dependent on the former colonial power for information. As a result, some scholars in the emerging nations promoted the “indigenization” of social science. This involved shifting away from studying uniquely from western sources and including culturally specific studies.⁷⁵

The lack of African Universities led to the further indoctrination on Africans in Western ways of thought. Thus, the Universities that were founded in Africa after independence were more west oriented than in other third world nations. Those passing through this educational system believed that the road to development would be the same road that western nations had followed and that the process could be imitated.⁷⁶

The ECLA was developed to help Latin American nations achieved economic independence. Through their work a new set of thoughts on development were created. Raul Prebisch, who was director general of Banco Central in Argentina, believed underdevelopment in Latin America is due to dependence on exports of primary products. This limits the domestic accumulation of capital. While investment by foreign businesses would speed up the accumulation of wealth it would further dependency.⁷⁷

Well-defined policy on industrialization is required to reverse the effects of underdevelopment. Programmed industrialization was the result. This was based on the theory that the process the industrialized nation followed is reproducible in the

⁷³ Peet, Richard and Elaine Hartwick. Theories of Development. 107.

⁷⁴ Ibid. 137.

⁷⁵ Ibid. 137-138.

⁷⁶ Blomstrom, Magnus and Bjorn Hettne. Development Theory in Transition. 140.

⁷⁷ Ibid. 41-42.

underdeveloped nation. Additionally, a move towards democracy was necessary for high consumption.⁷⁸

Following independence a nation proceeds through a transitional phase where it establishes its unique identity and national image. Colonization altered the urban form of the nation introducing new methods of city organization and function. Additionally, many nations continued to be influenced by their former colonial leaders as well as other nations that were attempting to establish relations with the post-independence nation. All of these international relationships, both from before and after independence, influence the future image of the capital city.

⁷⁸ Ibid. 42-43.

III: HOW DOES A NATION RE-IMAGE AFTER INDEPENDENCE?

III: HOW DOES A NATION RE-IMAGE AFTER INDEPENDENCE?

DECOLONIZATION AND THE CREATION OF NATIONAL IDENTITY AND IMAGE

Under colonial rule, the urban form of capital cities was created in the image of the western rulers. This occupation of non-western land by western architecture and planning transformed the vernacular and indigenous representation of the majority population. Colonial ruled erased what national identity and political functioning there was prior to European invasion. Thus after independence the new nations were left without an indigenous identity or in some regions without a political structure. There were the remaining traces and influences of the foreign body instead.⁷⁹

The process of decolonization entails more than political change: it also brings social and cultural change. Additionally, the nationalistic drive that pushed for independence must change. Nationalism must take a new course, instead of seeking political independence from the colonial rulers; the nationalist movement is now striving for social, cultural and economic independence and legitimacy as a new nation. Legitimacy must be achieved within the nation, gaining popular support of the population and international legitimacy and recognition as a sovereign entity.⁸⁰

National identity in post-colonial countries is closely linked to nationalism. It is a way to manifest nationalistic thought into physical form. The desire to create a physical national identity typically follows a revolution, instead of occurring during the nationalist anticolonial movement prior to independence. After a revolution a political leader strives to unify the new nation and one of the tools to do so is to create a physical national identity, using urban design, architecture and the built environment.⁸¹

⁷⁹ King, Anthony. "Rethinking Colonialism: an Epilogue." In Nezar AlSayyad, ed. Forms of Dominance: on the Architecture and Urbanism of the Colonial Enterprise. (Aldershot, England: Avebury, 1992) 343.

Thomas, Dominic. "Constructing National and Cultural Identities in Sub-Saharan Africa." In Stuart Murray, ed. Not on Any Map. (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1997) 120.

⁸⁰ Vale, Lawrence. "Designing National Identity: Post Colonial Capitals as Intercultural Dilemmas." In AlSayyad. 316.

While speaking of creating national identity, as a physical manifestation of nationalism in the context of Sub Saharan Africa, a closer look must be taken of what exactly nationalism constitutes. Sub Saharan Africa's national boundaries were created by the European colonist and were drawn without regard for the indigenous populations residing within the boundaries. Despite the lack of perceived ethnic and political unity the Organization of African Unity (OAU) recommended maintaining the colonialist established boundaries after independence. In all nations there is a mixture of ethnic and religious groups. Therefore there are many levels of nationalism to take into consideration. Dominic Thomas outlined James Coleman's definitions of the different manifestations as follows:⁸²

Pan-Africanism: race, continent or sub-continent.

Nationalism: colonial territory to a new state or nation.

Ethnic nationalisms/ ethnicity: *historic*- ethnolinguistic collectives with previous political unity; *situational*- large-scale collectives acquiring identity and self-consciousness through supertribalization.

Tribalism/ micronationalism: small-scale ethnolinguistic, kinship-defined collectives.

Regionalism or localism: any collectivity, which asserted itself against alien rule prior to the emergence of an organized territorial nationalist movement as the presumptive successor regime.

The creation of identity in sub-Saharan Africa required restructuring allegiances and forms of nationalism to create a balance where all are represented in a unified manner. It becomes necessary to create a community within a physical region with boundaries unrelated to the people residing within. This has led to political rule of all forms of governance, political instability and a military active in politics in many nations.

In creating a national identity, a nation seeks to represent itself in a manner that distinguishes it from its neighbors and represents its people. "Its purpose is to advance the power and independence of government as an institution."⁸³

A new political body uses many visible and physical means to gain popular support and strength. There is the need to unite society after a revolution and regime change and one way

⁸¹ Vale, Lawrence J. *Architecture, Power and National Identity*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992) 45-47.

⁸² Thomas, Dominic. "Constructing National and Cultural Identities in Sub-Saharan Africa." 116.

⁸³ Vale, Lawrence J. *Architecture, Power and National Identity*. 51.

is to use political acts, manifestations, symbols and new buildings. Some symbols that are used in creating identity are flags, indigenous flora and fauna, slogans and party motifs.

Works of the built environment, monuments and political buildings, come to serve as symbols of that nation, often being popularized by reproduction on the national currency. While governmental buildings such as parliament, congress, presidential buildings, and people's palaces are constructed to be a representation of the people, their location and design is often decided by only the ruling powers. Thus, do they represent the population or the political regime or other forces at work?

National identity creation is a process, evolving from the existing and inputting influences of "subnational" faction interests, individual influencers (for example the designer), and the desire for international recognition.⁸⁴

Subnational interests come in to play particularly in postcolonial nations where national boundaries are a result of colonial demarcation. As a result, postcolonial nations were comprised of many different ethnic groups whose ethnic boundaries were not limited by the national borders. To create a national identity, it is necessary then to design within a framework that includes all ethnic groups equally; otherwise the act of building ceases to function as a unifier. To further complicate this, all ethnic groups did not coincide amicably.⁸⁵

Individuals become influential in the design process because an entire population cannot make the detailed design decisions. The regime represents the people and it is individuals who represent the regime responsible for making decisions. Each individual will respond as his nature allows. Another individual with significant influence is the designer. The designer may have been schooled and worked internationally, bringing foreign influence into his designs, or he may be a foreign designer. The designer may simply have viewed reproductions of international work or be bringing influences from his native country.

⁸⁴ Ibid. 48.

⁸⁵ Ibid. 49-51.

Frequently, it is Western work and design that local designers may have been exposed to. Additionally, what are the ambitions of the designer? Is he seeking national or international acclaim through this project? This then influences the design. Will this influence a design to be a more internationally recognized style, indifferent to locale and the indigenous population?⁸⁶

Large-scale urban design projects may exceed the capability of local planners and designers, lacking the expertise in such projects. As a result, co-operative efforts may be made in order to complete the design. Designers, engineers or construction firms may be imported to work in collaboration with the local team. The collaborative team is constrained by incompatible knowledge bases. While a political leader, when faced with a decision about the edification of symbolic structures, may believe he is deciding on the principles of unity and representation, underlying are influences of “structural, social and economic tensions.”⁸⁷

Lastly, what are the emerging nation’s international objectives? Often when the new nation is seeking funding and recognition from the outside world, pressure is added to design in an internationally recognized style. Often this works against the nationalistic idea of creating identity. No longer is the work to be a representation of the local culture but the design become an international representation of the country, displaying what the outside wants to see.⁸⁸

Colonial nations were marked by cultural and ethnic domination. One of the challenges facing post-independent nations was to avoid perpetuating this phenomenon within the intranational ethnic groups.⁸⁹

Kenneth Frampton suggests that in Modern Western society industrialization and technology have constrained the built environment so that it is nearly impossible to create architecture with significance. He suggests this phenomenon has persisted since the 1960’s, when prior

⁸⁶ Ibid. 52.

⁸⁷ Vale, Lawrence. “Designing National Identity: Post Colonial Capitals as Intercultural Dilemmas.” 321.

⁸⁸ Vale, Lawrence J. Architecture, Power and National Identity. 53.

to that point society and culture were capable of being inputs in urban design.⁹⁰ Thus, I would like to relate this to the developing world. If the west became too overtaken by technology after the 1960's the new emerging independent nations certainly were not more technologically advanced. Therefore, I would like to suggest that it would be possible in the newly independent nations for society and culture to be represented in urban design in post independence plans. This implies that in the 1960's underdeveloped cities were ripe for development with cultural significance.

While it is possible to create a national identity through the built environment, using urban design and architecture, it is not always effective or achieves its goals. For emerging nations undertaking major urban design endeavors was/is too costly and frequently much of the urban design plans would never be implemented. Identity is not permanent or static; it is constantly in a state of flux. How identity is represented is merely a response to the current stimuli and demands within the nation.⁹¹

According to Vale, there are two challenges to spatially representing a nation. First, how can one design represent the cultural diversity and multi-ethnicity that exists in a given nation? Second, how can the political organization of the state be represented physically and spatially?⁹²

Additionally, he cites 3 ways in which designers can respond in their work to representing a new ethnically diverse nation in capitol complexes. The first, and least representational, the designer can choose to disregard the political and social atmosphere of the nation and generate a complex that does not relate to the new nation.⁹³

Second, the designer may choose to carefully study the political and social environment and generate a design that is a microcosm of the new nation where the scale and ornament of

⁸⁹ AlSayyad, Nezar ed. Forms of Dominance: on the Architecture and Urbanism of the Colonial Enterprise. (Aldershot, England: Avebury, 1992) 15.

⁹⁰ Frampton, Kenneth. "Towards a Critical Regionalism: Six Points for an Architecture of Resistance." In Hal Foster, ed. The Anti-Aesthetic: Essays on Postmodern Culture. (Seattle: Bay Press, 1983) 17.

⁹¹ AlSayyad, Nezar ed. Forms of Dominance: on the Architecture and Urbanism of the Colonial Enterprise. 21.

⁹² Vale, Lawrence. "Designing National Identity: Post Colonial Capitals as Intercultural Dilemmas." 329-330.

architecture are directly correlated to the significance of the national structure to the populace. While this may be the most accurate way to represent a nation, it does not take into consideration the potential of the nation. Most emerging nations are not at their strongest in their earliest years, if the design reflects this weakness, it does little for the generation of nationalistic pride. Yet, it is important to understand that just as nations grow and change the physical environment that houses it must also change. Therefore as long as the building's ability to grow and be added to is taken into consideration the fact that it does not immediately allow for the future is inconsequential.⁹⁴

Lastly, the designer may approach the project with the thought that design has the power to influence and create an optimistic representation of the nation. This scenario allows the designer to study the culture and politics and idealize the future, possibly a future of inter-ethnic harmony and political strength. While this overstates the actual in the immediate design, it is a representation of the nations goals and intentions. The downfall to this option is the designer may go too far in his idealization and as a result have the first option where the design scarcely reflects the nation.⁹⁵

Frampton believes that (as postmodernism) the avant-garde, or forward-looking, design is not capable of incorporating identity within a design. He instead suggests *arriere-garde*, or backward looking, design is capable of creating and representing identity.⁹⁶

His "Critical Regionalism is to mediate the impact of universal civilization with elements derived indirectly from the peculiarities of a particular place."⁹⁷ Thus, in an ever globalizing world the way to remain true to the locale of the design yet incorporate internationally recognized, non indigenous, is to find a mediated middle ground incorporating both. For emerging nations that are looking to gain international recognition and promote national unity and support this provides a possible solution to the question of how to create identity. The urban design plan should then work to incorporate some western form, which is

⁹³ Ibid. 330.

⁹⁴ Ibid. 330-331.

⁹⁵ Ibid. 331.

⁹⁶ Frampton, Kenneth. "Towards a Critical Regionalism: Six Points for an Architecture of Resistance." 20.

inevitable given western influence, and indigenous form to create a form unique to that environment.

In Frampton's fifth point he states that one way to create a local identity is to acknowledge the natural environment of the site. When a site is leveled, and built upon as a generic flat site it is not representing or acknowledging its setting. Instead he suggests leaving the site in its natural condition and designing site-specific forms. The result will not only be accepting of the natural environment, but in using site specific forms it is inevitable that local built form will be included in the design.⁹⁸

Anthony King reminds us that while some aspects of a culture or nation may be represented in design, other aspects may be suppressed. We must question not only what part of a nation's identity is being represented, but also what is being left out? Much as Vale outlines in his notion of individuals as influencers, King claims it is those with political power, "the managerial and professional elite," and the designers that influence what is represented. It is this elite part of the population who concerns themselves with matters of politics, economics, theorization and mobility. Whereas, the not so fortunate are more concerned about their day-to-day subsistence, food, shelter and security.⁹⁹

Under colonialism the cities were planned to accommodate its colonial relationship in the world economy. As an independent nation the spatial distribution must change to accommodate a new political, economic and social system. With the shift from colonialism to independence the population, household structure and cultural norms all change. As a result the physical fabric must change to meet these new forms. Yet, at this point the physical fabric does not revert to the traditional form of that region, but tends to model that of the European colonists. Individuals who occupied professional positions with the ability to impact city planning had been introduced to and educated in Western forms of planning and brought this bias to their work. Often in colonial territories land was owned entirely by

⁹⁷ Ibid. 21.

⁹⁸ Ibid 26.

⁹⁹ King, Anthony. "Rethinking Colonialism: an Epilogue." 344.

the colonial powers. After independence the new independent nation took over proprietorship.¹⁰⁰

A topic frequently discussed in development theory is the process of industrialization and the promotion of capitalism and eventual evolution toward socialism. During industrialization, the developing country requires facilities for producing goods and housing the labor force. This leads to the development of specialized building types. The type of housing created was based on the “economic and social organization”¹⁰¹ of the city; where family income and culture directly impacts the form of housing a family can afford. As a result of growth and development the city moves outward, the urban area expands and suburbs grow at the urban edge. The form of these suburbs will represent the new in-migrating population, their economic means, and cultural and social preferences.

The nature of the local labor market will also determine housing and building construction techniques employed. What materials are available and what is available? In what methods of construction is the labor force skilled in? As a colonial nation, materials were imported to the colony from the West. As an independent nation, participating in a world economy some of the same or different materials may be available.¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ King, Anthony. Urbanism, Colonialism and the World Economy: Cultural and Spatial Foundation of the World Urban System. (London: Routledge, 1990) 107-112.

¹⁰¹ Ibid. 112.

¹⁰² Ibid. 115.

AFRICAN RESPONSES

Following independence the new nations responded in many different ways in which to political freedom. While some chose to remain close to their former colonial leaders others chose to completely sever ties. There were however three common trends among the many forms of response in Africa. There was a renewed form of nationalism, a foreign policy of non-alignment as championed by Julius Nyerere, and a turn toward socialism.

An important difference between Africa and the rest of the colonized world is that Africa has largely been economically dependent on small-scale farms and industry. Additionally, all mining is foreign operated. Thus making it more agrarian rather than most industrial based developing nations.¹⁰³

Nationalism

Most postindependence nations realized that being independent was more difficult than just having political independence. The nations were unprepared to survive economically and thus it was necessary to maintain ties to the former colonial power. This put the nationalists in a situation where it was difficult to practice their actual beliefs.

Nationalism was manifested by new African Nations through hostility toward the western capitalist nations because of their control of the world economic system. This control stood in the way of the new nations of becoming fully independent and forced the emergent nations to be subordinate to the capitalist powers and do as they required to receive economic assistance. Nationalist beliefs in theory included complete withdrawal from western capitalist nations and a strong dislike for any nation practicing what resembled neocolonialism.¹⁰⁴

The nationalists tended to focus on “the political and psychological subordination that tends to limit the sovereignty of the neocolonial state and to adulterate the cultural prestige of the people.”¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ Blomstrom, Magnus and Bjorn Hettne. Development Theory in Transition. 139.

¹⁰⁴ Barongo, Yolamu R. Neocolonialism and African Politics. 42-43.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid. 50.

While the majority of emerging African nations chose to follow nationalism, although modified in practice, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and Sekou Toure of Guinea were among the few who followed Marxism, yet their views still remained predominantly nationalistic.¹⁰⁶

Foreign Policy of Nonalignment

Julius Nyerere stated, in *Nonalignment in the 1970's*, “Nonalignment says nothing about socialism or capitalism or communism or any other economic and social philosophy. It is simply a statement by a particular country that it will determine its policies for itself according to its own judgment about its needs and the merits of its case. It is thus a refusal to be a party to any permanent diplomatic or military identification with the Great Powers, it is a refusal to take part in any alliance or to allow any military bases by the Great Powers of the World.”¹⁰⁷

Sekou Toure practiced positive neutralism, a form of nonalignment. Essentially, this form of foreign relation allowed the emergent nation to protect its own interests. The nations were in need of foreign assistance but wanted to avoid negative relations or the potential of being exploited again. Thus they would not choose between eastern bloc or western bloc nations to ally with but instead weighed each potential transaction individually, considering the ulterior intentions of the other nation.

African Socialism

African Socialism came in many forms and was modified versions of socialist theory to suit the African conditions. The four major forms included:

- Afro-Marxists: Ghana, Guinea and Mali- “Marxist-Leninist ideas of economic development and political structure.
- Moderate Socialists: Kenya and Zambia- “state controlled socialist economy” and eager for foreign investment.
- Social Democrats: Senegal- strongly related to European Socialism and followed the ways of Western nations.
- Agrarian Socialists (Populists): Nyerere’s Ujaama philosophy- instead of looking at examples outside of Africa use traditional African village based examples of Socialism.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶ Ibid. 46-47.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid. 79.

¹⁰⁸ Blomstrom and Hettne. Development Theory in Transition. 138.

FORMS OF DEVELOPMENT AND RESPONSE TO A REGIME CHANGE

Anthony King in *Urbanism, Colonialism and the World Economy: Cultural and Spatial Foundation of the World Urban System*, defines six ways a colonial city can be created when there is an indigenous population. These six modes, with some modification, can also be applied to the situation of a regime change.¹⁰⁹ The result is 5 different ways that a new political power can respond to the question of capital city location. The five modes of responding to a regime change are as follows:

Create a new capital in a new location:

1. Re-locate in an existing city. This is a popular manner of responding to independence and establishing a new national identity in Africa. Many nations chose to abandon the colonial capital city as a way of separating from their colonial rulers. Some nations who moved the capital at different points after independence include Tanzania and Cote d'Ivoire.
2. Found a new city either far from or adjacent to the existing capital. While Nigeria and Tanzania had elaborate urban design plans for their new capital they were imposing the design on an existing establishment. Other nations, typically ones with more capital wealth, chose to found a new city where there was no establishment. These cities were designed to be grand statements of self. Some examples include Washington, DC; Canberra, Australia; and Brasilia, Brazil; Abuja, Nigeria.

Redesign the existing capital:

3. Destroy and build over the existing city. This is the most drastic of all the possible response forms. In the situation of newly independent nations this was not an option that could be afforded. Even while many did make huge financial commitments in moving the capital city, the housing and labor stock in the existing capital city was indispensable. Additionally, many did not have the power or means to acquire everything and raze it. One of the only examples of this happening is in the colonization and settlement of Mexico City.
4. The existing city is modified and redesigned to fit the new regime. Aside from relocating the capital city, this is one of the most common response forms. Redesigning the capital city provided a more affordable means of using the capital

city to create a unique national identity. In this form of development many of the buildings, such as institutional and housing, could be recycled and redistributed to the new inhabitants and regime, instead of creating all new facilities. This way an emerging nation with limited means could focus more on what it particularly is that creates a unique identity for the city. Some African examples include Conakry, Guinea; Dakar, Senegal; and Freetown, Sierra Leone. Some non-African examples, while not necessarily post colonial regime changes, include Rome, Berlin, and Moscow.

5. The new regime occupies the unmodified existing city. Often this is found as a more immediate and temporary condition. Immediately after independence the new nations were in a sense homeless, or lacking their own unique facilities within to run a nation. As a result the abandoned former colonial buildings were occupied as interim facilities. In some situations these facilities lasted for many years after independence as it took a long time for the new nations to generate the funds to build new facilities, despite new plans designed for the city. New Delhi, India is one example of a nation occupying the existing city.

¹⁰⁹ King, Anthony. Urbanism, Colonialism and the World Economy. 22.

EXAMPLES OF POST INDEPENDENCE URBAN DESIGN RESPONSES

Abuja

Abuja provides us with an example of when a government chooses to found a new capital city, rejecting the original capital city. In 1975, fifteen years after independence it was decided to move the capital to Abuja and in 1976, after a site selection process, Abuja was declared the Federal Capital Territory. The Department of Architecture of Ahmadu Bello University in Zaria designed the master plan and Omar Take of Kenzo Tange and URTEC made final revisions to the capitol complex. The project underwent construction during the 1980's, although it is not completed, and officially became the capital of Nigeria in 1991. Despite this shift of location many government agencies chose to remain in Lagos.¹¹⁰

Nigeria had three overall reasons for moving the capital to Abuja. The first was the chance to reject Lagos as a former colonial capital city and make room for modernization and growth as an independent nation. Second, Lagos was overcrowded, dirty, lacked infrastructure and land for growth. Lastly, was the idealized promise of Abuja itself. Abuja was chosen for its central location within the nation. Lagos was in the south of the country and was associated as being located within one ethnic group, when the ethnic groups were in discord. Whereas, Abuja was in a very homogeneous location, not associated with one ethnic group or another. Additionally, the city was located on a plateau where the climate was more pleasant than the hot and humid coastal capital.¹¹¹

The creation of the capitol complex incorporated the governmental buildings, listed in the constitution, arranged in the urban design plan to create a national identity (Fig. 12). The design separated the city into two zones. The Central Area included National Assembly, City Hall, National Cultural Institutions and other Government Offices. The other part of the city consisted of housing, shopping and other neighborhood amenities.¹¹² Much of the motivation for and design of Abuja was that of ethnic mediation. Vale described the choice of Abuja as locating at the center of “the eye of the hurricane.” One tactic employed to promote ethnic

¹¹⁰ “Abuja” Encyclopedia Britannica. <http://members.eb.com/bol/topic?idxref=169762>

“Lagos” Encyclopedia Britannica. <http://members.eb.com/bol/topic?eu=47926&sctn=1#70614>

¹¹¹ Vale, Lawrence J. *Architecture, Power and National Identity*. 134.

¹¹² “Abuja” Encyclopedia Britannica.

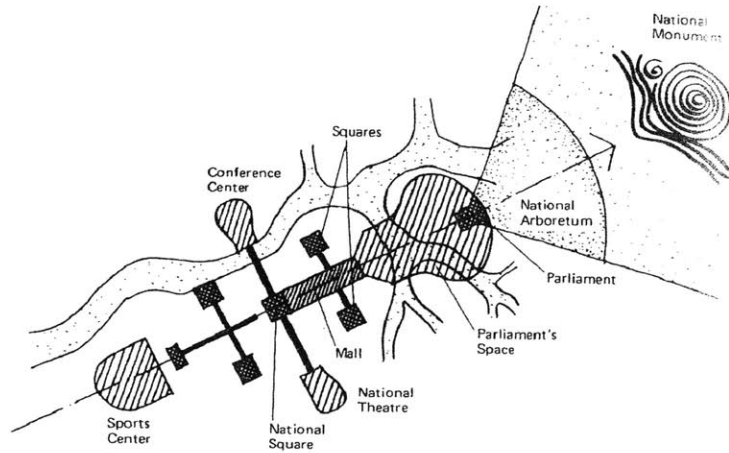


Figure 12: Diagram of Abuja's Capitol Complex

Source: Vale, Lawrence J. Architecture, Power and National Identity. 142.

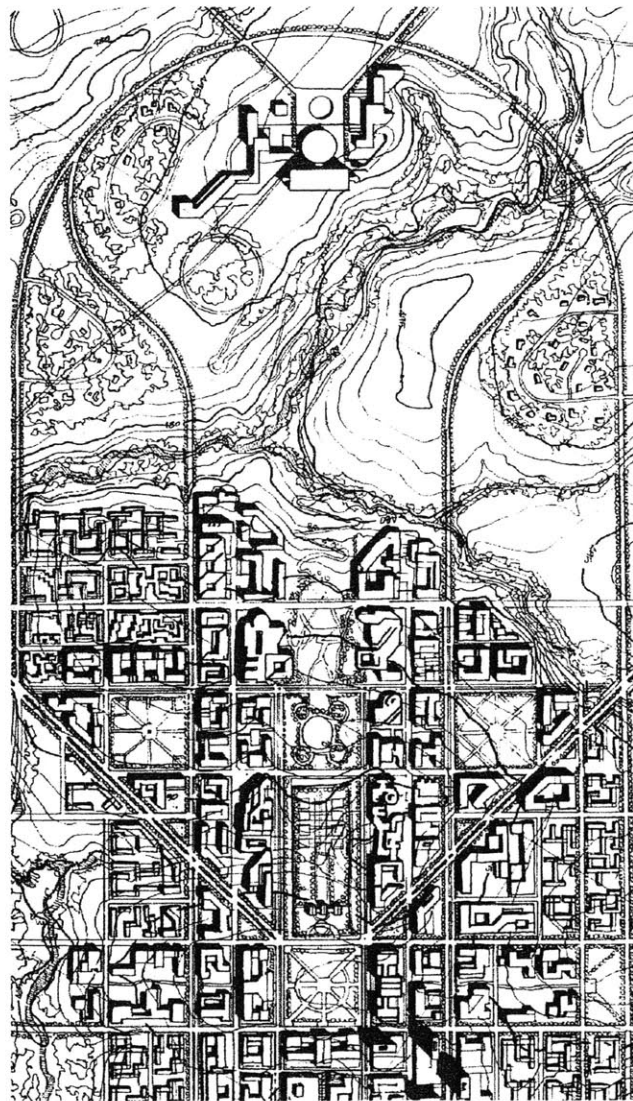


Figure 13: Plan for Abuja

Source: Vale, Lawrence J. Architecture, Power and National Identity. 141.

unity, without showing any preference for one group over another, was the design of multiple roads leading out of the city directly pointed at each of the other major cities in Nigeria with definite ethnic identity. Thus, the capital recognized all people and all regions of Nigeria.

The actual design for the city places the capitol complex on one of the lower hills of the Aso massif. It was to be a government only area instead of a public place. This area was referred to as the “Three Arms Zone,” set apart and above the rest of the city, yet on axis with a visual connection. In a later plan the executive, legislative and judicial offices were all placed together at the top instead of having the executive and judicial down hill, at the other end of the mall in the National Square as in the original plan. The Central Area is comprised of two axes. The first includes the *Three Arms Zone* on axis with the National Arboretum and Monument to the northeast and the ministry-lined mall to the southwest. This is crossed by a cultural axis through the National Square.¹¹³

The original master plan emphasized three issues related to the design and representation of the city; imageability, efficiency, and flexibility (Fig. 13). The planners referred to imageability as a means of visualization and differentiation as perceived by the Nigerian people. It was intended that people would be able to recognize the Center Area as a Federal city and complex. Different parts of the city were to be identified as unique parts of the city. In creating this imageability the designers wanted the different people of Nigeria to be able to identify with the city and a study was conducted to understand the different forms of urban form in the different regions of Nigeria. The forms they found were combined with modern forms to create a new but locally recognized form. The presidential residence of the original plan was placed at the center of Abuja based on the discovery that in many of the villages the chief’s residence was also at the center of the village. Modernization was also declared a design theme in addition to traditional form. It is questionable how much of the traditional could be carried through in the design because of the extremely diverse population of Nigeria and its contradiction of modern design.¹¹⁴

¹¹³ Vale, Lawrence J. Architecture, Power and National Identity. 139-142.

¹¹⁴ Ibid. 143-145.

One criticism of the design is that while it attempted to accommodate all ethnic groups it did not attempt to accommodate all economic groups with a lack of consideration for low-income housing. Plots closest to the core were large and designated for single-family homes, making them expensive. Additionally, homes in the residential areas, moving away from the core, are not connected to places of employment other than government work by the public transit route. Additionally, all plots were designated and regulated so that slum-housing construction would not be possible.¹¹⁵

Brasilia

Brasilia is an example of moving a capital city from the former coastal colonial capital to a newly founded city expressly designed for the independent nation. While Brazil achieved independence in 1822 the design wasn't commissioned and put into action until 1955. The idea of moving the capital to the center of Brazil was first conceived before independence and remained a mere idea until incorporated in the constitution in 1889. In 1922 a site was chosen and the first stone was placed at the site. It took until the election of Juscelino Kubitschek in 1955 for the project to move from a conceptual state to reality. Lucio Costa was chosen as Brasilia's designer after a national competition in 1957.¹¹⁶

For Kubitschek the development of Brasilia was the opportunity to modernize the nation and in the words of Vale to immortalize himself as the creator of Brasilia. There were many other reasons for the creation and development of Brasilia. For the people of Brazil it represented a move away from its colonial past and the creation of its own national identity and it was a symbol of Brazilian unity. Additionally, the creation of Brasilia was to create new development opportunities for Brazil such as the chance to be more economically and politically self-sufficient and less dependent on foreign assistance. In terms of national functioning, Brasilia was thought to be a chance for the government to function more efficiently in a more secure location (assuming that an inland location is more militaristically secure than a coastal one). Critique against Rio de Janeiro stated that it was too crowded, Euro-centric, and the government bureaucratic and inefficient.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵ Ibid. 146-147.

¹¹⁶ Ibid. 115-117.

¹¹⁷ Ibid. 116.

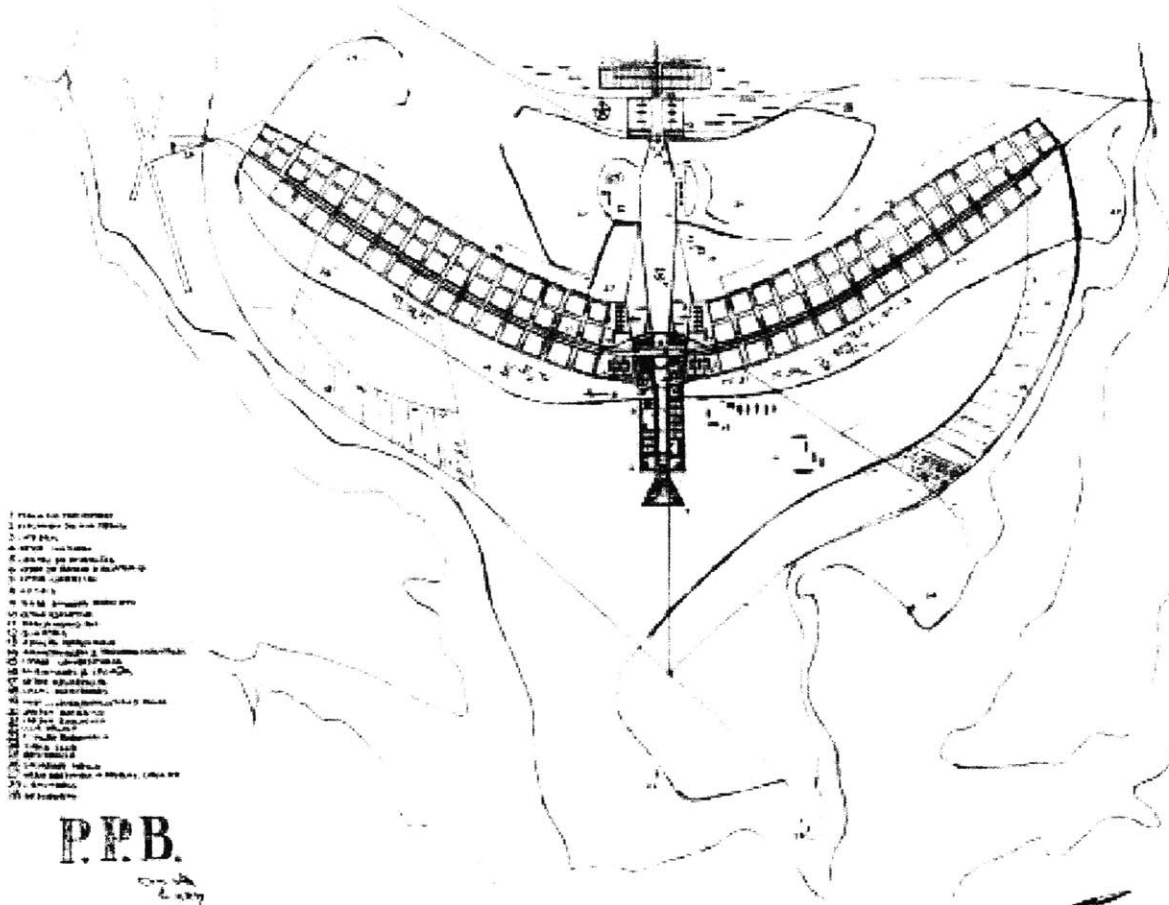


Figure 14: Plan for Brasilia

Source: "Report of a Pilot Plan for Brasilia." http://www.infobrasilia.com.br/pilot_plan.htm

Costa's sketchy design for Brasilia was based on a cross, modified to the local topography (Fig. 14). The vertical axis served the many different functions of the city. At the southern terminus of the vertical axis was the capitol complex, or the "Plaza of the Three Powers", was raised on a platform and arranged in a triangle with the Government House and the Supreme Court at the base and the Congress at the northern tip. Moving north was a green mall, still raised above the level of the local topography, flanked by the government Ministries. At the southern edge of the transverse axis was an entertainment district with the opera and theaters. Across from the entertainment center was a major shopping zone of two clusters, one on each side of the road. Next, nearing the terminus of the axis was the Municipal Center. Where the two axes cross, all through traffic was diverted to a level below, keeping the upper level for local traffic and pedestrians. Lastly, at the terminus was the transportation hub and garages. The horizontal was designated as the residential axis. Costa's plan described the creation of superblocs, with the neighborhood church at the center of four blocks. Neighborhood markets and shops were on the side or service roads. In order to avoid problems of social class he called for all groups to mix in "social co-existence."¹¹⁸

The housing component of Brasilia's design was influenced by ideal socialism. Oscar Niemeyer, a Brazilian Communist, designed apartment blocks also referred to as *super-quadra*. All of the housing units were exactly identical and were to be mixed income, unlike other cities in Brazil where the classes were segregated. The mixing of classes proved to be ineffective and the majority of lower income inhabitants moved to the periphery into satellite cities. Additionally, in the satellite cities were the construction workers who built Brasilia and were expected to leave after its completion.¹¹⁹

New Delhi

New Delhi was originally called Imperial Delhi and was designated by King George V of England to be the capital of British India in 1911 (Fig. 15). This designation was remarkable because it shifted the colonial capital from Calcutta, a port city, to an inland location. Where

¹¹⁸ Costa, Lucio. "Report of a Pilot Plan for Brasilia." 1957. [Info Brasília: The History of BRASILIA](http://www.infobrasilia.com.br/pilot_plan.htm) http://www.infobrasilia.com.br/pilot_plan.htm April 8, 2001

¹¹⁹ Vale, Lawrence J. [Architecture, Power and National Identity](#). 119-120.

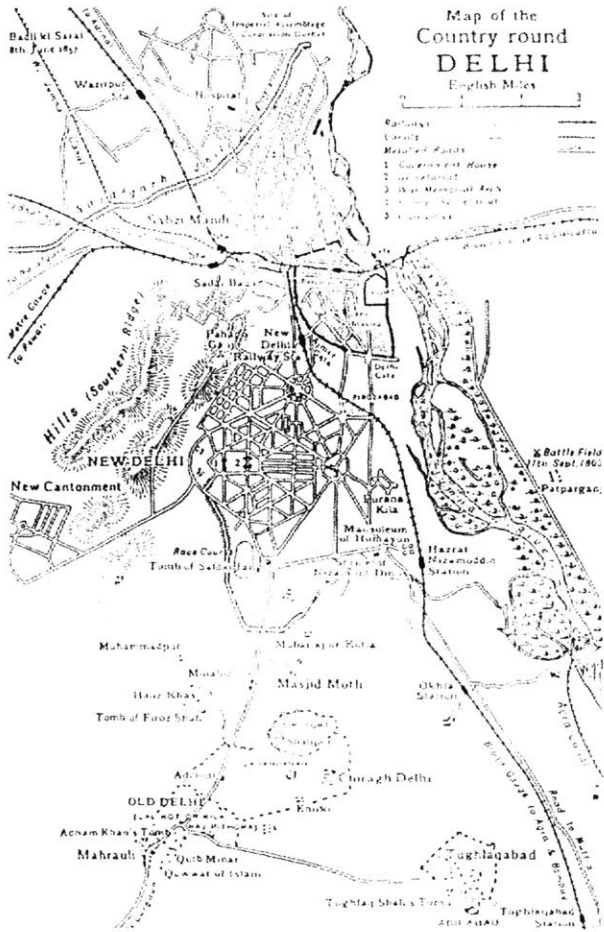


Figure 15: Imperial New Delhi and Region
 Source: Ahmed, Imran. The Journey from New Delhi to Islamabad. 40.

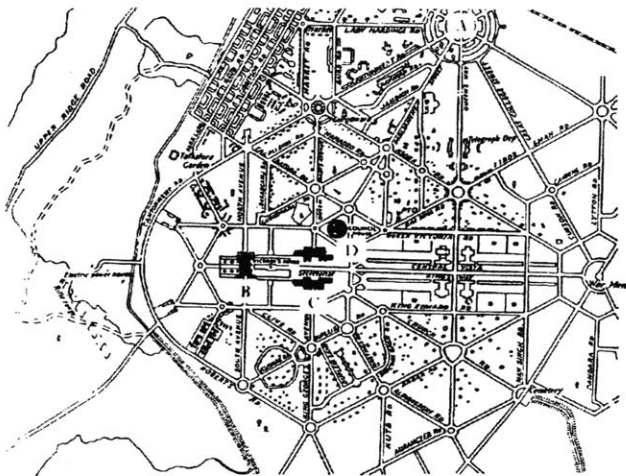


Figure 16: Plan of the Official Quarter of Imperial Delhi
 Source: Ahmed, Imran. The Journey from New Delhi to Islamabad. 48.

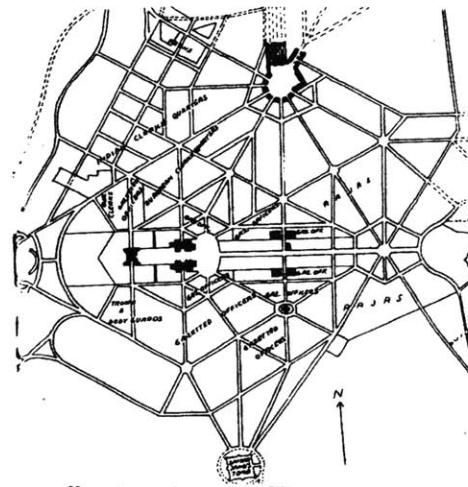


Figure 17: Segregated Pattern of Imperial Delhi
 Source: Ahmed, Imran. The Journey from New Delhi to Islamabad. 49.

the port served the British as a convenient location for conducting international trade and participation in the world economy, the inland location served to pacify or accommodate the Indian population. There was a great deal to gain from this political shift. It was to calm tensions between Hindu's and Muslims in India.¹²⁰

Unlike the previous examples of capital city design, New Delhi was designed to be the capital of a colonial nation and had the financial backing of the King of England. Unlike Abuja, it would be possible to easily carry out the design and edification of the elaborate design without delays or lack of funds. The design and construction were completed 20 years after initiation.¹²¹

The design for Imperial Delhi was predominantly carried out by Herbert Baker and Edwin Lutyens and inspired by the Acropolis in Athens and the Roman Capitol. The design was to accommodate the diverse population and was to represent both "old and new."¹²² The city was placed just to the south of Shahjahanabad and was surrounded by some of the oldest cities in India. The principal axes of Imperial Delhi were King's and Queens Ways, running east west and north south respectively (Fig. 16). The Government Complex was located at the top of Raisina Hill, commanding a view of many of the region's significant historical monuments. The western terminus of King's Way is the Viceroy's Palace, within the Capitol Complex, and the "Central Vista" continues eastward to the site of Indraprastha ruins, presumably the site of the regions original settlement, passing the All-India War Memorial. Between the Memorial and the Capitol Complex, King's Way is lined with the secretariat buildings. Queen's Way leads from the railway station, at the south, to King's Way. The Oriental Institute, National Museum and Library, and the Imperial Record Office mark the intersection of the two major axes. A second layer of streets branch off of King's Way on a diagonal street system. These streets connected the center of British Government to surrounding historical monuments.¹²³

¹²⁰ Ibid. 88.

¹²¹ Ibid. 89.

¹²² Ibid. 92.

Yet, despite its attempts to connect the different constituencies of India together through the urban design plan, the design still served to segregate the different sectors of the population. Residential location was divided into 5 different zones, designated on the basis of race, occupation and socio-economic status, with relation to the Viceroy's House (Fig. 17). Additionally, one must have a particular rank within society to live within the imperial city. Those who were of highest rank lived closest to the Mansion on the largest plots of land whereas those who were of the lowest rank were further away with smaller lots. All others resided in zones on the outskirts designated for non-official housing.¹²⁴

New Delhi provides an example a newly independent nation which chooses to occupy the existing capital city without modification or relocation. In 1947 when India achieved independence from Britain, New Delhi was maintained as the capital city. In fact, the original design contemplated the future joint Indian-British rule of India, yet, did not anticipate that so soon after completion the capital would be used for sole Indian rule. The Indian leaders saw the new Capitol Complex as an enticing location to occupy for their new government. The Viceroy's House became the Presidential residence, the Council House became the Indian Parliament and the Secretariats became additional governmental offices. Although, it is questionable whether the Indian occupancy of the British capital allows the new regime to be housed in a capital representative of itself. The Imperial capital was designed as an elitist and imperial complex, whereas the new Indian government is one of purported democracy. Vale asserts that one possible reason the capital was accepted by Indians, without proposing a change for the post independence city, was because Delhi has a long Indian history where British occupancy of the city is a mere fraction of that time and a fraction of what spatially comprises Delhi.¹²⁵

¹²³ Ahmed, Imran. The Journey from New Delhi to Islamabad: Dependence and Subversion in the Ambivalent Expression of Nationhood. (Cambridge, MA: MIT, 1992) 33-34.

¹²⁴ Ahmed, Imran. The Journey from New Delhi to Islamabad. 34-35.

¹²⁵ Vale, Lawrence J. Architecture, Power and National Identity. 95-96.

GENERALIZATIONS

The three case studies were selected for a variety of reasons. Its colonial leaders, the British, French and Portuguese, influenced the planning and development of each former colony. Despite the differences between the former empires, looking at these three case studies we realize there are commonalities to the ways colonies respond to independence and the creation of a national image.

Post-independence nations either accepted or declined assistance from their former colonial leaders in the decolonization process. For those who accepted assistance, often they were able to achieve greater wealth sooner than those who declined assistance. Financial status often dictated the nations means for implementing a plan and at what scale. These case studies add a component of time and accumulation of wealth to the picture, portraying examples of what was possible for those who waited to build opposed to those who took immediate action. Brazil chose to wait approximately 100 years before building its new capital. What is interesting here is that despite 100 years of growth and change the fundamental urge to make this change had survived. Abuja, while it was implemented many years after the Conakry plan, gives us some insight for the evaluation and implementation of the 1963 plan. Abuja is an example of how a few years of political and economic maturity following independence can lead to a successful project. New Delhi is interesting because the new political body chose to inhabit the former English facilities. This was also the reality in Conakry since the 1963 plan went virtually unimplemented and the new administration occupied the abandoned French facilities.

There are a few typical actions that nations take when attempting to establish a national identity and re-image the capital city. First, there is traditionally a move away from the port and the center of colonial activity. Second is to separate out the new government and capitol complex from the rest of the city in a highlighted way.

To move the capital city or physical land uses within the city symbolizes a shift in regime. Typically, the move or shift occurs so that the entire country is acknowledged by the regime and capital location. Often the relocation is toward a location that is ethnically neutral and

will help to maintain unity within the nation. In the case of Nigeria, Abuja was located in the center of the nation and ethnic regions, thus “it implies a recognition of national boundaries.”¹²⁶ Conakry, did not choose to relocate the center, but instead chose to shift the center of power within the City to orient the seat of power toward the interior of the country.

Prominent display of the capitol complex represents the power and control that the new nation now held. It was a physical manifestation of the political achievement of the indigenous leaders. In all three case studies the major axes of the plans culminated at a grand capitol complex where the government was put on display for all to revere. Conakry did not go to this extreme in the 1963 urban design plan. The capital complex was placed on a plateau, above the level of the city, but the plan’s geometry did not hierarchically set the capital complex apart from the rest of the city or in a prominent location.

¹²⁶ Ibid. 134.

IV: AN ATTEMPT TO CREATE A NEW IMAGE

IV: AN ATTEMPT TO CREATE A NEW IMAGE

BUILDING A NEW NATION

To understand the intent of the plan we must know something about the regime that created it. Sekou Toure and the Parti Democratique de Guinee had strong views of how Guinea should progress as an independent nation. Some reoccurring themes in Toure's speeches and writings, which were echoed in the 1963 urban design plan were the provision of jobs for all residents of Conakry, the equal provision of housing and services to all people, and to maximize the economic potential of the City. Toure placed greatest emphasis, both in national policy and planning, on the masses opposed to the elite. This was in stark contrast to former French practice. Toure did not propose, nor execute, extravagant development projects, instead he focused on the needs of the Guinean people.

To represent Toure's political, social and economic ideals the plan makes four large moves. The first was to decentralize the city's urban and political functions. The second was to redirect the flow through the city so that it did not culminate at the port, but create a new network providing easy access to all parts of the city. Third, the city ceases to be segregated and becomes more homogeneous. Lastly, the plan distributes public services to all residents of Conakry.

New political ideals

The Parti Democratique de Guinee's (PDG) political platform, leading into the 1958 'no vote' and independence, was "lower head taxes for the rural populations, higher salaries and better working conditions for Guinea's wage earners, and less administrative harassment and discrimination against traders and transporters."¹²⁷ Sekou Toure gained the support of Guinea's many ethnic groups by promising relief for their grievances and unity and equality of all ethnic groups. The PDG did pass legislation achieving many of the platform points. In 1959 Toure said: "It is the Party which decided on independence. It did not choose independence for the sake of independence; it chose it so that the conditions of the Guinean

¹²⁷ Waldstein, Alfred. Guinea Social and Institutional Profile. 68.

people should be modified and improved.”¹²⁸ Toure’s term lasted from 1958 to 1984 and is referred to as the First Republic.

Shortly after independence the Fulbe political parties, along with any other parties still in existence, were absorbed by the PDG creating a single party state, which replaced the French colonial administration. The political system was modeled after “democratic centralism and socialist principles.”¹²⁹ Additionally, the economy was based on Marxism with centralized planning. After several overthrow attempts, Sekou Toure mandated tighter control over the nation and led the nation to be more isolated from the outside world.

The USAID Social and Institutional Profile of Guinea, prepared by a team headed by Alfred Waldstein in 1991, best characterized the political nature of Guinea during the First Republic as:

- Absence of competitive party politics, a legal political opposition, and free elections;
- Incorporation of most important organizations into the party structure (e.g. trade unions, women’s groups, youth groups, religious organizations);
- Weakness of the legislative and judicial branches of government which became subordinate to the executive branch and the party;
- Subordination of the administration to the party;
- Repression of imagined and real opponents of the regime;
- Establishment of popular militias as a counterweight to the Guinean army and control of the military by political commissars;
- Greater participation of youth and women in local and national party structures;
- Ideological mobilization around nationalist and socialist themes; and
- Domination of the party by Sekou Toure who articulated and set national policy.¹³⁰

The administrative functions of the First Republic can be broken down into 5 categories.

They included:

- Institutions that ran state finances and the economy.
- State run enterprises involved in manufacturing and exporting goods.
- Public services.
- Administration of rural areas.
- Police and security services.¹³¹

¹²⁸ Toure, Ahmed Sekou. Toward Full Re-Africanisation. (Paris: Presence Africaine, 1959) 39.

¹²⁹ Waldstein, Alfred. Guinea Social and Institutional Profile. 69.

¹³⁰ Ibid. 69.

Fully aware of the imperialist nature of many of the more powerful nations offering aid to Guinea, Sekou Toure introduced an attack on neocolonialism in many speeches and believed that the masses should be informed of positive forms of development as opposed to counterproductive means. Toure believed that through the strength of the collective masses, the people could “modify the current of evolution” and stop the process of imperialism. He recognized that neocolonialist exploitation of Guinea’s resources would derail the nation’s work toward economic, in addition to political, independence.¹³²

Foreign assistance, using an extreme definition of neocolonialism, can be viewed as neocolonialist behavior and therefore it could be argued that all African nations participated in neocolonialism varying by differing degrees. Guinea and Tanzania, who relied less on international economic assistance, could be viewed as a lower degree of being neocolonized. The Ivory Coast or Kenya, who cooperated more with foreign powers to develop their economy, can be viewed to have had a higher degree of neocolonialism.¹³³

Toure’s response to neocolonialism and threatening foreign relations was to adopt a policy of positive neutralism. Toure’s neutralism was a refusal to be dominated by the large Eastern or Western nations; it was the application of a policy of non-alignment. While neutralism allowed Guinea to move between opposing world factions, for it to be positive the relations involved had to be peaceful and without trace of domination.¹³⁴ For Toure, positive neutralism was a means to acquire foreign assistance without compromising Guinea’s independent status.

Guinea received little financial assistance from Western nations at the onset of independence and thus turned to the Eastern Bloc nations. While the US and other Western nations feared strained relations with France if they were to rush to recognize Guinea as an independent nation and took 6 months before sending an ambassador from the US to Guinea. The Eastern

¹³¹ Ibid. 71.

¹³² Toure, Ahmed Sekou. *L’Afrique et la Revolution*. Vol XIII (Switzerland: 1966) 318-321.

¹³³ Adamolekun, ‘Lapido. *Sekou Toure’s Guinea*. 184.

¹³⁴ Riviere, Claude. *Guinea: the Mobilization of a People*. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1977) 142-143.

Bloc nations wasted no time and nearly immediately had sent representatives to Guinea. By 1961 there were nearly 1000 Communist Bloc technicians in Guinea.¹³⁵

While many of the Eastern nations may have had ulterior motives in their assistance to Guinea, Toure was taken by the progress made by in the Soviet Union. He asked, “How is it that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, in less than 50 years, was able to see through the Socialist Revolution, abolish all feudal structure that hindered its development, democratized society, consolidated political independence and assured the economic and social advancement of the Nation?”¹³⁶,

Guinea did, eventually, work with Western nations such as the US, Italy, Belgium and Britain, even repairing its relations with France, but these relations weren’t strengthened until after the time of the Conakry Plan Directeur d’Urbanisme in 1963, and thus are not considered further here. Instead, in the early years of Toure’s regime, Guinea received various aid packages from the Eastern Block that ranged from loans to technical assistance. Some of the projects the assistance included were establishing industries, building educational and recreational facilities, and acquiring military supplies. The aid came from a variety of nations including the USSR, Czechoslovakia, China, East Germany, Bulgaria, Poland, Hungary and Yugoslavia.

Yugoslavia undertook several different infrastructure projects in Guinea such as a power station, a hydroelectric survey, a bauxite mining project and assisting with the development of a commerce system in the different regions of Guinea. Of particular interest to this thesis is the Urban Design plan Yugoslav consultants helped to create for Conakry.

Ismail Toure, the Minister of Public Works and Economic Development, in an interview with a Dutch reporter described Yugoslavia as one of Guinea’s “best friends” because they were able to assist Guinea when it was in need without interfering with politics.¹³⁷ Much like Guinea, Yugoslavia was an agglomeration of many differing ethnic groups that despite

¹³⁵ Attwood, William. *The Reds and the Blacks*. (New York: Harper and Row, 1967) 21.

¹³⁶ Translated by author. Toure, Ahmend Sekou. *Concevoir, Analyser, Realiser*. Vol. 12. (Conakry: 1966) 8.

¹³⁷ Attwood, William. *The Reds and the Blacks*. 118.

differences and unequal treatment did show impressive unified strength against potential aggressors. After WWII and the withdrawal of the Red Army, Yugoslavia saw remarkable rural to urban migration and high urbanization, such that Guinea would also experience after independence. Another similarity between the two nations was the view that the strength of the nation lies in the ability of the government to provide all the basic needs of its citizens.¹³⁸

While most of the Eastern Bloc nations followed the lead of the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia chose to forge its own way abandoning the Stalinist system and creating a unique modified system built on a joint capitalist-socialist system.¹³⁹ This is very similar to Guinea, which abandoned any chance of French assistance, or any forms of neocolonialism and created its own unique system forging together different ideas derived from traditional African politics, the past French regime and some Marxist thought.

New Social Ideals

While the French had abolished the slave trade they did not outlaw the holding of captives and slaves within Guinea. In the Fouta Jallon, home of the Fulbe, approximately 50% of the population were captives. The First Republic liberated these captives and also emancipated women and youths. Now former captives were allowed land rights. Women were able to hold political positions and girls received the opportunity to receive an education.¹⁴⁰

Toure and the PDG emphasized the equality of all ethnic groups and people of Guinea as one of the fundamental principles of the regime. In order to demonstrate this equality; Toure's administration was built on the same ethnic proportions of the nation. In an analysis of the distribution of administrative posts from 1958-1967 the percentage of posts was roughly equal to the percentage of the total population that ethnic group represented. For example the Fulbe were 29% of the population and were 26% of the administration. The Malinke constituted 34% of the population and 37% of the administration. The Sousous were 17% of

¹³⁸ Soic, Mladen. "Selected Facts About Yugoslavia: A Brief Perspective." In Yugoslavia (New York: Pratt Planning Papers, 1972) 5-7.

¹³⁹ Lyall, Katherine. "Joint Capitalist-Socialist Enterprise: A Yugoslav Experiment." In Yugoslavia (New York: Pratt Planning Papers, 1972) 39.

¹⁴⁰ Waldstein, Alfred. Guinea Social and Institutional Profile. 75.

the population and 18% of the administration. The many different ethnic groups of the forest and all others in Guinea were 20% of the population and 19% of the administration.¹⁴¹

A significant part of the national planning focus was on the rural areas as opposed to the urban areas. In another of Toure's attempts to promote equality amongst all Guineans, he recognized not only the disparities between ethnicities or between the elite and the mass, but also between the urban and rural populations.¹⁴²

To achieve a national unity, it was imperative for all the ethnic groups to work together as one people, not only of Guinea but also of Africa. National Unity, a key theme in Toure's speeches and dialogues would hopefully be achieved politically by the elimination of opposing political parties, and all Guineans were made members of the PDG. One means that Toure proposed for an African Unity was for the creation of an independent African monetary system. He believed it should be Africans who create the new monetary system for all Africans.¹⁴³

New Economic Ideals

According to Waldstein, "during the First Republic, development policy focused more on nationalizing the leading sectors of the economy and the collectivization of agriculture than on promoting economic growth."¹⁴⁴ The Guinean government maintained a monopoly over imports and exports and held the power to license private firms to trade. Additionally, the French Franc based CFA was replaced by the Guinean Syli, which had no fixed trade value. Lastly, all banks were nationalized, driving out the last of the French banks and import-export firms. Additionally, the French stopped subsidizing Guinean agricultural exports, eliminating any profit margins. After the collapse of the agricultural market in the 1960's, Guinea became dependent on its mineral resources for export revenue.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴¹ Adamolekum, 'Lapido. Sekou Toure's Guinea. 131.

¹⁴² Ibid. 185.

¹⁴³ Toure, Ahmed Sekou. Plan Septennal: 1964-1971. Vol 14. 22.

¹⁴⁴ Waldstein, Alfred. Guinea Social and Institutional Profile. 72.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid. 72-73.

As Guinea grew more isolated from the Western world, it turned to the Eastern bloc nations to trade with. While Guinea provided agricultural and mineral products the Eastern bloc nations provided capital and technical assistance, often providing scholarships for Guineans to study in their nation or training Guinean personnel.¹⁴⁶

Toure was after economic independence as well as political independence. He did not hesitate to destroy any trace of the old French colonial economic system. To protect the economic system from potential neocolonialist corruption, Toure brought all production, commerce, means of credit, internal transports, and all international exchanges under the control of the central government.¹⁴⁷

To fill the administrative vacancies, civil servants were appointed to higher political positions. Therefore, political office or appointment was not based on education but on one's status as a civil service employee, with higher-ranking PDG members getting the positions. The Party-State regime consolidated all functions and the private sector into the public civil service. Institutions such as trade organizations, banks, schools, medical facilities and factories were created and expanded and positions were held by civil service employees.¹⁴⁸

Salaries were established at a very low level, with a low ceiling set for those at the highest level and a higher minimum for those at the bottom. Those at the top were compensated through subsidized housing, preferential access to food and basic consumer goods, and luxury goods at a reduced price.¹⁴⁹

Toure's Thoughts on Planning

Sekou Toure's first objective was to see his nation grow in a unified manner. The plan is just one piece of a broader set of political goals. It is a result of social movements and need for economic growth. A key theme was decentralization motivated by the political goal of equitable social distribution. Theoretically, he took a holistic view to planning and nation

¹⁴⁶ Ibid. 74.

¹⁴⁷ Toure, Ahmed Sekou. Plan Septennal: 1964-1971. Vol 14. (Conakry: 1967) 19-20.

¹⁴⁸ Waldstein, Alfred. Guinea Social and Institutional Profile. 70.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid. 70.

building. Toure recognized “as valuable only that which serves the cause of the people, and which accelerates the pace of the history of the nation.”¹⁵⁰

Toure felt that each city needed a plan or program of development to follow in order to ensure that development occurred in a manner beneficial to the city and the nation. This plan could serve as a guide to the city as what had been accomplished as opposed to what needed to be done. These plans were to guide the city in the development of infrastructure and services, the allocation of land for particular uses, collection of taxes, development of agricultural cooperative and many other projects.¹⁵¹

During Toure’s time in power there were three national development plans. The first, the *Plan Triennial* for 1960-1964, the *Plan Septennial* covering 1964 to 1974 and the last, the second *Plan Septennial* this time true to its name lasting from 1973-1980. The first plan focused on the development of an independent economic system and the creation of a light industrial sector. It allocated 50% of the resources to production, 30% to social equipment, and 20% to the administrative substructure.¹⁵² The second plan concentrated on the development of the industrial sector, particularly mining. The third plan aimed to achieve the self-sufficiency of the food production industry, in order to not be dependent on food imports.

None of these plans were fully implemented. They all suffered from a lack of funds, prolonged periods of time to implement individual projects and repeated delays. In general planning process suffered from a lack of evaluation, statistical information and appropriate methodological techniques.¹⁵³

Without the capital to build and undertake the projects in the development plans Toure and the PDG created a program call “Investissement Humain” or Human Investment in 1958

¹⁵⁰ Toure, Ahmed Sekou. *Toward Full Re-Africanisation*. (Paris: Presence Africaine, 1959) 55.

¹⁵¹ Ibid. 19.

¹⁵² Ibid. 65.

¹⁵³ Devey, Muriel. *La Guinee*. (Paris: Editions Karthala, 1997) 148-149.

which was to make up for the “economic deficiencies and shortages.”¹⁵⁴ The program coerced the masses to undertake the necessary physical labor on the weekends to construct projects such as schools, health dispensaries, roads, market and bridges. Due to the intensive organization and coercion entailed to run the program it was abandoned in the 1970’s.¹⁵⁵

Toure believed that development and the way to move away from Guinea’s colonial past was to modify old structures in the country and evolve continuously in a forward direction.¹⁵⁶

While this does not make a clean break with the colonial heritage left behind and allow Guinea to start from fresh, it does recognize the limited financial means of the nation and the need to re-image the nation.

Yugoslavian planning was set on a similar hierarchical system where there is one central plan. The approach was consistent with Toure’s sense of hierarchy, with a focus on national planning as the primary focus. The plans then become more detailed as region, local and project plans are developed. While the Yugoslav goal for national scale planning is to create a coordinated network of roads, waterways and railroads, planning at the local level was to focus on the details of social and urban life and the provision of amenities.¹⁵⁷

Why Keep Conakry as the Capital City?

The cities of Guinea were accepted as the property of all citizens of Guinea and all the resources of the city are those of the nation. In the case of Conakry, it held many resources such as the port, airport, government, centers of training and education, and the biggest hospitals, that were not available elsewhere in the nation and was viewed to be a valuable asset for all the people of Guinea. Sekou Toure felt it justifiable that Conakry should absorb 40% of the national tax receipts.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁴ Toure, Ahmed Sekou. Toward Full Re-Africanisation. 19.

¹⁵⁵ O’Toole, Thomas and Ibrahima Bah-Lalya. Historical Dictionary of Guinea. 3rd Edition. (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 1995) 96.

¹⁵⁶ Toure, Ahmed Sekou. Toward Full Re-Africanisation. 42.

¹⁵⁷ Fisher, Jack C. “Urban and Regional Planning.” In Yugoslavia (New York: Pratt Planning Papers, 1972) 62.

¹⁵⁸ The national budget was estimated at 7 billion francs.
Toure, Ahmed Sekou. Toward Full Re-Africanisation. 33.

“The choice of Conakry as a capital is entirely justifiable given its frequented locale and the ever-growing need for a means of communication with the rest of the world.¹⁵⁹” The main reason cited in the 1963 plan for the retention of Conakry as the capital was location. It was the perfect location for a port, the same reason the French chose it as a capital, and while Toure chose to focus much of his attention on the internal functioning of the nation and economic independence, he did recognize the importance of international trade as essential for survival. Additionally, there is prime agricultural land outside the city, which could serve to nourish the increasing population without significant transportation costs attached to the price of food available in the City. Additionally, the raw materials that would provide a significant portion of the nations revenues were located near Conakry and transportation costs would be minimized in exporting the materials.

These reasons tend to focus not on why to keep Conakry as the political Capital but more reasons for keeping Conakry as the economic capital of the country. It appears that Toure and Guineans viewed the retention of Conakry as the capital more as a natural evolutionary choice. Conakry became the capital in a part of Guinea’s history, which cannot be erased. The entire existence of Conakry as the capital city is connected to the existence of Guinea as a nation.

Conakry is composed of many different communities; they all represent all the different ethnicities and communities in Guinea. The land of Conakry had belonged to the Baga’s of Dubreka (a small ethnic group of Guinea later incorporated into the Sousous) but, after French rule had been accomplished, the land was no longer connected to one ethnic group more than another. While the City grew during colonization, all ethnic groups migrated from rural Guinea to Conakry, creating an ethnically mixed city unlike any other city in Guinea.

Kankan in upper Guinea, sometimes considered as a second capital to Guinea, was the most plausible location if Toure had chosen to move the capital after independence. Prior to colonization Kankan was the largest urban center in current day Guinea and maintained a population greater than Conakry until 1946. In 1910 the population of Kankan was 11,700

¹⁵⁹ Translated by author. Urbanisticki. Conakry: Plan Directeur d’Urbanisme. 22.

opposed to 6,600 in Conakry and by 1946 Conakry had risen to 26,000 while Kankan had only grown to 14,000. By 1958 Conakry was estimated at 70,713 and Kankan at 27,000.¹⁶⁰

Toure himself was a Malinke and was born in Faranah, a smaller city in Upper Guinea. Kankan is the capital of the Malinke and Upper Guinea. Unlike Conakry, it is distinctly associated with one ethnicity rather than being a neutral city that all Guineans could associate with as their capital city. To locate in Kankan would have been against all of Toure's claims of ethnic equality and would have been inconsistent with his attempts to create national unity.

¹⁶⁰ Urbanisticki. Conakry: Plan Directeur d'Urbanisme. 13.

GOALS AND OBJECTIVES

In 1961 the government of Guinea made arrangements to collaborate with the Yugoslavian government to create a design plan for the City of Conakry. Throughout 1962 a team of Yugoslav urbanists met with a team of Guinean experts and government representatives, led by Ismail Toure, Minister of Public Works and Economic Development, to generate the contents, issues, ideas and conclusions to be represented in the plan. Following the meetings, the Yugoslav team prepared the resulting document: *Conakry: Plan Directeur d'Urbanisme* presented to the Guinean government in 1963. The document was presented in two sections. The first was the Programme du Developpement (Development Program), focusing on the issues, problems and objectives for the growth and development of Conakry as a post-independent capital city. The second, the Plan d'Amenagement (the Design Plan), redesigned the city creating a new organization of the city form to meet the objectives outlined in the first section.

Particularly interesting in the plan is the complete absence of any mention of the French. This is typical of Toure's positive neutralism. While he had distinct opinions, he avoided expressing any that would jeopardize the country's ability to receive international aid. While Guinea had poor relations with France in comparison with other former French colonies, and it did vote against the de Gaulle constitution, it did not want complete separation from France, knowing it lacked the financial, technical means or confidence to embark on complete autonomous rule.

The plan says that it aims at building a new Conakry because "the social and political events of emancipation necessitate new forms of urban planning.¹⁶¹" To do this it was necessary to address the rapid growth of the city, the lack of space for development, the City's economy and the transformed lifestyle of an independent nation. It seeks to create the optimal equilibrium between economic and social development and create a positive environment for the work and daily life of its residents. A key theme is decentralization motivated by the political goal of equitable social distribution.

The plan sought a new spatial organization creating an interdependence of the different city functions to promote planned growth. The idea was to create a modern city with a healthy and progressive cultural life. It was particularly to take account of housing and employment opportunities, circulation and recreation.

In the Development Program, the goals and objectives of the plan are not clearly delineated. There are three overarching sectors of development that occur throughout the document that instead directly speak to the ideas generated to overcome the problems and challenges of Conakry as a city (Fig. 18). The first goal was to provide for the people of Conakry and Guinea. Second, was to plan economic activity to assure jobs for all Guineans. Third, the creation of a new spatial form would maximize the economic potential of the city. The creation of a new political identity is not included in the discussion of plan objectives, but when the plan discusses each goal a fourth is added to incorporate the new political identity in the public sector. There are several themes that permeate these sectors of development. Foremost of the themes is the creation of balance and harmony throughout the city while decentralizing all the functions of the city.

Providing for the People

The goals and objectives of the program were very much a part of Toure's and the design team's socialist ideas of providing for the people. The city was to become a homogeneous entity whose spatial organization would offer an optimal and progressive life to all its inhabitants.¹⁶² In particular it was recognized that because the population of Conakry was going to expand, the plan needed to provide for this population growth. This meant the provision of homes, services, community facilities and employment by the state. The plan proposed to solve this through the creation of residential units. Each residential unit would be a cluster of homes, recreation facilities, community commerce, and education facilities. These clusters would be networked to each other throughout the city with an improved road network system. The design and functioning of the residential units are discussed later.

¹⁶¹ Ibid. 26.

¹⁶² Ibid. 26.

Humanized and Progressive

In 1963 there were still great disparities between Tombo and Kaloum. The Development Plan cited this first in its list of problems created by the analysis of existing conditions. Additionally, housing was believed to be chaotic and built without planning. The design consultants believed that a large portion of the housing was built at standards lower than in rural areas, the residents lived as they would in a rural environment and did not have the natural environment as an amenity (Fig. 19). Thus many of the residential areas were in need of urban upgrading, partially rebuilt and infill projects to occupy vacant sites. Reconstruction was not considered to be a challenge, because it was estimated that only 12% of the existing housing stock was considered valuable enough to be maintained. Reconstruction and infill should be conducted in a “modern” way, building only to locally tolerated densities.¹⁶³

Link Job Opportunities to Residential Areas.

One existing problem in Conakry was the lack of connection between residential areas and employment centers. Given the form of Conakry, and the fact that the largest employment center was on Tombo, residents had to travel up to 15 kilometers. To minimize travel time it was necessary to decentralize and distribute employment centers throughout the peninsula. Given the long distances to travel, the designers proposed the creation of a streetcar or light rail system (“autorail”) as a critical solution to the problem of connecting residential and employment centers.¹⁶⁴

Promoting a new economic system

Agriculture

The designers claimed that the study of agriculture within the plan was fully justified to ensure that Conakry’s citizens met their daily dietary needs. Land in Conakry could not be allocated to agricultural uses because there were greater and more profitable demands for the construction of housing, commerce or industry for example. Additionally, traditional fishing practice was not sufficient for sustaining the population. Therefore, in order to assure the

¹⁶³ Ibid. 22.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid. 19, 22.



Figure 19: Existing Housing was Heterogeneous and Lacked Services

plan's viability a program of agricultural and fishery upgrading was essential.

Agricultural improvement was proposed through the drying up of the marshes adjacent to Kaloum to provide land in close proximity. Transport needed to be organized to bring the products into the markets. Additionally, it was proposed that pedagogical studies be conducted to explore agricultural methods and economies of transport in order to improve efficiency and increase output.

The fishing industry was also in need of modernization and new equipment. The planners believed there was sufficient fish off the coast of Conakry to provide for the entire population of Conakry, part of Guinea and possibly have a surplus to export. An emphasis was placed on the amelioration of the fishing sector because fish played a significant in the traditional diet of the Guineans. Additionally, it was proposed that the fishing center be located on the Los Islands, as they had been devastated by mining and it would not then require additional land or a port expansion in Conakry itself¹⁶⁵

Industry

The French choice to exploit mineral resources and create an industrial core, which ran down the center of Kaloum, arose frequently as a problem for the design team and a learning experience for the Guineans. The planners learned from this particularly bad placement of industry that the siting of future industrial and mining facilities could generate future negative externalities or render the land un-occupiable. Industrial sites needed to be carefully selected to ensure that the site would not serve another function within the city such as housing, commerce or institutional space more profitably.

The Development Plan listed many factors that were essential criteria in the selection of future industrial sites. Two of the most basic criteria were the amount of electrical power each industry required and the transport costs associated with a given location. Another was the required proximities of the industry; industries working with locally mined raw materials should be located adjacent to the mine unless it was more beneficial to site it near the source of consumption or in the urban center. Mines and industries should be oriented toward the

¹⁶⁵ Ibid. 17.

mainland allowing more inward growth of the city and not creating a future barrier to the expansion of Conakry. Industries that do not require significant amounts of energy, nor make large amounts of noise, nor are disruptive should be sited within residential and administrative areas thus allowing more space at the periphery of the city for insalubrious industries to expand and distributing employment centers.¹⁶⁶

Commerce

At independence Conakry was the center of commerce for Guinea, and was expected to remain so, as it was the only large port in the country.¹⁶⁷ Guinea, estimated to hold one third of the world's bauxite, relied on the generation of revenues from its export, making the port (and exports from it) remain a focus after independence, unlike other nations that could afford to focus in inland issues. This does not imply though that Guinea continued the outward flow of the French regime as an exploitative system or that it chose not to focus on the interior of the nation. In fact the opposite is quite true. The port remained an important site within the city and nation, but it ceased to be what defined the city's image. The people and the country in its entirety became the focus of Toure's regime's plan for the city as they were of his national plan.

The Yugoslav development plan failed to take into account the importance of Kankan as a commercial center. While Conakry was the center for sea borne imports and exports, Kankan was the center for trucking. Prior to the French Occupation, Kankan was historically the large commercial center of the region, trading within the former Mali, Ghana and Songhai empires to places such as Timbuktu.

Tourism

The designers believed another means of promoting economic growth within the country and city was through the development of active tourism sector. They believed that Guinea's countryside and landscape, the different geographic and climatic regions of the country, folklore and ethnic mix all provided an ideal combination for tourism.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid. 18.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid. 19-20.

Of particular concern was the lack of tourist and recreational facilities in Conakry. Those living in Conakry frequently returned to their home villages at the interior of the country for vacation. Conakry and the Los Islands together could provide a unique tourist and recreational facilities unlike elsewhere in the country. Another particular site of interest is the base of Mount Kakoulima, from which Conakry extends out into the Atlantic Ocean. This was seen as an ideal site for tourist excursions and hunting.

The creation of facilities for tourism was dependent on several conditions. The quality of life needed to be increased outside of just Tombo, to provide infrastructure for the suburbs and other satellite villages. Sanitary systems, albeit simple, needed to be constructed in the interior, so that visitors would find favorable conditions elsewhere within Guinea. The construction of hotels and other tourist amenities was essential.

The tourists were expected to come from a variety of sources. Guineans themselves, both the inhabitants of Conakry and those of the interior were the first considered. Additionally, educational excursion of students was considered another source. In the more traditional sense of tourism, individuals coming from foreign nations for the sole purposes of exploration and travel constituted another portion of where the tourism demand would come from. Lastly, groups of individuals visiting Conakry on official business were expected to partake in tourist activities.¹⁶⁸

***Create a new Spatial System that Maximizes the City's Potential
Decentralized and Unified***

Given the natural shape of Conakry (a long narrow peninsula), some of the development problems, which resulted from post independence urbanization, were predictable. Virtually all jobs were located at the most remote point of the city, causing extreme traffic during the daily commute. This caused the transportation costs of residents to be high, and generated negative externalities for those living and working along the route in and out of the city. Additionally, development was fragmented, the tip of the peninsula and the part of Kaloum closest to Tombo held some of the best housing, employment and government functions. As

¹⁶⁸ Ibid. 20-21.

the city grew inland, conditions and job opportunities decreased. Additionally, there was little room for industries to expand. Education was one of Toure's highest ideals, thus providing schools throughout was a priority. While the plan suggested that decentralizing city functions was the way to provide for all the people and minimize congestion in the city, Toure sought to also achieve unity amongst the people of Guinea.

One way to solve the housing shortage and create a connection with employment centers, given the shape of the City was to create multiple urban and residential centers, decentralizing the many functions of the city. Each residential center would house 20-30,000 residents in small autonomous agglomerations. In addition to housing each center would host a school, medical facility, some employment opportunities and connections to opportunities outside the unit and cultural facilities. The location of residential units and centers was done without distinction between Conakry's different ethnic and economic populations; they were a means of distributing equal services throughout the city to all people.

The city would be tied together through a more coherent road network. French exploitation of the city had rendered this objective a great challenge. The mines through the center of Kaloum prevented any connection or roads from passing to or from the north and south coasts. The rail line and industrial zone through the middle of the peninsula also exacerbated the division between the north and south.¹⁶⁹

Simple Yet Allowing for Growth

A great challenge for creating a development plan for Conakry was the expected growth of the city and the lack of land available for development. At the point of independence, Tombo had virtually reached saturation, the space for any development to occur there was extremely limited. Thus the plan focused on the development of Kaloum, with some suggestions as how to manage Tombo to maintain a healthy environment. From 70,713 in

¹⁶⁹ Ibid. 24.

1958 to 101,565 in 1960 the City of Conakry saw a 43.6% population increase. The plan allowed for the city to grow to 300,000 in 1990.¹⁷⁰

While the shape of the peninsula certainly poses certain disadvantages, especially in the limited amount of space for expansion and the long distances required of a single centered city, there is an advantage to the shape as well. It would provide for a simple system of infrastructure. The peninsula would provide the layout of a central line for the railway, electrical lines and water lines to run and would then only require creating branches off those lines to the adjacent areas in order to provide services to all.¹⁷¹

The myopic placement of the airport, by the French, along the coast and close the city center made the design team aware that infrastructure could be inconvenient for city growth. It served as a reminder to always seek the solution with the least negative impact on the residents and the City, minimizing any possible negative externalities.¹⁷²

While the location of the port is not convenient for the residents of Conakry, absorbing a large quantity of the natural seacoast in the existing city center, it is in a particularly good location for maritime activity. The port lost the importance that it had held under colonialism, but it was still essential for Guinean economic development, thus it was kept as it was.¹⁷³

Balance of Uses to Promote Positive Economic Growth

During the colonial era, the French developed mines and industries down the center of the Kaloum peninsula, some of which were abandoned by their French owners. This rendered a significant portion of the land uninhabitable. It also made the Guineans aware of the need to carefully plan where each use should be sited so the city could grow both in physical size and

¹⁷⁰ Note: Population figures are for the City of Conakry as opposed to the Administrative Region. The population increase was 45% for the administrative region with a total population of 78,400 in 1958 and 113,700 in 1960. *Urbanisticki. Plan Directeur.* 15.

¹⁷¹ *Urbanisticki. Plan Directeur.* 19.

¹⁷² *Ibid.* 24.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.* 24.

economically, with the careful balancing of uses amongst each other. This led the design team to search for the optimal combination of adjacent land uses.

One complaint of residents and workers in Conakry at the time was the bad placement of the Donka Hospital, located between the main route inland and the railroad. It was not only noisy, but also dusty and dirty. Despite these criticisms of the hospital it was located in an accessible part of the city.¹⁷⁴

Creating a new political identity

Grandeur and the creation of great new public structures were not a focus or tool of Sekou Toure's political ideals. Thus it is not surprising that the focus of the plan is not on the creation of a new elaborate capitol complex, but the creation of housing, employment and services for the people of Guinea. It is possible that the plan was contracted out to the Yugoslavians to ensure a more modest and equal plan. For Toure, the edification of a political or national identity, was to build for the people, the masses as opposed to the elite unlike the French who had built an image on provision for the elite.

The sole discussion in the plan's political facilities objectives was the proposal to decentralize administrative functions. Conakry was not only the host to the federal government, but was also the regional center for all of Lower Guinea which had its administrative facilities in Conakry, as well as the facilities for the City government. In the future certain governmental offices would be spread not within Conakry itself but into satellite towns or even other sectors of the country. But, it would remain essential that the core administrative functions stay in Conakry at the widest and furthest inland point of the Kaloum peninsula, while a few of the economic offices would remain on Tombo. Town and regional administrative offices were to move toward the interior of the city.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁴ Ibid. 24.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid. 22, 25.

A NEW ORGANIZATION AND IMAGE FOR CONAKRY

The urban design plan was motivated by the need to create new urban forms to accommodate the social and political changes that had occurred because of independence (Fig. 20). The plan identified four elementary components to the design: housing, employment, circulation, and recreation. Looking closer at the plan reveals four major moves to create a unique city with its own image. First the design shifts from a highly centralized city to that of a decentralized city. Through the process of decentralization, a new network of connections is established attempting to stop the outward and one directional flow and focus toward the interior. Third, the city leaves behind its segregated form and moves toward a more homogeneous city. Lastly, the city aims to generate public service facilities to be distributed to all people of Conakry.

The focus on housing, employment, circulation and recreation follows Toure's dialogue more closely than do the actual trends within the design. Toure, said little if anything about the creation of a new image for the city of Conakry, but instead spoke of developing the nation and its cities to serve the people of Guinea. Specifically, these four urban land uses reflect his policies to provide resources for the people of Guinea, develop a strong employment base and economic independence, improve streets and infrastructure, and provide facilities for the youth of Guinea. Housing, employment, circulation and recreation all are elements to the creation of a new image and serve as the medium with which the new design and image was created. Not included in the listing of the four components were a few others that were described in some detail and also served as essential elements to the redesign. These included the new administrative and governmental centers, new urban centers, and the provision of public services. While these different elements of the design all have some overlap as to which of the 4 design aims stated above they fall under, for simplicity of presentation I have covered each under that which it best falls under.

Foremost, the urban design plan was to create an environment that liberated Guineans from the past and created a new City free of foreign influences. The design was to create a

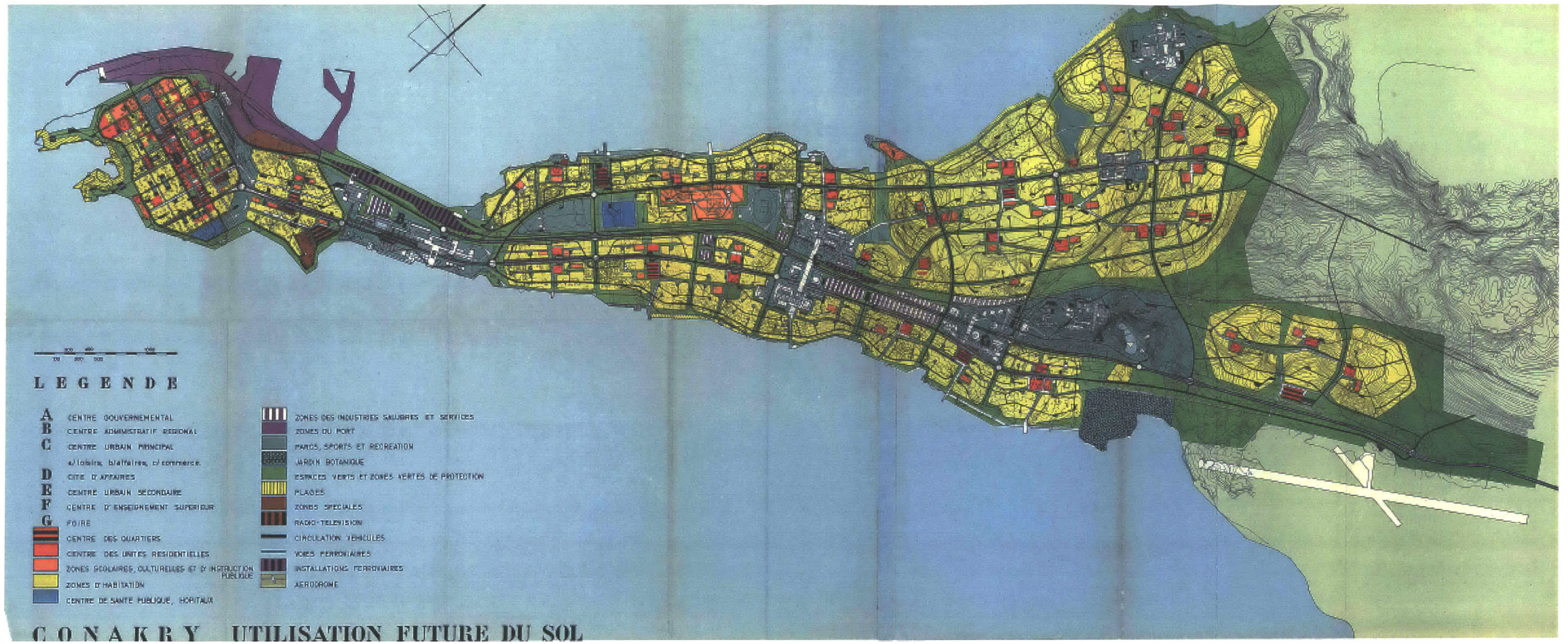


Figure 20: the 1963 Urban Design Plan Future Land Use

homogeneous city that reflected its population and not the interests of others. It was to create a modern and progressive environment for all the people of Conakry and Guinea.¹⁷⁶

The first diagram (Fig. 21) presented in the urban design portion of the plan represent the decentralization of political and urban centers that was one of the plan's objectives in the provision of housing and employment. This decentralization was designed as the backbone for the decentralization of all other services that were to be created for the benefit of the people. The hierarchy of space, moving from largest to smallest, would be the city to the urban centers to the quarters to the residential units. Figure 21 shows the general concept for the decentralization and spatial organization of the city. The key components are the relocated national government moving from the far western end of the city to the furthest eastern and inland point of the city. It proposed the new location for industry outside the city but the port retains its original site. The city center has been moved from the western end to, literally, the center of the city. Lastly, the diagram delineates the location of housing, employment recreation and green space spread throughout the city.

The second diagram (Fig.'s 21 and 22) describing the general scheme of the design focuses on the city centers and their equitable spatial distribution throughout the city. These are a before and after view of Conakry. First, it shows the current situation with a single urban, political and economic center, all roads (2) leading into the center and the distances, more than 10 km, that people must travel each day (Fig. 22). Then, it depicts the conditions the plan would create with a new urban center, at the actual physical center of the city; new government and administrative centers; and two secondary urban centers, one of which was Tombo Island where the importance it had under the French was minimized (Fig. 23). Additionally, it shows the new distance radiuses, where no one would have to travel more than 4 km to reach their closest center.

The third set of concept diagrams focus on circulation within the city. First it diagrams the bottleneck problem of the existing circulation patterns (Fig. 24), and then it diagrams the new

¹⁷⁶ Ibid. 26.

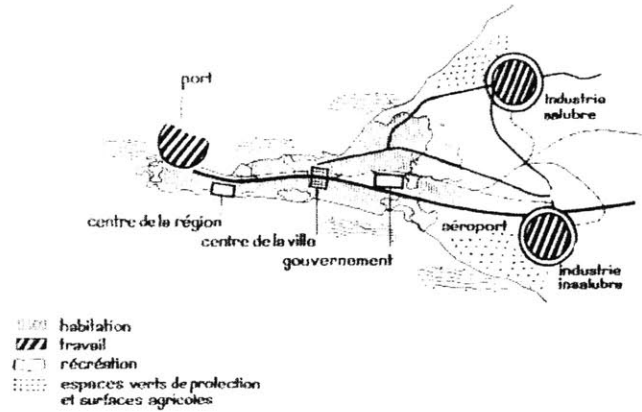


Figure 21: Decentralization of Political, Industrial and Urban Center

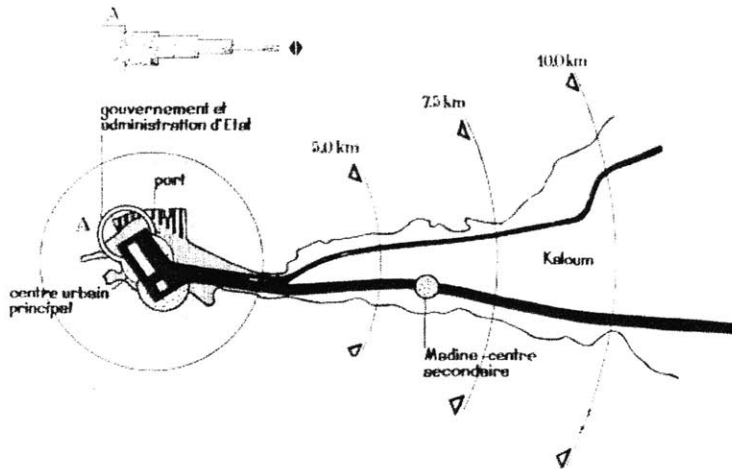


Figure 22: Existing Concentration of City at the Tip of the Peninsula

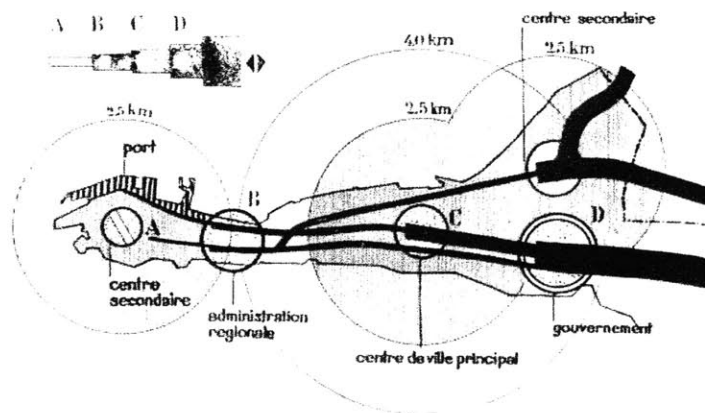


Figure 23: Decentralization will Reduce the Focus at the Former Colonial Center

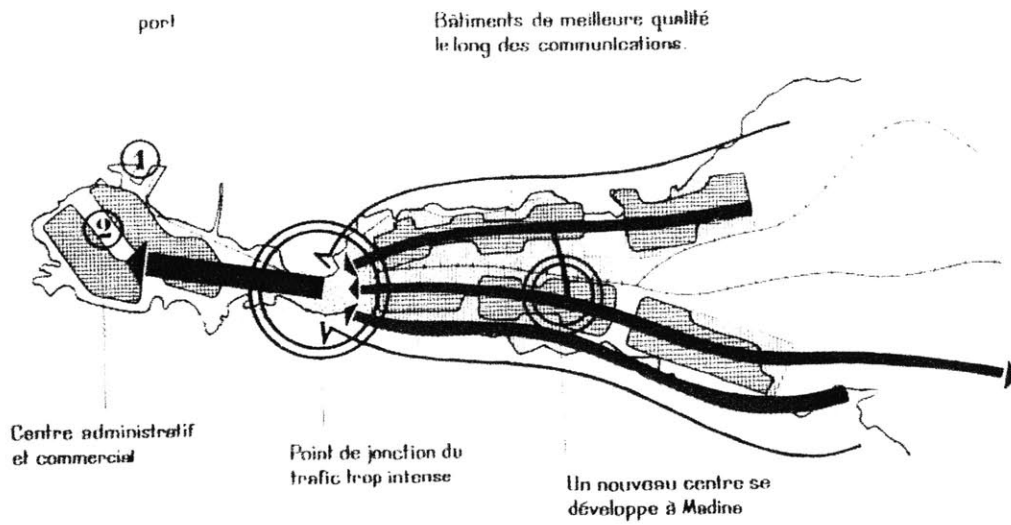


Figure 24: Existing Longitudinal System Creates a Bottleneck

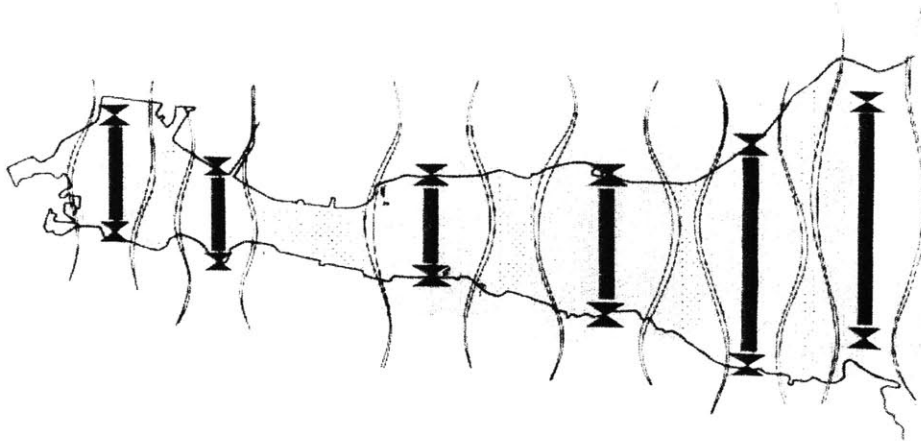


Figure 25: Transverse Road Connections

concept of transversal connection and shifting the focus from east west to north south (Fig. 25).¹⁷⁷

The Shift from Centralized to Decentralized

While all functions of the city were to be decentralized, of particular interest is the decentralization of the political, administrative and urban centers (Fig. 26). The residential units served to disperse housing and community services throughout the city but they more importantly served to rectify the segregation and disparity created by the French between Tombo and Kaloum.

Political and Administrative centers

Like the general move of other post independence nations to move the capital city away from the former colonial center and port, the Conakry plan, while staying in the same city, shifts the capitol complex from the former French seat at the western end of the city to the point furthest east in the city. The site for the capitol complex was chosen for its geographic qualities. The complex was situated on a plateau raised above the level of the rest of the city, with a south facing view of the ocean. The plan called for the construction of monumental buildings representational of the Guinean people, yet did not design these buildings other than to layout modernist appearing footprints, contradicting the ideal of establishing a national form representational of Guinea. The complex accounted for the National Assembly, the Presidential, Ministry and administrative offices as well as the President's residence.

The former site of the French colonial presidential palace and other colonial administrative offices were to be taken for educational or cultural purposes and parkland. The new center would occupy a former industrial site.

Additionally, the different levels of government were separated and dispersed within the city. Conakry was also host to the regional offices for all of Lower Guinea. This new center was assigned a site that was vacant at the time between Tombo and Kaloum. This was to signify the relocation and reclamation of the city, as a Guinean city. This was to be the new center

¹⁷⁷ Ibid. 26-28.

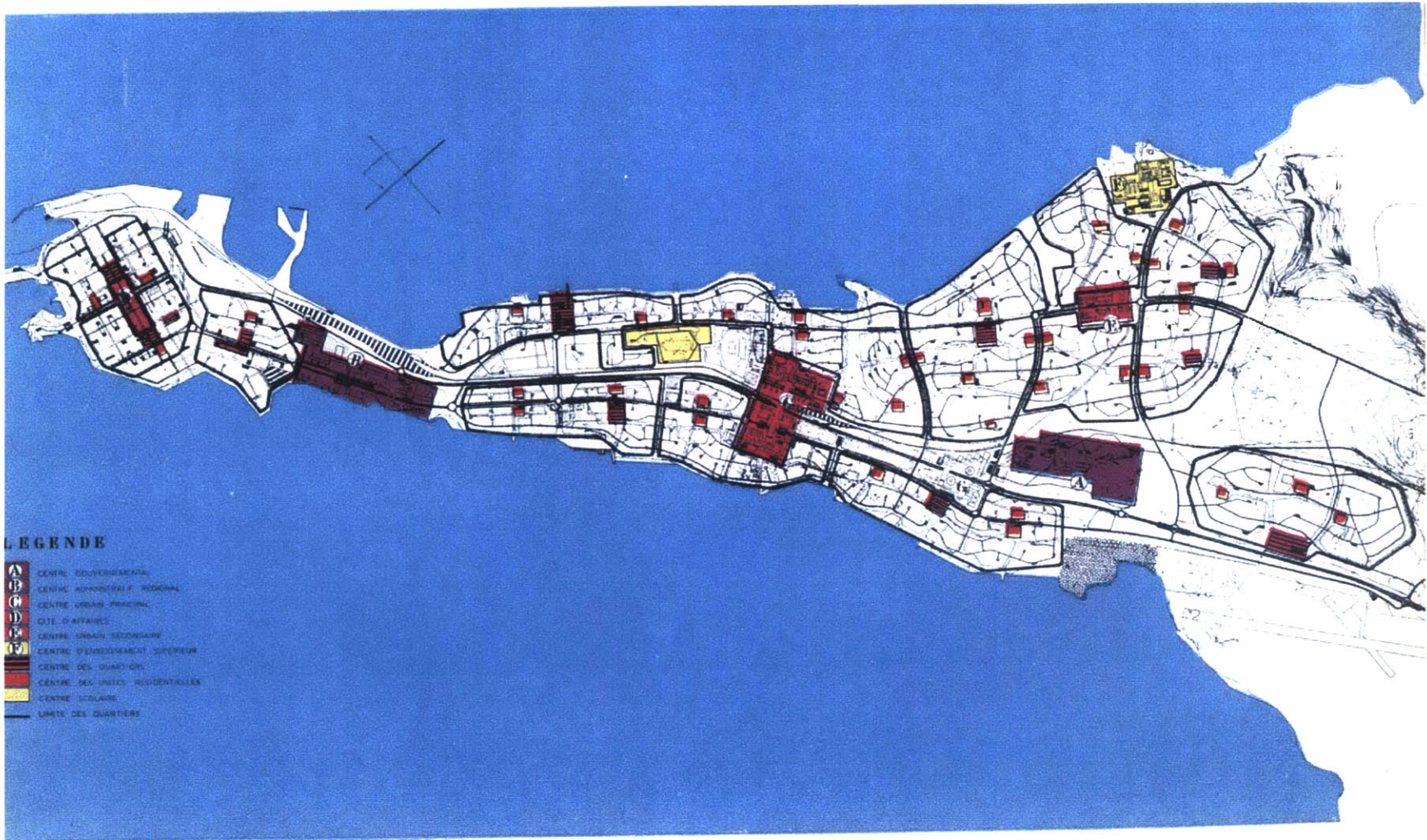


Figure 26: Distribution of Centers

of gravitation within the city. Also notable, it is literally at the center of the city confines at that point in the city's development, as opposed to being at the extreme end of the peninsula.

This new administrative center was to house the city hall, and administrative offices as well as the opera, central library, and commercial enterprises. Additionally, the main rail station located on Tombo was to relocate to this center.

Urban Centers

To further decentralize and separate the functions of the city, urban centers were separated from the political centers of the city. Given that the majority of Conakry's residents lived in Kaloum as opposed to Tombo, the city main urban center should reflect this population distribution. A site on the southern coast in Madina, the center of Kaloum was selected, for the center. The center was to be home to cultural, business and commercial functions. To orient the center more toward the masses who would be using the center, pedestrian and vehicular traffic were to be separated from each other. To re-enforce the transverse nature of the plan, as opposed to the linear draw to the point of the peninsula, the urban center stretches across from the north to south coasts.

Recognizing the linear form of the city and the distances one would have to travel to a monocentric city, the designers provided for two secondary urban centers. One was to be the "cite d'affaires" or a business center at the western end in Tombo and the other was to be in Rogbane, a quarter at the eastern end of Kaloum to the north of the state governmental center.

Scaling down from the urban centers were the centers of the quarters, dispersed through the city. The quarters were to function as mini-cities and for the provision of daily needs they were to be completely autonomous. If the quarters could meet the daily needs of the citizens, it would minimize travel throughout the city and reduce congestion. The quarters would be host to elementary and secondary education, cultural facilities, library, health center, banks,

PTT and police, hotels, commerce and personal services. At the smallest scale were the centers of residential units described further below.¹⁷⁸

***Stop the flow out of the City and focus on the interior
Traffic and Circulation***

A great part of the body of the urban design plan focuses on traffic. The road system of the colonial system was created only for the purposes of material and good extraction and were not planned to accommodate urbanization and growth of the city. As a result the city was already suffering from traffic and the lack of connection restricted movement within the city and growth in isolated areas of the city. With an intensifying need for land, all locations needed to be connected and accessible (Fig. 27).

Circulation is one of the key elements described for recreating the face of the city (Fig. 28). First and foremost the circulation system connected the city serving as a fundamental instrument to the creation of unity and equality. To make the circulation system functional, a system of separate roads was established, one for commuter and fast traffic, the others for local traffic. Roads were not the only focus of circulation, additionally, rail and air travel were essential.

While the decentralization of city functions would alleviate some of the traffic headed to the tip of the peninsula, it was not enough alone to remediate the circulation problems. The plan called for the establishment of a new network of roads, public transit and provision of parking. The new road network focused on establishing transverse connections. Additionally, it called for a hierarchy of roads to be established, separating commuter, local and pedestrian traffic.

It was estimated that 70% of the population would need to venture beyond their residential or quarter centers, necessitating non-pedestrian transport. The majority of the 70 % were expected to use public transportation, 45% by bus and 15% by train. The final 10% of the population was assumed to own and use personal cars. There were 6 bus routes planned that

¹⁷⁸ Ibid. 38.

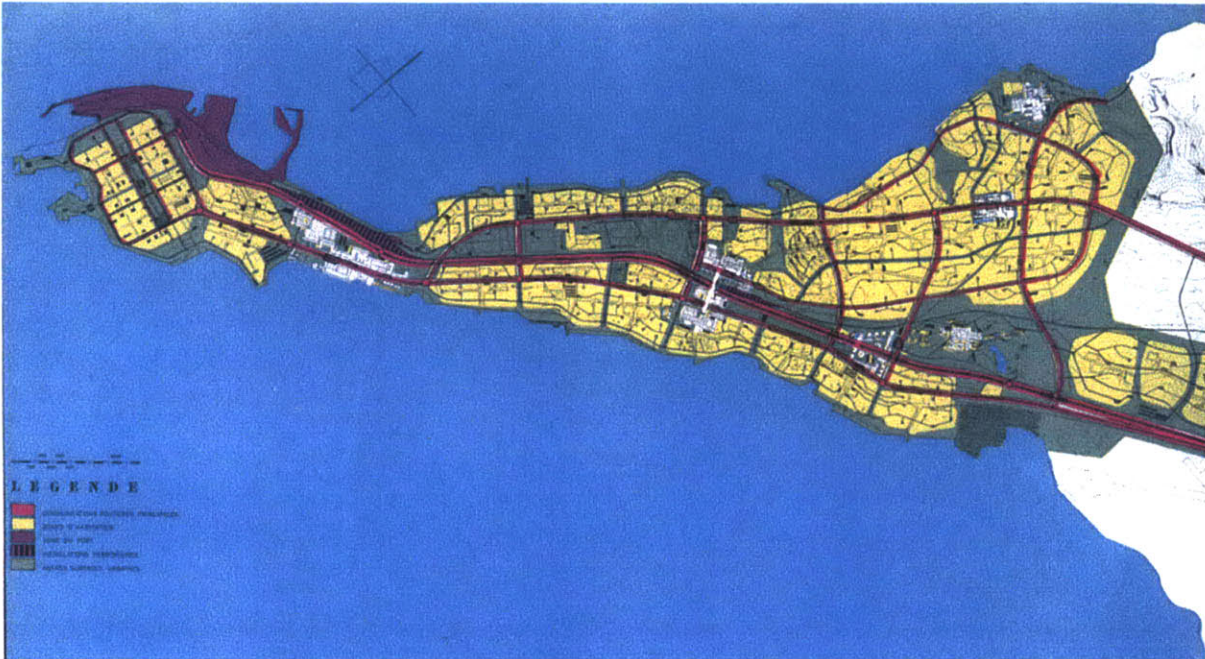


Figure 27: Planned Intensity of Road Traffic

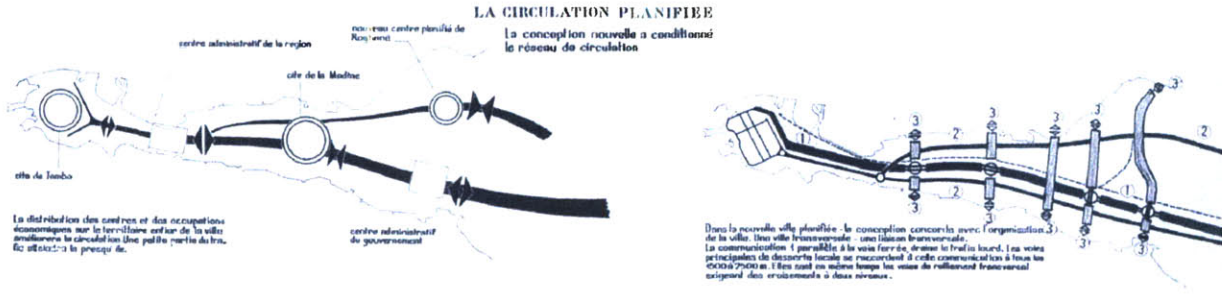


Figure 28: Decentralization of City Functions and Transverse Connections Will Alleviate Congestion at the Tip of the Peninsula.

would all run circles within the city and suburbs along the main roads. The train was to be converted from a freight line to a passenger line and would run through the center of the peninsula and have 9 stops from end to end of the city. For those owning vehicles, garages were planned at the more populous centers. At the final stages of the 30 years of development the public transport system was to be supplemented by a fleet of taxis.¹⁷⁹

Rail was seen as an affordable way to generate public transportation that would move vast numbers of people through the city rapidly without further burdening the road network.

The Port

While most nations chose to move the capital city away from the colonial port, the Guineans tried to move the port away from the capital city. This recognized the value of resources already built in Conakry would cost more to rebuild elsewhere in Guinea as opposed to the construction of a new port in another city. While the ports at Kakande and Benty could alleviate demand at the Conakry port they could not support the entire business. In the end, recognizing that it wasn't only Guinea that relied on the port in Conakry, but Mali as well, by land connection through Kankan, the surface area of the Conakry port was increased (Fig. 29). The port was built extending outward, into the ocean, instead of taking up additional land along the coastline. Given the difficulty to predict future demand for the port, it was not increased significantly for commercial purposes. Instead, the increase was allotted for naval purposes, allowing for a larger fleet. To accommodate for the visual blight caused by the port a green buffer was planned between the residences and the port.¹⁸⁰

Employment, Industry, and Commerce Locations

The most urgent problem the plan was to address was the central location of industry and the concentration of employment on Tombo. Industry in Conakry was not developed enough to demand such a prime location within the city. The plan created space for industry at the periphery of the city and separated industries into high polluting firms, located in the southeast, and nonpolluting firms, located in the northeast (Fig. 30). While the industries

¹⁷⁹ Ibid. 51-57.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid. 58-59.

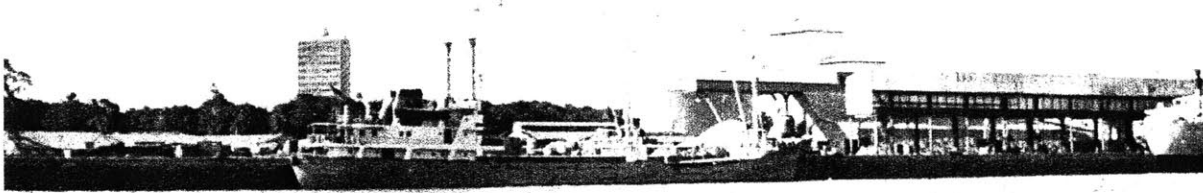
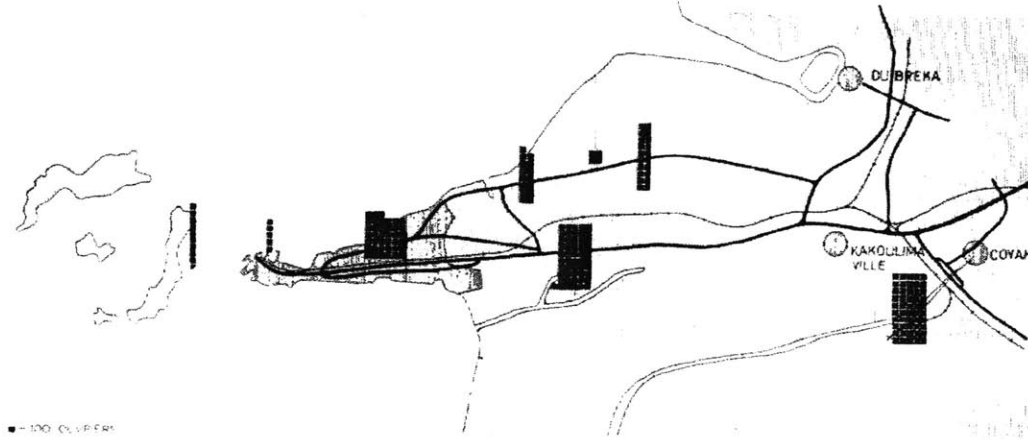


Figure 29: The Port at Conakry

NOMBRE D'OUVRIERS D'APRES LES LOCALISATIONS



DISTRIBUTION DES INDUSTRIES PAR BRANCHES ET NOMBRE DE PERSONNES EMPLOYEES

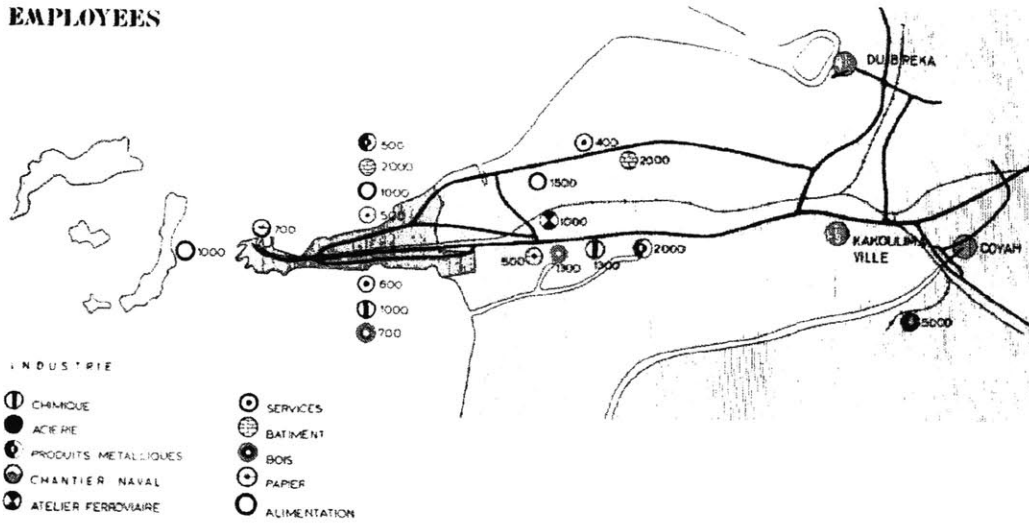


Figure 30: Distribution of Places of Employment

would be separated from the city proper and residential areas, creating longer commutes for some, this would more beneficially free up more space in the city for growth. So as to not completely isolate industry and employment opportunities from the residential areas, small business, workshops and enterprises, that would not degrade the urban environment, were to remain within the quarters of the city. The balance created was not only to provide access to jobs, but to distribute the services the employees provided.

Within Tombo and Kaloum, employment opportunities and industries centered on food, construction, small-scale metal works, electricians, chemists, lumber, graphics, artisans, and other small establishments. The north industrial zone focused on construction, food and textiles. The south industrial zone practiced metallurgy, electrical engineering, chemical engineering, lumber, paper mills, leather processing, rubber and plastics.¹⁸¹

It was expected that 55% of citizens daily consumer needs could be supplied within the residential unit and the other 45% within the quarter and city. Each residential unit would have a different mix of daily consumer products available for purchase, based on the population size and demand.¹⁸²

The majority of industry within the city runs along the two major southern roads connecting between the primary urban center and the new market place created just to the west of the state Capitol complex. The new market place was larger than any other in Conakry before. Also notable was that it also moved away from Tombo and the port and was oriented toward the center of the population.

Leaving Behind a Segregated City for a Homogeneous City Housing

When designing the post-independence capital city, many nations chose to focus on the capitol complex design. The Conakry plan focused on the design of housing. While it did not go into detailed building design for the capitol complex, beyond creating vague footprints, it did design a prototype for housing in the residential units. This domestic urban

¹⁸¹ Ibid. 51.

design focus parallels much of the literature documenting the speeches of Sekou Toure. He focused on the provision for the people over the provision for the elite or government, and in fact held many of the national governmental sessions in the major cities of Guinea, rather than just in Conakry. He claimed to be taking the Government to the people.

Housing, like other sectors of the design, is focused on Kaloum, moving away from Tombo and the old French center (Fig. 31). There were several design guidelines established to ensure a base quality for the development of housing. Some of the guidelines included the following:

- Generate healthy and comfortable dwelling units for 300,000 to 400,000 persons.
- Allow residential sectors to maintain their own identity separate from that of the city where the designs respects the customs of the residents as well as respecting modern urban design techniques.
- Housing should be organized into “residential units” (clusters) throughout the city.
- Each residential cluster will have several mid-rise apartment buildings (1,000-1,500 residents a piece) combined to house 4,000 to 9,000 people.
- The average density should be between 200 and 250 persons per hectare and the design should respond to the physical conditions of the site.
- Each residential unit should have its own center where services such as schools, recreation facilities, day care and social centers should be provided.
- Lastly, existing residential areas should be upgraded and integrated with its surroundings.¹⁸³

Within the general composition of the city residential units were to be connected to or adjacent to major circulation routes, bus routes, commercial facilities and community service facilities. Within the residential units there was to be a strict separation of vehicular and pedestrian traffic. The vehicular traffic would travel around the perimeter of the cluster and the center would be devoted to recreation and community functions (Fig. 32). The organization of apartment buildings clustered together was believed to create direct social contact and a sense of unity amongst the residents (Fig. 33).¹⁸⁴

¹⁸² Ibid. 64.

¹⁸³ Ibid. 28.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid. 35-36.

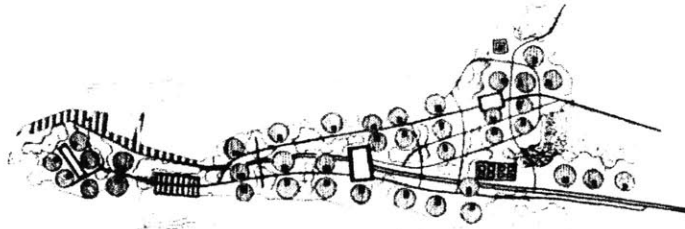
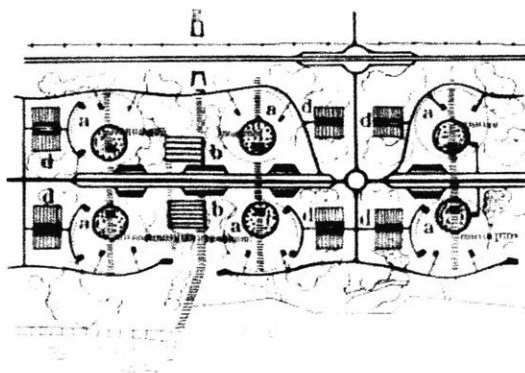
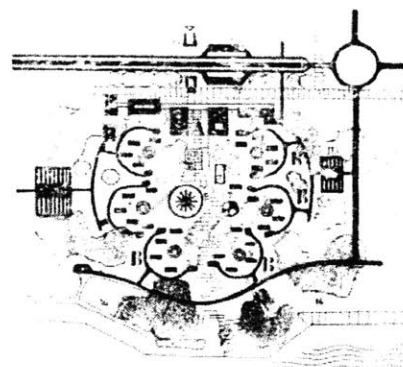
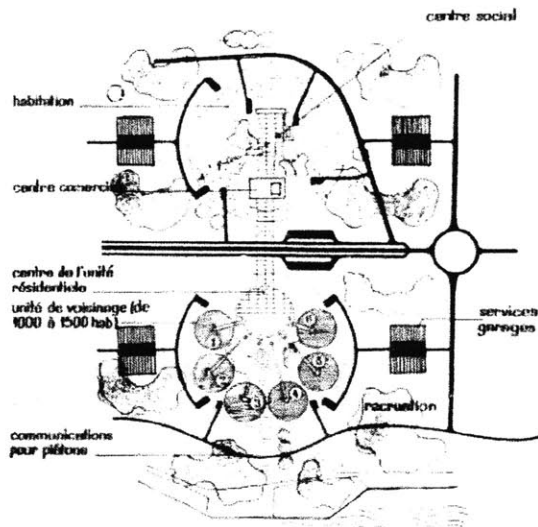


Figure 31: Concentration of Housing in Kaloum



- a) Unité résidentielle
- b) Centre du quartier
- c) Centre de l'unité résidentielle
- d) Services, garages.

Figure 32: Separation of Vehicular and Pedestrian Circulation



- A Centre de l'unité résidentielle
- 1. Foyer social
- 2. Organisations sociales clubs de jeunesse
- 3. Partie commerciale gr magasins, revêtement
- 4. services
- 5. Ecole
- 6. Clubs d'enfants
- 7. Crèche et école asepté
- 8. Maison de santé
- B Unité de voisinage
- 9. Parcés comm central immeubles hauts
- 10. Services, artisans, etc postes d'essence
- 11. arrêts d'autobus
- 12. Passages de piétons à deux niveaux
- 14. Récréation

Figure 33: Clustered Housing Should Create Social Contact and Unity

- 1. immeubles d'habitation hauts
- 2. séjours
- 3. cuisine incorporée
- 4. espace commun central
- 5. terrain central pour jeux d'enfants
- 6. piscine
- 7. divertissement commun /tam tam.
- 8. crèche d'enfants
- 9. terrains secondaires pour jeux d'enfants jusqu'à l'âge de 3 ans.
- 10. parkings et garages
- 11. sport et récréation
- 12. chemin de piétons vers le centre de l'unité de voisinage

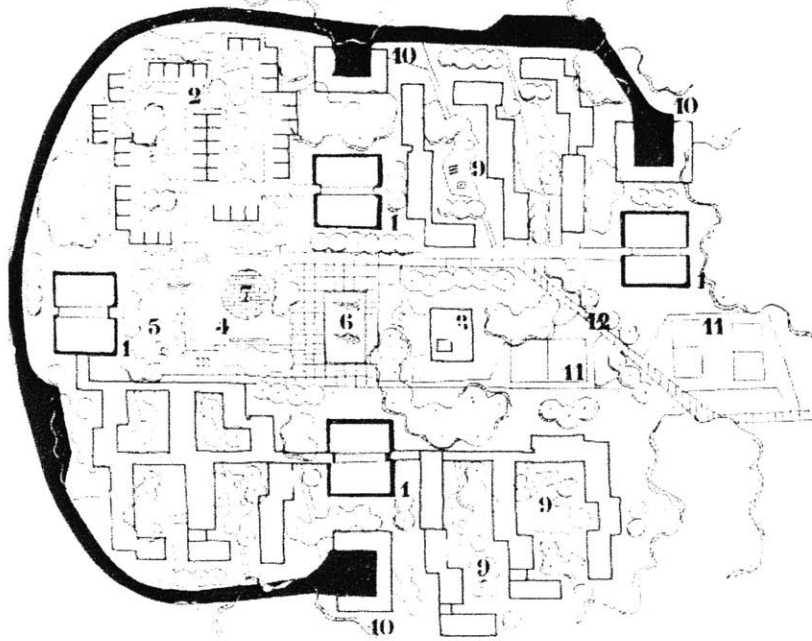
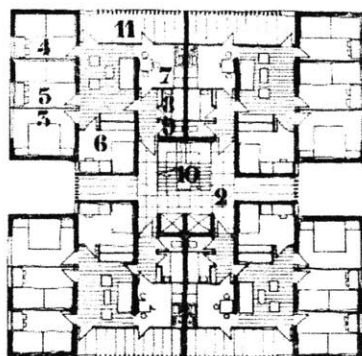


Figure 34: Facilities Provided in Each Residential Unit

PLAN D'ETAGE COURANT



- 1. entrée
- 2. hall
- 3. chambre de parents
- 4. chambre d'enfants/fillea/
- 5. chambre de garçons
- 6. chambre
- 7. cuisine d'occasion
- 8. salle de bain
- 9. wc.
- 10. escalier, ascenseurs
- 11. loggia

COUPE CARACTERISTIQUE

chambres dans la zone de circulation d'air au-dessus d'influence d'insectes

séjour sous les arbres

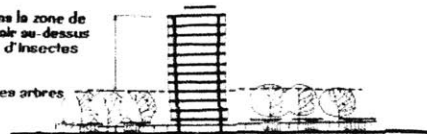


Figure 35: Possible Plan and Section for Each Apartment Building in the Residential Unit

Particular facilities that were to be provided in each residential unit were (Fig. 34):

- An elementary school
- Day care center and kindergarten
- Youth club
- Play fields
- Administrative office for the residential unit
- Meeting room for residents to use
- Library and lecture hall
- Pharmacy and health center
- Convenience and paper store
- Hair salon for men and women
- Building services- plumber, carpenter, electrician, etc
- Food establishments such as cafes and restaurants
- Public services- post office, public telephone, public toilets, police, etc.¹⁸⁵

The urban design plan proposes one possibility for the construction of the residential units (Fig. 35). The planners argued that the move from single story construction to multistory construction was essential. Not only would it allow for more dwelling units with a lower impact on the surrounding natural environment, but it would raise many of the apartments up to a height where mosquitoes are less of a nuisance and ventilation would be greater. The first floor of the building would be reserved for community purposes and each apartment above would include bedrooms, bathroom, small kitchen and small living space.¹⁸⁶

Each residential unit was to be about 30 hectares (Fig. 36, 37). Overall there were 41 residential units planned for the city with 2 to 4 units per quarter of the city. Each of the 14 quarters of the city was expected to house 20,000 to 30,000 people and function as an autonomous part of the city.¹⁸⁷

The plan calls for housing to be located where there are the best conditions. The prime location cited for housing was in areas connected to the ocean and green spaces, as well as where there is good ventilation.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁵ Ibid. 41.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid. 36.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid. 36, 45.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid. 26.

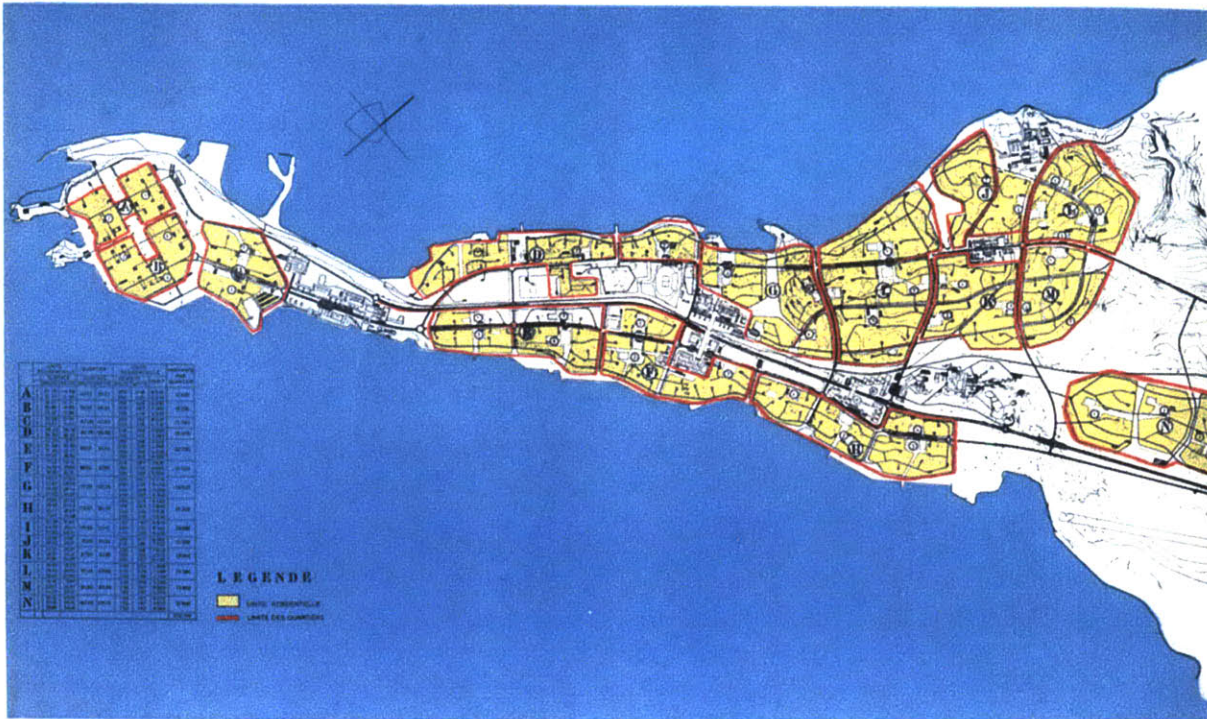


Figure 36: Population Dispersion by Quarter

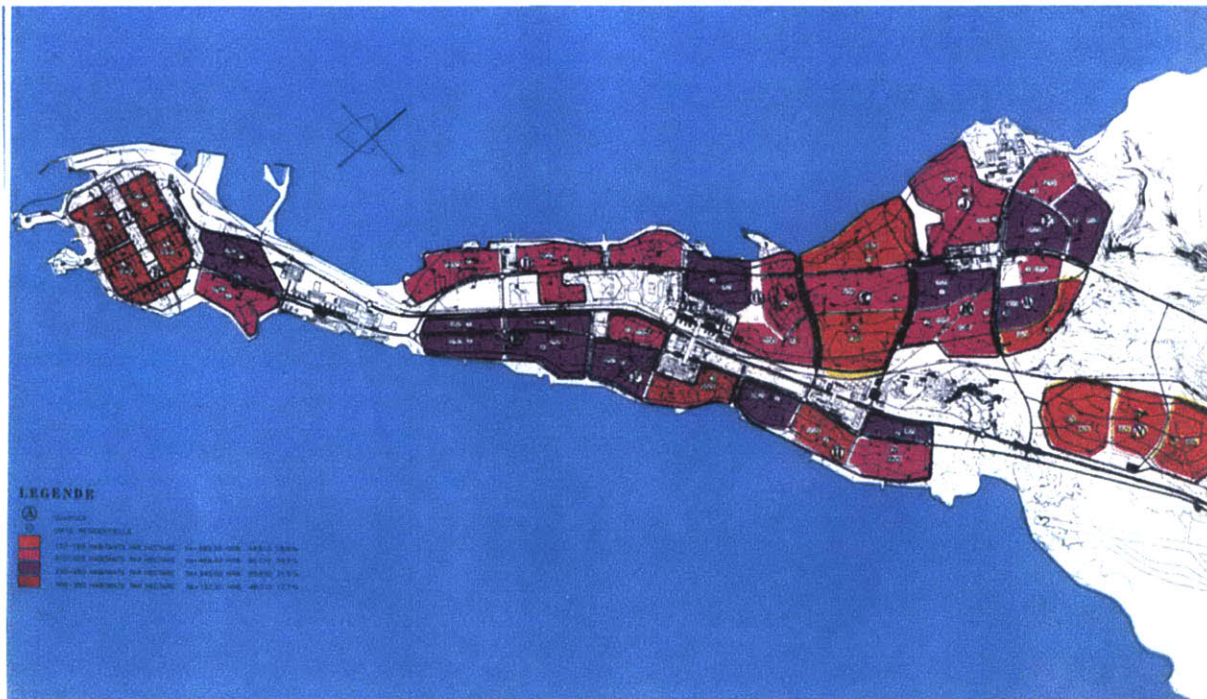


Figure 37: Planned Residential Densities

Green Space and Recreation

The plan recognizes the amount of time children in Guinea spend playing outdoors and sets aside land for this purpose. It is to ensure that despite future growth and expansion there will be green spaces preserved for recreational purposes. Additionally, the plan uses open green space for climatic relief, providing shade and ventilation corridors for otherwise crowded areas.

The plan calls for the establishment of gardens, green lined streets, athletic fields and centers, promenades and open parks (Fig.38). It details what types of trees and plants should be used in the parks, along the streets and in the botanical gardens. Recreational and athletic facilities were provided in each quarter of the city for all age levels, from small children to adults (Fig. 39).¹⁸⁹

Green space was used in the plan as a connecting device throughout the city (Fig. 40). All the streets were lined with green tying all neighborhoods together. The edges of the city were bound in green space. At the center of the city, adjacent to the primary urban center at Madina was the stadium for large athletic events.

The generation and distribution of institutional services *Community Services*

What the plan describes as community services we more commonly call infrastructure. At the point of independence, infrastructure had been more predominantly supplied to the wealthier districts of the city, Tombo and the northwestern shore of Kaloum. As part of Toure's plan to provide for all, these services had to be distributed within the city.

Fire stations were to be created. Rather than having fire services near the residential areas, more apt to have a fire, they were located at the points of revenue to the city: the business center, the two industrial centers and the port, leaving the center of Kaloum devoid of nearby service.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid. 26, 61-64.

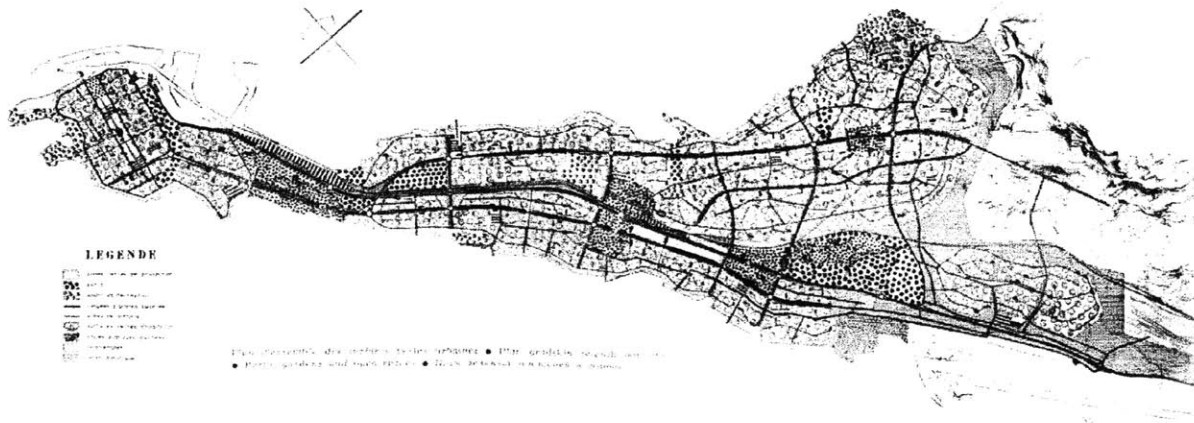


Figure 38: Parks, Gardens and Open Spaces

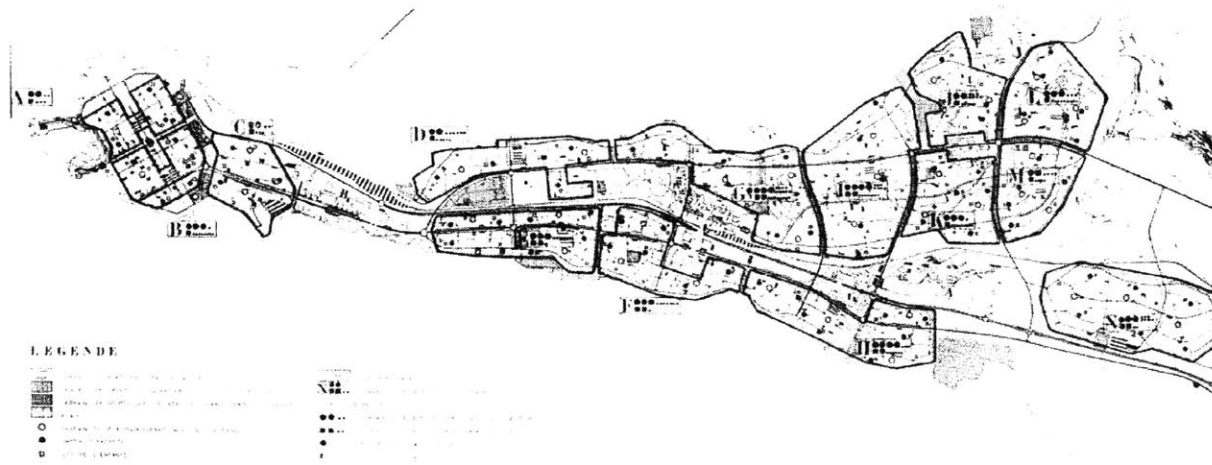


Figure 39: Playground, Sports and Recreation Facilities



Figure 40: “Rich and varied parks humanize the city.” (p. 62)

Given the lack of personal facilities and water public baths were distributed throughout the city such that each bath would provide for approximately 170 people. It was necessary to establish a sanitation system that would collect and process all the waste of the city. Space was needed for new cemeteries and unlike the former French placement of the cemeteries in Tombo along the coast, in a prime location, the Conakry plan placed them near the periphery on land of lesser value.

Water, in the existing state of the city, was another inadequately supplied public service. The plan called for a system of water towers to be constructed that would have the capability of providing water for all residents. The existing wastewater and storm water systems, built separately, needed to be expanded and branched into the neighborhoods without existing service. New power plants were to be built outside the city to provide enough electricity for the entire city.¹⁹⁰

Schools

While for the most part elementary schools were well dispersed through Conakry when the plan was designed, they were not in good locations, often causing children to have to cross major traffic arteries (Fig. 41). Beyond elementary school all secondary educational facilities were located together in one site. The provision of an elementary school in the center of each residential unit would satisfy the additional demand for primary educational facilities.

The provision of secondary schools in the plan gives the feeling that it is the aspect in the plan least representational of Guinea (Fig. 42). Acknowledging that not all students will continue beyond the mandatory 8 years of education, there were to be secondary schools located at the center of each quarter. Yet the schools were not to all be the same between quarters. Each school would serve a different career track, architecture, art, drama, music, technical, hotel management, etc. Thus, two problems could arise. One, the students would cease to have a choice over their post-secondary school endeavors and be guided into the profession the school in his or her quarter catered to. The second possibility, if the student had the opportunity to choose the academic field he or she may be subject to long commutes,

¹⁹⁰ Ibid. 65-66.

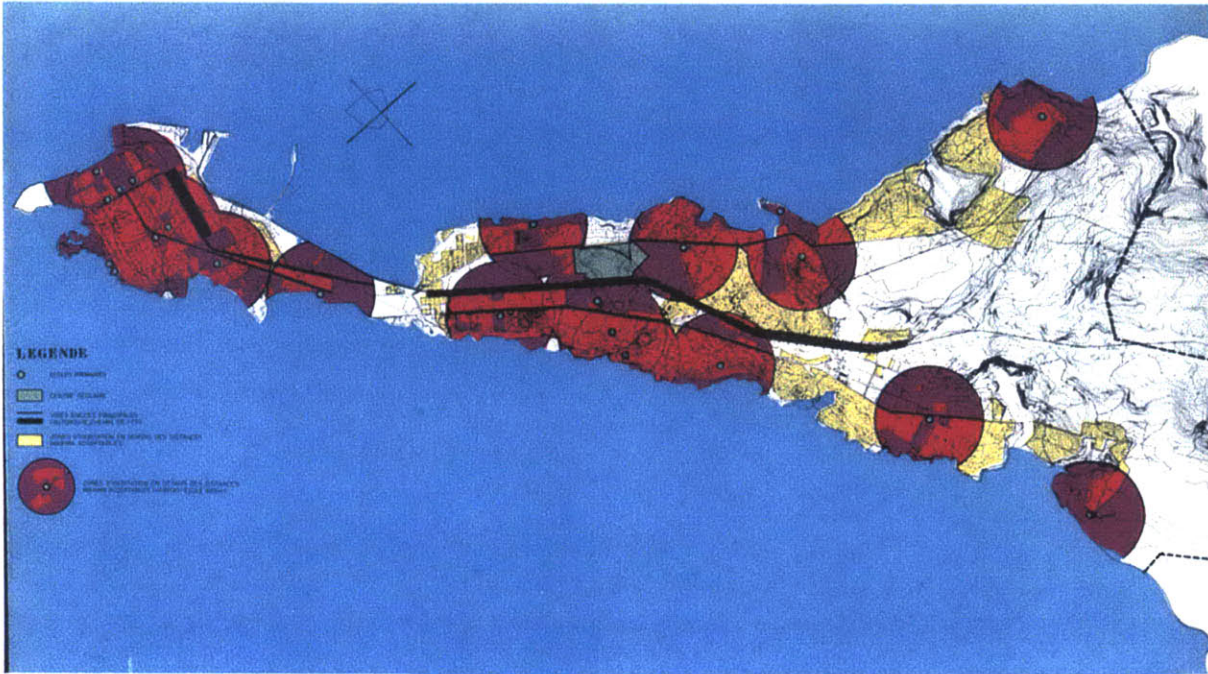


Figure 41: Existing Distribution of Schools

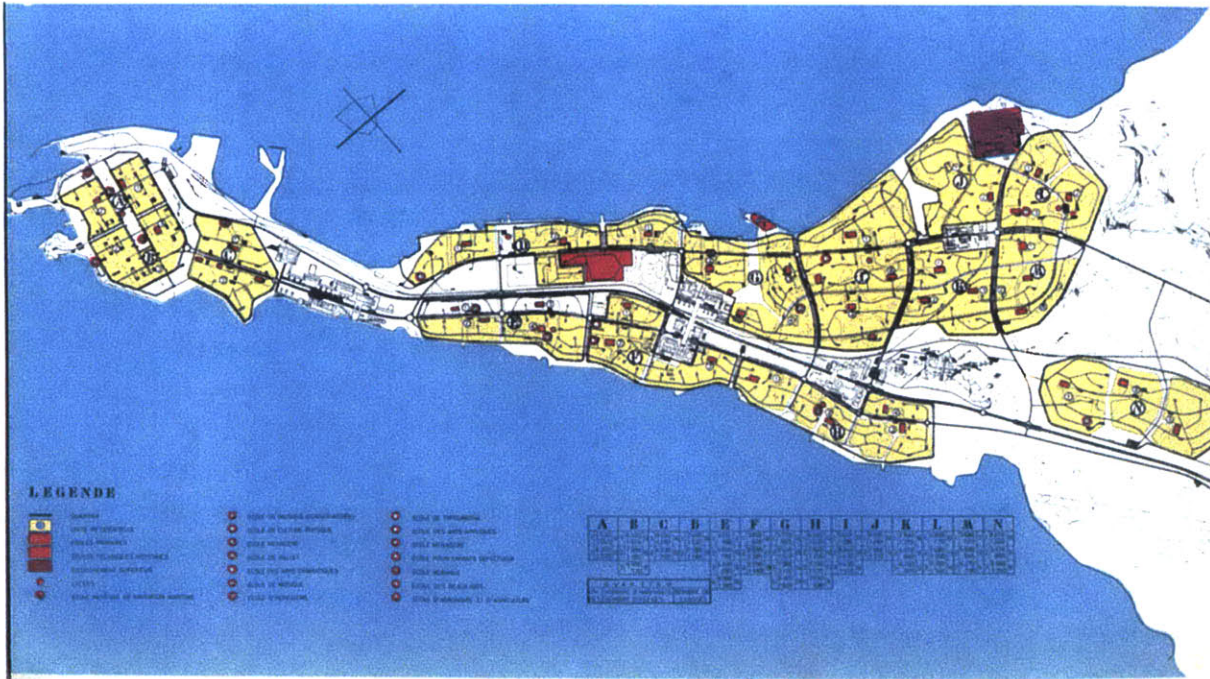


Figure 42: Plan for Elementary and Technical Schools

crossing the city to attend the appropriate school. However the specialization of schools would possibly solve the lack of skilled professionals in Guinea. The university was afforded a large site at the north east of the city near the periphery.¹⁹¹

Following upon Toure's emphasis on education as a national priority, the technical institute was placed at the center of Kaloum, along with the stadium and urban center at Madina. Additionally, it occupied one of the largest sites allocated in the center.

Social and Cultural institutions

The plan worked to distribute not only outdoor and athletic recreation throughout the city but also social and cultural activities. Theaters and movie cinemas were very popular in the design and many were to be created throughout the city. Additionally, an opera was to be constructed near the regional administrative center, despite how foreign it would have been to Guinea. Theaters were to be built in Camayenne, Madina, and Rogbane.

The former French colonial administrative center was to be transformed into a museum district, giving the site of former French colonial power and ideal geographical location, not to any one person or group, but to the entire nation for public use. The space would house museums, galleries and exposition halls. Additionally, exposition space was to be allocated in the primary urban center at Madina and in the secondary urban center.

Libraries were key to the dissemination of information to the masses. The national central library was to be located at Madina in the urban center and the municipal library was to be located in Rogbane, the secondary urban center. In each residential unit and quarter center there were to be smaller libraries with meeting rooms.

Lastly, children and youth groups were extremely important to Toure. In each residential unit some form of facility was to be provided for the youth groups to meet in. Toure wanted

¹⁹¹ Ibid. 40-41.

to strengthen and educate the youth groups in Guinea and to support an organized system the creation of meeting places was critical.¹⁹²

Public Health facilities

While the French had used health and sanitation as reasons to segregate in the city, the Guinean planners saw health as a need and concern for the whole city. Instead of segregating people and uses thought to be of risk to the elite, Toure and the designers set out to provide health facilities for all the people of Conakry to mitigate the negative effects of public health threats.

The greatest health threats at the time were infant mortality, malaria, intestinal disease and tuberculosis. All of these were possible to reduce their threat through the distribution of health centers in Conakry. In each residential unit with more than 3,000 residents there would be a dispensary, which could treat general medical needs. Hospitals, however were not as equitably distributed. The two hospitals that existed at independence were retained, one in Tombo and the other at Donka. While Donka was near the central urban complex it was at the far western end of it and was not oriented toward the eastern end of the city.¹⁹³

Create a City that is Free of Foreign Influences

One of the greatest aspirations of the plan was to create a city that responded to the needs of its population, and to overcome any social differences that may have existed within the city. The city was to cease existing as a theater for the interests of individuals and to become a city for the people of Guinea. While creating a “proper” urban environment, the city should represent itself and not that of any foreign influences. Ridding the city of foreign influences was the only way the city could honestly address the social and economic problems using spatial form.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹² Ibid. 41.

¹⁹³ Ibid. 44-45.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid. 26.

Table 1: Planned and Existing Land Uses¹⁹⁵

Use	Planned			Existing		
	Ha	%	m ² /hab	Ha	%	m ² /hab
Government	110.5	3.12	4.00	33.3	2.10	2.75
Regional Administration	77.0	2.17	2.86	0.8	0.05	0.07
Primary Urban Center	48.7	1.37	1.80	21.0	1.33	1.75
Cite d' Affairs (Tombo)	8.5	0.24	0.32	5.0	0.32	0.42
Secondary Urban Center	14.1	0.40	0.52	10.0	0.64	0.83
Quarter Center (w/o school)	16.2	0.46	0.60	0.6	0.38	0.50
Residential Units Center	31.6	0.91	1.16	-	-	-
Educational	76.4	2.16	2.83	43.3	1.48	1.95
Hospital	14.7	0.41	0.54	7.7	0.48	0.64
Market	31.2	0.90	1.16	-	-	-
Port	89.3	2.50	3.30	45.5	2.88	3.80
Artisan Shops and Services	111.9	3.16	4.15	2.26	1.65	2.17
Circulation*	291.7	8.23	10.90	165.7	10.50	13.70
Residential (gross)	1363.5	38.60	50.50	876.0	55.40	73.00
Green Space	188.2	5.23	6.95	33.6	2.08	2.70
Recreational Facilities	97.8	2.77	3.58	5.0	0.32	0.42
Beaches	19.0	0.54	0.70	6.8	0.42	0.57
Protected Green Space	353.0	10.00	13.10	232.1	14.70	19.30
“Special Zones”	102.7	2.88	3.80	25.1	1.59	2.08
Industry	240.0	6.78	8.85	50.4	3.20	4.22
Athletic Facilities	150.0	4.23	5.60	-	-	-
Cemetery	102.0	2.88	3.80	6.8	0.48	0.57
Slaughterhouse	2.0	0.06	0.07	-	-	-
Total	3540.0	100.0		1580.0	100.0	

* Without railroad and tertiary roads

¹⁹⁵ Ibid. 37.

Table 1 gives us a numerical explanation of the changes the plan would have brought about in Conakry. Overall, the City nearly triples in size over the 30 years planned for implementation. The government, while it is not a strong focus of the text, grows significantly in the plan. In the existing state it comprised 2.1% of the urban area, 33.3 ha, and following the plan grows to 3.12% of the city with 110.5 ha. The port, although it does increase in actual size, decreases in proportion to the rest of the city, from 2.88% to 2.5%. Gross residential area, however, contradicts Toure's and the plan's ideal of providing for the people; it decreased from 55.4% of the city to 38.6%. Industry saw one of the largest increases, supporting Toure and the plan's goal to increase access to employment opportunities as it grew from 3.2% to 6.78%.

V: THE REALITIES OF CONAKRY'S NEW IMAGE

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IMPLEMENTATION

The 1963 plan was to be implemented in three ten-year phases with each phase developing a roughly equal percentage of the total surface area (Fig. 43). The first phase was implemented 33%, the second 41% and the third 26% of the planned area. While each phase is established with a list of tasks to be accomplished, the designers recognized that the specific order of achievement would be dependent on the state of the economy. Additionally, it allowed for some flexibility when considering stages of development at the edges of each division on the plan. The three phases are outlined in table 2.

The plan breaks up the implementation by use and location. In each phase there is some construction of housing and public facilities. Housing is completed in whole quarters of the city, whereas the public sites such as the Capitol Complex are divided and slowly constructed over the 30 years.

One of the great weaknesses of the plan was its lack of consideration for the financing of the work to be accomplished. While many of the ideas in the plan were wonderful, they lacked a sense of reality as to what the Guineans were capable of achieving with limited leadership experience and financial resources. The phases did not take look at the feasibility of implementation order. Particularly, some uses if implemented earlier would have been able to generate state revenues for continued construction.

Given the urgent need for housing and provision for the rapidly growing population it made sense for construction to begin with creating new residential units. This would also have been an important step to undertake before dilapidated housing could be eliminated or reconstructed, allowing for displaced households to be relocated. However, the plan did not address the need to relocate persons or the logistics involved to achieve the upgrading, and to the degree slum of clearance that was required.

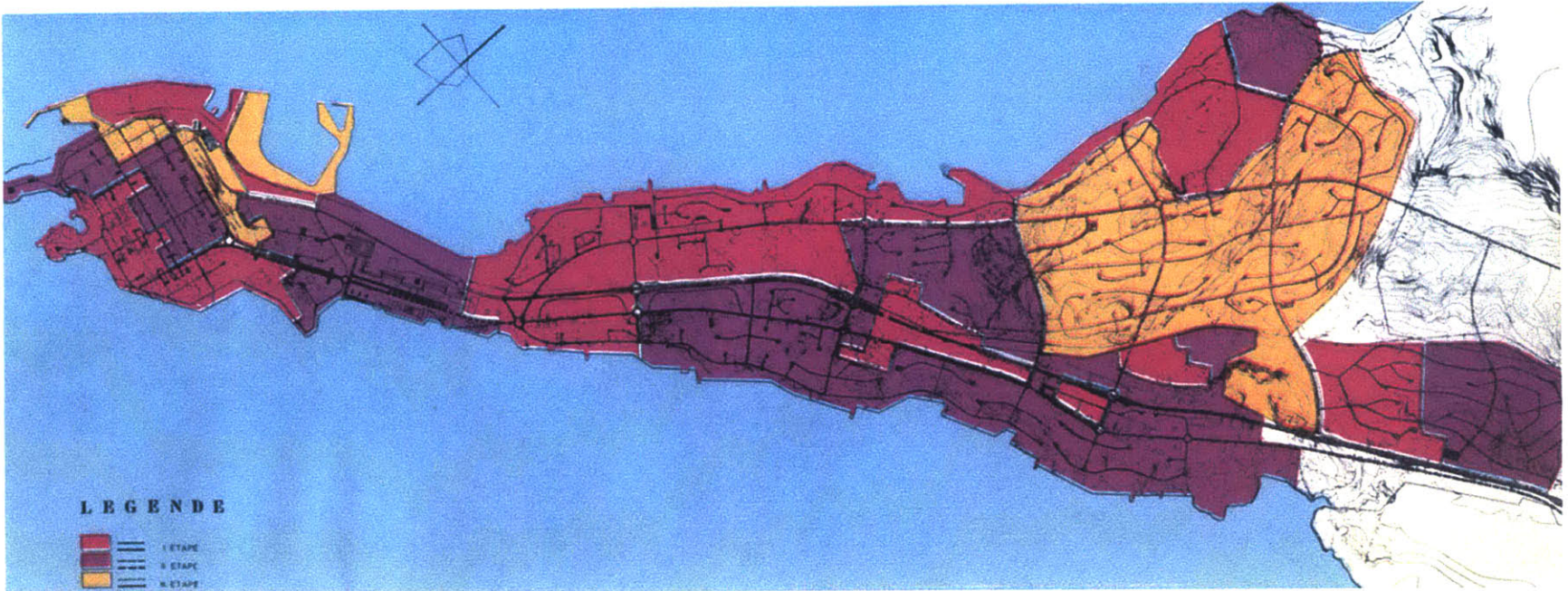


Figure 43: Phasing in 3 Stages

Table 2: Phasing of Development Plan¹⁹⁶

	First Phase	Second Phase	Third Phase
Tombo	Reconstruction of southern edge	Reconstruction of the central and southwestern edge	Reconstruction of former railroad station
	Construction of green recreation zone in the south	Extension of the recreation zone	Reconstruction/ reutilization of former governmental buildings
	Upgrade facilities at the port and expand naval port	Construction of the Regional Administration center and the area just to the west	Additions to the port as is necessary following 20 years of growth
Kaloum	Reconstruction and construction of housing along the north coast.	Construction of housing to the southeast and central quarters	Construction of housing to the northeast
	Construction of the park, technical institute, athletic complex at the center	Construction of housing to the northwest of the airport	Creation of a man made lake within the Capitol Complex
	Begin construction of the primary urban center at Madina	Completion of the primary urban center	Construction of the second major thoroughfare
	Begin construction of the new transit station at Madina	Continue work on the road passing the airport	Construction of public art throughout the city
	Begin construction of new Government center with the National Assembly, Presidential Residence, Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Defense and Interior.	Construction of some residential roads transverse road passing the market and Capitol Complex	Construction of a road for heavy traffic connecting the port and the Regional administration center, as well as the completion of other major roads
	Rebuild roads such as the one to the airport and for tourist use	Construction of the university and higher education center at the north east	Completion of Capitol Complex
	Begin new marketplace	Continuation of Capitol Complex	
Other	Continue filling at the neck connecting Tombo and Kaloum		
	Link the communication system between zones		

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

The plan proved to be too much for the young nation to implement. The plan failed to take into consideration how it would be financed and costs were more than Guinea could afford. Additionally, the plan assumed that the population would rise to 300,000 in 1990. Instead, by the early 1970's the population had already achieved 300,000 and in 1995 had expanded to approximately 1.3 million. Today, Conakry is home to 60% of the urban population of Guinea and 15% of the total population.¹⁹⁷ Therefore, much of the plan was rendered obsolete before the first phase would have been complete and thus, only portions of the plan were implemented. Some state construction was located as the plan called for and some was not (Fig. 44).

What is not clear is to what degree, the ideas in the plan are those of the Guineans or the Yugoslav consultants. We do not know how much the Guineans working with the Yugoslav design team were able to influence the plan with their predetermined ideas and site locations opposed to the Yugoslav's creating a solution to the Guinean quest for a new image. Additionally, we do not know if the subsequent construction truly followed the plan and Yugoslav, not Guinean ideals.

Few urban regulations were in fact enforced during Sekou Toure's rule. Guinea may have been one of the first post independence West African nations to establish a new urban design plan for the capital city but it was not as ambitious in the implementation. Toure's era was instead marked by a lack of interest in development and was actually noted for the degradation of the urban environment. Public urban investment only constituted 5% of total investments in Toure's control. Overall, there was a lack of infrastructure, housing was constructed spontaneously and chaotically and was built at lower densities than could accommodate the population influx.¹⁹⁸

Much of what the French had left was reused by Sekou Toure's regime. The new government center was not created on southeastern Kaloum. Instead, Sekou Toure occupied the Hotel du Gouvernement. After Sekou Toure's death the Hotel Du Gouvernement was

¹⁹⁷ Devey, Muriel. *La Guinee*. (Paris: Karthala, 1997) 235, 242, 250.

¹⁹⁸ Devey, Muriel. *La Guinee*. 239, 251.

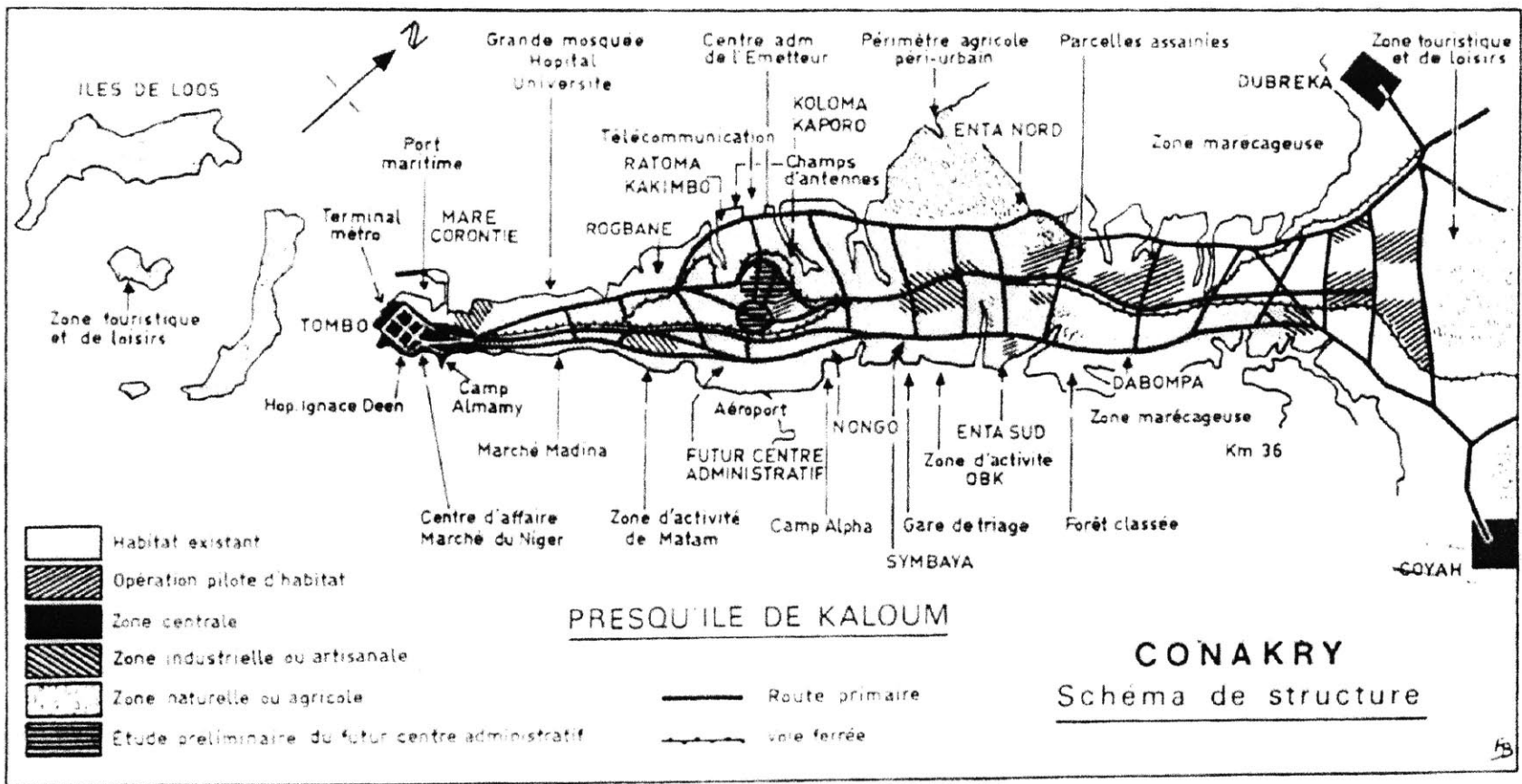


Figure 44: Conakry, Diagram of City Structure c. 1990

destroyed and a new Presidential Palace was built in its place for Lansana Conte to live in.¹⁹⁹ The Guineans have made no attempt to relocate their capital city or capitol complex, and in fact have incorporated many of the former French buildings into their current political structure. Today, the Government buildings are spread within the western end of Tombo.

By 1967 some of the work outlined in the first phase of the plan had been completed. The Chinese built the People's Palace, home of the National Assembly, on the neck where the regional administration was proposed.²⁰⁰ The stadium and Technical Institute to the west of the proposed new primary urban center were built by the Soviet Union. Additionally, 38 kilometers from the tip of the peninsula there were a few industrial complexes that were built.²⁰¹

From 1967 until 1978 there wasn't a single notable construction endeavor in the city. This period of stagnation was due to economic difficulties and the virtual political isolation of Guinea from the rest of the world. Despite the financial slowdown of the nation the population and outer limits of the city continued to grow. Housing overtook land that had been dedicated to mining and reached out as far as Ratoma and Matoto.²⁰²

Following a boom in world market for bauxite, from 1976-1978, construction resumed in Conakry. At this point it ceased to follow the plan to any perceptible degree. The Grand Mosque was built, with technical aid from Morocco and financial assistance from Saudi Arabia, located in the Camayenne district. Two international hotels were constructed that targeted international visitors to Conakry, one was located at the tip of the peninsula and the other on the northern coast of Kaloum in the Camayenne district. The road connecting Tombo to the airport was improved. Most uncharacteristic of construction during the First Republic was the construction of the Palais des Nations along the southern coast of Tombo

¹⁹⁹ Goerg, Odile. "La Guinee Conakry." 90.

²⁰⁰ Riviere, C. *Guinea: the Mobilization of a People*. 151.

²⁰¹ Devey, Muriel. *La Guinee*. 251.

²⁰² Suret-Canal, Jean "Conakry, Capitale de la Guinee." In Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch, ed. *Processus d'Urbanisation en Afrique*. (Paris: Harmattan, 1988) 100.

for the OAU summit that was to be held in Conakry in 1984.²⁰³ Though called a palace the Palais des Nations was actually composed of 57 lavish villas unlike any other public construction project since independence. They were built with the assistance of North Korea, Morocco and Saudi Arabia.²⁰⁴ Today, these villas are being used for a variety of purposes. Some house ministers, diplomatic guests to Guinea, embassies, organization offices and restaurants.

It wasn't until 1980 that Toure attempted to rectify the lack of adequate housing. He attempted to establish a system of the delineation and distribution of lots. The majority of housing was constructed by the private sector and construction was frequently delayed by a lack of funds or materials available to purchase.

In 1987 the Government of Guinea, Ministry of Housing and Urbanism, produced a new urban development plan with funding from the World Bank that was to be implemented over the following three years. The plan was to establish a pilot project establishing urban services and aid to small construction firms. Conakry was not the only focus of the plan; it also addressed and allocated the majority of resources to work in 18 other cities within Guinea. Much of the proposed work in the plan was the provision of infrastructure. As in the 1963 plan the connection of residential areas to employment was still a goal. The objectives of this subsequent plan were to upgrade the infrastructure services available in the city, construction of housing, provision of community services and assistance for small scale building contractors.²⁰⁵ The plan no longer focused on the creation of a new image for Conakry but set out to ameliorate the devastated conditions of the city, caused by neglect and lack of action by Toure's administration.

As Conakry's population increased, the city grew horizontally as opposed to vertically to house the new residents. Densities didn't grow enormously and multi-story housing was rare. Instead new construction occurred in vacant lots and the number of people per lot was

²⁰³ The summit was moved to another location outside of Guinea following the death of Sekou Toure in April of 1984.

²⁰⁴ Devey, Muriel. *La Guinee*. 252., Suret-Canal, Jean "Conakry, Capitale de la Guinee." 101.

²⁰⁵ Devey, Muriel. *La Guinee*. (Paris: Karthala, 1997) 253-254.

increased with more people crowding into existing structures.²⁰⁶ Additionally, the city continued to expand to the east further than the 1963 plan thought possible and the mining ruins were developed upon. Lastly, there was still a lack of transverse connections through the city and traffic and circulation remained difficult.

²⁰⁶ Suret-Canal, Jean “Conakry, Capitale de la Guinee.” 100-101.

CONCLUSIONS

The focus of this research has been to understand an early attempt to establish a new capital city image in post independent West Africa. Each nation faced numerous challenges when commencing on self-governance. The plan for Conakry exemplifies a nation with strong political views and desires yet unable to realize them due to a lack of financial and technical resources. Sekou Toure was one of the preeminent West African voices against neo-colonialism and was the only leader to fight for and gain complete independence from France. Guinea was one of the first nations in Africa to attempt to create a new national identity utilizing an urban design as a tool for re-imagining the face of the capital city. Toure's radical behavior may have led to the failure of the design and the general decay of the city. In a nation as young and financially insecure as Guinea survival and avoidance of neo-colonial and dependent relationships alone were great achievements.

Much of the physical planning and construction in the capital that was accomplished in Guinea was done with the aid of foreign nations. This contradicted Toure's strong desire to function as a completely independent nation. Pure Guinean architectural and urban form was prevented by the international construction of the Peoples Palace, university, stadium and other projects. The 1963 plan had called for architectural forms that would be indicative of traditional Guinean form, but these foreign built structures were very modern and western in appearance and did not speak to Guinean tradition.

The People's Palace, while it did not follow the design plan in the strictest sense is arguably the most successful development in the implementation of the spirit of the plan. The plan had called for the capitol complex to move to the extreme eastern end of the city and vacate the western former French occupied location. The creation of the People's Palace did move away from the former seat of power, just not to the polar opposite location.

Many post-independence regimes that chose to create a new capital city did more than relocate land uses within the existing capital city; they founded a new city far from the former seat of colonial power. Typically, they moved to a central point that would be equally accessible from all points of the nation and was claimed to be an ethnically neutral location.

In the case of Guinea, Conakry was retained as the capital city and shifts were made within the plan in attempts to move away from the French power structure. It was not appropriate for Guinea to choose another capital city central to the nation due to ethnic division. While Conakry was far from many ethnic seats and appeared to be in a predominantly Sousous location, due to the colonization process the city had already been rendered a no man's land without ethnic identity. Thus, it remained the sole ethnically neutral location.

The plan called for the construction of a monumental and elevated capitol complex to set the First Republic's government and Sekou Toure in a site of importance and power. This was never implemented other than the People's Palace on the site of the planned regional administration site.

The establishment of a new image using urban design as a tool can be effective, as in Brasilia and Abuja, when the nation has the means to implement the plan. The design can be used to represent the political and social ideals of the nation through the placement of the various urban functions and land uses. Setting the capitol complex in an elevated site demonstrates to the population that the political regime is powerful and in control of the nation. For many emerging nations this was a key method for visually representing to the people that they were a new independent power. Additionally, the move away from the physical location of the former regime represented the emergence of a new autonomous regime and the shedding of the former exploitive political methods. For many emerging nations, resources had not been equitably distributed, but had only been distributed to the elite and those in power, or provided for the colonial members and white population. To redistribute resources and services represented a move away way from the old form of governance and demonstrated the new political regime was that of the nation and the people.

The plan for Conakry made four grand gestures in the attempt to re-image the capital city. First, important city functions which had the greatest draw were decentralized and relocated into parts of the city associated with the Guinean people and not with the former French regime. The decentralization of major city centers minimized the need to converge at the tip of the peninsula. Second, the flow of the city was shifted so that no longer did all circulation

routes lead to the port and out of the city and nation, but instead focused on developing transverse connection and creating an internal network focusing inland. Third, institution and community services were to be distributed equitably throughout the city leaving behind the system of provision for the elite established by the French. Lastly, the plan proposed to move away from a segregated city to a homogeneous city where all people were equal despite ethnic or economic orientation.

Unlike Cote d'Ivoire, Nigeria or Tanzania, who also had limited financial budgets, Guinea's leaders chose not to invest the little resources they had into rebuilding the capital. In fact, very little of the plan was ever implemented. Other than the construction of the new People's Palace, Toure's administration occupied the abandoned French facilities. Only a small amount of housing was constructed by the state and the new road network, to this day, is incomplete.

The spirit of the plan however has not been forgotten in Conakry. Current planning efforts still mention the possible decentralization of political facilities. Additionally, work is under way to complete the transverse road connections and provide urban services to Conakry's residents.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: TIME LINE OF GUINEA'S HISTORY²⁰⁷

300-1240	The Ghana Empire (height: ca. 1000)
1000-1500	The Mali Empire (height: ca. 1350)
690-1591	The Songhai Empire (height: ca. 1520)
1500's	Fulbe begin to arrive in the Fouta Djallon
1513	First slaves sent from Guinea to Portugal
Post-1542	First French activity on Guinea Coast- attack Fogos Island
Ca. 1622	3,000 Guinean slaves sent annually to Portugal
1687	English establish a factory on the Nunez River
1714	French Senegal Co. establish factories on the Guinea Coast
Ca. 1725	Fulbe leaders begin Jihad in the Fouta Djallon
Ca. 1800	Fouta Djallon established as a Muslim state
1842	French sign treaties with the Landuma and Nalu leaders (coastal)
1854	Jihad of Al Hadj Umar begins on eastern edge of the Fouta Djallon
1860	French force Al Hadj Umar to the Niger
1866	French acquire trading posts on the Guinea Coast
1868	French posts established at Boke and Bentley
1880	French obtain permission from Fulbe to build a railway running inland
1880	French sign treaty with the Kaloum Bagas- gain control of Tombo Peninsula
1881-99	French attacks against Samory Toure (eastern Guinea)
1882	French and English agree on boundary with Sierra Leone
1887	French gain control of Kaloum- land adjacent to Tombo Peninsula
1889	Conakry founded on what were Tombo and Kaloum
1890-94	French exploration of Guinea
1893	Guinea officially established as a French colony
1904	French and Portuguese agree on northern boundary
1905	Anti-Colonial struggles
1925	Africans are elected as Conseils d'Administration in the Guinean government
1946	The Parti Democratique de Guinee (PDG) is formed through the Rassemblement Democratique Africain (RDA)
1952	Sekou Toure becomes Secretary-General of the Guinean branch of the RDA
Sept. 1958	Guineans reject the De Gaulle constitution
Oct. 1958	Guinea becomes an independent republic (Sekou Toure is President)
1961	Nationalization Program begins with take over of water and power sources
1965	Diplomatic relations with France broken off
1970	Attempted coup by Portuguese and Guinean exiles
1975	Diplomatic relations with France re-established
1984	Sekou Toure dies and Lansana Conte becomes president

²⁰⁷ O'Toole. Historical Dictionary of Guinea. (New Jersey: Scarecrow Press, 1978) xii-xv.
 Conton, W.F. West Africa in History. (London: George Allen & Unwin LTD, 1961) 27, 36, 46.
 Nelson et al. Area Handbook, 13.

APPENDIX B: GENERAL MAPS

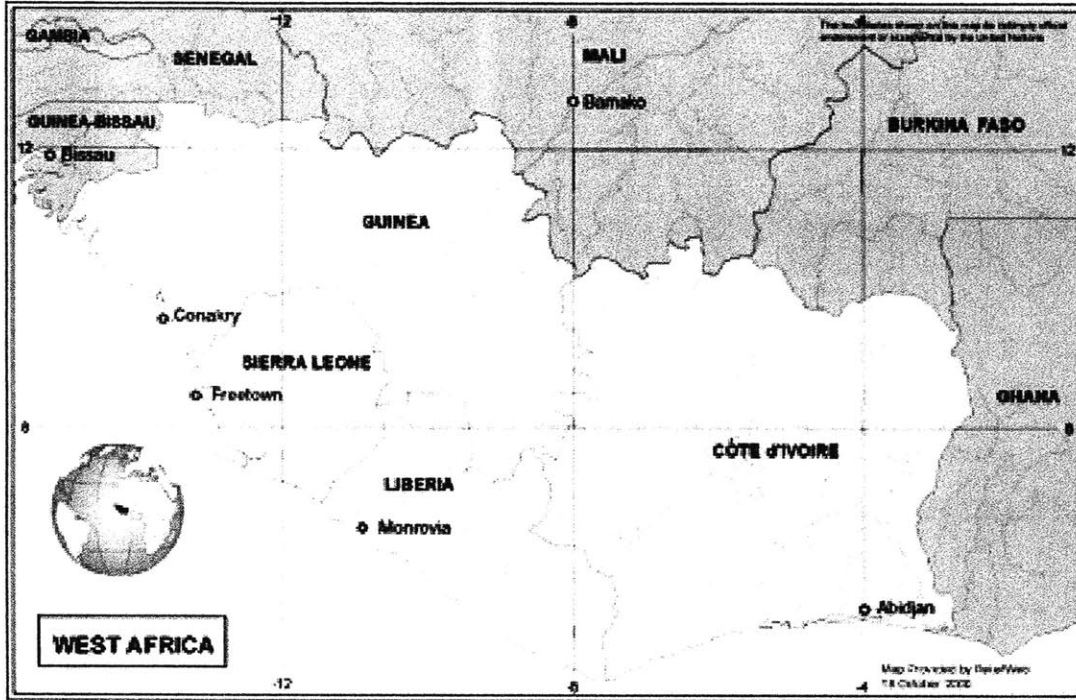


Figure 45: Current Map of West Africa

Source: Relief Web. "General Map of West Africa." <http://www.reliefweb.int/w/map.nsf/Region?OpenForm&Query=Africa>.

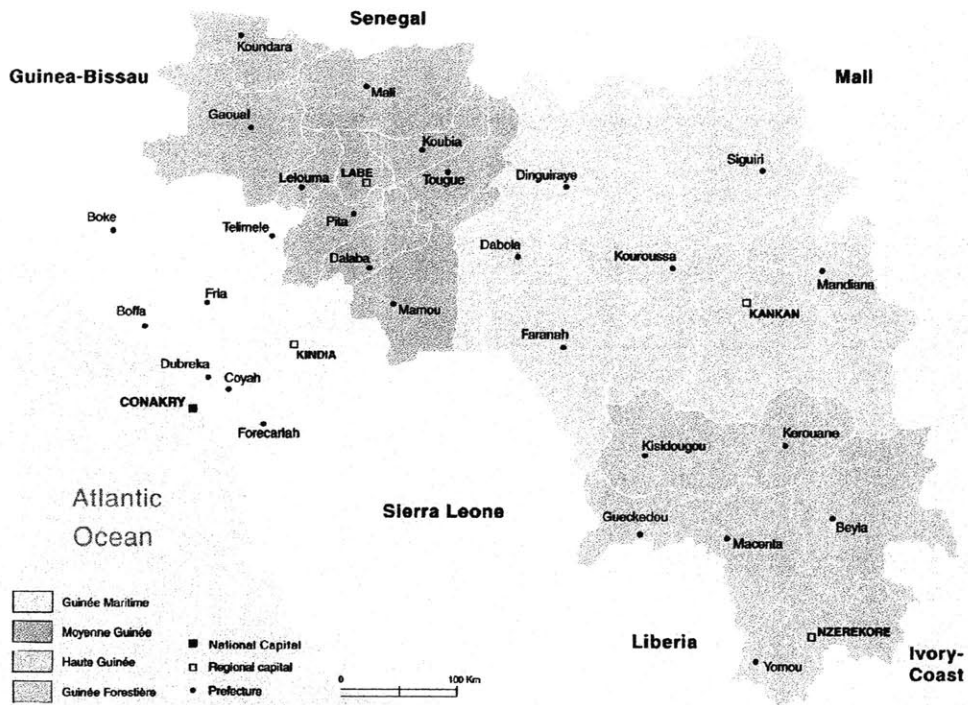


Figure 46: Current Map of Guinea and Prefectures

Source: Relief Web. "General Map of Guinea." http://www.reliefweb.int/w/map.nsf/Country?OpenForm&Query=Af_Guinea

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