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1918-1967



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PREFACE

A History of Africa, 1918-1967 continues the first essay in a systematic exposition of Africa's modern and contemporary history by Soviet scholars. This volume and *A History of Africa in the 19th and Early 20th Century*[1] cover a period of more than 150 years.

Summarising works on Africa's past are only now beginning to appear in world scientific literature. Science owes a big debt to the peoples of Africa. It may be said without fear of exaggeration that historians have devoted much less effort and talent to this vast continent than to any of the major West European countries. In recent years the flow of studies has been growing in geometric progression; nevertheless, much time and labour will be required before the history of Africa will have been studied to the same extent as that of Europe.

Only detailed, painstaking investigations, in which African researchers themselves are to play a major part, will provide the groundwork for recreating a panorama of Africa's past. Many of the propositions, which today seem self-evident and true, will most likely be amplified, supplemented and interpreted in a new way.

But the summing up of the accumulated knowledge must not be put off endlessly; it should be undertaken in close unity with the study of separate problems.

The student of Africa's contemporary history faces many difficulties. This is particularly true of the last 15 years when the political situation on the continent has changed kaleidoscopically and monographs written in the wake of the events often became outdated before reaching the bookshops.

The authors of *A History of Africa, 1918-1967* also had to cope with difficulties of another order. The time they studied abounds in events of truly historic import. In outlining the path traversed by about 40 countries in half a century, the authors naturally presented only major developments—moreover, in a very concise form. They did not try to consider the entire range of ge-

[1] *История Африки в XIX — начале XX в.*, Москва, 1968.

neral African problems; a study of many of them is beginning only now. Nor did they aim to visualise Africa's future development, the subject of such heated controversy in the world press.

The subject-matter in the volume is arranged by countries; general problems are analysed in the Introduction. Wherever expedient, the material on several countries is combined in one article. This was usually done when a group of countries had been in one political union for a long time, *de facto* or *de jure*. But even in such cases the history of sovereign states (since the proclamation of their independence) is given separately for each country.

The reader is offered a translation of the second Russian edition of *A History of Africa, 1918-1967*. (The first edition was issued in 1964[2].) The present volume brings events up to 1968 and is supplemented by several new chapters. Critical remarks and suggestions voiced in reviews of the first edition were also taken into account in the new volume.

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The editorial board takes this opportunity to thank all who took part in reviewing the volume prior to publication, whose critical remarks and advice were so helpful.

[2] *Новейшая история Африки*, Москва, 1964.

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INTRODUCTION

Contemporary history of mankind covers a period of momentous changes everywhere in the world. Ushered by the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia in 1917, this era has witnessed the triumph of socialism, the system that for centuries was the goal of champions of social justice. "The abolition of capitalism and its vestiges and the establishment of the fundamentals of the communist order", Lenin wrote, "comprise the content of the new era of world history that has set in."[1]

The general crisis of capitalism began during the First World War, and particularly as a result of the October Revolution. One of the components of the general crisis was a crisis of the colonial system. By breaching the world front of imperialism in 1917, the socialist revolution in Russia created favourable conditions for an upswing of the national-liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The oppressed peoples gained a powerful friend and mainstay in the world's first socialist state.

The October Revolution exerted a tremendous revolutionising impact on the many millions of people inhabiting the colonies and dependencies because it solved problems that were similar to their own problems. It put an end to oppression by the Russian capitalists and landowners, and also to Russia's dependence on the Western imperialist states; it abolished the oppression of the peoples in Russia's borderlands; it turned the Marxist-Leninist principles of equality of nationalities and the right of peoples to self-determination into law and applied them in practice; it demonstrated the possibility of non-capitalist development by formerly backward peoples, the possibility of their passing over in a brief historical period from pre-capitalist formations to socialist society, skipping the painful stage of capitalism. The October Revolution thus unfolded before the oppressed peoples a clear revolutionary perspective. To use the words of Abeid Karume, Vice-President of the United Republic of Tanzania and leader of the Afro-Shirazi Party, the October Revolution showed to all the peoples, including the African peoples, the road to liberation and independence.

[1] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 31, Moscow, 1966, p. 392.

The influence exerted by the October Revolution on the international working-class and Communist movement had great importance for the destinies of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America. By stimulating the revolutionary activity of the working class and toiling peasantry in the capitalist countries, the October Revolution made it easier for the colonies and dependencies to fight imperialism. With the founding of Communist Parties in the capitalist countries, the struggle of the masses there for emancipation from social oppression became still more closely connected with the struggle against oppression waged by the peoples in the colonies. The Communist Parties of France, Britain, Italy and other countries which had colonies actively promoted the African working-class and national-liberation movement. Millions of new fighters rallied under the banner of proletarian internationalism bearing the slogan: "No nation can be free if it oppresses other nations."

The imperialist First World War left its imprint on the colonial peoples, including those in Africa. It shook the entire capitalist world and aggravated the contradictions between the colonies and the metropolitan countries, between the oppressed nations and their oppressors. The postwar redivision of Africa by the Entente powers exacerbated these contradictions. True, the victorious powers could no longer seize African and other territories as brazenly and openly as they used to. Colonialism had so discredited itself that the imperialists were compelled to camouflage the redivision of the colonies effected under the 1919 Treaty of Versailles. To this end they devised the so-called mandate system. Basically, it did not differ from the earlier forms of colonial rule. Its substance, as Lenin pointed out, consisted in the distribution of mandates for "spoliation and plunder".[2]

The German colonies in Africa were divided among the victorious powers as follows: Britain received a League of Nations mandate over West Cameroun, Western Togo and Tanganyika; the Union of South Africa, over South West Africa (Britain turned over her mandate to the Union of South Africa); France, over East Cameroun and Eastern Togo; Belgium, over Ruanda-Urundi. Portugal received a district of German East Africa (Kionga), which was added to Mozambique. But the postwar redivision did not eliminate the inter-imperialist contradictions in Africa which undermined the imperialist front. On the contrary, they grew sharper and deeper, not only between victorious and vanquished countries but also among the victors themselves. Nests of new colonial conflicts and wars arose.

[2] See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 30, 1965, p. 159.

Lenin stated that "the imperialist war has drawn the dependent peoples into world history".[3] The war was an important political school for the African peoples. Hundreds of thousands of Africans, mobilised for active service, for building military installations, etc., came into contact with revolutionary-minded soldiers and workers from the metropolitan countries. Returning home, they carried to the remotest corners of Africa the truth about the socialist revolution in Russia and the growing revolutionary movement in other countries. Many became propagandists of new ideas, organisers and active participants in the anti-imperialist struggle.

Africa's part in the world capitalist economy increased during the war and, especially, in the postwar period. Before the war, foreign monopolies had only begun to open up most of the African colonies; now they penetrated every aspect of economic life there. Exploitation of the working masses on the African continent greatly increased in scale and intensity. The direct upshot was a sharp aggravation of the antagonism between the African peoples and their imperialist oppressors.

Colonialism fettered the development of the enslaved peoples. To facilitate colonial exploitation, the imperialists deliberately hampered economic and cultural progress in the colonies, preserved and restored obsolete forms of social relations, and fomented discord between nationalities and tribes. However, the drive for superprofits dictated development of the extractive industry, plantations and capitalist farms, and the building of ports, railways and roads in the colonies. Lenin noted this feature, emphasising that capitalist production was being transplanted to the colonies at an ever increasing rate.[4]

In consequence, social changes took place in the colonies, irrespective of the will of the colonialists. Feudal and semi-feudal relations were undermined and new social forces emerged—an industrial and agricultural proletariat, a national bourgeoisie and intelligentsia.

Under the colonial regime, when key positions in the economy were held by foreign capital, African workers saw their direct and chief exploiter in the foreign companies, foreign manufacturers, foreign farmers, foreign planters. Their class struggle inevitably became anti-imperialist.

In most African countries, however, the proletariat was numerically small, ideologically and politically immature and organisationally weak. Its crystallisation into an independent class was only beginning, and in many countries the process has not been completed to this day. Seasonal peasant workers comprised the main labour force both in agriculture and in industry. As a rule,

[3] V. L. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 31, p. 232.
[4] See *ibid.*, vol. 22, 1964, p. 337.

they returned to their native village upon expiration of the contract term, and new groups of the rural poor took their place. This migration of labour retarded the growth of the African proletariat's class consciousness and hindered the formation of proletarian organisations.

A considerable stratum of regular workers arose only in the relatively more developed countries, such as Egypt, the Union of South Africa and the Maghreb countries. Africa's first Communist Parties and organisations came into being in these countries under the direct impact of the ideas of the October Revolution. Their members were progressive workers and peasants and democratic intellectuals.

At the beginning of the 1920's Communist Parties were founded in the Union of South Africa and in Egypt. In 1920, sections of the French Communist Party were set up in Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco; subsequently they were reconstituted into independent Communist parties.[5] A section of the French Communist Party was also set up on Madagascar. In the early years of the present century there were only a few trade unions in all of Africa, primarily for Europeans (for example, in the Union of South Africa and Algeria). Now trade union organisations of Africans arose in a number of countries. The unions gradually became the organisers of strikes not only in the north and south but also in Tropical Africa.

The African peasantry, too, was rising up to fight the colonialists. Its best lands had been alienated and the colonial authorities were forcing it to produce one or two export crops.[6] It was reduced to abject poverty by the monopoly-dictated low purchasing prices and the colonial taxes and levies. Already at the time of Africa's colonial division the peasant masses staunchly resisted foreign invasion, but their resistance was crushed; moreover, imperialist domination was facilitated by the support given the colonialists by a large group of the feudal elements and tribal chiefs, who sought to preserve their privileged position.

The specific conditions in the African countryside helped the imperialists to utilise the feudal and tribal nobility as their social mainstay. Substantial elements and survivals of the tribal system were preserved in the tropical and southern parts of Africa and also in the interior of North Africa. Feudal exploitation was often cloaked in patriarchal garb, blunting, as it were, the social contradictions. This enabled the feudal and semi-feudal strata to preserve a strong influence on the peasant masses, to resist the spread of the peasant movement and the formation of revolutionary organisations.

[5] In 1936 in Algeria, in 1939 in Tunisia and in 1943 in Morocco.
[6] Chana, for example, became a producer of cacao, the Sudan of cotton and Tanganyika of sisal.

Gradually more and more peasants were drawn into the national-liberation movement, primarily thanks to the processes under way in the African countryside itself (penetration of capitalist relations and large-scale dispossession of the peasants) and the influence of urban revolutionary elements.

The migration of labour that was characteristic of Africa had adverse social consequences, as mentioned above; but on the other hand, it speeded the breakdown of tribal barriers to national consolidation. Seasonal work also helped to establish regular contacts between town and country and ultimately to revolutionise the toiling rural population.

Peasants, workers and urban semi-proletarians made up the main detachments of fighters in the national-liberation movement. The national bourgeoisie (in any case, a considerable part of it) and the intellectuals also participated in it.

The colonial regime greatly restricted the sphere of operation of national capital, and this, primarily, prompted the bulk of the African bourgeoisie to oppose imperialist rule. Mining and other large industrial enterprises, the banks, wholesale trade, transport, plantations and capitalist-type farms mainly belonged to foreign capital or were controlled by it. The monopolies, which enjoyed the unlimited support of the colonial authorities, impeded the development of the African bourgeoisie, regarding it as a potential rival. In fact, only in Egypt and in the Maghreb countries (but here to a much smaller extent) did the national bourgeoisie gain any substantial positions in the economy. In the sub-Saharan countries the African bourgeois class was chiefly represented by petty-bourgeois elements. The term "national bourgeoisie" could be applied to them only if one bears in mind that the process of crystallisation of the bourgeoisie was only just beginning.

In these circumstances it was chiefly the intellectuals who organised the national forces in many African countries. But they, too, were as yet numerically small, particularly democratic-minded intellectuals. Gradually, however, their ranks grew, with the democratic wing closest to the people gaining in strength.

In the interwar period a number of anti-imperialist parties and organisations headed by the national bourgeoisie and intellectuals sprang up in African countries. While formerly such organisations had been formed almost exclusively in the north and in the Union of South Africa, now more and more of them arose in Tropical Africa, for example, the National Democratic Party of Nigeria, the Young Dahomeyan Movement in French West Africa, and the Kikuyu Central Association in Kenya. Alongside organisations operating in individual countries, there appeared broader political associations with influence in a group of countries. Specifically, the National Congress of British West Africa was founded in 1920 by delegates of the Gold Coast (now Ghana), Nigeria, Sierra Leone and the Gambia.

Let us recall that in the period of Africa's colonial partition the political, national and tribal disunity of the peoples made it easier for the imperialists to enslave the African countries. Hence the importance of the trend towards national, regional and continental unity. An instance of this trend was the Pan-African movement uniting primarily intellectuals of Tropical African countries and American Negroes.

Prior to the Second World War, African nationalist parties and organisations did not, as a rule, call for national independence, confining themselves to a struggle for partial reforms. Nor did the programme documents of the Pan-African movement urge sovereignty for African countries. The first Pan-African Congress, which met in Paris in 1919 (at the same time as the Paris Peace Conference), appealed to the governments of the metropolitan powers to admit Africans to administering the colonies, put an end to the use of slave and forced labour, abolish corporal punishment, etc. The Congress sponsors were leaders of the Negro movement in the United States headed by William Du Bois, outstanding scholar and public leader; they dedicated themselves to mobilising world opinion against racial discrimination both in the U.S.A. and in Africa. The first Pan-African Congress and the three following Congresses [7] were rather Pan-Negro in tendency. Although Pan-Africanism had some features of racial limitedness, it played its part in spreading the liberation movement in African countries and in consolidating the anti-imperialist forces on a continental scale.

In Africa, as in the rest of the world, the period directly after the October Revolution was marked by mass revolutionary actions against imperialism. The national-liberation struggle was especially sharp in the north of Africa and in the Union of South Africa—in countries more developed than those of Tropical Africa. The Egyptian uprisings in 1919 and 1921 and the five-year armed struggle of the Rif Republic (Morocco) against the French and Spanish colonialists were among the world's biggest anti-colonial battles in the initial stage of the general crisis of capitalism. An unprecedented wave of strikes swept the Union of South Africa. In 1920, more than 70,000 African miners struck in the Witwatersrand; a strike of European workers held there in 1922 swelled up into an armed uprising.

Tropical Africa had no such revolutionary actions, but here, too, the liberation struggle was on the upgrade. Anti-imperialist uprisings and unrest gripped Nigeria, Kenya, French West Africa, the Belgian Congo and other countries.

In the period of capitalism's relative and partial stabilisation (1924-1929) after the years of revolutionary advance, there was

[7] The Second Pan-African Congress (1921) was held in London, Brussels and Paris; the third (1923) in London and Lisbon, and the fourth (1927) in New York.

almost no ebb of the revolutionary movement in Africa, in contrast to the Western capitalist countries. It will be recalled that the stabilisation itself was in large measure achieved through more intensive exploitation of the colonies, including those in Africa. The oppressed peoples naturally resisted. In the very first year of relative stabilisation a mass strike movement swept Egypt and Tunisia. The Rif uprising in Morocco continued up to 1926, and separate pockets of armed resistance to the French and Spanish colonialists lasted into the early 1930's. In Libya, the war of liberation against the Italian colonialists which began in 1911, continued with brief interruptions until 1932. There were uprisings in Italian Somaliland, Chad, the Middle Congo, French Cameroun and Angola, and strikes in Sierra Leone, Mozambique and on Madagascar, to mention only a few of the revolutionary events in Tropical Africa during capitalism's relative stabilisation.

The world economic crisis of 1929-1933 was another factor which spurred on the anti-colonial struggle in Africa. The efforts of foreign monopoly capital to solve the crisis-engendered problems by stepping up the plunder of colonial peoples (new land expropriations, wider use of forced labour, an increase in taxes, reduction of purchasing prices of export farm produce, wholesale dismissals of workers, cuts in wages, etc.) sharply aggravated contradictions between the colonies and the metropolitan countries.

In Africa the crisis years witnessed uprisings in Egypt, Angola, the Belgian Congo and elsewhere, big strikes of industrial and agricultural workers, mass political demonstrations in towns, frequently ending in clashes with the police and troops, and peasant unrest and riots. In a number of countries African soldiers refused to follow orders to put down popular actions.

Progressive sections of African society saw the 1929-1933 crisis as proof of the waning strength of the capitalist system. The influence of socialist ideas grew as news about the progress made by the socialist nations of the Soviet Union reached Africa despite barriers erected by the colonialists.

The ties between the African and other national-liberation movements and the revolutionary working-class movement in the capitalist countries grew stronger during the crisis period. These two streams of the worldwide struggle against imperialism became more closely intertwined than ever.

The economic upheavals in 1929-1933 intensified inter-imperialist contradictions by sharpening the struggle for markets, sources of cheap raw materials and spheres of investment. The threat of a Second World War, emanating chiefly from the fascist powers, hung over the world. Redivision of the African colonies held an important place in the aggressive schemes of German and Italian fascism.

Ethiopia's heroic resistance to the aggression of fascist Italy was one of the most striking pages of African history in the interwar period. The Italian invasion of Ethiopia aroused wrath and indignation in the other African countries. Millions of Africans identified Ethiopia's struggle for independence with the struggle against colonialism in general, with a fight to free the entire continent. The upswing in the anti-imperialist movement, in the activity of international and national African organisations which headed the mass campaign of protest against Italian aggression and for aid to the Ethiopian people, was a sign of growing solidarity among Africa's peoples in the arduous battles against colonialism.

The international events associated with the Italo-Ethiopian war of 1935-1936 showed the African peoples once again that the Soviet Union was the only great power which consistently upheld their interests. While France, Britain and the United States actually encouraged Italian fascist aggression by their "non-intervention" policy, the Soviet Union energetically sought to curb the aggressor and effectively help the freedom-loving Ethiopian people.

Through persistent battles for freedom the African peoples wrested some concessions from the imperialists in the interwar period. In 1922, the Egyptian people achieved abolition of the British protectorate and restoration of formal independence, although actually the country remained in the colonial grip. In a number of colonies, Africans were admitted to representative bodies which were set up under the governors and had advisory functions, and also to municipal councils. These minor concessions signified cracks in the colonial administration system, which subsequently were widened and deepened.

In the first stage in the general crisis of capitalism the African peoples did not, however, score decisive successes in their struggle for independence: the slogan of freedom for all African peoples and abolition of the colonial regime throughout the continent was not yet wide spread. The victory of the anti-imperialist revolution still lay ahead. On the whole, the interwar period can be called a prologue to that revolution.

* * *

The Second World War (1939-1945) further deepened the general crisis of capitalism and stimulated the growth of the anti-imperialist forces in the colonies and dependencies, the African countries included.

Although the war years brought about important changes in Africa's economy, bourgeois economists who assert that Africa underwent a tempestuous economic advance and rapid industrial growth are mistaken. The extraction of diamonds, uranium, tin and zinc ores, cobalt, antimony, graphite, asbestos and coal noticeably increased. On the other hand, the mining of phosphorites,

gold, iron, manganese and chromium ores declined. The cut in imports and the consequent shortage of consumer goods spurred on a certain expansion of manufacturing—the food-processing, textile, leather and woodworking industries. Roads, bridges, airfields and warehouses were built quite intensively throughout the continent, especially in areas of hostilities; sea and river ports were enlarged.

The Western powers in the anti-Hitler coalition drew extensively on African strategic raw-material resources. They shipped out large quantities of grain and meat, disregarding the needs of the local population. Italy and Germany (in the French colonies which fell under their control) acted in the same way in the early years of the war.

Exploitation of the African peoples by foreign monopoly capital, specifically through non-equivalent exchange, was stepped up. Agricultural produce was bought up from the peasants at very low prices. Thus, British monopolies paid £10 for a ton of cacao beans in the Gold Coast colony as compared to £50 before the war. Yet British goods were sold from 100 to 150 per cent higher than before the war.

The incomes of peasants and real wages of factory and office workers dropped disastrously. The use of forced labour was extended; the population in vast areas of the continent suffered from starvation and epidemics.

Roughly one million Africans were mobilised into the army and about two million served the troops. Thousands of guerrillas in Ethiopia, Somaliland and North African countries selflessly fought against the fascist aggressors. African soldiers fought in the ranks of the Allied armies in Africa, Western Europe, the Middle East, Burma and Malaya.

The success of the Anglo-American forces in Africa was largely determined by the staunch resistance the Soviet Union offered to the fascist aggression.

"I recall the war months", wrote Gabriel d'Arboussier, Senegalese political figure, "when the radio carried to the most distant corner of our forests and deserts reports about the victories of the Soviet Army thousands of kilometres away from our poor villages, victories which everyone instinctively acclaimed as victories of their own arms."

The war left a deep imprint on the minds of Africans, both those who directly took part in it and those who worked in the fields, mines and factories. Africa's tangible contribution to the victory over fascism thus helped it to become aware of its own strength. Also, the war laid bare the deep contradictions in the imperialist camp and, what is particularly important, demonstrated the strength of socialism, the strength of the Soviet Union which played the decisive part in defeating the fascist bloc. The

war convinced the African peoples of the might of the socialist state, their true friend and an implacable enemy of colonialism.

Millions of Africans regarded the liberation of the fascist-enslaved countries and peoples as a prologue to their own liberation. The collapse of the nazi racialist ideas signified for Africa'a freedom fighters the collapse of racialism in general and the ideology of colonialism based upon it. Africa yearned for change and imperatively demanded it.

A new advance of the liberation movement began in wartime. In the postwar period the entire continent became the field of a bitter battle against colonialism, a battle that developed in a new historical situation, marked by a radical change in the world balance of forces.

The second stage of capitalism's general crisis started during the Second World War and the socialist revolutions in a number of European and Asian countries. The capitalist system sustained irreparable losses, the world socialist system was formed and the irreversible disintegration of the colonial system began.

Time was working against colonialism. But the colonial powers lent a deaf ear to African demands. True, the Atlantic Charter, made public by the leaders of Britain and the United States in August 1941, spoke about respect for the right of nations freely to choose their form of government. But actually the matter was limited to widely publicised promises by the metropolitan countries to carry out constitutional reforms after the war, to set up local self-government bodies, and so on and so forth. All these declarations, designed to persuade the Africans to work for victory, did not prevent the imperialist powers from preserving the colonial regimes after the war. Moreover, they tried to convert the United Nations, founded in 1945, into an instrument for bolstering up colonialism. With the support of an obedient majority they kept their grip even on the mandate territories, this time with the help of the trusteeship system. The latter, contrary to the U.N. Charter, was converted by the "trustees" into a variety of colonialism. The ruling circles of the Union of South Africa refused to include South West Africa (a former mandate territory) in the trusteeship system and actually annexed that country.

Having lost their positions in Eastern Europe and a large part of Asia, the imperialists were anxious to entrench themselves in Africa, regarding it as their last colonial reserve. In postwar years the flow of foreign investments to Africa increased, speeding development of the extractive industry, some branches of agriculture, the power industry and transport facilities.[8] In the mid-1950's

[8] Between 1870 and 1936, Britain invested about £1,000 million in her African colonies, while investments in the first ten years after the Second World War amounted to £650 million. French private investments in African countries doubled between 1947 and 1958, from 2,000 million to 4,000 million old francs.

Africa held a prominent place in the economy of the capitalist world. It supplied 98 per cent of the diamonds, 80 per cent of the cobalt, 56 per cent of the gold, 38 per cent of the chromium, 36 per cent of the manganese and 27 per cent of the copper produced in the capitalist world. Agricultural output in 1955 was about 50 per cent higher than the annual average for 1934-1938. The total value of African exports increased from $ 1000 million on the eve of the war (1938) to $ 5,440 million in 1955.

As hitherto, all the wealth created by the African people was extracted by European and American countries. The bigger their investments in Africa, the greater the superprofits the foreign monopolies raked in. In the mid-1950's, British investments in South Africa, estimated at £ 860 million, yielded a stable profit of 15 per cent, or about £130 million annually. Some companies often registered much higher profits. For example, in the 1954/55 financial year the profits of the Rhokana Co., which mined copper ore in Northern Rhodesia, amounted to 212 per cent of the invested capital.

In postwar years, the U.S. monopolies, building up their invisible colonial empire, launched a broad military-political and economic invasion of Africa. The old colonial powers found the United States a very strong and dangerous competitor. U.S. imperialism did not have its own colonies in Africa (although it held very strong positions in Liberia, nominally an independent country), but this did not prevent it from undertaking the intensive exploitation of British, French, Belgian and other colonies.

The United States left Britain, France and Belgium far behind in investment growth rates. In five years (1951-1955) direct U.S. investments in Africa increased more than 2.5 times, from $ 313 million to $ 793 million. The United States made particularly deep inroads into the economy of the Union of South Africa, Northern and Southern Rhodesia, the Belgian Congo and a number of countries in the northern and western parts of the continent. The U.S.-controlled International Bank for Reconstruction and Development became an important vehicle of American influence.

Acting as the main bulwark of colonialism, Washington also became the military-political organiser in Africa for the imperialist powers.

After the war, American armed forces remained in a number of African countries. New air and naval bases were built in addition to the existing ones. The military command of NATO, headed by the United States, assigned Africa an important place in its strategic plans. Besides creating a threat to peace and international security, NATO activities in Africa were to no smaller degree directed against the mounting national-liberation movement.

The intensified imperialist expansion came up against vigorous resistance from the African peoples. Before the Second World War, national forces capable of heading the liberation struggle

were still weak, but after the war the situation changed. Capitalism developed in Africa at a faster pace than before the war and the formation of new classes and social strata was accelerated. The influx of the rural population to the towns was sharply increased both by industrial development and the progressing ruin of the peasants. In the towns and adjacent industrial districts, anti-imperialist forces matured and accumulated; political parties, trade union centres, and national and other organisations were set up.

During the war and the first ten years after the war, the working class grew noticeably and became better organised. According to estimates, in the mid-1950's Africa had more than 10 million wage workers.

In Africa as a whole about 50 per cent of all persons in paid employment were engaged in agriculture, about 40 per cent in industry and transport, and 10 per cent in the civil service and trading establishments.

The trade union movement spread to almost all the African countries after the Second World War.

In some countries the trade unions took an active part in the political struggle (the Sudan, Ghana, Nigeria and others). They led strikes, worked to set up an anti-imperialist front and rallied the masses to fight for independence. The World Federation of Trade Unions played a big part in developing and strengthening the African trade union movement.

The colonialists utilised every possible means to fight the revolutionary trade union movement—police club law, restriction of trade union freedoms, and persecution of union leaders. They tried hard to confine the activity of the unions to demands for partial economic concessions. To this end the colonial authorities extensively drew on assistance from the leadership of reformist trade unions in the metropolitan countries, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions, and others.

In addition, the imperialists resorted to the services of the Socialist International and Right-wing Socialist parties and groups. The Right-wing Socialists of Western countries and their followers in some African countries sought to split the national-liberation movement and corrupt it with the ideology of compromise and reformism.

The Communist Parties and Communist groups in African countries worked in difficult underground or semi-underground conditions. Although not yet mass parties, they were the ones which most clearly formulated the aims and tasks of the people's struggle. By putting forward programmes of national liberation and working to build a united anti-imperialist front the Communist Parties increased their influence in the unions and among broad sections of African working people. The ideas of Marxism-Leninism became popular among many fighters for Africa's freedom.

The conflict between the national bourgeoisie and the foreign monopolies grew sharper in the postwar years. Although national capital took a noticeably bigger part in Africa's economic development, its opportunities were still limited mainly to agriculture, the crafts, small-scale enterprise and retail trade. The deepening of the contradictions between foreign monopoly capital and the national bourgeoisie compelled the latter to join more resolutely and boldly in the general liberation struggle.

Africa's intellectuals began to play a bigger part. The pressure of national forces and the needs of the colonial economy led to an extension of the network of educational establishments and an increase in the number of Africans studying overseas. The democratic wing of the African intelligentsia grew; it produced such outstanding liberation leaders as Patrice Lumumba, Félix Moumié and Ruben Um Niobe, who were killed by the colonialists or their agents, Jomo Kenyatta, Kwame Nkrumah and others.

The demands for political independence and abolition of the shameful colonialist system were supported by the entire people. They were also accepted by the Pan-African movement. The Fifth Pan-African Congress, held in Manchester in October 1945, made a big step forward as compared with the prewar congresses. It was attended not only by individual leaders of the Negro movement from different continents, but also by delegates of parties, trade unions and national organisations of fighting Africa. The mass basis of the Congress determined the revolutionary nature of its decisions. The Congress' address to the colonial peoples stated that it recognised the people's right to self-government; it confirmed the right of all colonial peoples to choose their own destinies. All colonies must be free of foreign control, both political and economic. The colonial peoples must have the right to elect their own governments, unrestricted by any foreign power.

The imperialist press described the Congress delegates as a handful of extremists, whose calls would strike no response among the "backward population" of the colonies. In reality, however, the Congress' decisions reflected the depth and sweep of the revolutionary liberation movement which gripped the African continent. They took into account the tremendous growth of anti-imperialist forces throughout the world, which created favourable conditions for the assault on colonialism. In the early postwar years, political parties and national organisations were set up in almost all African countries. Great influence in the respective countries was gained by the Democratic Union of the Algerian Manifesto and the Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Freedoms, and, subsequently, by the National Liberation Front in Algeria; the Independence Party (Istiqlal) in Morocco, the Graduates' General Congress and the National Unionist Party in the Eastern Sudan; the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons and the affiliated Northern Elements' Progressive Union in Nigeria; the United Convention and then the Convention People's Party in the Gold Coast; the Democratic Assembly of Africa and its numerous sections in French West and Equatorial Africa; the Union of the Cameroonian Peoples, the Kenya African Union, the African National Congresses of Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia, Nyasaland and others. Many of them presented the governments of the metropolitan countries with demands for state sovereignty, national parliaments based on democratic constitutions and sovereign governments.

Successes by progressive forces in organising a national anti-imperialist front were registered in Africa during this period. The organisation of such a front represented the greatest possible danger to the colonialists, and they fought it ferociously.

Immediate tasks of the national-liberation movement were formulated differently in various countries. Very often the struggle was directed against specific manifestations of colonial oppression: for example, against the alienation of land and for the return of the land expropriated by the colonialists, as was the case in Kenya; against racial discrimination and racialist laws in the Union of South Africa and other countries; against imperialist plans of uniting the colonies in various federations, as was the case in Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland and Southern Rhodesia; for constitutional reforms in Nigeria, the Gold Coast and French West and Equatorial Africa; for the withdrawal of foreign troops in Egypt and the Sudan. But all these specific tasks were subordinated to one great common goal, of which the people were increasingly aware—the abolition of colonialism.

The forms of struggle also differed greatly from country to country, depending on the balance of political forces and the local conditions. In some countries the people rose up to armed struggle. In others they organised demonstrations and rallies, boycotted goods from the metropolitan countries and conducted disobedience campaigns against unjust laws. Strikes were held in the towns and peasant riots flared up in the villages.

The imperialists spared no efforts to stem the liberation movement. They banned progressive organisations, the Communist Parties and trade unions. Repressions were applied on a wide scale. Imperialist armies waged brutal colonial wars against the peoples of Madagascar, Kenya, Cameroun and Algeria.

At the same time the imperialists, seeking to extend their social mainstay in African countries, began to admit part of the African bourgeoisie to spheres of enterprise from which it had been barred, and even to foreign companies. More Africans were included in colonial administration bodies. The most dependable of them, ready to collaborate with the colonialists, received high posts and correspondingly high salaries. Thus a new African elite, closely linked with foreign capital, was created.

Popular pressure compelled the imperialist powers to make more and weightier concessions, but their propaganda machine pictured the concessions as voluntary measures and assiduously circulated a myth that the metropolitan countries had a "disinterested desire" to promote the progress of the colonial peoples. Actually, however, the constitutional reforms were an attempt to stem the tide of the anti-imperialist struggle and to postpone the hour of colonialism's doom. The colonialists did everything to place in power the most reactionary forces, to prepare the ground so as to be able to keep the African countries in economic and political bondage in future, after they had won freedom. Some of the forms and methods of neo-colonialism were elaborated in those years.

But the situation shaping in Africa was such that nothing could halt the inevitable break-up of the colonial regimes. The second stage in the general crisis of capitalism went down in the history of Africa as the beginning of the assault on colonialism, the period of paving the way to winning independence.

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The mid-1950's were a landmark in the contemporary history of Africa, a period when the colonial system collapsed and new sovereign states arose and developed.

The national-liberation revolution swept country after country. Of great importance for the entire continent was the Egyptian revolution of 1952, consolidated in 1956 by nationalisation of the Suez Canal and the rebuff given to Anglo-Franco-Israeli aggression. British rule also collapsed in the Eastern Sudan—the Republic of the Sudan was formed on January 1, 1956.

The great upswing of the liberation movement in Morocco and Tunisia led to the proclamation of independence in both countries in 1956.

The major victories of the peoples in North and North East Africa were reinforced by the offensive of national forces in the countries of Tropical Africa. Their liberation began with the proclamation of the independence of Ghana, a state which arose in 1957 on the territory of two British colonies, the Gold Coast and Togoland. In 1958, Guinea became the first French colony in Tropical Africa to win independence.

The year 1960 is remembered as Africa Year, when 17 countries gained independence—all the colonies of French West Africa and French Equatorial Africa, Madagascar, the Belgian Congo, the French trust territories of Togo and Cameroun, and Nigeria. British Somaliland and Somalia under the trusteeship of Italy reunited into a sovereign republic.

Sierra Leone and Tanganyika ceased to be British colonies in 1961. The new states of Rwanda, Burundi and Uganda appeared

in 1962. Algeria won victory after a cruel war which lasted almost eight years and claimed a toll of more than one million lives. In December 1963, the colonial regime in Kenya and on Zanzibar was abolished, and the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, whipped together at such great effort by British imperialism early in the 1950's, disintegrated. In 1964, Nyasaland proclaimed itself the Republic of Malawi, and Northern Rhodesia became the state of Zambia; Tanganyika and Zanzibar united as Tanzania. In 1965, the Gambia became independent, and at the end of 1966 two of the three British protectorates in southern Africa, Bechuanaland and Basutoland, gained independence. They are named Botswana and Lesotho respectively. Mauritius Is. gained independence early in 1968.

As late as 1955, only five states stood out on the map of Africa amidst the boundless colonial territories. These were Egypt, Liberia, Ethiopia, Libya (proclaimed independent in 1951 in accordance with a U.N. decision) and also the Union of South Africa, where the Africans were in a worse position than in many colonies. Since then the number of sovereign African states has grown almost eight-fold. In mid-1968 there were 40 of them.

What lies behind the staggering changes on the African continent and throughout the colonial world? The imperialists offer their own explanation. Many official statements have been issued in the West, and hundreds of books and pamphlets published, all for the sole purpose of persuading the people that the imperialist countries presented independence to Africa on a silver platter. Harold Macmillan, ex-Prime Minister of Britain, said: "For more than a century it has been our purpose to guide our dependent territories towards freedom and independence." He reiterated these words from the rostrum of the United Nations.

To what extent they correspond to reality is graphically demonstrated by the Algerian villages razed to the ground by napalm, the tens of thousands of Kenyans who were executed or confined to concentration camps, the corpses of Angolese done to death by Portuguese punitive detachments, the vast territory of the Congo reduced to ruin. Even Nigeria, which, it is customarily held, marched to independence "along the classical road of constitutional reforms", witnessed the shooting down of miners in Enugu. Patrice Lumumba, national hero of the Congo and all Africa, stressed that "independence is never granted": it can only be won.

But to understand the achievements of the national-liberation movement, you have to take into account more than just the situation in each particular African country. That most African countries gained political independence by non-military methods is explained by the balance of world forces. It is indisputable that the decisive successes of the national-liberation revolution were

greatly facilitated by the increased strength of the socialist community and the weakening of imperialism.

The Soviet Union invariably comes to the aid of the national-liberation movement. Determined actions by the Soviet Union helped the Egyptian people to defend their country from imperialist aggression in 1956 and infused the fighters for Africa's freedom with confidence. Socialist countries came to the aid of independent Guinea when the imperialists sought to strangle her in the noose of economic blockade and political isolation. The U.S.S.R. consistently supported Tunisia in the critical days of the fighting against foreign troops concentrated in Bizerta. It sided with Zanzibar and other African countries when the colonialists tried to rob them of their newly-gained freedom. The Algerian, Egyptian and other peoples fought against imperialism with arms received from socialist countries, the Soviet Union above all. Gone forever are the days when Africa could put up only spears and assegais against the modern arms of the colonialists.

Of great importance were the efforts by socialist countries in the United Nations and other international forums to secure the right of oppressed peoples to freedom and independent development. It was on the Soviet Union's initiative that the United Nations adopted the historic decision on the abolition of colonialism, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

Africa's liberation forces received effective help from the Communist Parties in the metropolitan countries and the international working-class and Communist movement as a whole. The Communist Parties of France, Great Britain, Belgium, Portugal, Spain and Italy firmly opposed colonialism. This took great courage amidst chauvinist drives which gripped a considerable part of the population, as in France during the Algerian war and in Belgium during the events connected with the proclamation of Congolese independence. The 1957 and 1960 meetings of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties strengthened the alliance between world socialism and the national-liberation revolution.

The successes scored by the Asian peoples weakened imperialism and thereby contributed to the advance of the anti-imperialist movement in Africa. The call for Afro-Asian solidarity in the struggle against colonialism, proclaimed by the Bandung Afro-Asian Conference in April 1955, greatly inspired Africans.

On the threshold of the 1960's the role of the African countries in the Afro-Asian solidarity movement rose steeply. While Africans were forced to make their way to the Bandung Conference secretly, hiding from the colonial authorities, the subsequent Afro-Asian solidarity conferences were held on African soil—in Cairo (December 1957-January 1958) and in Conakry (April 1960). These conferences set up the Afro-Asian Solidarity Organisation.

For a correct understanding of events in each particular African country it is necessary to bear in mind the situation in other areas of the continent, whose peoples wage a struggle against a common enemy, imperialism, frequently against one and the same metropolitan country. Victory in one country inevitably affects the destiny of others. Much credit for the fact that many French colonies gained independence without firing a single shot goes to heroic Algeria. Bogged down in the Algerian war, the French imperialists did not risk the prospect of fighting two or three more such wars in other African countries.

As the national-liberation revolution developed, the African peoples increasingly realised the community of the tasks facing them and the need to unite forces on the scale of the entire continent. Since 1958 African countries have been holding conferences to solve their common problems. This is an indicator of the tremendous growth of the liberation forces.

The first conference of independent African states was convened on the initiative of the Ghanaian Government in Accra on April 15-22, 1958. It was attended by delegates from the eight independent states (except the Union of South Africa) existing at that time. The main subject was the struggle against imperialism and colonialism on the African continent. This was reflected in the conference decisions on economic and social questions, international peace and security, the situation in Algeria and other issues. The opening date of the conference, April 15, has been observed since then as Africa Freedom Day.

The second conference of independent African states (Addis Ababa, June 14-24, 1960) was attended by Ghana, Guinea, Cameroun, Liberia, Libya, Morocco, the United Arab Republic, Tunisia and Ethiopia. Delegates from a number of colonies were present, including those on the eve of gaining independence: the Congo, Nigeria and Somaliland. The conference adopted decisions aimed at further developing the national-liberation movement.

The All-African People's Conferences have become a wide forum of African opinion. The first was held in Accra in December 1958, the second in Tunis in January 1960, and the third in Cairo in March 1961. Standing elected agencies have been functioning in the intervals between the conferences.

In the course of these conferences the idea of unity was expounded and given more definite shape. The range of questions examined was broadened. The second All-African People's Conference devoted more attention than the first to such problems as the role of the working class in the struggle for the complete liberation of Africa, the policy of positive neutrality and the struggle for peace. The first conference concentrated on the problem of political liberation; the second, on the attainment of economic independence; the third was devoted to the struggle against neo-colonialism, by that time the greatest threat to Africa.

The striving for more vigorous methods of struggle became

stronger with each successive conference. While at the first conference many delegates insisted on non-violence, on passive resistance as the only acceptable tactics, the second conference recommended the formation of a volunteer corps to aid Algeria and the fighting peoples of other countries, and the third called for setting up an African supreme command.

The demands put forward at the conferences became more resolute and militant.

By 1967, the first stage of the national-liberation revolution had ended everywhere with the exception of the southern part of the continent (speaking of big countries); direct colonial rule still exists in Angola, Mozambique and South West Africa. The Republic of South Africa, the main bastion of colonialism on the continent, is helping the metropolitan countries to preserve the colonial order in this area. After the break-up of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and the establishment of Malawi and Zambia, the government of the British colony of Southern Rhodesia, representing the white settlers, made a unilateral declaration of independence in 1965, contrary to the will of the African majority of the population. The Rhodesian Government is out to set up a regime similar to South Africa's.

North of the Equator, the colonial status has been preserved only in small countries like French Somaliland, Portuguese Guinea, the Spanish Sahara, Ifni and Cape Verde Is. Franco's troops continue to occupy the Moroccan ports of Ceuta and Melilla.

On the whole, the colonial system in Africa has collapsed, and its complete abolition is not far distant. In itself, however, this does not yet spell the end of colonialism. Political independence has not led to immediate transformation of the continent's economy. The proclamation of independence did not cut the innumerable economic threads in which the foreign monopolies enmeshed the African countries during the years of colonial rule. The economic backwardness of the newly-free countries, the agrarian and raw-material nature of their economy, dependence on the world capitalist market formed in the course of many decades—all this is utilised by imperialism to continue the colonial pillage of peoples that have won political independence.

The imperialists are naturally modifying the forms and methods of their domination and adapting them to the new situation. The classical coloniser, wearing a helmet and carrying a lash in his hand, is disappearing. The old methods are being replaced by the new, more flexible and camouflaged but no less pernicious methods of neo-colonialism.

U.S. imperialism, main bulwark of present-day colonialism, the old colonial powers, which are doing everything to preserve their positions, and also West Germany and the other capitalist countries who have swarmed to Africa after the war, are all applying these methods.

Neo-colonialism has built up an extensive arsenal that includes economic enslavement (particularly under the guise of aid, loans and trade); consolidation of political influence by installing puppet regimes; the cultivation of a middle class as a new social mainstay; the imposition of fettering "defence" agreements and the preservation of foreign troops and military bases on the territory of young states; ideological expansion, spearheaded by anti-communism, with the object of keeping the African countries within the capitalist system; the fomenting of discord between countries, peoples and tribes; collective colonialism, which assumes economic forms or is effected through military-political intervention, going as far as the use of United Nations forces and staff, as in the Congo.

Neo-colonialism tries to take advantage of the artificial nature of many frontiers that were drawn in the period of Africa's division and were received by the present African states as a legacy from colonialism. By fomenting disputes and reciprocal territorial claims, the imperialists seek to weaken present-day Africa.

With the help of these and various other methods, the imperialist powers are trying to reduce the independence of African countries to a mere formality, to subordinate them and draw them into their military alliances.

Neo-colonialism seeks to drive a wedge between liberated Africa and the socialist community and the international working-class movement, to capitalise on splitting activity of all kinds. Any geopolitical and racialist slogan, any counterposing of the "coloured" people to the white man, bring grist to the mill of neo-colonialism and the internal reactionary forces in African countries.

The African peoples face the task of final emancipation from colonialism, both in its old and new forms.

After most African countries had achieved political independence, the national-liberation revolution entered a new stage. The tasks in this stage include economic independence, consolidation of sovereignty, social reconstruction, improvement of the living standard and the advancement of culture.

Titanic efforts are required to do away with the age-old backwardness and poverty. Africa's finest minds are exploring the most effective ways and means.

The choice of the future road—capitalist or non-capitalist development—is the key issue in present-day Africa.

The revolutionary democratic forces in the African countries realise that the capitalist road brings suffering to the people. Under the influence of the successes registered by the world socialist system, socialist ideals have gained tremendous popularity among the peoples of Africa. This is the reason why African statesmen who favour the "Western" road of development and are actually implanting capitalism do not venture to proclaim an openly capitalistic programme.

Some of Africa's political leaders who father theories of "Afri-

can Socialism" are sincerely exploring methods and forms of transition to the non-capitalist road; others have no desire whatsoever for fundamental social changes but are merely playing up to the sentiments of the people.

As a matter of fact, there is no single theory of "African Socialism", a term that includes various views and trends. The working masses, however, incorporate into it the idea of abolishing all exploitation of man by man. In the course of revolutionary struggle and under the influence of Marxist-Leninist ideas, the Left wing of "African Socialism" is undergoing an evolution.

African revolutionary democrats are discarding the term "African Socialism". President Sékou Touré of Guinea as early as 1962 stated at the 6th Congress of the Democratic Party: "Much is spoken in Africa about African Socialism, as though there exist Chinese Socialism, American Socialism, Yugoslav Socialism, Bulgarian Socialism, and so on. If we follow this path farther, we will begin to speak of the Nigerian and Togolese way to socialism, of Senegalese chemisty or Moroccan mathematics." It is highly indicative that programme documents of parties like the Mali Sudanese Union and the National Revolutionary Movement (the Congo, Brazzaville) describe their theoretical principles as scientific socialism.

The rise of a group of states, among them Algeria, Mali, the United Arab Republic, Guinea, the Congo (Brazzaville) and Tanzania, that want to adhere to a socialist orientation is an important feature of the present-day African scene. Their activity in the struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism, the creation of a state sector, the development of the economy and culture and the building of a new life are exerting a tangible influence on the other countries of the continent.

The revolutionary democratic parties and organisations express the interests of the peasants, the urban poor and democratic-minded intellectuals. Their policy of carrying the national-liberation revolution farther enjoys full support from the working class, the Left wing of the revolutionary democratic camp. Growth of the people's revolutionary consciousness and social role is an indispensable condition for progressive reforms.

The working class is marching in the front ranks of the fighters for national and social progress, although it is as yet insufficiently mature, if we speak of the African continent as a whole, to become the leading force in social development. In most African countries the working class is still numerically small. But ever since the winning of independence, it has been growing faster, owing to industrialisation measures in a number of countries. This particularly applies to regular industrial workers, the share of whom among the proletariat as a whole is increasing. In the African countries which have won independence, the working class is undergoing an accelerated ideological and political schooling and is swiftly throwing off the influence of bourgeois and patriarchal-peasant ideology.

Political independence notwithstanding, the working-class movement is running up against great difficulties in many African states. Communist Parties are persecuted in a number of countries, and in some states progressive trade unions are banned; for example, unions affiliated with the General Federation of Workers of Black Africa were disbanded in the countries of the Afro-Malagasy Union.

The influence of Communist parties in Africa, however, has actually risen. The Communist Party of the Sudan, founded in 1946, consolidated its positions despite the hardships of the period of General Abboud's military dictatorship and the 1965 anti-communist act. The Communist Party of Lesotho was organised in 1961. The section of the French Communist Party which functioned on Réunion Island became an independent Communist Party in 1959. The African Independence Party in Senegal (founded in 1957) and the Nigerian Socialist Workers and Farmers Party (1963) have proclaimed Marxism-Leninism their theoretical basis. Communist groups and Marxist circles have been formed in a number of other countries.

Alongside efforts for working-class unity on a national scale, a striving for unity of the trade union movement on a continental scale has been manifested in some countries. On the initiative of unions in Ghana, Guinea and Mali, the first All-African Trade Union Congress was held in Casablanca in May 1961. The Congress, at which 45 trade union centres of 38 countries were represented, set up the All-African Trade Union Federation. Despite the splitting activity of representatives of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the Congress proclaimed that the new Federation, founded on the principles of proletarian solidarity and internationalism, should strengthen the alliance of the working class with the peasantry and fight against colonialism and the local reactionary forces.

Another trade union centre was organised at a conference in Dakar (Senegal) in January 1962. It was attended by delegates from 21 African organisations affiliated with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, 12 affiliated with the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions and only 8 independent trade unions. Trade union organisations of 28 countries (members of the Afro-Malagasy Union and others) were represented. The Dakar conference organised the Confederation of African Trade Unions. The conference resolutions mentioned neither the foreign monopolies, the chief class enemy of Africa's proletariat, nor proletarian internationalism. The leaders of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions sought to split the incipient trade union unity, but did not succeed in fully converting the new organisation into their meek tool. The Dakar conference called for an end to the production of nuclear weapons, for a policy of non-alignment

to military blocs, sanctions against the racialist government of the Republic of South Africa, and so on.

The formation of two trade union federations did not put an end to efforts for working-class unity.

On the initiative of the All-African Trade Union Federation, representatives of the two trade union centres met in Dakar in mid-1963 and reached understanding to convene a constituent congress to set up an all-African centre. Subsequently, leaders of the Confederation of African Trade Unions disavowed the understanding and the congress was not held. But trade union unity, as part of the general problem of working-class unity, has not lost its significance. On the contrary, the socio-political role of the working masses in Africa depends on the solution of this problem.

Like the working class, the African peasantry cannot and does not want to confine itself to the first stage of the national revolution. In most African countries the peasants, as before, are oppressed by foreign monopolies and local exploiters (feudal and semi-feudal elements, trading and money-lending bourgeoisie). The bulk of the peasantry is interested in deepening the anti-imperialist revolution, in carrying through an anti-feudal revolution in countries where feudal relations exist, is interested in land reforms and the advance of agriculture. The specific socio-economic conditions in countries where private ownership of land is non-existent (or almost non-existent) facilitate the drawing together of the African peasantry with the working class in the struggle for the non-capitalist road of development, the road to socialism, the only one to a radical solution of the agrarian question in the interests of the masses. The strong traditions of collective land-ownership, collective work and mutual assistance are a factor promoting the organisation of rural cooperatives in many young African countries.

Africa's peasantry is not homogeneous. Even in countries of Tropical Africa, not to speak of the relatively more developed Arab states, property and social stratification in the rural areas is quite advanced. Moreover, the peasant masses are as yet very backward, with a low level of political consciousness. No wonder a considerable part of the peasantry in many countries continues to follow political parties expressing feudal and bourgeois interests.

Although consolidation of the forces of the working people is complicated by all this, it is an imperative task. As social contradictions grow sharper in African countries, the workers, peasants, working intellectuals and the semi-proletarian masses will undoubtedly rally ever closer in one anti-imperialist alliance.

The present stage of the national-liberation movement is marked by the withdrawal from it of some social forces which formerly were part of the anti-colonial front or were associated with it. This applies not only to groups of the feudal or semi-feudal aristocracy (in general numerically small) which, unlike the bulk of their class, participated in the struggle for political independence, but also to

some circles of the bourgeoisie. For the big businessmen connected with foreign monopolies and also for the bureaucratic bourgeoisie (swiftly growing in many African countries) the national revolution ended with the proclamation of sovereignty. The contradictions between these circles and imperialism are by no means resolved, of course. But possessing political power (or seeking to capture it), they hope to reinforce their positions through a deal with foreign capital and are trying to keep their countries in the orbit of the capitalist world. Such a policy signifies a switch-over of part of the African bourgeoisie to the reactionary path and to collaboration with imperialism.

At present, when the revolutionary movement in African countries pursues aims not only of national but also social emancipation, a clash between the interests of the working people and those of the bourgeoisie is inevitable. At the same time a considerable section of the national bourgeoisie (and bourgeois elements in countries where the bourgeoisie has not yet crystallised as a class), despite its intrinsic vacillation and inclination to reach a compromise with reactionary forces, has not lost its progressive role. "In modern conditions, the national bourgeoisie in those colonial, one-time colonial and dependent countries where it is not connected with the imperialist circles, is objectively interested in accomplishing the basic tasks of an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution. Its progressive role and its ability to participate in the solution of pressing national problems are, therefore, not yet spent."[9]

Thus, in the new stage of the national-liberation revolution in African countries there are prospects and possibilities for a broad anti-imperialist front capable of ensuring the transition of the newly-free countries to the non-capitalist path of development. Favourable domestic and international conditions are now appearing in a number of African countries for the establishment of a national democratic state, relying on a united anti-imperialist front, "a state which consistently upholds its political and economic independence, fights against imperialism and its military blocs, against military bases on its territory; a state which fights against the new forms of colonialism and the penetration of imperialist capital; a state which rejects dictatorial and despotic methods of government; a state in which the people are ensured broad democratic rights and freedoms (freedom of speech, press, assembly, demonstrations, establishment of political parties and social organisations), the opportunity to work for the enactment of an agrarian reform and other democratic and social changes, and for participation in shaping government policy."[10]

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[9] *The Road to Communism*, Moscow, 1962, p. 493.

[10] Statement of the Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow in November 1960 (*The Struggle for Peace, Democracy and Socialism*, Moscow, 1961, p. 65).

The birth of many sovereign states in Africa, the transition of the national-liberation revolution to a new stage and the rise of many complex problems of independent development have made a united front of the progressive forces, not only on a national scale but on the scale of the entire continent, more important than ever before.

The idea of unity has been supported by almost all African leaders, but not all of them see eye to eye on what it actually means. Significant differences in the approach to internal and international problems were reflected in the nature of the inter-state alliances formed in 1960 and 1961—the Afro-Malagasy Union and the Casablanca Charter Organisation.

The Afro-Malagasy Union was founded in 1960-1961 as a military-political and economic association of the following former French colonies: the Ivory Coast, Upper Volta, Gabon, Dahomey, the Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville), Mauritania, the Malagasy Republic, Niger, Senegal, Chad and the Central African Republic. Later, the former trust territories of Cameroun, Togo and Rwanda joined the Union. From the very beginning, the Afro-Malagasy Union revealed close links with the ruling circles of France.

Algeria, Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Morocco and the United Arab Republic formed the Casablanca Charter Organisation. It was founded after a conference in Casablanca, Morocco (January 3-7, 1961), which proclaimed a charter expounding a programme of action by African countries for political and economic independence. The conference participants declared in the Casablanca Charter their determination to achieve the freedom and unity of Africa, their desire to help other African countries in their struggle for independence, and a firm resolve to carry the fight against colonialism and neo-colonialism to the end.

The member countries of the Afro-Malagasy Union, together with Liberia, Ethiopia, Somali Republic, Nigeria and some other countries, convened conferences to discuss general African problems. The first conference was held in Monrovia, Liberia, in May 1961, and the second, in Lagos, Nigeria, in January 1962.

Although the imperialist press claimed that Africa had been split by insurmountable contradictions into the "Casablanca" and "Monrovia" groups, the need for joint discussion and solution of common problems was felt in all African countries.

A conference of the heads of state and government of 30 African countries met in Addis Ababa on May 23-25, 1963. A Moroccan observer was present and Togo subsequently acceded to the conference decisions.

The conference adopted the Charter of the Organisation of African Unity which established the Organisation of African Unity (O.A.U.). The aims of the Organisation are to promote unity and solidarity of African states, coordinate their activities and strengthen cooperation, defend their sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity, fight against all manifestations of colonialism and develop international cooperation. The conference participants undertook mutually to respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all African countries and to settle disputes by peaceful means. They declared their intent to refrain from joining any alliances and their unqualified adherence to the cause of liberating the African countries still in colonial bondage.

An assembly of heads of state and government, meeting at least once a year, is the supreme body of the O.A.U. Its Council of Ministers meets at least twice a year and is responsible to the Assembly. Special commissions were set up to handle: (a) economic and social matters; (b) education and culture; (c) health services; (d) defence; (e) scientific and technical problems.

The Addis Ababa Conference voted to set up a fund to aid countries still under colonial regime and to recruit volunteers to help in their liberation. It urged broader economic cooperation among African countries, including the establishment of a single market, and joint efforts to build a diversified economy, develop industry and construct power stations.

The Organisation of African Unity has acted as mediator in resolving political conflicts between Algeria and Morocco, the Somali Republic and Ethiopia, and in a number of other disputes between African countries. The O.A.U. pursues a policy of isolating the Republic of South Africa and Portugal. On the initiative of African states, the Security Council adopted several resolutions sharply condemning the governments of Verwoerd, Smith and Salazar and calling for effective sanctions against their racialist policy in the south of Africa.

Establishment of the Organisation of African Unity was a landmark in strengthening cooperation of African states, although it did not signify the elimination of differences between them. Their joint efforts to solve urgent problems run counter to the imperialist plans for disuniting the African countries with the help of internal reactionary forces.

The activity of the O.A.U. further enhances Africa's international role, which has grown greatly as a result of the emergence of nearly 40 new states.

In the interwar period and the first decade after the Second World War, the imperialist powers virtually barred the colonial peoples from world affairs. Africa's participation in the League of Nations and in the United Nations up to the second half of the 1950's was insignificant. Imperialist countries spoke on its behalf from the rostrums of international congresses.

Today the situation is entirely different. African states make up one-third, and together with Asian countries one-half, of the United Nations membership. No decision can be taken in the United Nations without the consent of the Afro-Asian states. Africa is more vocal at international conferences and gatherings of all kinds.

Naturally, not all African states pursue a fully independent policy. The independence of many countries is circumscribed by political, economic and military relations with imperialist powers. However, most of the sovereign African states refuse to join military blocs, they follow a neutralist line, condemn the arms race and favour an easing of international tension.

The peoples of Africa are vitally interested in countering the threat of another world war. Having won independence in a period of peaceful coexistence, they saw that the socialist community's peace policy provides the most favourable conditions for the liberation movement.

African countries need peace to develop the economy and overcome their backwardness. It was only natural that they should have welcomed and signed the 1963 Moscow Treaty on the partial ban of nuclear tests, and given a warm response to the Soviet Government's proposal for a treaty prohibiting the use of force in territorial disputes.

The Soviet Union and the entire socialist community remain a reliable mainstay of Africa in the present stage of the national-liberation revolution. The very existence of the world socialist system creates favourable conditions for building a new life in the young developing states. The socialist community is a loyal friend of the African peoples in their work for national regeneration and social progress. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union proclaims in its Programme: "The C.P.S.U. regards it as its internationalist duty to assist the peoples who have set out to win and strengthen their national independence, all peoples who are fighting for the complete abolition of the colonial system." This is expressed specifically in extensive economic, technical and cultural assistance. The Aswan High Dam, a symbol of fraternal cooperation between socialist countries and newly-free states, important industrial projects in the United Arab Republic, Ghana, Ethiopia, Algeria, the Somali Republic, Mali, Guinea and elsewhere, active cooperation in agricultural development and the training of personnel in diverse spheres, big loans on exceedingly easy terms—all that is part of the great assistance the U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries are rendering African peoples.

This assistance differs fundamentally from the "aid" the imperialist powers utilise to pave the way for foreign capital and to strengthen capitalist production relations in African countries. Socialist countries sincerely strive to help the African peoples get firmly on their feet, build a diversified economy and culture, and take the socialist orientation.

Recognition of the Soviet Union's role was revealed also in the wide response in African countries to the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution.

By striking blows at imperialism, the African peoples, in their turn, are helping the socialist community and the working people

in capitalist countries. The national-liberation movement is one of the primary revolutionary forces of our time.

A statement issued by the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party in December 1963 stressed: "The national liberation movements of countries which are fighting colonialism and neo-colonialism and the heritage of colonialism in Africa, Asia and Latin America are not alone in their struggle. They share common aims and aspirations with the working people of the socialist countries and the developed capitalist countries. They have a common enemy: international imperialism."

Alliance with the world's revolutionary forces is indispensable for the further successes of new Africa. The young states, the countries still in colonial bondage, the socialist countries and all progressive mankind benefit from consolidation of this alliance. Their cooperation is destined to play a history-making role in the struggle for peace on earth, for the triumph of socialism, for a better future.

* * *

In the mid-1960's the African revolution ran up against considerable difficulties. A wave of coups swept many countries, pointing to the instability of the present situation and showing that the revolution is proceeding unevenly, with an ebb and flow.

The unstable situation in young African states is a result of many causes. Far from all of them have been studied and explained.

The young states inherited a very backward economy. According to data of the U.N. Economic Commission for Africa, this continent, accounting for 10 per cent of the world's population, contributed only 2 per cent of world industrial output in 1960: per capita output was only 4 or 5 per cent of that in industrially developed countries. Such a gap naturally could not be spanned in a few years.

In the long and hard work of building up an independent and viable national economy the young governments had to pursue an absolutely realistic policy.

Building a new life in the young African countries actually proved much more complicated than many people in Africa and elsewhere had expected. The abolition of direct colonial rule was often regarded as abolition of imperialist domination as a whole, and the danger of neo-colonialism was underestimated.

At the time independence was proclaimed most African countries had very few people possessing sufficient knowledge and experience in economics, politics and social relations to organise and guide the highly intricate machinery of a modern state. As a result, some countries, instead of tackling urgent problems, were carried away by the building of prestige projects, of unprofitable enterprises and monuments.

A considerable bureaucratic stratum has arisen in some young

states and its maintenance swallows up the lion's share of the national income. In such countries progressive forces point out that the bureaucratic element opposes itself to the people, fosters hero-worship of the head of state and institutes anti-democratic order, that nepotism and corruption are wide spread in its midst.

Ethnic discord and tribalism seriously complicate the situation in many independent states. The young countries inherited state frontiers which seldom coincide with ethnic boundaries, a circumstance that intensifies contradictions between peoples. As a result, the consolidation of nations—a process which has always and everywhere been painful and hard—has become especially acute in Africa.

Retention of control over the economy by the former metropolitan countries, the influence exerted by neo-colonialism in political affairs and ideology, tremendous objective difficulties, miscalculations and mistakes that were largely inevitable in young states desperately lacking skilled personnel led to a situation in which living standards did not, as a rule, improve. Moreover, the high birth rate brings a swift population growth which outstrips the expansion of production.

Many weaknesses of the Organisation of African Unity were revealed in the mid-1960's. Despite the strongly-worded resolutions and calls for struggle against the racialist Smith regime in Rhodesia, some African states have not taken effective measures towards its downfall. Some young states, specifically Malawi, have established close ties with the Republic of South Africa. Such developments once again showed how difficult it is to achieve real unity of the African countries, how involved is the interplay of centrifugal and centripetal forces on this continent.

But without the pooling of effort the solution of Africa's economic problems is greatly handicapped: two-thirds of the young countries have a population of less than five million each. That is why all more or less realistic plans for combating backwardness and poverty and projects for building up a modern economy are associated with African cooperation and mutual assistance at least on a regional scale. An important step in this direction was the conclusion in 1967 of a treaty setting up an economic community of three East African countries—Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda. Real prerequisites have been created for such an agreement in West Africa.

Socialist states, the Soviet Union above all, continue to support the African countries in the period when they strive to strengthen their independence. This was graphically revealed by the actions of the U.S.S.R. and other socialist states after Israel's attack on the United Arab Republic, Jordan and Syria in 1967. In their statement of July 12, 1967, European socialist countries declared: "In this trying hour for Arab Eastern states, the socialist countries declare their full and undivided solidarity with their struggle, declare that they will assist them in repulsing aggression and defending their national independence and territorial integrity."

Analysing the trends which came to light in African states in the mid-1960's, many observers are inclined to picture the future of this continent in sombre colours, even to speak of regress of the African revolution. One should bear in mind, however, that the road from bondage under direct colonial rule to genuine independence covers an entire era of history, in which tremendous difficulties, both external and internal, have to be surmounted. In future, too, most likely there will be recessions and retreats. But all this cannot overshadow the fact that most African countries have crossed a major divide in their history—they have discarded the colonial yoke and embarked on the path of independent development; some of them have already effected deep-going socio-economic and political changes of a revolutionary nature. The big, unavoidable obstacles on the new, involved road Africa has to traverse should not detract from the significance of what has already been achieved by the peoples of this continent.

MOROCCO

Morocco preserved her independence longer than other Maghreb countries. It was only before the First World War (in 1912) that Morocco was proclaimed a French protectorate and divided between France and Spain. A strip of the coastline in the north, south-west Morocco and the Ifni region were ceded to Spain. The other territories of Morocco comprised the French zone. It did not include Tangier, turned into an "international zone" (the status of Tangier was determined at the Paris conference of representatives of France, Britain and Spain in 1923).

After the establishment of the protectorate, the sultan became only the nominal ruler of the country. Actually all power in the French zone passed to the French resident-general. In the Spanish zone, where the sultan was represented by a caliph, the Spanish high commissioner was the real ruler.

The Moroccan people fought arms in hand against the invaders. By the beginning of the First World War the colonialists had established their rule only in the plains. Struggle for the capture of the mineral-rich mountain regions dragged out for many years and turned into a protracted colonial war.

At the time of partition, Morocco was a feudal country with strong survivals of the primitive-communal system in the mountainous areas. The overwhelming majority of the population engaged in farming and stock-raising. Only 10-12 per cent of the population lived in towns, which were residences of the feudal elements and the centres of crafts and trade.

In the flat country, the main tracts of land belonged to the sultan's government (*maghzen*), to the secular feudal elements and Muslim religious institutions (the lands of the latter were called *habous*). The peasant communities and the nomad and semi-nomad tribes which used the government lands paid a land tax, which essentially coincided with ground rent. The lands of the feudal owners and also the *habous* lands were leased to the peasants on a sharecropping basis.

In mountainous and mountain-steppe areas the land was owned by the communities (*djemaa*), but the ordinary tribesmen were exploited by the feudalised tribal upper crust, which seized the communal lands and in a number of cases collected taxes (in kind or in money) from their fellow tribesmen. At times the taxes were paid to the heads of the Muslim religious brotherhoods—the *marabouts*.

The lot of the working people sharply deteriorated after the establishment of colonial rule. By 1921, in the French zone alone the colonialists confiscated from the local population 900,000 hectares of the most fertile lands. The French monopolies, especially the Compagnie Générale du Maroc, associated with the powerful Banque de Paris et des Pays Bas, captured key positions in the country's economy. They owned large estates, livestock farms, timber workings, mines, fisheries, railways, ports and power stations.

Moroccan industrial and agricultural workers were brutally exploited. For equal work they received much less than Europeans. In the mining industry, for example, wages of Moroccans were from 16 to 25 per cent those of the Europeans.

In addition to exploiting Moroccans on their own estates, the European settlers, like the local feudal landlords, leased out land. *Khammasat* sharecropping was the most widespread form of lease, with the landowner also giving the tenant draught cattle and seed; for this he received four-fifths of the crop. One poor crop was enough for the tenant to fall into bondage, from which he could never extricate himself. But even the peasants who preserved small plots of their own had to rent land, to work as farm labourers or seek seasonal work in the town in order to feed their families and pay taxes.

Nor was the lot of the people any easier in the Spanish zone. Here, too, vast tracts of land were seized by the colonialists (a special company was formed for this purpose in 1916). Here, too, the monopolies held dominating positions and exploited the Moroccan population as cruelly as the French monopolies did.

The Rif Republic. The conquerors did not succeed in breaking the resistance of the Moroccan people, which particularly increased under the influence of the 1917 October Revolution in Russia and assumed the nature of a war for national liberation. One of the close associates of Abd el-Krim,[1] the outstanding Moroccan military and political leader, told a correspondent of *L'Oeuvre*, a French newspaper: "Russia has shaken off the oppressors and we are following along the same path. The war will not end until we achieve full liberation." Tribes in the mountainous Rif region in the Spanish zone who did not submit to the colonialists were in the van of the liberation struggle in the 1920's.

In July 1921, the Rifs defeated a Spanish force of 20,000 men

[1] Mohammed Ben Abd el-Krim el-Khattabi was the son of the head (caid) of the Beni Uriaghel, the biggest of the Rif tribes. After the death of his father in 1920, he became caid and headed the struggle against the Spanish colonialists.

at Annual. This victory helped to rally the Rif tribes into one militant alliance. At the beginning of September 1921, a conference of the Rif tribal nobility was convened by Abd el-Krim and it elected a Rif National Assembly, which on September 19 proclaimed the independent Rif Republic. Abd el-Krim became its president.

The Rif movement was a national-liberation struggle of the peasants led by the feudal-patriarchal top group. The Rif army consisted of regular forces (6,000-7,000 men) and irregular tribal units, which included the entire male population from 16 to 50 years of age. Usually the units of the tribe on whose territory hostilities were fought went into battle. That is why the strength of the Rif army fluctuated depending on the course of the war; in the first years it did not exceed 40,000 men.

From 1921 to 1924, the Rifs struck painful blows at the Spanish troops. Though the Spanish army exceeded the rebels in strength [2] and was better equipped, the Rifs succeeded in liberating from the Spanish almost the entire territory the latter had seized since 1912. Only a narrow coastal strip near the fortified towns remained under the control of the occupation army.

The scale of the events in the northern zone alarmed the French imperialists, who were afraid lest the population of Morocco under French rule follow the example of the Rifs. To provoke a war with the Rifs and then crush them, the French captured the fertile Ouerrha valley, the granary of Rif, in the summer of 1924. To leave Ouerrha in French hands would mean to doom the people in the mountainous region of the Rif Republic to starvation. In view of this, the Rif Government launched an offensive against the French troops in April-July 1925. It was supported by an uprising of a number of tribes in the French zone. At the beginning of July the Rifs reached the approaches to Taza, an important strategic point on the Fez-Algiers railway line.

The colonialists hastened to pool their forces. In July 1925, a Franco-Spanish agreement was concluded on coordinating the operations of both powers in Morocco and organising a joint blockade of the Rif Republic on land and on sea.

Thus, from 1925 the Rifs had to wage an unequal struggle against the armies of two West European powers. France and Spain concentrated up to 400,000 men in Morocco. This huge army was equipped with the latest means of warfare, including aircraft and tanks, while the Rifs had only rifles, machine-guns and a few artillery pieces captured in the course of the war. Little wonder that the small Rif Republic began to sustain defeats. As a result of the autumn campaign in 1925, the Rifs lost a considerable part of the territory they had controlled by the summer of 1925. Troops landed by Spain in the Alhucemas Bay captured Adjdir, the capital of the Rif Republic.

[2] At the beginning of the war, the Spanish occupation army in Morocco had 63,000 soldiers and officers. Subsequently, it was steadily reinforced. In the autumn of 1924, preparing for another offensive, the Spanish command concentrated west of Rif and in the Melilla district an army of more than 100,000 men.

But the colonialists succeeded neither in wiping out the Rif army (at the end of 1925 it had 25,000 more men than at the beginning of the war) nor in breaking its morale. A campaign of protest against the colonial war spread in France and Spain. The democratic forces of both countries, headed by the Communist Parties, persistently demanded an end to the war in Morocco and recognition of the Rif Republic. The French Communist Party, jointly with other progressive organisations, set up an action committee to fight against the war in Morocco. It was headed by Maurice Thorez. On October 12, 1925, a general strike, in which 900,000 French workers took part, was held in protest against the government's colonial policy. Anti-war demonstrations were also held in Spain. The gallant struggle of the Rifs struck an echo among democratic opinion throughout the world, particularly the people of the U.S.S.R. who voiced their sympathies for, and solidarity with, the embattled Rifs.

Many protest meetings against the colonial war in Morocco were held at factories, universities and offices throughout the Soviet Union.

Soviet newspapers and magazines regularly published news of the hostilities and printed articles and documents pertaining to the Moroccan events. On June 10, *Pravda* carried an appeal of the Comintern and the Peasant International denouncing the Moroccan venture of the colonialists. On December 5, 1925, *Krasnaya Zvezda* published an article by Abd el-Krim entitled "Our Struggle for Freedom". He stated that the Rifs were giving their lives for the attainment of national independence.

Warm sympathies for the embattled Rifs infused the book *European Civilisers and Morocco* by M. V. Frunze, eminent Soviet military leader, which was published in 1925.

The situation at the front and the pressure of progressive public opinion in their own countries and abroad forced the governments of France and Spain to negotiate with the Rif Republic, which had repeatedly proposed a peace agreement on condition that its independence be recognised. But the delegates of the colonial powers to the peace conference, held in Oujda in April-May 1926, tried to create the impression that it were the Rifs who were against peace and not the imperialists. To this end, a number of ultimatums were presented to the Rifs at the conference, including the disarming of their forces and the country's subordination to the supreme power of the sultan. The Rif delegation rejected these demands, which actually implied the end of the republic and the incorporation of its territory into the protectorate system. On May 6, the colonial powers broke off the talks and the very next day the Franco-Spanish forces mounted another offensive.

The forces were so unequal that in May 1926 the troops of the colonialists succeeded in splitting the Rif army into two and sur-

rounding its headquarters in Targuist. On May 25, Abd el-Krim had to surrender.[3] The Rif Republic ceased to exist, but in some districts hostilities continued for several months.

Notwithstanding the defeat of the Rifs, their valiant struggle against the combined forces of two imperialist powers did not vanish without trace. The Rif war was a major factor which aggravated the crisis of the colonial system. The liberation war of the Rifs enriched the people of Morocco and other colonies and dependencies with experience and traditions of revolutionary anti-imperialist struggle. It should be stressed that the defeat of the Rif Republic did not lead to the entrenchment of imperialist rule in Morocco. The armed resistance of separate tribes in the highlands and adjacent flat country did not stop until 1934. In 1928, for example, fierce battles were fought in the Tafilalet district; in 1929-1931, in the Tadla and Marrakesh districts; in 1932-1933, in the Djebel Sarro area, and in 1934 in the Anti-Atlas and the Draa valley. It was only 22 years after the proclamation of the protectorate that the colonialists succeeded in extending their rule to all of Morocco.

A New Stage in the Liberation Struggle. The struggle of the Moroccan people against the colonial oppression entered a new stage in the early 1930's. While previously resistance had assumed primarily the nature of peasant action led by the feudal and patriarchal-feudal upper crust, in the 1930's the rising proletariat and the national bourgeoisie entered the political scene. Towns became the centres of resistance to colonialism. Their population grew because of the influx of peasants and nomad stock herders (Bedouins).

The working-class and Communist movement came into being in Morocco under the direct influence of the Great October Revolution in Russia and with the active support of France's revolutionary proletariat. As early as 1920, a section of the French Communist Party was organised in Morocco. It consisted mainly of French workers, but it was also joined by progressive Moroccans. The Communists and the trade unions which were under their influence launched an active struggle against the colonial regime, rallying the country's working masses to the struggle. But prior to the Second World War, the Communist Party was unable to become a mass party. The Moroccan working class was numerically small, scattered in small establishments and politically immature. Most of the workers were under the influence of the national bourgeoisie and followed its leadership.

A new stage in the national-liberation struggle was ushered in by the 1929-1933 world economic crisis, which sharply worsened the lot of the people both in town and country. The crisis also hit hard the national bourgeoisie which mainly consisted of petty and middle entrepreneurs—tradesmen, owners of small establishments, handicraft workshops, and so on. Dissatisfaction with the colonial regime

[3] He was exiled to Réunion Island.

was also on the increase among the Moroccan intellectuals, especially students and school pupils in the cities.

To weaken the anti-imperialist forces, the French colonial administration fanned discord between the Arabs and Berbers, who respectively made up 60 and 40 per cent of the local population. On May 16, 1930, the so-called Berber Dahir (decree) was promulgated, depriving the sultan's judicial bodies of their prerogatives with regard to Berber customary law courts; the latter were now actually subordinated to the French military authorities.

The Berber Dahir incensed the Moroccans, both Arabs and Berbers, and mass protest demonstrations were held in a number of towns. The authorities of the protectorate suppressed the popular movement and arrested its initiators (since then May 16 is observed as a day of national mourning in Morocco). But the struggle against the colonialists continued. It was headed by a group of patriotic intellectuals who, in February 1934, began to publish a weekly in the French language, *Action du Peuple*. The Moroccan national bourgeoisie and intellectuals did not yet openly demand the abolition of the protectorate. *Action du Peuple* merely opposed the country's subordination to the Ministry of the Colonies and demanded that these functions be handed over to the French Foreign Ministry, looking upon it as a step to the future recognition of Morocco's independence. The weekly also put forward the slogan of restoring the country's unity under the rule of the sultan. But even this programme seemed too radical to the French Government. Within a few months the weekly was closed.

The first bourgeois nationalist party, Moroccan Committee of Action, was founded in 1934. It drew up a Programme of the Moroccan People's Demands (known also as the Plan of Reforms). The programme demanded not the abolition of the French protectorate but only its restriction. It called for a national parliament and government and the establishment of a single administrative and legal system for all of Morocco.

The victory of the Popular Front in France (April-May 1936) enabled the Moroccan Committee of Action to step up its activity. In October 1936, the Committee convened in Rabat its first national congress, which put forward demands for what were known as immediate reforms: the introduction of democratic freedoms, granting Moroccans equal rights with French colons, a number of other social reforms and development of education and the public health system. The congress sent a delegation to Paris to present its demands to the French Government. The latter, however, refused even to receive the delegation, which led to protest demonstrations in several Moroccan towns (Fez, Casablanca, Dar al-Beida and Salé). In March 1937, the colonial authorities banned the Moroccan Committee of Action.

Differences among the leaders of the bourgeois nationalists came to the surface during this period. Some of them, headed by Allal

el-Fassi, formed the National Party for the Realisation of Reforms; the others, headed by Mohammed el-Ouazzani, organised the National Movement Party (both parties functioned illegally). The former was in favour of the absolute power of the sultan, the latter wanted a parliamentary form of government. Both of them, however, sharply criticised the French colonial administration and often acted jointly.

In September and October 1937, the entire French zone was gripped by disturbances. They were sparked off by events in Meknès. At the end of August, the French administration diverted the waters of the river flowing through the town to the fields of the French colons, leaving the town dwellers without water. The protest demonstration was shot down by French troops. The blood on Meknès pavements had not dried when disturbances broke out in Marrakesh, Khemisset, Fez, Port Lyautey (Kénitra). The popular movement assumed such large proportions that the nationalist parties thought it possible to emerge from underground. In October 1937, the Congress of the National Party adopted a National Pact, which denounced the terror of the colonialists, the persecution of national culture and the economic policy which doomed the local population to starvation and poverty.

The French administration responded by fresh reprisals. Demonstrations were dispersed by troops and gendarmes. Patriots were arrested throughout the country and opposition newspapers were closed down. Wishing to behead the movement, the protectorate authorities exiled Allal el-Fassi to Gabon, and el-Ouazzani, to the Sahara.[4] In September 1938, the Moroccan section of the French Communist Party was banned.

In the French zone the colonialists succeeded in temporarily retarding by terror the growth of the liberation movement, but in the Spanish zone the situation came to a head. In 1936, the Spanish fascists (their leader, General Franco, held the post of high commissioner in Spanish Morocco) succeeded in winning over to their side the feudal chiefs of Rif and Djebala. Deceived by their chiefs, whom Franco had promised autonomy, the tribesmen went to fight against the Spanish Republicans. But the patriotic forces of Morocco came out against Franco and the Moroccan feudal elements collaborating with him. A large anti-fascist demonstration was held in Tetuan, the principal city of the Spanish zone, in June 1938. In September 1938, the Djebala tribes rose up in the El-Ksar el-Kebir district. The colonial authorities sent large military forces to quell the rebellion. The people of Tetuan, too, were subjected to wholesale repressions; about 1,000 men were arrested.

Anti-fascist actions continued in the Spanish zone. Specifically, in 1939 the bourgeois nationalist Party of National Reforms, founded by Abdel Khalek Torrès in 1936, vigorously criticised the Spanish colonial regime in Morocco.

[4] Both returned from exile only in 1946.

The War Years. In Morocco, just as in France, the outbreak of the Second World War was followed by brutal persecution of the leaders of the working-class movement, the Communists and active trade unionists. The finest sons of the people, staunch patriots and anti-fascists, were thrown into prisons and concentration camps in September 1939. In June 1940, after the surrender by France's ruling circles to nazi Germany, Morocco actually fell under Hitler's control (formally it was under the power of the Vichy Government). The German navy found shelter in Moroccan territorial waters. Taking advantage of Germany's patronage, Franco Spain captured Tangier and incorporated it in its zone.[5]

The nazis pumped out raw materials and food from Morocco. Strict rations were introduced and the people suffered from the heavy taxes and grain requisitions.

The Moroccan people, together with French patriots, fought against nazi Germany. On the eve of the war, on August 26, 1939, the National Party for the Realisation of Reforms declared its solidarity with the French people in face of the fascist danger. Thousands of Moroccans fought in the ranks of the French forces. The people actively helped the Anglo-American forces which landed in North Africa on November 8, 1942, to oust the nazis.

The Moroccan people were deeply impressed by the great victory of the Soviet Army in the battle on the Volga which brought about a radical turn in the course of the Second World War. Moroccan patriots associated their hopes for liberation from colonial bondage and the winning of independence with the defeat of fascism.

The Moroccan working class and its militant leaders, the Communists, were in the van of the fight for freedom. Communist groups spread their activity and at the beginning of 1943 they founded an independent Moroccan Communist Party. Publication of a Communist newspaper *Al-Watan* was started. In the very first issue, the Communist Party expounded its programme, urging the Moroccan people, together with the other peoples of the anti-Hitler coalition, to fight with still greater energy for victory over fascism. Simultaneously, it put forward the demand to convene a Constituent Assembly and proclaim the country's independence. This programme precisely formulated the tasks facing the Moroccan people at that time.

As the liberation struggle gained momentum, national bourgeois parties, which previously had not ventured to raise openly the question of abolishing the colonial regime, also voiced demands for independence. In December 1942, the nationalist parties in the Spanish zone—the Party of National Reforms and the Moroccan Unity

[5] In August 1945, the international regime was restored in the Tangier zone.

Party (founded in 1937), published a joint declaration, calling for the abolition of zonal borders and the establishment of a single and sovereign Moroccan state. But in contrast to the Communists, these parties ignored the task of participating in the anti-fascist war, failing to understand that without victory over fascism the winning of independence was impossible.

The Istiqlal (Independence) Party, founded in the French zone in December 1943 on the basis of the former National Party, took a more correct stand. In its manifesto of January 11, 1944, the Istiqlal demanded independence and in the statement of January 19, 1944, it pointed to the importance of the full defeat of fascism for the Moroccan people.

The Istiqlal manifesto was presented to the sultan, to representatives of France and the Allied powers. The French authorities, supported by the Anglo-American Command, responded to the demand for independence by a warrant for the arrest of the authors of the manifesto, including Balafredj, Secretary-General of the Istiqlal. In view of this, a mass protest demonstration was held in Rabat. In Fez, Rabat, Salé and other towns, the local population clashed with the police and troops. Hundreds of killed, thousands of wounded and arrested—such was the toll of the terror let loose by the colonialists.

The 1944 events in Morocco revealed the real value of the 1941 Atlantic Charter, so publicised by the Western powers, which proclaimed the right of all peoples to choose their own form of government.

1945-1955. After the Second World War the imperialists stepped up the colonial exploitation of Morocco. The extraction of minerals increased substantially during and after the war. The production of lead ore rose nearly five times (from 18,800 tons in 1938 to 89,300 tons in 1955); zinc ore, 15 times (2,800 and 43,300 tons respectively); manganese ore, more than 5.5 times (30,100 and 169,000 tons); and oil, 32 times (3,200 and 102,500 tons). But the output of the extractive industry was almost entirely exported, while the development of manufacturing was artificially retarded. For example, during the years of colonial rule, only one superphosphate factory was built in Morocco, which holds second place in the world for the production of phosphorites (in 1955, more than 5 million tons were mined). More than nine-tenths of the manganese, iron and cobalt ores and more than three-fourths of the lead, mined in Morocco, were exported.

Foreign monopolies, mainly French, extracted huge profits from Morocco. Thus, one company, Les Mines de Zellidja,[6] controlled by the Rothschild and Morgan financial groups, received in 1954 a net profit of 1,250 million old francs. It is not surprising that the colonialists did not wish to give up their profits and did everything to

[6] It owned the biggest lead and zinc mines in Morocco.

prevent the development of a national bourgeoisie. Moroccans, for example, owned less than five per cent of the shares in joint-stock companies with a capital of more than 100 million francs.

The positions of the modern, i.e., European, sector in agriculture were steadily extended. From 1939 to 1948, the area cultivated by Moroccans declined from 4,645,000 hectares to 3,950,000 hectares. On the other hand, at the beginning of the 1950's European colons owned more than one million hectares of the best lands. Almost two-thirds of this area were taken up by large capitalist farms (each of 300 hectares and more), which accounted only for 15 per cent of the total number of farms operated by European colons. Possessing modern machinery and irrigation installations, using mineral fertilisers and ruthlessly exploiting Moroccan labour, the colons were able to cultivate the most profitable, labour-intensive crops—grapes, rice, essential-oil plants, etc. Moroccan peasants, who held plots of land, which were poorly irrigated, received almost no fertilisers and were tilled mainly by the hoe and harrow, grew mostly barley, durum wheat and other hardy crops which brought in small incomes. Yields were very low (only one-fourth or one-fifth of the yields on European farms) and the lion's share of the crop was claimed by rent and taxes.

The Moroccan peasantry was ruined at a mounting pace. While in the early 1930's sharecroppers and agricultural labourers comprised 33 per cent of the rural population, at the beginning of the 1950's the figure rose to 60 per cent. In other words, in the last years of colonial rule more than half of the Moroccan villagers had no land of their own. At the same time big and middle landholders (10 per cent of the Moroccan rural population) owned 4 million hectares. Almost half of this area (1.8 million hectares) belonged to a small group of feudal or bourgeoisified landowners.

Penetration of U.S. capital was stepped up during and after the war. U.S. armed forces and bases remained in the country. Land of Moroccan peasants was confiscated for military bases. As many as 6,000 Moroccans were evicted when the American Nouaceur base was set up. American firms bought up shares of their French rivals and flooded Morocco with their goods. U.S. capital began to play a big part in the Société nord-africaine du plomb, organised after the war. U.S. monopolies (the Morgan group, Standard Oil and others) gained strong positions in the production of zinc, oil, etc.

The penetration of American capital aggravated U.S.-French contradictions. At the same time, however, the ruling circles of France and the United States found a common language in their desire to preserve the colonial regime in Morocco. The presence of U.S. armed forces in the country directly threatened the movement for national independence. In the postwar period, the Moroccan people, in addition to fighting the French and Spanish imperialists, had to struggle against U.S. imperialism.

But the international situation as a whole was favourable to the

national-liberation movement. The formation of the world socialist system and the exacerbation of capitalism's general crisis were of decisive significance in this respect.

In Morocco herself forces opposed to colonialism, the working class in the first place, had grown and gained in strength. The expansion of the extractive industry, construction, transport and the large estates of the colons and capitalist companies demanded new manpower, which was abundantly supplied by the ruined countryside.[7] At the beginning of the 1950's, Morocco had 400,000 industrial and agricultural workers (2.5 times as many as in 1939). The advanced workers rallied round the Communist Party, which also won recognition in some rural areas. The trade unions became more active. In 1946, the General Union of the Moroccan Amalgamated Trade Unions was founded. It was closely associated with the French General Confederation of Labour. At the end of 1947, the Moroccan trade unions had about 80,000 members, most of whom were Moroccans.

In 1947, the strike movement spread in Morocco. It reached its peak in 1948, when a wave of strikes swept practically the entire country. Economic reasons were the chief cause of strikes, but as a result of repressions by Resident-General Juin, they assumed a political character.

The strike movement was led by the Communist Party and the General Union of the Amalgamated Trade Unions. Alongside economic demands for higher wages and better conditions, the workers also put forward political demands: the abolition of the protectorate, the closing of the French and American bases, etc. The people joined the peace movement and the struggle against the colonial war waged by France in Vietnam. Moroccan dockers, for example, refused to load arms for shipment to Indochina.

The national bourgeoisie, which had grown stronger during this period, became more active. In 1946, the Democratic Party of Independence was founded on the basis of the Popular Movement Party, which functioned before the war. It was headed by el-Ouazzani, who had returned from exile. The influence of the Istiqlal and other parties in the Spanish zone grew after the war. A Committee for the Liberation of North Africa was set up in Cairo in January 1948. It united a number of political parties of the Maghreb countries, including the Istiqlal, the Democratic Party of Independence, and the Party of National Reforms. Morocco's National hero Abd el-Krim, who had found political asylum in Egypt, was the leader of the Committee.

As before, the imperialists tried to crush the liberation move-

[7] Here are figures illustrating the growth of the urban population in Morocco: in 1952, Casablanca had a population of 682,000, almost 5.5 times as large as in 1926. During this period the population of Meknès, Kenitra and other towns increased from 3 to 5 times.

ment by terrorist methods. The main blow was struck at the Communist Party and the trade unions. In 1948, Ali Yata, General Secretary of the Communist Party, was arrested and deported from Morocco.[8] Many other Communists and trade union leaders were imprisoned. In some areas, troops and police used arms to disperse demonstrations and crush strikes and peasant actions.

Other national political parties, too, were persecuted. In the Spanish zone Abdel Khalek Torrès, leader of the Party of National Reforms, was barred by the fascist authorities from Tetuan. This led to a general protest strike in that city (February 6-7, 1948) and a mass demonstration (February 8), which was fired upon by the troops. In February 1951, the French authorities, threatening to depose Sultan Mohammed Ben Youssef (who was supporting the liberation movement and demanded a revision of the treaty on the protectorate), forced him to dissolve the Council of Ministers. On February 28, members of the Istiqlal executive, including Assistant General Secretary Ahmed Lyazidi, were arrested.

In April 1951, four national political parties—the Istiqlal, Democratic Party of Independence, Party of National Reforms and Moroccan Unity Party—formed the Moroccan National Front, which set out to win independence. But the leaders of these parties rejected the Communist Party's repeated proposals to set up a united anti-imperialist front, embracing all the patriotic forces.

The situation in Morocco became more strained in 1952 and 1953. In February 1952, mass meetings were held in many towns in view of the arrival of a United Nations delegation. It was sent on the proposal of a number of Arab countries which had put the Moroccan question on the agenda of the 6th Session of the General Assembly. In Casablanca, the police fired on and arrested many demonstrators. In Marrakesh, 70 people were arrested. A general strike, called in that city, lasted for several months. It was ruthlessly crushed by the colonial authorities with the help of the Berber feudal lord al-Glaoui, Pasha of Marrakesh.

Stormy demonstrations and strikes in support of the demands for independence were arranged throughout the country on March 30, 1952, the 40th anniversary of the treaty on the protectorate. Again the police resorted to shootings and arrests in Tangier, Casablanca, Safi and other towns.

Strikes in protest against the murder of Ferhat Hached, leader of the national and trade union movement in Tunisia, were held in both zones of Tangier on December 8, 1952. The strike reached the biggest scale in Casablanca, one of the country's main industrial centres. Police and troops sent to the workers' district tried to prevent the strike. When it began and the workers marched

[8] Ali Yata continued the struggle for the independence of his country working underground. From 1950 to 1952 he was arrested three times.

through the streets, the police opened fire. More than 250 strikers were killed and over 5,000 arrested.

On December 11, 1952, the authorities outlawed the Communist Party and the Istiqlal, arrested their leaders and closed down their newspapers and magazines. The leaders of the General Union of Amalgamated Trade Unions were also arrested.[9] On August 20, 1953, the French authorities, in collaboration with reactionary feudal forces headed by al-Glaoui deposed Sultan Mohammed Ben Youssef,[10] replacing him by their henchman Mohammed Ben Arafa. The imperialist-sponsored coup was accompanied by relentless persecution of Moroccan patriots who demanded the restoration to power of Mohammed Ben Youssef. As many as 20,000 people were arrested at that time.

The people of Morocco did not submit to the colonialists. Detachments were organised and they attacked troop trains, French and American military depots, motor columns and military units. According to figures of the Security Service of the protectorate, there were 335 armed attacks, 118 explosions of bombs and grenades, six cases of sabotage on the railways and 390 cases of arson from August 20, 1953, to July 13, 1954. That was the beginning of the armed struggle for independence.

Events in Morocco aroused all progressive mankind. Demonstrations of solidarity with the Moroccan people and in protest against the colonialists' terror were held in those years in the Arab countries of Africa and Asia. The parliaments of Syria and Iraq adopted special resolutions denouncing the barbarous actions of the French imperialists. In France herself the working people, led by the Communist Party, launched a struggle against the "policy of force" in Morocco, for the right of the Moroccan people to self-determination.

As early as 1951, Egypt and a number of other Middle Eastern countries proposed that the situation in Morocco be discussed at the 6th Session of the U.N. General Assembly. This demand was supported by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. But the French and the American imperialists prevented the Moroccan question from being put on the agenda of that session. A year later, however, they had to yield. The situation in Morocco was discussed at the 7th (1952) and the 8th (1953) sessions of the General Assembly. In 1952, the pro-American majority rejected the resolution which was in line with the interests of the Moroccan people. The General Assembly confined itself to calling on France and Morocco to adjust their relations in a spirit of good will, reciprocal confidence and respect. In 1953 the bloc of colonial powers prevented the General Assembly from adopting a draft resolution, approved in the First Committee, recognising the right of the Moroccan people to self-determination.

Encouraged by their partners in colonial plunder, the French imperialists continued the military and police terror in Morocco. Neither did the people stop the struggle against colonial oppression. On August 20 (the anniversary of the coup) and in November 1954, general political strikes were held in both zones. In August 1955, a number of Berber tribes in the Rif and Middle Atlas which previously supported the reactionary feudal group of al-Glaoui, broke with it. In Khenifra and Oued-Zem districts, armed Berber detachments clashed with government forces and the police. In October 1955, mountain tribes in the Rif and Atlas rose up against French rule. Fierce battles were fought in the Rif area bordering on the Spanish zone, in the districts of Berkine and Imouzzer (Middle Atlas), and in the Oujda district at the Algerian border. The attemps of the imperialists to make use of the Berber tribes as their mainstay in Morocco thus failed.

By the autumn of 1955, the correlation of forces in Morocco had notably changed. The ranks of liberation fighters had grown, while the positions of the colonialists and the reactionary feudal forces had been further weakened. At the end of August 1955, the French Government had to start negotiations with Moroccan representatives in Aix-les-Bains, France. The talks resulted in an agreement on the deposing of Sultan Ben Arafa, and the latter abdicated on October 30. On November 5, 1955, Mohammed Ben Youssef returned from exile and was restored in power. The next day, the French Government made one more concession. A joint Franco-Moroccan declaration of November 6 announced that the sultan would form a government, which would conduct negotiations with France on granting Morocco the status of an independent state.

The Franco-Moroccan talks began on February 15, 1956, and were consummated on March 2 in the signing of a declaration on Morocco's independence. The collapse of the colonial regime in the French zone made it impossible to preserve Spanish rule in the other part of the country, and on April 5, 1956, Spain recognised the independence of Morocco. The international status in Tangier was abolished in October 1956 at an international conference in Fédala convened at the request of the Moroccan Government.

Reunification of the former French and Spanish zones and also Tangier in one sovereign Moroccan state put an end to colonial rule, which lasted for 44 years. Morocco entered a new stage in her history.

[9] The General Union of Amalgamated Trade Unions was broken up by the cruel repressions of the colonial authorities. A new trade union centre arose only in March 1955—the Moroccan Federation of Labour, which joined the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. At the beginning of 1960, it had more than 600,000 members. It has been affiliated with the All-African Trade Union Federation since May 1961.

[10] He was exiled to Madagascar.

INDEPENDENT MOROCCO

The gaining of political independence opened up for the Moroccan people the prospects of national regeneration, and created the prerequisites for the advance of the economy and culture, democratic reconstruction of socio-political life and the development of international relations. But in solving these problems, the people ran up against grave difficulties, both internal and external.

The sovereignty of Morocco, proclaimed in the 1956 agreements with France and Spain, did not signify the termination of economic dependence on the imperialists. Moreover, France, Spain and the United States had their troops and military bases in the country. Part of Moroccan territory remained under the rule of the Spanish colonialists (Ifni, the so-called Spanish Sahara and the coastal towns of Ceuta and Melilla). In 1957, the Spanish authorities brutally crushed the uprising of the people in Ifni, who called for reunification with Morocco.

After the proclamation of independence, foreign monopolies openly took a hostile stand towards the Moroccan state. In an effort to impede the country's economic development, French capitalists began to export capital from Morocco and close down industrial enterprises. By the autumn of 1956, deposits in the Bank of Morocco dropped to 84,000 million francs as compared with 135,000 million francs in July 1955. In 13 months, from October 1, 1955, to October 31, 1956, 80 industrial enterprises were closed down and more than 200 factories sharply curtailed production in the former French zone. Foreign colons cut the sown area by one-third. This subversive activity increased unemployment and sent up food prices. According to official figures, there were 300,000 unemployed among the urban population in 1956.

The Communist Party of Morocco submitted to the government a definite programme for eradicating the economic aftermath of colonialism, steeply advancing the economy and raising the living standard of the people. The main points of the proposals were: (1) nationalisation of the large mining companies and power and transport enterprises; (2) development of heavy industry; (3) a land reform providing for a return to poor peasants of one million hectares seized by the colonialists and distribution to peasants of land held by feudal collaborationists; (4) encouragement of Moroccan industry; control over private investments, national and foreign; encouragement of private investments aimed at immediately advancing the Moroccan economy.

But actually only partial measures in industry, finance and agriculture were carried out.

The faster development of the manufacturing industry has been a progressive tendency in the economy of independent Morocco. A large oil refinery in Mohammedia, a textile mill in Fez and

other enterprises have been commissioned. The first achievements have been registered in engineering: two factories for the assembly of lorries, factories for the assembly of motor-cars and wheel tractors, and some other plants have been built. The government is also encouraging the development of the crafts, in which about 200,000 people are engaged. Their output holds a considerable place in Moroccan exports.

Operation "Labour", carried out since 1957, is the most essential measure in agriculture. Annually some 300,000 hectares of peasant lands are ploughed up and fertilised at the expense of the government and with the help of state-owned machinery. By mid-1966, some 230,000-250,000 hectares had been confiscated from European colons. Agricultural taxes have been cut and a minimum wage for agricultural workers has been set. These measures, however, have not solved the basic problems of agriculture. As hitherto, the country faces the task of implementing a radical land reform, abolishing landownership of Europeans and feudal elements, giving plots to landless peasants and reconstructing agriculture along modern technical lines.

The best lands in Morocco are still owned by European colons. The European sector accounts for almost one-fourth of the entire agricultural output. Foreign capital continues to dominate in industry. The mineral resources, for example, are worked by mining companies in which French capital plays the leading part. As a rule, in new mixed companies, in which state and foreign capital participates, the share of the latter runs from 50 to 60 per cent. To overcome economic difficulties the Moroccan Government has resorted to loans from the imperialist powers—France, the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany and others.

Mass unemployment is a vexing socio-economic problem facing Morocco. Even according to conservative estimates, unemployment in the towns affects 20 per cent of the able-bodied population and is even higher in rural districts.

The government is trying to mitigate unemployment by introducing universal one-year civilian conscription for persons between 18 and 30 years of age. It is planned to provide employment to 1.5 million people annually over 30 years in road building, irrigation of arable land and pastures, tree planting, etc.

The Moroccan Government is introducing elements of planning in economic development. In December 1957, a Research Industrial Development Office was set up, which represents the state in the mixed companies. At first a two-year plan (1958-1959) was drawn up and then a five-year plan (1960-1964) and a three-year plan (1965-1967). But these plans were not fully carried out.

Some measures of the government are restricting the activity of foreign capital. The state has assumed control over the extraction of phosphorites and oil and also the export of profits. Revision

of the customs tariffs (the so-called "open door" regime), which were imposed by the imperialists on Morocco as far back as 1906, is of great importance. The new customs duties, introduced in 1957, are designed to protect national industry from foreign competition. A monopoly of trade in green tea, a national drink, has been instituted. The State Bank of Morocco, which had been controlled by French capital, was nationalised in 1959. Instead of it, the Bank of Morocco, the central bank of issue, was opened. Specialised national banks to finance economic development and foreign trade have been set up, and a national currency has been introduced. The main power stations and railways were nationalised in 1963 (on terms of redemption).

Much attention is now paid to education, the health services and culture and the training of national personnel. Morocco is a country with age-old cultural traditions. The first university in Africa was founded in Fez. It is the famous al-Karraouiyne Theological University, whose 1100th anniversary was celebrated in 1960.

Even the colonialists had to admit the high level of Moroccan culture. Marshal Lyautey, the first French resident-general, stated in 1921: "Let us bear in mind that we are in the country of Ibn Khaldun, who came to Fez at the age of 20, in the land of Averroes, and that their descendants are worthy of them. We still know very little about the old houses in Fez, Rabat and Marrakesh, whose dwellers turned their homes into seats of culture. At every step I come across people who dearly love their libraries, are avidly interested in everything happening in the world and who fervently wish their country to take part in the development of advanced ideas."

Notwithstanding the fine-sounding statements of Marshal Lyautey, the colonialists were not in the least interested in the development of national Moroccan culture. They needed working hands and not intelligent human beings. Education, this corner stone of culture, was badly neglected under the protectorate. One figure will suffice as an illustration. When independence was proclaimed only seven per cent of the Moroccans' children attended school. Education was organised along national religious principles: there were schools for the children of Europeans, Israelite schools and Muslim schools. Instruction in the schools was in French and very little time was assigned to Arabic.

One of the first measures launched in independent Morocco was to organise an Anti-Illiteracy League headed by King Mohammed V. In 1956, about 400,000 people were drawn into the 300 sections and sub-sections of the League, set up all over the country. Participation of Moroccan women in this drive for education was a significant development. Progressive intellectuals put forward the slogan: "Every literate Moroccan must teach 20 illiterates." Proclamation of Arabic the official language was of great significance for the development of national culture and consolidation of the Moroccan nation.

Reorganisation of the school system began after the gaining of independence. The government adopted the policy of unifying the school system and gradually going over to teaching the main subjects in Arabic. At present there are elementary schools (some of them private), secondary schools and a network of specialised (technical) secondary schools. The latter comprise an industrial school and a technical college in Casablanca and technical schools in Rabat, Fez, Khouribga and Marrakesh. In the first ten years of independence, the number of children attending school rose more than three-fold.

A national university was opened in Rabat in December 1957. Part of the Moroccan youth studies at higher schools abroad, including the U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries.

Arabisation remains one of the main problems in the sphere of culture. An Arabisation Research Institute was opened under Rabat University on January 15, 1960. It is exploring ways for introducing Arabic in all spheres of science and culture. Arabisation Week is annually observed in Morocco.

Much effort is given to the development of the pictorial, especially applied, arts. A Society of Moroccan Artists was organised in 1964 and art schools are functioning in Tetuan, Casablanca and Rabat. Applied art cooperatives, uniting local artisans, have been set up in a number of towns.

Theatrical art and music are successfully developing. The foundations of a national film industry and TV service have been laid. A Moroccan film studio was opened in 1957, and the first television programme was presented in 1962.

The works of modern poets and writers, such as Mohamed Aziz Lahbabi, Abdelmedjid Benjelloun and Ahmed Bennani, enjoy great popularity. Many Moroccan writers have taken an active part in the campaign against illiteracy. They are issuing a special newspaper for the uneducated in which (unlike ordinary newspapers and books) the words are supplied with vowel signs. National literary magazines are published.

Considerable changes have occurred in the country's socio-political life. After his return from exile, Mohammed Ben Youssef[11] took the line of transition to a constitutional monarchy in view of the people's demands for democratisation. Even before the formal proclamation of independence, the Berber Dahir was annulled, the rights of trade unions recognised and the French governors of provinces were replaced by Moroccan governors. A National Consultative Council was set up in November 1956. Its members

[11] In 1957, he assumed the title of King Mohammed V. After his death in 1961 he was succeeded by his son, Hassan II.

were appointed by the sultan, but they represented political parties, trade unions and other mass organisations. A Royal Charter of freedom of association, assembly and opinion was published in November 1958. The country's first constitution came into force on December 14, 1962. It provided for a bicameral Parliament, but the laws adopted by Parliament are subject to approval by the king.

Thus the democratic reconstruction of the country's socio-political life was of a restricted nature. In less than a year after the adoption of the Royal Charter, the country's reactionary forces, supported by the foreign imperialists, succeeded in getting the Communist Party outlawed (September 1959). Despite this, Moroccan Communists continue their struggle aimed at strengthening the country's independence and completely eradicating colonialism's aftermath. The Communist Party stresses that it is necessary to bring the anti-imperialist revolution to the end and it advocates the consolidation of all the progressive, patriotic forces in the country.

The period of independence has been marked by a deep crisis of the bourgeois parties and above all the most influential of them, the Istiqlal. During the period of the protectorate this party by its active struggle against colonialism had won prestige not only in bourgeois circles but also among a considerable part of the workers, artisans, peasants and democratic intellectuals. But after the winning of independence the Istiqlal proved incapable of further developing the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution. Reflecting a tendency, characteristic of the upper crust of the national bourgeoisie, the Istiqlal leadership, headed by Allal el-Fassi and Ahmed Balafredj, chose the policy of rapprochement with feudal circles and concessions to imperialism. This shift to the Right led to a split. In 1959, the Left wing broke away forming an independent party, the National Union of the People's Forces. The founders of the National Union included a number of former prominent Istiqlal leaders—Mehdi Ben Barka, former Deputy General Secretary; Abdallah Ibrahim, former Premier; Mahjoub Ben Seddik, leader of the Moroccan Federation of Labour, and others. Leading positions in the National Union are held mainly by petty bourgeois, but the party is supported by a considerable section of the workers and the rural poor. At the same time, rather large sections of the working people continue to follow the Istiqlal.

The struggle between the Istiqlal and the National Union for influence in the trade unions resulted in a split of the Moroccan Federation of Labour in 1960. Since most of the affiliated organisations supported the National Union, the Istiqlal set up a General Moroccan Workers' Federation which comprised the group of trade unions that broke away from the Federation of Labour.

A split also occurred in the Democratic Party of Independence (1959) in view of the demand of its Left wing to join the National Union. After the split, the party (in 1961 it was renamed the

Constitutional Democratic Party) lost its former influence; it is supported only by relatively narrow sections of the urban petty bourgeoisie and the top group of the peasantry.

A new political organisation was set up in March 1963. It was named the National Front and shortly afterwards was reorganised into the Front for the Protection of Constitutional Institutions. The Front was a bloc of political parties seeking to consolidate the ruling forces in Morocco. It included several political parties and groups which supported the king. The most influential among them was the party of the Berber top group—the People's Movement (founded in 1957), and the party of independent liberals (founded in the mid-1950's), which represented the interests of the big national bourgeoisie. Ahmed Rheda Guedira, one of the closest advisers of King Hassan II, became the leader of the party of independent liberals and the Front as a whole.

The Front received the biggest number of seats in the Chamber of Deputies (May 1963) and the Chamber of Councillors (October 1963). The Istiqlal, which for a long time was represented in the government, went over to the opposition even before the elections (since January 1963).

Repressions against opposition parties began after the elections, especially against the National Union, which was accused of plotting an attempt on the king's life. Many active members of the National Union and the Moroccan Federation of Labour were arrested. Seventeen of them were sentenced to death in November 1963, including Mehdi Ben Barka (in absentia).[12] Leaders of the Moroccan Communists, Ali Yata, Abdeslem Bourquiya, Abdallah Layachi were arrested in October 1963; they were released in January 1964 by decision of the Court of Appeals.

In 1964, the opposition submitted to the Chamber of Deputies a number of important bills of a democratic and anti-imperialist character, including bills on a land reform, nationalisation of the sugar industry, the press, etc. But the Right-wing majority blocked the passage of these laws. The sittings of the Chamber were indefinitely suspended even before the end of the parliamentary session.

In the spring of 1965, the situation was further aggravated by the events in Casablanca. They were sparked off by the March 22 demonstration of secondary-school pupils, who protested against the ruling of the Ministry of National Education that in view of the shortage of schools students above 17 years of age would be dismissed from lyceums and colleges. This demonstration, which pursued limited aims, was joined by the unemployed and by petty artisans. The dissatisfaction of the masses, engendered by the hard economic conditions and political repressions, broke to the surface.

[12] In October 1965, Ben Barka was abducted in Paris and his fate remains a mystery to this day.

The police and army resorted to the use of force and there were killed and wounded among the demonstrators. By the end of March, more than 700 persons had been convicted for participating in the demonstration.

The events in Casablanca caused strong repercussions in the country. Stormy demonstrations were held in Fez and Rabat and abroad. To relieve the strain, the king proclaimed an amnesty of political prisoners and started consultations with leaders of political parties on the establishment of a "national unity" government. But these talks were unsuccessful, owing to differences between the opposition and the ruling circles. Serious contradictions were also revealed between the bloc of the ruling parties—the Democratic Socialist Party, which was formed in April 1964 by the independent liberals and the People's Movement. The latter began to pursue an independent policy, and as a result the Front for the Protection of Constitutional Institutions disintegrated. Before long, the Democratic Socialist Party, too, became inactive.

The king proclaimed a state of emergency on June 7, 1965. Parliament was dissolved and all power concentrated in the hands of Hassan II. This decision was motivated by the impossibility of forming a coalition government and creating a stable parliamentary majority. It was officially declared that the new political regime did not signify a return to an absolute monarchy, but merely aimed at partially revising the constitution and creating conditions for the restoration of parliamentary institutions.

In foreign policy, Morocco has proclaimed the principle of nonalignment. Moroccan public opinion has launched a struggle for the evacuation of foreign troops from the country and the closing of foreign military bases. In 1961, the last French troops withdrew from Morocco. In 1963, the United States was also compelled to close its military bases in Morocco.

The people of Morocco rendered effective support to the fraternal Algerian people in their gallant struggle for freedom. Camps for Algerian refugees, providing shelter, food and medical aid, were set up on the border. On the call of the Communist Party, the people of Morocco contributed large sums to the relief fund for Algerian patriots. In the United Nations Morocco invariably called for an end to the war against the Algerian people and championed their right to self-determination.

But after the Algerian war a dispute arose between Morocco and Algeria over a number of border territories which are part of the Algerian Republic. An armed conflict broke out in October 1963. Thanks to the energetic intervention of governments of several African countries, a decision on a cease-fire was adopted on November 3, 1963, and it came into force two days later. Early in 1964, Algeria and Morocco reached agreement on ways for a peaceful settlement of the conflict. Differences over border territories, however, have not been fully eliminated so far.

Morocco is supporting the idea of African unity. She is a member of the Organisation of African Unity, the Arab League, and the United Nations. A conference of six independent African states (Morocco, Ghana, Guinea, Libya, Mali and the United Arab Republic) was held in Casablanca in January 1961 on the initiative of the Moroccan Government.[13] It adopted the well-known Casablanca Charter, directed against colonialism in its old and new forms. A conference of heads of Arab states was held in Casablanca in September 1965 and it also adopted important decisions of an anti-imperialist nature.

Relations of Morocco with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are steadily developing. The U.S.S.R. was one of the first to recognise the Moroccan state and express readiness to establish diplomatic relations with it (embassies were exchanged in 1958). The first Soviet-Moroccan trade agreement was signed in April 1957 and since then such agreements have been regularly concluded, with both sides granting each other most-favoured-nation treatment. Exchanges of delegations at different levels and reciprocal visits of leaders of both countries have strengthened friendship between the Moroccan and Soviet peoples. In 1961, L. I. Brezhnev (then President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.) visited Morocco, and in 1966 King Hassan II paid a visit to the Soviet Union. In the same year the two countries concluded agreements on cooperation in science, technology, culture, radio and television, and other spheres, which laid the foundations for the further development of Soviet-Moroccan relations.

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[13] The Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic was also represented at that conference.

ALGERIA

Colonial Oppression of Algeria. Algeria was one of the biggest and oldest French colonies. In 1918, the colonial regime was almost 90 years old. Algeria took first place among French overseas possessions not only for the number of European (mainly French) colons and the land they held, but also for invested capital, again chiefly French. On the eve of the First World War, Algeria accounted approximately for half of all the capital exported to the French colonies. In later years, the influx of capital to Algeria and the greater degree of her capitalist development, as compared with other French colonies, resulted in a lower rate of profit and somewhat reduced the flow of new investments. Nevertheless, in the interwar period and after the Second World War, France channelled to Algeria from one-fourth to one-third of her colonial investments.

The theorists of colonialism claim that the conversion of Algeria into the biggest investment sphere among the French colonies promoted the country's economic progress and the prosperity of the Algerians. But the facts speak of the opposite. Both at the turn of the century and at the time she won independence, Algeria was an economically backward country. Her industry was poorly developed, and as in the other colonies, was one-sided. Emphasis was laid on mining (extraction of phosphorites, iron ore, etc.), whose output was almost completely exported. Light industry (textile, food) was represented by small establishments and a limited number of medium-size factories. Heavy industry was non-existent despite the available raw materials and power resources.

At the beginning of the 1920's, there were less than 100,000 industrial workers in a country with a population of six million. Algerians, in their majority unskilled workers, received only one-third or one-fourth of what Europeans did for the same work. Algerian handicrafts were undermined by the imports of French goods. Thousands of artisan workshops closed down in Algiers, Oran, Constantine, Tlemsen, and other towns. The national bourgeoisie was very weak. A small group of big businessmen stood out against this general background.

Mining enterprises and most of the larger establishments in other industries belonged to the foreign monopolies. French monopoly associations controlled the country's entire economy, including its main sector, agriculture. In no other African country did the French seize so much land as in Algeria. In 1917, European landholdings amounted to about 2.3 million hectares, while in 1939 they exceeded 2.7 million hectares (50 per cent more than in Tunisia and Morocco combined). This huge wealth was held by several companies (Compagnie Algérienne, Société Génevoise, etc.) and a small group of big landowners. In the last years of the colonial regime, 6,000 farms of more than 100 hectares each held 80 per cent of all the land in the European sector. On the average each European colon had ten times more land than an Algerian landholder (124 and 12 hectares respectively); moreover, the holdings of most Algerian peasants did not exceed 4 or 5 hectares.

Capitalist relations were considerably developed in Algerian agriculture. They were characteristic primarily of the European sector, but the capitalist way was also penetrating the Algerian sector. Many feudal estates were turned into large capitalist farms. Urban tradesmen and money-lenders were investing capital in agriculture, and a rich substratum emerged from among the fellahs.

But the feudal system was also preserved in Algeria, although to a smaller degree than in other Maghreb countries. Both Algerian and European landowners exploited the peasants, using semi-feudal methods like *khammasat* and other forms of share-cropping. Patriarchal-feudal relations prevailed in the south, among nomad and semi-nomad tribes.

While European colons were extending their farms,[1] production in the Algerian sector was stagnating and even declining. This is explained above all by the fact that the colonialists had seized the finest lands in the northern part of the country, pushing Algerian farming and stock-raising to the mountains and the arid southern areas. Agriculture was also adversely affected by factors like the preservation of primitive implements, the inability of most peasants to buy fertilisers and almost complete absence of irrigation. In these conditions, frequent drought led to truly disastrous consequences: the death of thousands from starvation and the ruin of the peasants who lost their land. But even in the best years, yields remained very low. They did not exceed 0.6-0.7 tons of grain per hectare. The average grain yield in Algerian farms was from 33 to 50 per cent lower than in European ones; moreover, it was steadily declining. If we take a ten-year average, we find that before the First World War it amounted to 0.6 tons per hectare, and 40 years later, only to 0.47 tons. In 1929 the number of cattle

[1] For example, the area under vineyards increased from 176,000 hectares in 1914 to 400,000 hectares in 1939. Grapes for the market were grown exclusively by colons.

and sheep dropped by almost one-third as compared with 1913—from 14.5 million to 10.8 million.

The life of the small Algerian peasants, sharecroppers and agricultural workers, who comprised the majority of the rural population, was exceedingly hard. Working from sunrise till sunset, they subsisted on the brink of starvation, dwelt in dark and damp adobe huts and suffered indignities at the hands of French officials and colons.

Having enslaved Algeria economically, the colonialists did not leave even a semblance of political independence. While Morocco and Tunisia had a protectorate regime which formally preserved local statehood, in Algeria it was fully destroyed and replaced by a French colonial administration. The southern part of the country was placed in the power of the French military. Only Europeans in Algeria had the rights of citizens of the French Republic.[2] On the other hand, millions of Algerians (Arabs and Berbers)[3] were not citizens but "subjects" of France.[4] They were treated as a "lower" race. The "Native Code" (Code de l'Indigénat) deprived them of civil and human rights. Without permission of the authorities the Algerians could not travel in the country; they were subject to corporal punishment, for which a court decision was not even required.

The "assimilation policy" proclaimed by the colonialists led to the stifling of ancient Arab culture. The Arab school and press were hounded by the authorities. Tuition (except schools teaching the Koran) was only in French and it was inaccessible to the overwhelming majority of Algerian children. More than 90 per cent of the Arabs and Berbers were unable to read and write. The only university in the country (in Algiers) trained colonial officials. Its student body was almost entirely European, and Algerian students were the rare exception.

Algeria could not develop without abolishing the colonial regime and the remnants of feudalism associated with it. The working people, a considerable part of the national bourgeoisie and intellectuals were interested in liberation from French domination, naturally to a differing degree. The liberation struggle in Algeria in fact did not stop ever since the country was conquered. But it acquired a nationwide character only in contemporary times.

The National-Liberation Movement in the Interwar Period. During the First World War, 120,000 workers were sent from Algeria to France, where there was a shortage of manpower. Since

[2] Before the First World War the European population numbered about 750,000, and in the mid-1950's, about 1,000,000.

[3] Berbers make up about 15 per cent of Algeria's non-European population. The largest groups live in the mountains of Kabylia (Kabyles) and Aurès (Chauias).

[4] Only several thousand of the so-called "native officials", usually appointed from among the Algerian nobility, were the exception.

then Algerian workers have been constantly employed in France; their number reached 300,000-400,000. The colonial authorities drafted 175,000 Algerians into the army. The militant friendship of Algerian and Russian revolutionaries originated during the October Revolution. Algerians took part in the famous mutiny of French sailors on the Black Sea in 1919. On returning to Algeria, the soldiers and workers brought back news of the socialist revolution in Russia, which awakened the national consciousness of the masses.

The French imperialists decided to forestall an upsurge of national-revolutionary movement by a typically colonial ruse—through concessions to the upper crust of the local population. The law of February 4, 1919, granted big landowners, tradesmen, civil servants, persons having French diplomas or decorations and also former officers and soldiers of the French Army the right to elect deputies to municipal councils, general councils of provinces (*départements*) and Financial Delegations,[5] but not more than one-third of the total number of deputies.

The 1919 reform gave the people nothing at all. Neither did it satisfy a big part of the bourgeoisie. Keeping up the traditions of the national-reformist movement which arose before the war, patriotic elements among the national bourgeoisie and intellectuals demanded universal suffrage, representation of the Algerians in the French Parliament and abolition of the "Native Code".[6] A political organisation of national reformists, Jeune Algérien, was set up in 1920 to fight for these demands. It was headed by a former captain of the French Army, Emir Khaled, grandson of Algeria's national hero Abd el-Kader. But in 1923 Emir Khaled was deported from Algeria and shortly afterwards the organisation he founded disintegrated.

In 1927 Jeune Algérien was replaced by a Federation of Muslim Delegates, so named because it consisted of Algerian members of municipal and provincial councils and Funancial Delegations. Opinions differ as to the date when the Federation was founded.[7]

The leaders of the Federation did not strive for national independence. They only demanded that the Algerian bourgeoisie be given the same rights and opportunities as were enjoyed by the European bourgeoisie in Algeria. For this a considerable part of

[5] An advisory body under the governor-general, set up in 1898 to consider the colony's budget.

[6] It was abolished only in 1936, but many of its provisions actually remained in force up to 1945.

[7] Some claim that the Federation of Muslim Delegates arose later, in 1930 and even in 1933-1934. This difference is largely explained by the fact that the Federation did not have a single leadership: in each of the three Algerian departments formally independent federations were set up. But the leading role among them was played by the Federation of Muslim Delegates in the Constantine Department. It was headed by Dr. Mohammed Benjelloul, an eminent leader of the national movement at that time.

the Algerian bourgeoisie was ready to renounce national culture and become fully assimilated with the French. But demanding equality with the French, the Federation was forced to seek the support of the masses and thereby stimulated the development of the national movement.

Even earlier, in 1926, Algerian immigrant workers organised in Paris the North African Star. Communists (Hadj Ali Abd el-Qader, Mohammed Maarouf and others) were among its founders. At first the new organisation maintained contact with the Communist Party and was affiliated with the Anti-Imperialist League.[8] But as far as its nature is concerned, the North African Star was not so much a proletarian as a national democratic organisation, strongly influenced by petty-bourgeois ideology. Most of the workers belonging to it were yesterday's peasants or artisans who ideologically were closer to their former environment than to the working class. The national and religious isolation of the members of the North African Star from the French workers also made itself felt. Subsequently, when the North African Star led by Messali Hadj conducted its activities in Algeria proper, it was replenished primarily by petty-bourgeois elements. In the mid-1930's it shifted over to purely nationalistic positions and broke with the principles of internationalism.

At first the North African Star set itself the aim chiefly of achieving political and economic reforms. But some of its leaders went further and demanded national independence (in 1933 this demand became the main slogan of the North African Star). Small wonder that it was hounded by the French authorities and banned in 1929.

In Algeria herself, the bulk of the population had no organisations of its own at that time. True, even before the First World War trade unions and a section of the French Socialist Party were set up in the country, but they consisted entirely of Europeans and had no ties with the Arab proletariat, let alone the Algerian national movement.

The situation slowly began to change after the decision to organise the French Communist Party was taken in December 1920 at a congress of the French Socialists in Tours. Most of the Algerian sections voted for this decision and became sections of the French Communist Party. Thus the Communist organisation of Algeria was founded in 1920. Originally it consisted of Europeans only. But since the late 1920's Algerians joined its ranks and it gradually turned into a genuine Algerian organisation, uniting the working people of all the nationalities in the country.

Algeria, like all the countries of the capitalist world, was gripped by a deep economic crisis in 1929-1933. Grain prices dropped

[8] Its full name was League against Imperialism and for National Independence (founded in 1927).

30-60 per cent from 1931 to 1933 and the export of olive oil declined sharply. The sown area was cut by 290,000 hectares, i.e., by 8 per cent, from 1929 to 1933. The production of iron ore, which in 1930 exceeded 2,300,000 tons, dropped to 463,000 tons in 1932. Production of phosphorites in the first three crisis years shrank from 857,000 tons to 565,000 tons. The crisis worsened working conditions, raised unemployment to a catastrophic degree, ruined peasant farms and exacerbated all social contradictions. The crisis made the working masses rise to the defence of their rights: strikes and peasant actions began, and some of them were led by Communists.

The national movement gained momentum during the years of the crisis. In 1931, a group of liberal representatives of the Muslim theologians and bourgeois intellectuals, headed by sheikh Abd el-Hamid Ben Badis, founded the Union of Ulama Reformers,[9] which came out against the colonialist policy of assimilation and sought to spread national culture. In 1933, the North African Star was revived (officially it was named the Glorious North African Star). Soon after, the organisation began to function in Algeria herself.

The repressions of the colonial authorities, directed both against the Communists and against nationalist organisations, especially the North African Star and the Union of Ulamas, could not stem the growth of the liberation movement. On the contrary, it gained in strength, which was facilitated by the successes of the Popular Front in France. In 1936, a popular anti-fascist front also arose in Algeria. It rallied the country's democratic forces: the working class, peasantry, progressive intellectuals and petty bourgeoisie. Communists, Socialists, radicals, people not affiliated with any party—both Europeans and Algerians—participated in the Popular Front, which fought against the subversive activity of fascist leagues in Algeria.[10] The Front came out against fascist aggression in Ethiopia and Spain. The Muslim Congress was associated with the Popular Front. This Congress, set up in 1936, united the Association of Ulamas (as the reorganised Union of Ulama Reformers was called after 1935), the Federation of Muslim Delegates and other national organisations. Algerian Communists participated in the Popular Front and also joined the Muslim Congress.

After the parliamentary elections in April-May 1936, a government relying on the support of the Popular Front assumed office

[9] Ulamas are Muslim theologians.

[10] In Algerian conditions, fascist leagues, financed and supported by the French monopolies, were above all organisations of the big colons prepared at any price to uphold their racial privileges and their colonial domination of the country. Reactionary elements of the European petty bourgeoisie, criminals and mercenaries from the Foreign Legion also participated in the fascist leagues.

in France. Under the pressure of the masses it promulgated laws on a 40-hour working week and the introduction of paid holidays; these laws also extended to Algeria. Algerians received the right to organise their own political parties.

The Constituent Congress of the Algerian Communist Party was held on October 17-19, 1936. Since then it has been acting as an independent Communist Party. In close fraternal alliance with the French Communist Party and the other Marxist-Leninist Parties, the Algerian Communist Party has been consistently upholding the interests of the working class and all the other working people of Algeria in the struggle against colonial and social oppression.

New nationalist organisations appeared on the political scene during the same period. The Algerian People's Party was founded in 1937 on the basis of the Algerian sections of the North African Star. It was headed by Messali Hadj. The party drew its strength from petty-bourgeois elements (artisans, petty tradesmen), students and part of the urban proletariat. A year later, a new national-reformist party, the Algerian Popular Union, was founded. It was connected primarily with the middle strata of the national bourgeoisie and headed by Ferhat Abbas.

Algeria During the Second World War. The disintegration of the Popular Front in France (1938-1939) and the outbreak of the Second World War enabled imperialist reaction to take the offensive both in France and in Algeria. The colonial authorities abolished the social and political gains of the Popular Front period. In September 1939, the Algerian Communist Party and progressive trade unions were banned and their leaders thrown into prison. The same thing happened to the Algerian People's Party. Other nationalist organisations actually discontinued their activities.

After the capitulation of France's ruling circles before Hitler (June 1940), Algeria, together with southern France, fell under the power of the puppet Pétain government. Enjoying the support of the Pétain administration and the big colons, the nazis extracted from Algeria raw materials and food. The working population was starving and the country was turned into a huge prison. Thousands of Algerian patriots and French anti-fascists languished in concentration camps. Kaddour Belkaim, Secretary of the Algerian Communist Party, died in a fascist dungeon in July 1940.

After the landing of Anglo-American forces in North Africa (November 8, 1942), the people of Algeria looked forward to a turn for the better. The national bourgeoisie, too, became more active. In February 1943, a group of Algerian "political notables" (members of the Financial Delegations and departmental and municipal councils), headed by Ferhat Abbas, signed a Manifesto of the Algerian People, which was subsequently (May 1943) supplemented by the so-called Project of Reforms. These documents

called for the abolition of colonialism and exercise of the Algerian people's right to self-determination; they demanded the formation of an Algerian state after the war and the holding of elections to a Constituent Assembly which would draw up a democratic constitution. At the same time the authors of the Manifesto and the Project of Reforms demanded the participation of Algerians in administering the country, the release of all political prisoners, a number of socio-economic reforms, etc.

But nothing changed. The Allied Command and the Vichy-appointed authorities who remained at their posts resisted even the release of political prisoners, dragging this out for several months.

In June 1943, power over Algeria was assumed by the French Committee of National Liberation, formed on her territory and headed by General de Gaulle. In August 1943, under the pressure of the French Communists, who played a prime part in the Resistance movement, the Committee was compelled officially to legalise the Algerian Communist Party (actually it began to work in the open in the spring of 1943). The National Conference of the Algerian Communist Party, held on August 15, 1943, urged the Algerian people to take an active part in fighting fascism.

At the final stage of the war, about 300,000 Algerians joined the ranks of the French Army. Fighting against the nazi troops, Algerian patriots firmly believed that after the end of the war their country would gain its freedom. But the French ruling circles refused to consider the demands of the Algerian people: they rejected the programme formulated in the Manifesto and the Project of Reforms. True, the French authorities had to make partial concessions, but their aim was to relieve the strain and to prevent the further advance of the liberation movement.

A government ordinance was issued on March 7, 1944, granting Algerians who have reached the age of 21 the right to elect two-fifths of the deputies to the local self-government bodies (municipal and general councils). The Algerians, as before, were in the minority in these councils, and what is most important, real power in the country remained in the hands of the colonial administration. The Algerian people were far from satisfied by the granting of French citizenship to the upper stratum of Algerian society—the feudal landowners, bourgeois, government officials and intellectuals (50,000-60,000 people in all).

The March ordinance was approved only by the pro-imperialist feudal circles and part of the big commercial bourgeoisie associated with the French monopolies. The working masses and the radical elements of the national bourgeoisie and intellectuals came out against the policy of "small concessions".

With the object of rallying the national organisations to fight for the Manifesto of the Algerian People, its proponents, together with the leaders of the Algerian People's Party and the Association of Ulamas, set up the Friends of the Manifesto and Freedom

Association on March 14, 1944. In a short time this association enrolled 500,000 members (among them were members of the first Muslim unions of workers and tradesmen, which arose in 1943 and were supporting the Algerian People's Party). Never before did a political organisation in Algeria enjoy such mass influence.

The hard lot of the people precipitated the political crisis. There was a food shortage in the country, the cereal harvest having dropped from 2,500,000 tons in 1939 to 350,000 tons in 1945. The number of sheep was cut by half. In view of the difficulties in marketing wine, the colons greatly reduced the area under vineyards. This enhanced unemployment and spread starvation in the Algerian countryside.

Hundreds of thousands of peasants swarmed to the towns in search of a livelihood.[11] But here, too, they could not find work, although several munitions factories had been built. What added fuel to the flames was that the food stocks were in the hands of the colonial administration. French officials speculated with foodstuffs designated for the population, and in distributing them gave preference to Europeans.

The 1945 Uprising. The starving and exhausted people of Algeria enthusiastically acclaimed the end of the war. On May 8, 1945, mass demonstrations were held in Algerian towns hailing victory over nazi Germany. At the same time the people called for the abolition of colonialism and demanded national independence and an improvement of the economic situation in the country.

In Setif and Guelma the peaceful demonstrations were shot down by the police. This massacre aroused the people, and unrest at once spread to the entire eastern part of the country (Constantine Department). An armed struggle began in Kabylia and adjacent districts. The insurgents attacked the estates of big colons, police headquarters and barracks, destroying communication lines and railways. But the fighters for freedom were poorly armed and unorganised. Within two or three weeks the colonialists succeeded in crushing the spontaneous uprising they themselves had provoked, killing tens of thousands of Algerians.[12] Detachments of "civil guards" formed by the big colons were especially ruthless. Patriots were arrested throughout the country. More than 4,500 people, including prominent leaders of the national movement, were imprisoned. The Friends of the Manifesto and Freedom Association was dissolved. The Algerian People's Party went underground. So Algeria entered the postwar period in conditions of brutal terror.

[11] From 1936 to 1948 (chiefly during the war), the Arab-Berber population of Algerian towns increased from 867,000 to 1,329,000.

[12] No exact figures on the number of victims are available. According to information received by various Algerian organisations, from 15,000 to 45,000 people perished.

Algeria in the First Ten Years after the War. Suppression of the May rebellion, however, did not strengthen the colonial regime. On the contrary, in postwar years, when a new balance of forces arose in the world, the liberation movement assumed an unparalleled scale in Algeria, as in other colonies.

Economically, the postwar period was marked by greater colonial exploitation. The French monopolies, which controlled the extractive industry, increased the production and export of mineral raw materials. Ten years after the war, the production of iron ore increased 15 per cent as compared with 1938 (from 3,034,000 to 3,596,000 tons), the production of phosphorites rose 30 per cent (from 584,000 tons to 763,000 tons). There was also an increase in the production of coal (from 13,000 to 302,000 tons), zinc ore (from 15,000 to 57,000 tons), etc. Exceedingly rich oil resources were found in the Sahara (1956), and their exploitation began. While before the war practically no oil was extracted in Algeria (in 1938, 300 tons were produced altogether), the oil industry began to acquire prime importance. Ten years after the war oil production rose to 69,000 tons and five years later (in 1960) 8,791,000 tons were extracted.

The output of some farm produce (grain, grapes, olive oil, etc.) also increased and exports rose correspondingly. But the chronic adverse balance of trade, far from declining, kept increasing. The growth of export of low-priced industrial and agricultural raw materials with a simultaneous rise in the imports of more expensive finished goods only accentuated the economic bondage of Algeria. This is clearly shown by the ratio of prices per ton of exports and imports. Before the war it was 1 : 2 and after the war, 1 : 4.

The resumption of the large imports of French and other foreign goods to Algeria struck a heavy blow at the country's manufacturing industry. The upswing in some branches owing to the war demands (the consequences of which were felt also in the first postwar years) proved to be short-lived. Thus, the index of metallurgical production (1950=100) was 132.2 in 1948 and 76.9 in 1954. Output of the chemical industry in the mid-1950's was likewise below the level of 1948. Less than one-third of the productive capacity in the shoe industry was utilised.

Algeria remained a predominantly agricultural country, and the share of industry in her national income did not exceed 25-27 per cent.

The gap between the European and Algerian sectors in agriculture became even more pronounced. In the mid-1950's the Algerian sector accounted for slightly more than one-third of the value of the country's agricultural output (not counting the output of animal husbandry, in which European farms played no essential part). Expansion of agricultural production was chiefly a result of greater output by the Europeans' farms, which exported

more than half of their produce. But the output of farm produce for home consumption sharply lagged behind the increase in the non-European population. For example, per capita grain production dropped by 60 per cent in the first half of the 20th century.

The social composition of the Algerian village underwent considerable change. The ruin of the peasantry was even more intensive than in Morocco. In particular, the conversion of almost all the sharecroppers into proletarians was characteristic of Algeria. While at the beginning of the 1930's there were 713,000 sharecroppers (mainly *khammas*), at the beginning of the 1950's only 130,000-150,000 remained. The number of Algerians who owned land was also cut by more than half during this period. At the same time, the number of people working for hire, including day labourers and seasonal workers, exceeded 2,000,000 (approximately 500,000 of them were regular agricultural workers). This huge army of rural proletarians and semi-proletarians comprised two-thirds of the gainfully occupied population in the countryside and it constituted the mass basis for the national revolution maturing in Algeria.

A considerable part of the ruined *khammas* peasants and small peasants, finding no means of subsistence in the village, sought to escape starvation by going to the towns. But the weak industry did not need such a huge influx of manpower, and unemployment became a national calamity. In the mid-1950's there were from 1 million to 1.5 million totally or partly unemployed.

Nevertheless, a certain growth of industry sent up the number of workers, of whom there were 400,000 in 1954. The national composition of the urban proletariat also changed. The shortage of European labour during the war forced the capitalists to employ Algerian workers on a wider scale. Before the war Algerians comprised less than one-third and after the war, more than half of all the industrial, transport and building workers in the country.

The Algerian proletariat became an imposing force. Led by the Communists and trade unions, the workers staged strikes against the high cost of living and the decline of real wages, against the onslaught of the monopolies. The working class marched in the front ranks of the fighters against colonialism.

The prestige of the Algerian Communist Party rose during and after the war. During the reign of reaction after the suppression of the May 1945 uprising, the Algerian Communists headed the mass protest movement against the police terror and for the release of the arrested patriots. The French Communist Party rendered fraternal assistance to the Algerian people. In March 1946, the Constituent Assembly of France, on the motion of the Communist group, passed a law on an amnesty for political prisoners in Algeria. Even earlier (in August 1945), on the insistence of the Communist Party and other democratic forces of France, Algerians who did not get French

citizenship in 1944 were allowed to take part in the elections to the Constituent Assembly.[13]

In March 1946, a group of nationalists, headed by Ferhat Abbas, founded the Democratic Union of the Algerian Manifesto. This party expressed the interests of the national bourgeoisie (primarily of the radical wing of the middle businessmen) and bourgeois intellectuals. The Democratic Union also exerted considerable influence among the peasants. Its leaders advocated the establishment of an Algerian Republic enjoying autonomy within the framework of the French Union, with its own parliament and government.

In November 1946, another nationalist party, Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Freedoms, was set up as a legal organisation on the basis of the underground Algerian People's Party. It united small tradesmen, artisans, office employees, students and part of the workers. In some regions the Movement was supported by the peasants. It demanded the separation of Algeria from France and the establishment of an independent Algerian Republic.

But France's ruling circles rejected the drafts of the Statute of Algeria which provided for the creation either of an independent or an autonomous Algerian Republic. With the reactionary forces taking the offensive in France (in May 1947 the Communists were ousted from the French Government), the Statute of Algeria was published on September 20, 1947. It proclaimed that Algeria was a group of departments "endowed with financial autonomy and a special organisation". This "special organisation" differed little from the old one. All power remained in the hands of the governor-general. An Algerian Assembly of 120 deputies, elected equally by two electoral colleges, was set up as an advisory body to the governor-general. The first electoral college, consisting of 370,000 European voters and 60,000 privileged Algerians, elected as many deputies as the 1,300,000 Algerians voting in the second electoral college.

The Statute provided for some future concessions to Algerians: abolition of the military regime in the southern part of the country, proclamation of Arabic an official language on a par with French, release of the Muslim religion from control by the state, the granting of suffrage to women, etc.

But all these concessions remained on paper. Moreover, reactionary forces intensified their oppression. The proclamation of Algerians as citizens of France, under the 1947 Statute, was utilised by the colonial authorities as "legal grounds" for fresh police persecution. Article 80, Paragraph 1, of the French Criminal Code,

[13] The French Government, however, limited the number of deputies elected by Algerians, giving them only 13 seats, as many as the European minority in the country got.

which punished "encroachment on the integrity of French territory" by ten-year imprisonment, was invoked against Algerian freedom fighters. About 30,000 Algerian patriots were placed behind prison bars. Political parties, trade unions and the press advocating Algeria's independence were practically deprived of the opportunity to carry on their activities.

In 1948, France accepted the Marshall Plan, and in 1949, she joined the aggressive North Atlantic bloc. The operation of both was extended to Algeria. Expansion of American capital in Algeria was stepped up. U.S. companies received a number of concessions for the prospecting and production of oil [14] and other strategic raw materials. Even earlier, at the end of 1946, France started a colonial war against the Vietnamese people, which dragged out for almost eight years. The French Government sought to use Algerians in this war as cannon fodder.

The period between 1948 and 1954 was in a way a prologue to the Algerian revolution. After the adoption of the Algerian Statute, the broadest sections of Algerians became convinced that the colonialists would not leave Algeria of their own free will. The masses, who no longer wished to tolerate the rule, indignities and terror of the colonialists, were taking ever more resolutely the path of revolutionary struggle. Under the pressure of the masses the leaders of the Democratic Union and the Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Freedoms had to change their attitude to the slogan of uniting all the progressive forces in a general nationwide democratic front, which had been advocated by the Communist Party since 1946. While formerly the leadership of the Algerian nationalist parties rejected an alliance with the Communists, in July-August 1951 the Algerian Front for the Defence and Respect of Freedom was set up, in which the Communist Party, the Democratic Union, the Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Freedoms and the Association of Ulamas joined forces. True, this front functioned only for a year and a half: first the Democratic Union and then the Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Freedoms withdrew from it. But even this brief period stimulated the political activity of the people and drew new sections into the national-liberation struggle.

The working-class movement in Algeria had considerably gained in strength by the beginning of the 1950's. The trade unions already had 100,000 members; most of them (about 70,000) belonged to trade unions which were affiliated with the French General Confederation of Labour and in which Communists enjoyed great influence. The first independent national trade union centre in Algeria, the General Federation of Algerian Trade Unions, was set up in June 1954 on the basis of the progressive trade unions.

[14] More than half of the American investments went into the oil industry.

The working class was in the van of the peace movement and of the struggle against the colonial war waged by French imperialism in Vietnam. Meetings and demonstrations against the involvement of Algeria in the North Atlantic bloc were held throughout the country. As many as 400,000 Algerians signed the famous Stockholm Appeal. Algerian dockers refused to load armaments designated for Vietnam. Algerian soldiers in the French Army deserted and went over to the side of the Vietnamese. The Algerian people warmly supported the liberation movement in Tunisia and Morocco, where armed action against French rule began in 1952 and 1953.

In Algeria herself, guerrilla groups, operating in the mountains of Kabylia and Aurès, sprang up as early as December 1947. It was here that the first centres of the 1954 armed uprising arose.

A revolutionary situation was maturing in Algeria. Taking into account the mood of the people and the favourable external conditions, the leaders of the national-liberation movement in Algeria oriented themselves on an armed uprising. To prepare for the insurrection, the Left wing of the Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Freedoms (its militarised Special Organisation) set up in March 1954 a secret Revolutionary Committee for Unity and Action. The Committee divided Algeria into zones (willayas) and appointed commanders of the zones, who were to lead the insurrection in the localities.

On the night of November 1, 1954, the Revolutionary Committee called on the people to rise up. This marked the beginning of the Algerian revolution, which was an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution in its aims and a consistently people's revolution in character.

The Algerian Revolution. The armed struggle began in Aurès, south of Constantine. On November 12, hostilities also started in Greater Kabylia, a mountainous region east of Algiers. Before long guerrilla warfare spread all over the country. Guerrilla detachments waging a war of liberation against the French colonialists came to be called the National Liberation Army. [15]

The revolutionary struggle was headed by the National Liberation Front (N.L.F.), set up on the initiative of the Revolutionary Committee of Unity and Action.

The N.L.F. was a broad democratic organisation, which gradually rallied under its banners the peasants, workers, intellectuals, petty bourgeoisie and radical circles of the middle bourgeoisie. The N.L.F. leadership was similarly heterogeneous; it consisted of representatives of diverse social strata, including the bourgeoisie, but the main part in organising the liberation strug-

[15] When the war ended in 1962, the National Liberation Army was reorganised into the National People's Army.

gle was played by revolutionary democratic leaders, connected with the masses, especially the peasantry.

In the very first years of the war, the N.L.F. was joined by members of the Democratic Union, Association of Ulamas and other patriotic organistaions. The latter, after affiliating with the N.L.F., dissolved themselves. Of the nationalist groups, only the Right wing of the Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Freedoms, headed by Messali Hadj, former chairman of this party, remained outside the N.L.F. At the end of 1954, Messali Hadj set up a new organisation, the Algerian National Movement. Although it proclaimed itself a champion of independence, it took a hostile stand towards the N.L.F. and thereby played into the hands of the French colonialists. But the Algerian National Movement did not gain any essential influence among the people.

In the summer of 1956, contact was established between the Algerian Communist Party and the N.L.F. Even long before this the Algerian Communists joined in the armed struggle either by joining units of the National Liberation Army or by setting up independent units of Liberation Fighters. These detachments were formed in accordance with a decision of the Central Committee of the Algerian Communist Party, taken at a plenary meeting in July 1955, in towns and rural areas where the Party had great influence. Many rank-and-file members and prominent leaders of the Party laid down their lives in the struggle for freedom, including Hamma Lakhdar, commander of a guerrilla detachment, and members of the Central Committee Mohammed Guerrouf, Tahar Gomri, Laid Lamrani and Bouali Taleb.

In July 1956, the N.L.F. and the Algerian Communist Party concluded an agreement on the strength of which detachments of Liberation Fighters were incorporated in the National Liberation Army and placed under N.L.F. control. The N.L.F. leadership, however, insisted on the self-dissolution of the Communist Party. The latter, formally remaining outside the Front, continued to support it in every way. The desire of the Communist Party to strengthen national revolutionary unity was also reflected in the Party's appeal to Algerian workers who were close to the Communist Party to join the country's single trade union organisation, the General Union of Algerian Workers, formed under the aegis of the National Liberation Front in February 1956.

A conference of N.L.F. leaders, held in August 1956 in the Soummam valley of Kabylia, adopted the Soummam Programme. It was based on the principles formulated by the National Liberation Front at the beginning of the uprising (in the Appeal to the Algerian People of October 31, 1954). The Front proclaimed the following aims of the struggle: abolition of the colonial regime, the establishment of a "democratic and social" republic in Algeria and the giving of land to the peasants, that is, the carrying out of a land reform. The Soummam Conference formed

the supreme organ of the N.L.F.—the National Council of the Algerian Revolution—headed by a Coordination and Executive Committee. The original composition of the Committee (it was subsequently changed) included Abbane Ramdane, national political commissar, Youcef Zirout, Larbi Ben Mhidi, Belkacem Krim (commanders of the zone of northern Constantine, Oran and Kabylia) and Ben Youcef ben Khedda (leader of the Algiers underground).

The division of Algeria into willayas, made at the beginning of the revolution, was preserved after the Soummam Conference. Every willaya had its own army. The intricate conditions of the underground and guerrilla warfare (with its characteristic absence of a precise front-line), the fact that parts of the National Liberation Army were territorially disunited—all this hampered centralised leadership of the military operations.[16] In this situation the command of each willaya practically acted on its own. It also had to guide the formation of the revolutionary government bodies on liberated territory.

The working people made up the main military force of the N.L.F. and the National Liberation Army. At first peasants and agricultural labourers comprised most of the soldiers in the National Liberation Army and they bore the brunt of the war. As hostilities spread, industrial workers, artisans, students and other patriotic sections of the urban population joined the army. Commanders emerged from the ranks of the soldiers. Usually they were the more experienced soldiers, many of whom had served as privates and noncoms in the French Army during the Second World War. In 1956, the institution of political commissars was established in the army, the commissars being appointed by the National Liberation Front.

The imperialists circulated the myth that merely a "handful of rebels" was fighting against them. But behind this "handful" stood the entire people, nine million strong. That is why the small group of guerrilla detachments (in 1954 they had altogether 3,000 men) swiftly grew into a strong army, which in 1956 had 60,000 men and two years later, more than 130,000 men.[17] All the

[16] Another thing that told here was the consequences of the insufficiently prepared, though heroic, attempt of the insurgents to capture Algiers in 1956-1957. The defeat of the patriots in the eight-month battle for the capital and the subsequent brutal repressions extremely complicated the activity of the N.L.F. political leadership which was in the city. Some of its members had to go abroad. Even earlier, in October 1956, the colonialists arrested an N.L.F. delegation which was going from Morocco to Tunisia. Their plane was made to land at the French airfield near Algiers. The arrested Algerian leaders (the delegation consisted of members of the National Council of the Algerian Revolution: Ahmed ben Bella, Mohammed Khider, Hocain Ait Ahmed, Mohammed Boudiaf and the journalist Moustafa Lacheraf) were taken to France, where they were kept in prison until the end of the war.

[17] 60,000 were regular forces and 70,000 guerrillas; the latter, after finishing a military operation, staged usually at night, left for their homes.

ethnic groups of the local population—Arabs, Kabyles, Sahara Berbers—fought in the ranks of the National Liberation Army, as did progressives from among the European and Jewish population. The 400,000 Algerians residing in France rendered considerable help to the people's army. Many of them returned to Algeria to join it.

Units of the National Liberation Army attacked French patrols and outposts, troop trains, motor-vehicle and supply columns, raided large estates where colonialist units took shelter and disrupted communications. In many cases they gave battle to units of the French Army. The National Liberation Army obtained weapons in struggle against the enemy. Subsequently, the supply of arms from abroad was organised.

The colonialists maintained that the uprising would soon be crushed. "The last 15 minutes remain", they stubbornly insisted for almost eight years. But these "last 15 minutes" never came: the Algerian revolution triumphed in armed struggle.

The French colonialists were steadily building up their forces. In 1955, their army in Algeria had 200,000 men; in 1956, 400,000; and in the last years of the war, 800,000 men. Moreover, there were armed gangs of big colons and infuriated petty bourgeois who fought to keep their property and privileges. The industry, not only of France, but of all NATO countries, was supplying the colonialist army with the latest weapons. In effect, all the reactionary forces, including U.S. imperialism, came out against the Algerian people. The Foreign Legion, consisting of criminal elements from all over the world and in large measure of surviving nazis, loomed large in the French forces.

The colonialists tried to intimidate the Algerian people by cruel terror. Thousands of patriots were executed or done to death in torture chambers. In 1957, Maurice Audin, noted scientist and Communist, mathematics instructor at Algiers University, was killed in prison. His comrade, Henri Alleg, editor of the newspaper *Alger Républicain*, was arrested but escaped from prison four years later. While in prison, he succeeded in writing two books, *La question* and *Prisonniers de guerre*, exposing the atrocities of the French colonialists in Algeria. The books were smuggled out of prison and published.

The colonialists "combed" the entire country, set fire to and destroyed settlements and entire districts suspected of contacts with guerrillas. The inhabitants of these villages and districts were partly killed and partly driven into so-called "regroupment camps", where they died by the thousand from starvation and epidemics. Hundreds of thousands of Algerians fled to Tunisia and Morocco.

The "pacification" policy, as the colonialists called their punitive operations, was the policy of annihilating the people. The Algerians paid a high price for their freedom: out of a total of

9 million, 1.5 million perished during the war. Among them were such prominent leaders of the revolution as Larbi Ben Mhidi, Youcef Zirout, Mourad Didouche, Moustafa Ben Boulaid and others. But the terror could not break the people and it merely fanned the flames of the liberation war.

Embattled Algeria was not alone. It was helped by the great socialist community, by the people of the Arab countries and the other Asian and African countries. From 1951 onwards, the Algerian question was permanently on the agenda of the United Nations, where the Soviet Union and other friends of Algeria pressed for recognition of her people's right to self-determination. The working class, all the progressive forces of France rendered vigorous help to the Algerian people. A struggle for a just peace in Algeria developed under the leadership of the French Communist Party. Many French soldiers, undaunted by imprisonment, refused to fight against the Algerians or conducted anti-war propaganda in army units. The finest French intellectuals participated in the movement of solidarity with Algeria.

The struggle of the French people for peace in Algeria was inseparable from the fight against the mounting danger of fascism, for which the colonial war against the Algerian people created a suitable climate.

In 1955, Jacques Soustelle, the future idcologist of neo-fascism, was appointed governor-general of Algeria. He introduced a state of emergency and intensified repressions. In June 1955, Soustelle put forward a plan for the "integration" of Algeria, that is, her complete incorporation in France. Soustelle intensified punitive operations, outlawed the Communist Party, closed down its newspapers and attacked the trade unions.

At the elections to the French Parliament on January 2, 1956, the majority of the French people voted for the parties which promised to end the war in Algeria. A government headed by the Socialist Guy Mollet came to office. But forgetting its promise to the voters, it continued the criminal colonial war. The government limited itself to dismissing Soustelle and effecting some petty reforms in 1956 and 1957 (partial redemption of land held by landowners, small increases in wages of agricultural workers, etc.).

In the spring of 1958, the situation in France and Algeria sharply grew worse. The Pflimlin Cabinet, formed after a four-week crisis, submitted its programme to the National Assembly on May 13. The government declared that it intended to continue hostilities in Algeria, but in case of reverses did not rule out the possibility of talks with the rebels. Such a prospect did not suit the ultras. They reacted by setting up a Public Safety Committee in Algeria and calling for an anti-government rebellion. General Salan, commander of the French Army in Algeria, supported the rebellion. As a result, he established an open military dictatorship over Algeria, the so-called "regime of colonels".

In France herself, the rebellion of the ultras precipitated a political crisis. The Pflimlin Government and the bourgeois parties supporting it capitulated before the rebels. On May 28, Pflimlin resigned and his place was taken by de Gaulle who received extraordinary powers to continue the war.

But the Algerian patriots did not retreat. On September 19, 1958, the National Council of the Algerian Revolution met in Cairo, proclaimed an independent Algerian Republic and formed a Provisional Government, headed by Ferhat Abbas (in August 1961 he was replaced by Ben Khedda). Leaders of the N.L.F. entered the government. The Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic stayed outside the country until victory, first in Cairo and then in Tunisia.

The Provisional Government included a number of representatives of the national bourgeoisie and allied conservative sections of the intellectuals and petty bourgeois (Ferhat Abbas, Ben Youcef Ben Khedda and others). Notwithstanding certain differences in views and political programmes, all of them restricted the tasks of the revolution to the attainment of state sovereignty and subsequently came out against the country's development along the non-capitalist path, against social reforms in the interests of the people.

Nevertheless, the very fact of the proclamation of the Algerian Republic and the establishment of a Provisional Government attested to great successes of the national-liberation struggle.

The Provisional Government expressed readiness to negotiate with France recognition of Algeria's independence and peace.

Progressive forces, both in Algeria and throughout the world, welcomed the proclamation of the Algerian Republic. It was recognised by a number of Afro-Asian and socialist states, including the Soviet Union which recognised the Provisional Government *de facto*. Not limiting themselves to moral and political support of embattled Algeria, the Soviet people rendered her increasing material aid (deliveries of medicines, food, prime necessities, transport facilities, etc.). The National Liberation Army received first-class weapons from socialist countries, the Soviet Union in particular. The Algerian people, one of the N.L.F. leaders, Houari Boumedienne, [18] stated, "will never forget their sincere friends, especially those who took their side in the struggle during the grim war days".

The financial aristocracy of France and the French ultras in Algeria expected the de Gaulle Government swiftly to defeat the Algerian revolution. Hostilities became unusually fierce, and they

[18] Head of the present government in independent Algeria; during the war he was one of the chief military leaders of the National Liberation Front; in March 1960, he became chief of the General Staff of the National Liberation Army.

were accompanied by cruel terror. But the fiercer the onslaught of the colonialists, the stronger became the resistance of the Algerian people.

In an attempt to find a way out of the impasse, the French Government resorted to political manoeuvres. De Gaulle, speaking in Constantine on October 2, 1958, declared that he intended to carry out reforms in Algeria. The Constantine Plan, as this project was called, promised Algerians concessions: distribution of 250,000 hectares of land; equal wages and pensions with French workers; admission to the civil service in Algeria and France; development of industry, provision of jobs for 400,000 unemployed, and so on. But all this had to be "compensated" for by preserving the colonial regime in the country. Algerian patriots flatly rejected the new colonialist plan and stepped up the struggle for liberation.

On September 16, 1959, de Gaulle, in a speech delivered on the eve of the opening of the 14th U.N. General Assembly, recognised the right of Algeria to self-determination. That was a victory for the Algerian people and the democratic forces of France. But having recognised the self-determination of Algeria in principle, the French Government put off its implementation to the distant future and continued the colonial war. Such a policy drove the French Government further into a blind alley.

One more important element should be noted at this point. By 1960, the disintegration of the colonial system in Africa had assumed an unusual scale. Finance capital was looking for a way out in the policy of neo-colonialism: recognising the independence of new states, it sought to place at the head of them men close to it and thereby preserve key positions. The French Government decided to apply the same method in Algeria.

But here a conflict between two influential social forces arose, namely, between the monopolies with their neo-colonialist policy and the Algerian ultras, for whom only colonial rule in its old, frankly despotic and terrorist form, was acceptable. The ultras firmly decided to fight, as de Gaulle ironically remarked, for "l'Algérie de papa".

In January 1960, General Massu, a leader of the ultras, publicly denounced de Gaulle's policy. Massu was dismissed and recalled to France. The ultras at once started another rebellion, which revealed both their weakness and the half-hearted position of the government. The ultras did not win. Events compelled the government to fight against the ultras, yet it continued to look for reconciliation with them. It is also indicative that the police and the courts treated the crimes of the plotters and terrorists with extreme leniency. But the French people spoke their word. The general strike on February 1, 1960, in which 13 million people took part, forced the ultras to dismantle the barricades and to lay down arms.

The joint struggle of the peoples of Algeria and France for peace compelled the French Government to declare on June 14, 1960, that it was ready to negotiate with the "leaders of the rebels". On June 25, the delegates of Algeria arrived in Melun, a small town in the environs of Paris. But here they were treated like prisoners; full surrender was demanded. The talks were broken off owing to the fault of France's ruling circles.

Stormy mass demonstrations held in December 1960 in all Algerian towns and above all in the Casbah (the Arab quarters in Algiers) showed to the world that the will of the Algerian people was indomitable. The demonstrators were shot down by French troops.

In January 1961, the French Government held a referendum, in which two different questions were deliberately combined into one: the right of Algeria to self-determination and acceptance of the so-called temporary organisation of state power in Algeria until self-determination, that is, in essence, the preservation of the colonial order for an indefinite period. [19]

On the call of the National Liberation Front and the Algerian Communist Party, most Algerians boycotted the referendum, thereby rejecting the idea of a temporary organisation of the administration. In these conditions the French Government had again to agree to negotiations in the spring of 1961.

The ultras, uniting in February 1961 into a secret armed organisation, OAS, responded to the decision to hold negotiations by another putsch in Algiers in April 22-25, 1961. It was named the "generals' putsch" (it was headed by generals Salan, Jouhaud, Challe and Seller) and was resisted by all the progressive forces of France. This time the army refused to obey the orders of the rebel generals and took part in crushing the putsch.

The OAS-men did not lay down arms. With the connivance of the authorities they launched terror directed both against Algerian patriots and against workers and democratic circles of French society. But OAS terror failed: the staunchness of the Algerian people and the determination of the French people to establish peace compelled France's ruling circles to negotiate.

The Franco-Algerian talks, which opened on May 20, 1961, in the French health resort of Evian did not lead to agreement at once. Having lost the war, the imperialists wanted to reduce to naught the results of the Algerian people's victory. The French Government insisted on "close association" of Algeria with France and privileges for European colons, threatening otherwise to sever from Algeria the Sahara and the fertile coastal areas. The Algerian delegation rejected these demands and the negotiations were broken off. Demonstrations held throughout the country on July 5, 1961, the National Day of Struggle against the Partition of Algeria, once again showed that the people energetically rejected the claims of the colonialists.

The talks were resumed at the end of July in the Lugrin castle near Evian, but France continued to insist on the severance of Algerian Sahara, and the talks were broken off for the third time.

The wave of demonstrations and strikes which began in France in November and December 1961 and reached its apex on February 8, 1962, as well as the stepping up of the Algerians' armed struggle gave the final impetus to agreement between France and Algeria. The new talks, which began in February 1962, were consummated on March 18 by the signing of the Evian agreements, that put an end to the war which had lasted for seven and a half years.

Under these agreements, hostilities between France and Algeria were stopped on March 19, 1962. After the cease-fire a transition period of from three to six months was instituted, in the course of which the administration of Algeria was handed over to a Provisional Executive formed from Algerians and Frenchmen with the common consent of both governments. An amnesty was proclaimed at once (but it did not extend to French supporters of peace with Algeria). Algerians who had fled the country or had been forcibly placed in "regroupment camps" were allowed to return home. The N.L.F. was declared a legal organisation.

During the transition period, the Provisional Executive was to prepare a referendum to ascertain whether the Algerians wanted national independence and cooperation with France on the terms laid down in the Evian agreements. No one had any doubt as to the positive outcome of the referendum. In that case France was obligated at once to recognise the national independence and sovereignty of Algeria over her entire territory, including the Sahara, and to withdraw all French forces from Algeria within three years. But France was to preserve for 15 years the naval base in Mers-el-Kébir and for a time other bases and atomic testing grounds in the Algerian Sahara. The evacuation of these bases has been practically completed by February 1, 1968, when the last of them (Mers el-Kébir) has been handed over to the Algerian authorities.

Within three weeks after the referendum the Provisional Executive was to convene the National Assembly and hand over power to it. The agreements stipulated that the Algerian state would freely choose the political and social regime it regarded suitable.

The Evian agreements contained a programme for economic and cultural cooperation between France and Algeria. France un-

[19] Here is how this question was worded: "Do you approve the draft law, which was submitted by the President of the Republic for the consideration of the French people, pertaining to self-determination of the Algerian population and the organisation of state power in Algeria until self-determination?"

dertook to render economic aid to Algeria for three years. French companies preserved their oil concessions in Algeria and enjoyed priority rights in case new concessions were granted. It was decided that Algeria would remain in the franc zone.

European inhabitants of Algeria were given the opportunity of opting citizenship in the course of three years. Their property, cultural and religious rights were guaranteed.

The Evian agreements were the result of a compromise which left many loopholes for neo-colonialism. At the same time, they were a result of the great victory of the Algerian people and also the victories of France's working people and the world progressive forces. They opened to Algeria the road to independence, won in an arduous and protracted struggle.

The message of congratulations to the Algerian people, sent by the Soviet Government on March 19, 1962, pointed out that the historical victory of revolutionary Algeria was a source of joy to all who prized the freedom and independence of the peoples and that by her heroic struggle against colonial domination Algeria had made an outstanding contribution to the common cause of abolishing colonialism. On the same day the Soviet Union recognised the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic *de jure*.

The French people in a referendum held on April 8 approved the Evian agreements by an overwhelming majority.

The OAS-men refused to recognise them and started another rebellion on March 23. Shots were fired in the streets of Bab-el-Oued (Algiers) and Oran. But the rebellion was swiftly crushed by French forces. The attempt of the OAS to organise a "maquis zone" in the Ouarsenis district likewise failed ignominiously.

After this, the OAS extremists continued the one-sided war against the peaceful population of Algerian towns. Day after day they killed Algerians, including women and children, right in the streets, shot the sick in hospitals, set fire to schools, hospitals, libraries, university buildings, homes, warehouses and factories. They provoked Algerians to retaliatory action in order to torpedo the Evian agreements and have the war resumed. But the Algerians displayed the greatest restraint and discipline and did not succumb to OAS provocations.

On the eve of the referendum the OAS leadership, having hopelessly lost, fled from Algeria to France and Spain. At the same time the OAS, spreading panic among the European population of Algeria and threatening them with a massacre, caused a mass exodus of Europeans to France. In three months about 500,000 Europeans, half of the entire European population, left Algeria. [20]

[20] In one year, about 800,000 people, or 80 per cent of the entire European population, left Algeria. At first this created additional economic difficulties in the country. But it also removed the problem of the European minority, one of the most intricate questions which faced independent Algeria.

On July 1, 1962, the Algerians unanimously voted for the national independence of their country. Algeria became a sovereign state.

INDEPENDENT ALGERIA

The colonialists left a terrible legacy of 130 years of colonial slavery, seven and a half years of war and the orgy of OAS terror and sabotage after the conclusion of peace. All this turned Algeria into a "scorched earth" country. More than two million Algerians were languishing in "regroupment camps". More than 400,000 refugees were in dire straits in neighbouring countries; in Algeria herself, 2.2 million people were jobless. Starvation, disease and economic chaos reigned in the country. It was necessary to begin healing the war wounds at once.

The task was not merely to regain the prewar level but to build a new, free Algeria. And here the leaders of the revolution and the entire Algerian people faced the problem of choosing the country's ways of development.

The Algerian Communist Party furnished a clear-cut answer to this question in its new programme, made public on April 18, 1962. It called for a broad land reform, abolition of land ownership by the big colons and feudal elements and the handing over of land to those who till it. At the same time the programme put forward the task of industrialising the country, nationalising the main sectors of the economy, framing progressive social legislation, democratising the state apparatus and all public life and developing national culture and education. The programme pointed out that these tasks must be achieved at the present anti-imperialist and anti-feudal stage of the Algerian revolution; at the same time they opened up the way to the ultimate goal, to socialist society, in which there will be no oppression of man by man.

The programme of the Communist Party urged all the anti-imperialist forces to rally in a united front, in which each national organisation would preserve its autonomy.

The Communist Party did not rule out the possibility of transforming the National Liberation Front into a single revolutionary party, as some leaders of the Front wanted, but it held that such unification was to be made on the basis of Marxist-Leninist ideology.

Early in June 1962, the ways of Algeria's development were discussed at a session of the National Council of the Algerian Revolution in Tripoli, where a new N.L.F. programme was adopted. This programme likewise provided for a broad land reform as the immediate and main task of the revolution after the achievement of independence. It further envisaged nationalising the transport facilities, banks, foreign trade, mineral wealth, power industry, and measures for building heavy industry and training per-

sonnel, the eradication of illiteracy, the regeneration and development of national culture. On the whole, the Tripoli programme outlined the creation of conditions for Algeria's development along the non-capitalist path.

In foreign policy, the programme called for support of all the national-liberation movements and movements for unity in the Maghreb, in the Arab world and Africa, participation in the struggle for peace, positive neutrality and rapprochement with the socialist countries.

The Communist Party supported the Tripoli programme as a basis on which all the anti-imperialist forces could unite at the new stage of the Algerian revolution.

But serious differences within the N.L.F. leadership came to the surface at the Tripoli session of the National Council, and they were intensified at the time of the referendum. The revolutionary wing of the N.L.F. came out against the moderate reformist policy of the leaders of the Provisional Government who disagreed with the Tripoli programme. The supporters of the revolutionary wing formed in July 1962 a Political Bureau of the N.L.F. which, after a certain struggle, took over full power. But the disagreements did not stop at this point. At the end of August and early September 1962, a sharp conflict within the National Liberation Front almost grew over into civil war, which was prevented by the people. The Algerian Communist Party, trade unions, and workers and peasants vigorously opposed a civil war. Demonstrations, meetings and the practical actions of the people helped restore national unity and foiled the schemes of the reactionary forces. This made it possible to hold elections to the National Constituent Assembly in September 1962.

At the elections to the Constituent Assembly, the N.L.F. came out with a single ticket in which representatives of the Communist Party were not included. Nevertheless, anxious to preserve the alliance of the anti-imperialist forces and to speed the creation of a stable state authority capable of implementing progressive social reforms, the Communist Party called on the people to vote for the candidates of the Political Bureau of the National Liberation Front. Subsequently, notwithstanding the ban on the Communist Party, as on all other parties except the National Liberation Front (November 1962), the Communists remained loyal to the policy of cooperating with the Front. The Algerian Communists continued to work for the vital interests of the people, for the consolidation of all the democratic forces in order to accomplish the tasks of the new, social stage of the revolution.

The National Constituent Assembly, opened on September 25, 1962, proclaimed the Algerian Democratic People's Republic. Ben Bella, one of the leaders of the Front, was elected head of the government, which declared it would consistently adhere to the Tripoli programme.

The first measures of the national government were to organise autumn sowing, prepare for a land reform, open the new academic year in the schools, and hand over a number of estates and enterprises, whose owners had fled abroad, to workers' and peasants' self-administration committees (*comités de gestion*).

The movement for the establishment of these committees, which began in June 1962 on the initiative of the people, attested to their high revolutionary consciousness. It showed that they did not stop the struggle, that for them independence was a means of social liberation.

France's ruling circles tried to prevent the nationalisation of French property demanded by the Algerian patriots. To intimidate the Algerian people, the French Government staged new tests of nuclear weapons in the Sahara on March 18, 1963, the anniversary of the end of the war.

This demonstration of strength merely evoked another outburst of indignation in Algeria. The people wrathfully protested against the attempts to impose neo-colonialist fetters on Algeria. The working class and the peasantry energetically demanded the elimination of colonialism's consequences and radical socio-economic reforms.

The Algerian Government took an important step in this direction by nationalising property abandoned or unutilised by Frenchmen on the basis of decrees of March 19, 22 and 28, 1963. About 800 industrial enterprises and more than 1.2 million hectares of the finest land in the country were nationalised and turned over to workers' and peasants' self-administration committees. This measure initiating the implementation of the Tripoli programme was followed by the nationalisation of enterprises of Europeans who stayed in the country and also of enterprises of many Algerian bourgeois who had collaborated with the colonialists or had unlawfully bought up abandoned property. By the autumn of 1963, the self-administration committees controlled about 1,000 industrial [21] and trading enterprises and a number of big hotels, restaurants, cafés, cinem theatres, etc.

The lands of all European colons who remained in Algeria were nationalised in October 1963 and handed over to self-administration committees. A number of estates which belonged to Algerian collaborationists were also confiscated. Altogether, about 3 million hectares of land were nationalised.

Nationalisation of the railways (1962) and a considerable part of the motor transport facilities helped to strengthen the state sector in the economy. The state took over 50 per cent of the shares of Air Algérie, the country's main airline. Several other industrial and transport companies operating in Algeria were converted into mixed companies, with the state becoming the leading shareholder.

[21] Among them were enterprises of the metallurgical, electrical, glass, woodworking, textile, tobacco and other industries.

A constitution of the republic was adopted by the Constituent Assembly on August 28, 1963, and approved by a referendum in September. The preamble to the constitution formulated the task of building a socialist society in Algeria. The constitution introduced in the country a presidential regime with a one-party system. Legislative functions were delegated to the National Assembly. The president is simultaneously the prime minister and head of the state. The constitution recognised Islam the state religion of Algeria. Ben Bella was elected president, and at the Congress of the National Liberation Front, held next year, he became its general secretary.

The Congress of the National Liberation Front (April 16-21, 1964) was called a Constituent Congress because it proclaimed the reorganisation of the Front from a mass military-political organisation it had been during the war into a political party. The programme adopted by the Congress, the Algerian Charter, just as the 1963 constitution, chose the socialist path of development. The Congress also adopted the Rules of the National Liberation Front, which pointed out that the working masses must be its social basis. The Congress elected the leading agencies of the Front, the Central Committee and the Political Bureau.

The activities of the Front aimed at eradicating the legacy of colonialism and radically reconstructing society, just as the anti-imperialist foreign policy proclaimed by Algeria, aroused frenzied resistance of the internal (bourgeois and feudal) reactionary forces and international imperialism. Reflecting the sentiments of reactionary bourgeois circles, some prominent Algerian leaders belonging to the Right wing of the N.L.F., opposed the reforms being implemented in the country, especially the Decrees of March 1963 and the system of workers' self-administration. Among them were Mohammed Khider, General Secretary of the Political Bureau, and Ferhat Abbas, Chairman of the Constituent Assembly. In protest against the government's policy both of them resigned in the summer of 1963.

At the end of September 1963, an opposition organisation headed by Ait Ahmed, which called itself the Socialist Forces Front, raised a mutiny in some parts of Kabylia. The rebels were not supported by the people and were pushed into the mountains by government forces which entered Kabylia.[22] At the height of the events in Kabylia, an armed border conflict between Algeria and Morocco was provoked in October 1963, obviously at the instigation of the imperialist forces. But the attempts to worsen Algeria's relations with her western neighbour failed. The striving of the peoples of both countries for peace and the intervention of the Organisation of African Unity helped to settle the Algerian-Moroccan conflict.

[22] The Socialist Forces Front finally laid down arms in June 1965.

Another anti-government rebellion in the summer of 1964, headed by Colonel Chaabani, who was connected with feudal elements of southern Algeria, also failed. A decision was taken at that time to expel from the National Liberation Front Khider, Ait Ahmed, Boudiaf and other Rightist leaders, who had taken the counter-revolutionary road (Ferhat Abbas had been expelled earlier, in August 1963).

Nevertheless, the situation in the country remained exceedingly tense. The exploiting classes and the forces of international imperialism supporting them continued to resist the progressive measures of the National Liberation Front and the government. At the same time, in carrying out these measures, Algeria ran up against economic difficulties even more formidable than in many other young African states. The country inherited not only a poorly developed economy, but also economic chaos resulting from the drawn-out colonial war and aggravated by the OAS-men and the colons during their flight from Algeria. The situation was complicated by differences among the Front leadership, which was reflected in the events of June 19, 1964. A group of the Front leaders, headed by Colonel Houari Boumedienne, Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Defence and Chief of the General Staff, formed a Revolutionary Council which, relying on the support of the army, took over power. President Ben Bella was deposed and arrested.[23] Among those arrested was also Hadj ben Alla, Chairman of the National Assembly. The National Assembly itself was dissolved. A new Council of Ministers was formed on July 10, 1965. It was headed by the Chairman of the Revolutionary Council Boumedienne. A week later, an Executive Secretariat of the National Liberation Front was formed. Similarly to the Council of Ministers, it was to function under the guidance of the Revolutionary Council. The Executive Secretariat was entrusted with reorganising the party apparatus (after the events of June 19 many local organisations of the Front discontinued their activities) and ensuring the work of all party organs.[24]

It became known in the autumn of 1965 that prominent patriotic leaders, including men who fought for Algeria's independence,

[23] The communiqué of the Revolutionary Council of June 19, 1965, made a number of charges against Ben Bella, above all of establishing a personal power regime. The same was stated in a resolution of the National Executive Committee of the Algerian Workers' General Union of June 27, 1966. The resolution noted that "reinforcement of personal power and anti-democratic methods" were a result of the organisational weakness of the National Liberation Front and the absence of the collective principle in its leadership. At the same time the resolution mentioned the great importance of such revolutionary measures as the decrees on self-administration and the adoption of the Algerian Charter.

[24] New changes in the leadership of the National Liberation Front were introduced after the attempted anti-government military coup in December 1967. Ahmed Kaïd, member of the Revolutionary Council, headed the Front and the Executive Secretariat was abolished.

were arrested and accused of setting up an opposition "People's Resistance Organisation". Among them were Hocine Zahouan, Mohammed Harbi, Bashir Hadj Ali, a noted Algerian Communist, and others. These actions, which created the threat of splitting the democratic forces, and the events of June 19 themselves aroused hopes of internal and international reactionary elements that the home and foreign policy of Algeria might be radically changed.

But the Revolutionary Council and its leaders in their official statements reaffirmed Algeria's loyalty to the principles formulated in the Tripoli programme and the Algerian Charter. Specifically, in his speech made on July 12, 1965, in connection with the formation of the new government, Boumedienne said that it aimed "to abolish the remnants of colonialism, to strengthen national independence and to build a socialist society, in which justice will reign."

The young Algerian state is faced with many difficult problems. Restoration of the ruined economy and the building of a modern industry and the reconstruction of agriculture is complicated by the acute shortage of capital and the lack of competent technical and administrative personnel. The living standard of the people in town and country remains low. A decline in agricultural production and other factors have caused serious food difficulties. Mass unemployment, inherited from colonialism, persists; according to data for the beginning of 1967, about 2 million Algerians are unemployed or work part time. Some 500,000 people have to migrate in search of jobs. National contradictions between Arabs and Berbers, artificially fanned by reactionary forces, have not been fully resolved. It was not by accident that the counter-revolutionary rebellion in the autumn of 1963 was organised in Kabylia, whose main population are Berbers (Kabyles).

The further strengthening of the state sector in the country's economy is one of the key tasks in Algeria's socio-economic development. As early as 1964, in pursuance of the March 1963 decrees, it was decided to nationalise a number of enterprises in the food industry (flour mills, vegetable oil mills, a soft drinks factory, etc.) and several transport companies. Most of them were handed over to the self-administered sector. Preparations were made to nationalise the extractive industry. An Algerian Office for Mineral Prospecting and Extraction was set up in September 1964. In May 1965, the government nationalised 69 mining concessions whose owners, chiefly Frenchmen, stopped working the mines. This line was continued by the new government. In May 1966, it nationalised (paying compensation) all mines belonging to private foreign companies. Insurance companies were nationalised next. A state monopoly of all foreign financial operations was established at the end of 1967.

Revenue from the oil industry can play an important part in accumulating capital for the economic development programmes of the Algerian Democratic People's Republic. The country has huge

reserves of oil and natural gas. It holds first place in Africa in oil production. During the years of independence output rose from 16 million tons in 1961 to 26.5 million tons in 1965,[25] but this wealth remained in the hands of foreign, primarily French, capital. In conformity with the Evian agreements and the Franco-Algerian Protocol (July 1962) based on them, the French monopolies preserved not only all the oil reserves discovered earlier but also retained for six years priority in getting new concessions. The net profits of French companies amounted to 1,300-1,800 million francs annually, while Algeria received less than one-fifth of those sums.

To weaken the control of foreign capital over Algerian oil and increase its output the state-owned Hassi-Messaoud - Arzew oil pipeline was built between 1964 and 1966. (The two pipelines built earlier which carry oil from the Sahara to the Mediterranean ports are owned by Frenchmen.). It is planned to build another state oil pipeline from Mesdar to Skikda. Construction of a large petrochemical complex is under way in Arzew. Its first section, a plant for liquefying natural gas, was commissioned in 1964.

A new Franco-Algerian oil agreement was concluded on July 29, 1965, at the insistence of the Algerian Government after nearly two years of talks. While formerly Algeria had no access to her oil resources, the agreement set up a Franco-Algerian Cooperative Association (ASCOOP) along parity lines for the prospecting and working of new oil fields. Simultaneously, Algeria's share in the stock of SN Repal, one of the largest oil extracting companies, was increased from 40.5 to 50 per cent. The share of the profits of oil companies allotted to the Algerian state was increased and stable minimal oil prices were set, which protect the country from price reductions on the world market. Algeria received a right to buy natural gas from French companies for her own needs and for export. Lastly, France undertook to render Algeria financial aid totalling 2,000 million francs (chiefly as loans and credits). This money, which will be made available over five years, is designated for the development of industry and the purchase of French equipment and other manufactured goods.

Although the 1965 agreement is of a compromise nature (alongside participation in ASCOOP, the French preserved the right of operating the developed oil and gas deposits for 15 years and also the possibility of prolonging the term of the concessions), it undoubtedly is of benefit to Algeria. Implementation of this agreement increases the revenue of Algerian state and, moreover, opens up the prospect of building up a national oil industry.

In the past three years the positions of the state sector in the oil industry were considerably extended. In 1966, the government increased ten-fold (from 40 million to 400 million dinars) the capital

[25] Oil production amounted to 34 million tons in 1966 and reached 40 million tons in 1967.

of the state oil company SONATRACH, set up in 1963. After the commissioning of the Hassi-Messaoud - Arzew pipeline it controls over 50 per cent of the capacity for pumping crude to the refineries and seaports. While formerly SONATRACH engaged only in the transporting and marketing of oil and oil products, now it also prospects, extracts and refines oil. Early in 1967, the Algerian Government redeemed the property of the British Petroleum Co., which marketed oil products in Algeria, and handed it over to SONATRACH. In reaction to U.S. support of Israeli aggression against the Arab countries, the property of Mobil and Esso, American oil companies, was nationalised. In May 1968, a decree was issued nationalising the entire network engaged in transporting, storaging and marketing oil products in the country, with the payment of compensation to the foreign companies. The entire network was handed over to SONATRACH. A month later another 18 French companies which owned enterprises in the engineering, chemical, cement and food industries were also nationalised. All these measures greatly undermined the positions of foreign capital in Algeria.

The nationalised sector plays quite an essential part in agriculture. Although it employs only 150,000 people (one-tenth of the entire gainfully-occupied population), it controls approximately 40 per cent of all the arable land and produces nearly two-thirds of the entire agricultural commodity output. Alongside self-administered estates, agricultural cooperatives have been organised. But large tracts, as before, belong to big landowners. According to data published in the Algerian press, there are about 25,000 private farms of more than 50 hectares each, including 8,500 estates having more than 100 hectares. At the same time, the bulk of the peasants suffers from a shortage of land (450,000 peasant farms have less than 10 hectares each; moreover, about one-fourth of these have less than one hectare of land). It was noted at meetings of the Revolutionary Council in November 1965 that this "traditional sector" so far had received no effective aid from the state. A decision was taken on the gradual implementation of a land reform designed to abolish private large-scale landownership and to hand over the land to the fellahs.[26]

A number of measures were outlined to help the small and middle peasants to modernise farming and to market their produce. The government has allotted large sums for crediting peasant farms. Moreover, the poor peasants' debt to insurance companies, reaching 200 million dinars, was cancelled.

Struggle over the self-administered sector in agriculture and industry has grown sharper in Algeria. The self-administered factories and estates are faced with serious difficulties. When they left the country, the foreign manufacturers and landowners put out of commission machinery and equipment, took away the available capital and destroyed technical documentation. The foreign specialists employed by the owners also left Algeria. All this greatly complicated the resumption of production at the nationalised enterprises and farms. Lastly, owing to a lack of organisational experience and trained specialists, mistakes were made in the operation of the self-administered enterprises. But even in these difficult conditions the self-administered sector has proved its viability. The Algerian people see in this proof that they have chosen the right road.

It is not surprising that anti-socialist forces are bitterly attacking the self-administration system. Speculating on the difficulties encountered by the self-administered enterprises, reactionary circles try to discredit them and get the March decrees annulled. In a number of instances, under the pressure of these circles, who make use of their positions in some links of the administrative apparatus in the centre and the periphery, self-administered enterprises and estates were subjected to burdensome taxes or were refused credits. There were attempts to return the nationalised enterprises to their former owners. But the Revolutionary Council declared that Algeria would not swerve from her path and that the self-administered sector would be given effective help. The opening of the National Bank in 1966 is of great importance in this respect. It is to become the main agency for crediting self-administered and cooperative enterprises which experience big financial difficulties. The new Criminal Code which came into force in 1966 contains special articles protecting self-administered enterprises from any encroachments.

The Government of the Algerian Republic has also put forward the task of intensifying the struggle against profiteering and graft, which have assumed a wide scale and are adversely affecting the country's economic and political life.

Algeria introduced national economic planning in 1967. The Ministry of Finance and Industry formulated a seven-year plan for 1967-1973, the first part of which is a three-year programme (1967-1969).

In February 1967, elections were held to local administrative bodies, communal councils, which have broad powers and considerable autonomy in settling the political, economic and social problems of the communities. Most of the candidates came from among the working people. The elections were held on the basis of direct universal suffrage with secret ballot. According to the Algerian leaders' statement, the communal councils are the first step in the reorganisation of the country's administrative system, the aim of which is to make all the administrative organs elective.

[26] Actually this is the second stage of the land reform, since the first stage consisted in nationalising the land of the colons. Originally it was contemplated to launch the land reform in 1966, but new dates were set: at first 1967 and then 1968.

The trade unions are playing a big part in defending the gains of the Algerian revolution from the encroachments of reactionary forces. The Algerian Workers' General Union regards struggle for implementing the self-administration decrees as one of its main tasks. The trade unions also direct the struggle of the workers against arbitrary actions of the employers at private enterprises, most of which belong to foreign capital. Workers at private enterprises respond with strikes to unlawful dismissals, reduction of wages or restriction of trade union rights.

The Algerian people are also working for a revival of national culture and for deep-going cultural changes. A mass campaign for the eradication of illiteracy among adults has been launched. Much effort is invested in the development of education which during the years of the colonial regime was accessible only to a small part of the indigenous population. In 1954, for example, only 14 per cent of the children of Algerians attended school; moreover, only few of them were taught in Arabic or studied it. Algerians made up approximately one-fifth of the pupils in secondary schools and one-tenth of the students in higher educational establishments.

As early as the 1930's and 1940's, progressive Algerian intellectuals tried to set up a network of Algerian schools with tuition in the mother tongue. The Association of Ulamas, founded by Abd el-Hamid Ben Badis, outstanding champion of cultural regeneration, opened 300 madrasahs on the eve and during the Second World War. These schools offered a higher level of education than the ordinary Koranic schools. But the authorities raised obstacles to the functioning of these schools and their teachers were placed under police surveillance. During the national-liberation war of 1954-1962, most of the schools set up by the Association were closed. The OAS atrocities also inflicted much damage on the educational system. In a number of districts, up to 80 per cent of the school buildings were destroyed. The situation was complicated by the mass flight of French schoolteachers and university instructors from Algeria.

All this notwithstanding, the government was able in the 1962/63 academic year to organise normal studies in schools of all levels, in the University of Algiers and also in other educational establishments. A new university was opened in Oran in 1966. Centres for the accelerated training of personnel have been set up throughout the country. In addition, a large group of Algerian students study abroad, mostly in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

At the beginning of the 1967/1968 academic year, half of school-age children attended school in Algeria. But the reorganisation of the educational system encounters big difficulties so far, chiefly owing to a shortage of teachers and school buildings. The Algerian Government is determined radically to change the situation and gradually to introduce universal education of school-age children.

It was this task that was set in the ten-year plan for the development of education, approved in 1966.

The winning of independence has created conditions for the restoration of Arabic as the country's basic language. It has been recognised as the official language, but prior to complete arabisation French is also used. In most schools tuition is in French, but 75 per cent of the teachers are Algerians. The study of Arabic has been introduced in all schools. The publication of books, newspapers and magazines in Arabic has been extended.

The Algerian people are rightly proud of their literature and art. During the arduous years of the colonial regime, despite the persecution of the authorities, progressive Algerian writers created truly patriotic works, inspiring the people to struggle against the oppressors. Many of them have taken a direct part in the struggle for freedom and after liberation have been dedicating their energies to building the new life.

Bilingualism is a distinguishing feature of Algerian literature in recent times. Inasmuch as two-thirds of the educated Algerians studied in French-language schools, many Algerian men of letters have been writing in French, including the famous author Mohammed Dib. As education in Arabic develops, its role in literature grows. Malek Haddad, well-known author, who writes in French, stated during the years of struggle for independence: "When we gain independence, we will teach Arabic to the sons of Algeria. I have constantly felt, and feel now, a longing for a public that would read my works in the native tongue."

A national theatre has emerged, stimulated by the advance of the liberation movement and growing national awareness. Rachid Ksantini, talented playwright, director and actor who founded his company after the First World War, was its father. Ksantini's theatre awakened a spirit of protest and fostered national consciousness. Ksantini appealed to a mass audience, to the urban working people and won their appreciation and love.

The theatre of Bachtarzi Mahieddine, a successor of Ksantini's theatre, performed with great success in Algiers, Oran, Constantine and other centres. A number of other professional and amateur companies sprang up alongside Mahieddine's theatre, but during the war in Algeria most of them were closed down by the authorities or dissolved. Many actors joined the National Liberation Army or left the country. Outstanding leaders of the Algerian theatre, the actor and director Moustafa Khatib and the playwright Abd el-Halim Raïs, organised a new company, which performed in Morocco and Tunisia. *Children of the Casbah*, a play dedicated to the Algerian revolution and staged by this company, gained wide renown.

The new Algeria is reviving and developing theatrical art. On returning home, Moustafa Khatib headed the State National Theatre, the first in the country's history, which was founded early in

1963. Expounding his artistic programme, Khatib said: "During the movement for the country's liberation the theatre was a weapon against the French colonialists; today our popular, national theatre will reflect the life of new Algeria, criticise shortcomings and promote to the utmost the progress of culture and education."

A national film industry came into being in the very first year of independence. Documentaries and short films were produced and they were followed by the first full-length feature films which had as their main theme the heroic armed struggle of the people for liberation from colonial bondage.

In its very first days, independent Algeria proclaimed that in foreign policy it would adhere to the principles of peace and national liberation, non-participation in blocs and struggle against any forms of imperialism and neo-colonialism. This line was reaffirmed by the new government of the Algerian Democratic People's Republic. In his speech of July 12, 1965, Houari Boumedienne said: "Our foreign policy must remain a policy of non-alignment. Moreover, this policy must promote the building of an Arab Maghreb, the attainment of Arab and African unity and also the consolidation of ties with the countries of the socialist community. Our foreign policy must constantly seek to support the peoples fighting for their freedom, independence, and oppose racial segregation."

The Soviet Union and other socialist states are helping Algeria to build the new life. The Algerian people highly assessed the work of Soviet sappers sent to Algeria soon after the proclamation of independence to demine the minefields left by the French in border zones. They deactivated more than a million mines. A big group of Soviet medical workers and other specialists was sent to Algeria.

A Soviet-Algerian agreement on economic and technical cooperation was signed in December 1963, during a visit of a party and government delegation of the Algerian Democratic People's Republic to the Soviet Union. It was supplemented by a number of other agreements and protocols (1964-1967), and also by trade agreements and an agreement on scientific and cultural cooperation.

In keeping with these agreements, the Soviet Union is assisting Algeria in the reconstruction of agriculture, the restoration and building of industrial enterprises, the training of national personnel and the establishment of extensive health and educational systems. The Soviet Government has given to Algeria on favourable conditions big long-term credits for economic and cultural development.

The Soviet Union supplied Algeria with tractors, grain-harvester combines and other farm machinery. It is helping to build farm machinery repair shops, medium-size and small dams, a number of important industrial projects, including the Annaba steel works.

Soviet specialists are helping Algerians in the development of the transport system, in geological prospecting and the cultivation of new crops (cotton and sugar beet).

The Soviet Union helped organise the African oil and textile centre in Boumirdès (it includes an oil and gas institute, and oil and textile specialised schools), a technical school in El Harrach, a centre for the training of farm machine operators, etc. A Soviet cultural centre was opened in Algiers in 1964. Hundreds of Soviet instructors and medical workers are employed in Algerian educational and medical institutions. The Soviet Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies have taken part in building a large Algerian-Soviet Friendship Hospital. In both countries friendship societies have been set up (Algeria-U.S.S.R. in the Algerian Republic and U.S.S.R.-Algeria in the Soviet Union). The 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution was extensively observed in Algeria.

Reciprocal visits of government, public and cultural delegations are strengthening friendly relations between the U.S.S.R. and Algeria. One of these visits was the trip to Moscow in December 1965 of an Algerian government delegation headed by Houari Boumedienne. In the joint Soviet-Algerian communiqué, signed on December 18, both sides noted that "friendly relations between the Algerian Democratic People's Republic and the Soviet Union meet the fundamental interests of the Algerian and Soviet peoples".

Algeria's cooperation with other socialist states is also successfully developing. The governments of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia have granted Algeria credits and signed with her economic and cultural cooperation agreements. Similar agreements have been signed with Bulgaria, the Korean Democratic People's Republic, the Chinese People's Republic, Poland, Rumania and other countries.

Algeria has established close ties with many Arab and other Afro-Asian countries, in the first place those which have taken the socialist road: the United Arab Republic, Syria, Guinea and Mali. Proceeding from principles of Maghreb unity, the Algerian Republic has concluded a number of important economic, political and cultural agreements with Libya, Morocco and Tunisia.

The Algerian Democratic People's Republic is actively assisting the peoples fighting against imperialist domination. Even during the years of war against France, Algeria took part in training fighters of the liberation movement in the Portuguese colonies, South Africa and other African countries. After winning independence, Algeria has extended still greater aid to the colonial peoples of Africa. The Algerian state has made a big contribution to the consolidation of African cooperation and the establishment of the Organisation of African Unity. As a member of the Arab League, Algeria champions the unity of the Arab peoples in the struggle against imperialist expansion in North Africa and the Middle East.

Algeria reacted to Israeli aggression against the United Arab Republic and other Arab countries by declaring war on Israel; she is pressing for the withdrawal of the occupation forces from the seized territories.

The national-liberation movement of peoples in other continents, particularly of the Vietnamese people, also enjoys the fraternal support of Algeria. The South Vietnam National Liberation Front has a legation in Algeria. The government and the people of the Algerian Republic are vigorously demanding an end to the American aggression and the restoration of peace on Vietnamese soil.

Algeria waged a revolutionary war of liberation for more than seven years. This heroic battle for freedom helped abolish colonial regimes in many other countries. Today, too, the Algerian people march in the front ranks of the anti-imperialist forces on the African continent. Their uncompromising attitude to colonialism and their fervour in the hard struggle against internal and external reactionary forces are inspiring the peoples who have rallied to the banner of independence and social progress.

TUNISIA

Colonial Exploitation of the Country. Tunisia, which became a French possession in 1881, was in effect turned into a colony, similar to Algeria. But here the conquerors applied a different form of colonial oppression, a protectorate regime. All power was placed in the hands of the French resident-general, to whom the Tunisian bey and his government were fully subordinated. The government included only three Tunisian ministers, while Frenchmen headed the other eleven ministries and central departments. Caids, the Tunisian governors of provinces, were subordinated to French "controllers". All of Tunisia was occupied by French troops; the southern part of the country, just as Algeria, was administered by the military authorities.

A small clique of capitalists, the owners of the French banks and trusts (rather than Frenchmen living in Tunisia) controlled the country's economy. Most French companies operating in Tunisia belonged to the powerful financial group Banque de l'Union Parisien - Mirabeau et Compagnie. The banking house of Rothschild, Credit Foncier d'Algérie et de Tunisie, the Mallet group, and others were among the omnipotent masters of Tunisia.

The country's main wealth, the finest lands, were seized by the colonialists. In contrast to Algeria, there were not many middle and small colons in Tunisia. In general, European settlement was not as intensive as in Algeria. On the eve of the Second World War, there were 135,000 Europeans, including 46,000 Frenchmen and 88,000 Italians, among a population of nearly two million.[1] Most of the seized lands belonged to French colonial companies, financiers and big colons.[2] By 1912, Europeans had owned more

[1] In 1956, when Tunisia became an independent state, it had a population of 3.8 million (in 1966 there were 4.7 million). At that time there were nearly 250,000 Europeans, of whom more than 180,000 were Frenchmen and 67,000 Italians. After the abolition of the colonial regime, most of them left the country.

[2] Approximately one-fourth of French landed property in Tunisia belonged to four companies—Société franco-africaine, Compagnie des phosphates et du chemin de fer de Gafsa, Société des fermes français en Tunisie, Om-

than 1,000,000 hectares in Tunisia. Subsequently, part of these lands was sold at speculative prices to Tunisians. By the mid-1950's, Europeans had owned 750,000-800,000 hectares, that is, one-fifth of all the arable land. These were mostly large capitalist-type farms having hundreds and thousands of hectares.

Nine-tenths of the cultivated land belonging to Europeans were in the northern part of the country (Tell), where the natural conditions are most favourable for agriculture. If we add that the European-owned farms, especially the large ones, had machinery and used mineral fertilisers, it will be clear how strong the positions of the colons in Tunisia's agriculture were. For example, at the beginning of the 1950's, the European sector accounted for about half of the country's grain harvest (production of wheat, barley and other cereals is a leading sector of the country's agriculture). European colons owned almost all the vineyards in Tunisia. Their farms produced from one-fifth to one-fourth of the olive-oil output and up to two-thirds of the citrus fruit harvest.

Tunisians, too, organised farms of a capitalist type. Many Tunisian landowners bought farm machinery and started to employ hired labour. Part of the urban bourgeoisie—merchants, money-lenders and manufacturers—also invested capital in agriculture. Buying land, they set up cash-crop farms, which closely resembled the colon estates (some Tunisian landowners, in their turn, engaged in commercial and industrial activity). Gradually a stratum of rich peasants emerged. But as to its economic importance, the Tunisian capitalist sector in agriculture was much weaker than the colon sector. The so-called sector of traditional agriculture—small peasant farms comprising almost three-fourths of all Tunisian farms—prevailed in the countryside.

The Tunisian peasantry was land-starved. The bulk of the peasants had to rent land from the landowners on fettering terms. Sharecropping was the most widespread form of peasant exploitation in Tunisia, as in other North African countries. In Tell, where the yields were higher and the land more expensive, the *khammas* tenant handed over to the landowner up to four-fifths of the crop; in the arid (central and southern) districts, the share of the landowner was three-fourths of the crop [3]. Sharecropping and other forms of semi-feudal oppression of the peasantry were also widely employed by European colons together with the exploitation of hired labour. The bulk of the Tunisian peasants used primitive implements, gathered small harvests and groaned under

nium immobilier tunisien. The average land holding of the French colons was 280-290 hectares. Thus, in Tunisia the concentration of landed property of the French colons reached the highest level in North Africa. In contrast to the French, most Italian colons were small holders.

[3] *Khammasat* is the system of leasing land for one-fifth of the crop; leasing of land for one-fourth of the crop is called *rebaa*.

the weight of rental payments, indebtedness to money-lenders and various taxes.

The lot of the nomads who lived in the southern and central parts of the country was no better. The colonialists deprived the nomad and semi-nomad Tunisian tribes of many pasture lands and made them pay high taxes. On top of this came oppression by the tribal upper crust. The property and social differentiation in the tribes was intensified in the present century. This broke up the tribal organisation and undermined communal ownership of the land.

Droughts, so frequent in the desolate south and in the steppes, became a veritable scourge of the Tunisian farmers and stock raisers.[4] In dry years, from one-fouth to one-third of the head of livestock and almost all the crops would perish. The masses of ruined peasants swarmed to the north in search of a livelihood at capitalist farms and factories.

The staggering poverty of the Tunisian countryside is eloquently illustrated by one figure: on the eve of the Second World War more than half of the rural population were landless peasants and agricultural workers.

In addition to the land, the French colonialists controlled industry, transport, public utilities, trade and finances. The local crafts were undermined by the imports of French goods. Although up to the 1950's as many as 150,000 people were engaged in the crafts and cottage industries, their share in the country's economy was not large.

Modern manufacturing industry was in an embryonic stage. Only the extractive industry was considerably developed, but its output was almost entirely exported. The exports of mineral raw materials, which in fact signified the looting of the country's natural wealth, brought huge profits to the French financial oligarchy. But even the development of the extractive industry was extremely uneven. While the production of iron ore, for example, almost doubled towards the end of the protectorate as compared with 1913, the mining of lead ore, on the contrary, declined (from 59,000 to 43,000 tons). The production of phosphorites had increased approximately 50 per cent by 1930 as compared with 1913 (3,326,000 and 2,170,000 tons respectively), but then it also declined, and in 1955 amounted to 2,200,000 tons.

Dooming Tunisia to the status of a raw-material appendage of the metropolitan country, French imperialism impeded the development of national capital. Up to the Second World War, the Tunisian industrial bourgeoisie was numerically small and weak. Even in the 1930's it invested its capital mostly in oil mills. Dur-

[4] In southern Tunisia stock raising is usually the main occupation of the nomad and semi-nomad tribes. In the steppes of the central part of the country, crop raising also plays a considerable role.

ing and after the last war the positions of the national bourgeoisie in industry were somewhat extended. Nevertheless, on the eve of independence, Tunisian capital owned as a rule small factories for the processing of agricultural produce, and building and transport establishments. The role of the national bourgeoisie in trade was more substantial.

As capitalist production developed, a Tunisian industrial proletariat began to crystallise. By the mid-1920's, 20,000 workers, of whom 80 per cent were Tunisians, were employed in the mining industry alone. Altogether there were at least twice as many industrial workers in Tunisia at that time. Subsequently, especially during and after the war, the working class grew. In the mid-1950's, more than 100,000 workers, mostly Tunisians, were employed in industry, construction and transport. But the poorly developed industry could not absorb the influx of manpower from the ruined Tunisian countryside. This led to chronic unemployment, which grew with each passing year. According to 1955 data, there were from 300,000 to 350,000 unemployed in Tunisia, or one-third of the entire able-bodied population.

The industrial and agricultural workers of Tunisia were ruthlessly exploited. Native workers were discriminated against. As a rule, they were employed only on unskilled jobs. Up to the mid-1950's, Tunisians comprised more than 90 per cent of the country's unskilled labour force. But even for equal work the Tunisians received much smaller pay than the Europeans. The average wage of Tunisian agricultural workers was from one-third to two-thirds less than that of Europeans. Workers and small artisans lived in overcrowded houses and huts, received no medical aid and could not give their children even an elementary education.

The working class and the peasantry bore the brunt of colonial oppression, and it was they who became the backbone of the anti-imperialist movement, in which a considerable part of the national bourgeoisie, dissatisfied with the colonial regime, also took part.

In the protectorate, the colonial authorities did not venture to persecute national culture as openly as in Algeria. The renowned az-Zitouna Theological University (the Grand Mosque) was preserved in Tunisia, alongside Muslim elementary and secondary schools. But here, too, the colonialists displayed their usual haughtiness towards Arab culture, prevented the development of secular education in Arabic and looked down upon the national intelligentsia. Hence it is not surprising that progressive Tunisian intellectuals actively joined the struggle for liberation.

The Young Tunisian Movement, headed by the national intelligentsia, arose even prior to the First World War. The Young Tunisians, however, had not put forward the slogan of national independence. They confined themselves to a demand for equalising the local population with Frenchmen in civil rights and for democratic reforms within the framework of the French protectorate.

The October Revolution and Tunisia. The advance of the national-liberation movement in Tunisia was determined both by the growth of the revolutionary forces in the country itself and the influence of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia. It is not by chance that half a century later Tunisians named one of the streets of their capital after the leader of the October Revolution, Lenin. "Mankind is indebted to Lenin for its swift progress", President Habib Bourguiba of Tunisia said on that occasion. "The repercussions of the October Revolution were tremendous. I am convinced that the October Revolution, the victory of the Soviet Union and the role it played in the Second World War have greatly contributed to the liberation of the colonial peoples."

Tens of thousands of the mobilised soldiers[5] and Tunisians who during the war had worked at factories in France, on returning home, brought news of the victorious socialist revolution in Russia. Tunisians also closely followed the development of revolutionary events in Turkey and Egypt, which proceeded under the direct influence of the Great October Revolution. But the most important thing was that the contradictions of the colonial regime, the oppression and poverty brought by the French imperialists were preparing the ground for action by the people and that owing to the October Revolution these separate actions in a small colonial country became part of the world revolutionary movement.

The first years after the World War witnessed an advance of the working-class movement in Tunisia. Trade unions, which had been founded prior to the war and admitted practically only Europeans, were now also joined by Tunisian workers. By 1924, 56 trade unions functioned in the country. Even earlier, in 1919, a departmental section of the French General Confederation of Labour was set up in Tunisia. Authough reformists (Right-wing Socialists) prevailed in its leadership, militant sentiments were on the increase among the rank and file. They were vividly manifested in the strike movement. It reached its peak in 1919-1920 (20 strikes, with 9,600 strikers taking part), but in the next three years, too, official statistics registered 21 strikes with more than 5,000 participants. Limitation of the working day to eight hours for metalworkers, builders, port workers and those in the woodworking industry and to nine hours for railwaymen, was one of the biggest gains of the strikers.

In 1919, revolutionary workers, both Europeans and Tunisians, founded the Socialist Federation of Tunisia. A year later, most of its members voted in favour of affiliating with the Communist International and the Federation was called Communist. At first it was part of the French Communist Party, but in May 1939 it was

[5] During the First World War 63,000 Tunisians were drafted into the French Army.

reorganised into an independent Communist Party. Tunisian Communists issued the newspapers *Avenir Sociale, Habib el Umma* and *At-Taleea*; they organised sections of Young Communists and revolutionary trade unions, and led strikes. As consistent patriots, the Communists demanded the national independence of Tunisia, but they were still to weak to head the national movement.

In June 1920, a bourgeois-nationalist underground organisation was founded. It was called the Liberal Constitutional Party (for short, Destour, which means "constitution" in Arabic). The leader of this party, Abd el-Aziz Taalbi, published in 1920 a pamphlet, *La Tunisie martyre,* which branded the barbarous actions of the French colonialists. The Destour programme demanded the convocation of a parliament elected by universal suffrage, the formation of a national government responsible to the assembly, freedom of assembly and the press, universal education and the equality of Tunisian civil servants with French. But in contrast to the Communists, the Destour did not demand national independence and the abolition of the protectorate. Placing hopes in the vaunted liberalism of bourgeois France, the Destour sent two delegations to Paris in 1920, which submitted to the French Government the above-mentioned demands. The French authorities gave the Destour leaders an object lesson in political education by arresting Taalbi on July 31, 1920, on a charge of high treason and bringing him to trial by a military court.

The repressions aroused a mass protest movement. Strikes and demonstrations compelled the French authorities to declare an amnesty in April 1921, to release Taalbi, allow the Destour to function legally, make some concessions both to the bourgeoisie (establishment of a Tunisian Ministry of Justice) and to the working class (extension to Tunisia of the French laws providing for a free day and compensation for accidents on the job).

Following legalisation, the Destour became very active among the masses of the peasantry and the urban petty bourgeoisie. Its membership reached 100,000 and it was supported by half a million people (a majority of the country's adult Arab population). In April 1922, the Destour organised impressive mass demonstrations in support of its demands. The Tunisian Bey Nacer joined the Destour in categorically demanding that France carry out reforms. The French Government, frightened by the scale of the mass movement, promised constitutional reforms. But the colonialists had no intention of living up to their promises. As soon as the mass movement subsided, the Communist Federation of Tunisia was outlawed in May 1922, and its leaders were arrested. Shortly afterwards Bey Nacer died in mysterious circumstances (it is assumed that he was gotten out of the way by the colonialists).

A decree on the establishment of a Grand Council in Tunisia was published in July 1922. The Council was a representative

body for examining budgetary and other financial and economic questions, and it had very limited, consultative functions.[6] The Right wing of the Destour approved these "changes" and founded the Party of Reforms (Hisb el-Islakh), which collaborated with the French authorities. The Left wing of the Destour continued to insist on a broad constitutional reform, but its activity was paralysed by the split in the party, the deportation of Taalbi and his retirement from the political scene. In 1924, the Destour sent a third delegation to Paris, hoping to obtain reforms from the "Left bloc" government. This delegation, however, was not even received by the government.

In 1924-1925, the working-class movement became more active. Dockers, miners, stone cutters and factory workers struck. The Communists played a prominent part in organising the strikes, which were accompanied by mass political demonstrations. The colonial authorities employed armed force against the strikers; workers and the police clashed in the capital in August 1924. On September 11, police and troops opened fire on demonstrators in Bizerta. But in Bizerta Tunisian soldiers refused to fire upon the strikers and fraternised with them.

In the autumn of 1924, at the height of the strikes, a movement for the establishment of Tunisian national trade unions developed. It was headed by Mohammed Ali, noted nationalist leader and revolutionary. He was elected secretary-general of the Tunisian General Confederation of Labour, founded on December 3, 1924. The Tunisian Communists and the French Communist Party energetically supported the Confederation, which arose as a result of mounting revolutionary activity by Tunisian workers and their protest against the reformist line of the Right-wing Socialist leadership in the departmental section of the French General Confederation of Labour. Many Communists were elected to the executive bodies of the new trade unions. The Tunisian Confederation conducted a campaign of solidarity with the Moroccan Rifs, who were heroically fighting against French and Spanish imperialism. But the actions of the Tunisian workers were not supported by the peasant masses. As for the Right-wing Destour leaders, they, like the leadership of the French General Confederation of Labour, were openly opposed to independent trade unions of Tunisian workers. Taking advantage of this, the colonial authorities mounted an offensive. In February 1925, Mohammed Ali and other leaders of the Tunisian General Confederation of Labour

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[6] The Grand Council differed little from the Consultative Conference which had existed prior to the First World War. It was divided into two sections: European (44 Frenchmen) and indigenous (18 Arabs and 2 representatives of the Tunisian Jews). In case of differences between the sections the question was examined by the Superior Council, in which the colonial authorities had the decisive say.

were arrested and then deported. The break-up of the Confederation, accompanied by the persecution of other progressive organisations and the labour press, put an end, as it were, to the revolutionary upswing of the first postwar years. Reaction again prevailed but the success of the colonialists was temporary. The people were preparing for new battles for freedom.

1929-1939. The second half of the 1920's was a period of relative stabilisation of capitalism, which sought to recover from the upheavals caused by the war and the squall of the Great October Revolution. We mentioned earlier (see Introduction, pp. 11-12) that this stabilisation was short-lived. It gave way to an economic crisis, the most destructive of all that ever hit capitalism. Nor did colonial Tunisia escape the influence of the 1929-1933 world economic crisis. It struck both at industry and agriculture. The mining of phosphorites, iron and lead ore sharply dropped, many mines and factories were closed down and unemployment increased. Prices of olive oil were cut by half, wool by two-thirds and hides by seven-eighths. Hundreds of thousands of peasants were ruined, fell into the money-lenders' bondage and were deprived of the last plots of land. Dissatisfaction of the masses with the colonial regime was mounting and anti-imperialist organisations stepped up activities.

In 1932, the workers of Tunisia succeeded in getting official permission to organise trade unions. A democratic group was formed within the Destour and it began to publish a newspaper *Action Tunisienne* on November 1, 1932. This group was headed by a young lawyer, Habib Bourguiba. In its programmatic article, the group declared that "the sole source of national life" is the land and the humble fellah, the eternal victim of colonialism and the *khammasat*, and that the fellah would be the object of the group's daily concern.

Despite the draconic laws of the French authorities, promulgated in May 1933—deportation of suspects, persecution of the local press and prohibition of the Destour—the Bourguiba group spread its activity. At the Destour Congress in May 1933, it succeeded in putting through a programme aimed at achieving Tunisia's national independence. On March 2, 1934, at a special congress of the Destour, held in the small town of Ksar Hellal, the Bourguiba group broke with the old leadership and founded the Neo-Destour Party, which swiftly gained wide influence among the peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie, and partly among the working class.

Tunisian Communists became more active and they advocated unity of action with the Neo-Destour.

On September 3, 1934, the colonialists struck a blow at Tunisia's patriotic forces. Eight leaders of the Neo-Destour, including Bourguiba, and six leaders of the Tunisian Communists were arrested and exiled to the Sahara. Then came more arrests; but the

repressions merely raised the prestige of the Communists and the Neo-Destour among the masses.

The successes scored by the working-class and democratic movement within France in fighting against the imperialist reactionary forces promoted the national-liberation movement in Tunisia. In April 1936, when the Popular Front movement advanced in France, Tunisian patriots were released from prisons and returned from exile. Subsequently, the Communist Party and the Neo-Destour were legalised and the trade unions became more active. The emergency decrees which restricted the freedom of assembly, press and association were annulled. A reduction of taxes eased somewhat the condition of the peasants. Labour and social laws of France were extended to Tunisia. But the French monopolies assisted by the colonial authorities sought to sabotage these measures. The colons fought tooth and nail against the proposal to change the political status of Tunisia by granting her a measure of autonomy. It was never realised. At the end of 1937, when it became clear that France's rulers were deviating from Popular Front policy, the Neo-Destour called on the masses to disobey the French authorities.

The civil disobedience campaign reached its apex on April 7-9, 1938, when mass demonstrations for freedom and independence were held in the capital and other towns. But these demonstrations were drowned in blood by the police and the troops. The French authorities introduced a state of siege. The Neo-Destour was outlawed and driven underground, democratic freedoms were annulled and many leaders of the national-liberation movement were arrested and put on trial. The trade unions were also hounded and their activity was actually paralysed. But the people kept up the struggle; strikes, disturbances and clashes with the troops continued for a long time.[7]

At the end of 1938, another threat faced the country. After the Munich deal fascist Italy openly laid claims to Tunisia. Entering the new world war, the Mussolini government regarded the conversion of Tunisia into a colony of Italian imperialism as one of its principal aims.

Tunisia in 1939-1945. The French Government took advantage of the outbreak of the Second World War to ban the Tunisian Communist Party. Working underground, the Tunisian Communists organised resistance to the pro-fascist Vichy regime. In 1942, the Vichy authorities staged a trial of Communists.

In November 1942, after the landing of Anglo-American forces in Algeria and Morocco, Tunisia was quickly occupied by the troops of the Axis powers. Battles between the forces of the two coalitions were fought here. By May 1943, the fascists were defeat-

[7] The Tunisian Republic now annually observes April 9 as Freedom Martyrs Memorial Day.

ed and driven out of Tunisia. The country was placed under the control of the Anglo-American Command and the administration of General Giraud, and in August 1943, of the French Committee of National Liberation.

Even prior to the fascist occupation, the Tunisian Bey Mohammed el-Moncef, who ascended the throne in June 1942, demanded of the Vichy authorities the establishment of a national government. This demand was rejected. But at the end of December 1942, when the power of Vichy actually fell, in the period of Italian-German occupation of Tunisia (November 1942-May 1943), the Bey set up such a government, headed by Mohammed Chenik, a moderate bourgeois nationalist. Notwithstanding the presence of fascist troops in the country, the Chenik Government refused to collaborate with the Axis powers and declare war on the Allies. Yet after the expulsion of the fascists, Moncef was at once arrested and exiled to a distant Algerian oasis and his government was disbanded.

After Tunisia's liberation, the Communist Party and the Neo-Destour, having won the right to function legally, called on the people to take part in the anti-fascist war. Many Tunisians fought on the European battlefields in the Allied armies: 70,000 of them gave their lives for the liberation of Europe from nazism. But bourgeois France "rewarded" Tunisia by preserving the regime of colonial slavery under the guise of a protectorate.

Struggle for Freedom after the War. With the crisis of the colonial system in Tunisia growing deeper, another advance of the liberation movement began. The masses did not want and could not tolerate colonial oppression any longer. In April 1946, the Communist Party formulated a programme of struggle for national independence. It was founded on the following demands: abolition of the protectorate regime, dissolution of the administrative machine created by the colonialists, election of a National Constituent Assembly, establishment of a government responsible to the envoys of the people, a land reform (handing over the lands of the colonialists and the feudal elements who had collaborated with them to agricultural labourers, sharecroppers and poor peasants). On August 4, 1946, the Central Committee of the Tunisian Communist Party appealed to the country's patriots to form a national front on the basis of this programme.

On August 23, the Neo-Destour convened an Independence Congress with the participation of all sections of the population and political parties. The police broke into the Congress hall, arrested its organisers and dispersed the delegates.

In 1946, two trade union centres were set up in Tunisia. One of them, the Trade Union of Tunisian Workers, adhered to principles of proletarian internationalism and accepted both local and European workers. H. Saadaoui, a member of the Political Bureau of the Tunisian Communist Party, was elected chairman of this

centre. Another trade union centre, the General Union of Tunisian Workers, was under the influence of the Neo-Destour, and united Tunisian factory and office workers. Ferhat Hached was elected its general secretary. By 1950, both trade union centres had had a membership of about 60,000, both participated in the struggle for Tunisia's national liberation and were affiliated with the World Federation of Trade Unions. In 1946-1947, they organised a number of political and economic strikes. On August 5, 1947, French troops, on orders of the French resident-general, opened fire at strikers in Sfax. This massacre aroused countrywide indignation. In April 1948, Tunisia was gripped by a general strike of railwaymen and civil servants. To cope with the situation, the French authorities made minor concessions, which did not change the essence of the colonial regime. A decree on the reorganisation of the Grand Council was adopted on September 15, 1945: three million Arabs and 150,000 Frenchmen received equal representation in it (53 deputies each). An undemocratic election system was adopted for the Tunisian section. While in the French section the elections were direct and universal, in the Tunisian they were held in two stages, with suffrage being restricted by various qualifications. The functions of the Council were extended but, as before, it had no right to take up political and constitutional matters. In 1945-1946, municipal councils and councils of regions (*sheikhats*) were elected, but they were placed under strict government control. In 1947, the number of Tunisian ministers was increased to six, but the government was headed by French officials—the resident-general and the secretary-general. These reforms naturally did not satisfy the Tunisian patriots.

Consolidation of the national forces was the main problem of the liberation movement. Actually, unity of action of Tunisian patriots, including Neo-Destour supporters and Communists, was achieved in strikes, political demonstrations and in the activities of the Tunisian Committee for Peace and Freedom, in which various trends were represented.

But a united national front was not officially set up. The Neo-Destour adopted the line of agreement with the French Government and in April 1950 put forward the programme of an "honourable compromise" within the framework of the protectorate. It mapped out a number of reforms aimed at the internal autonomy of Tunisia and arabisation of the state machine. In June 1950, the nationalist trade unions withdrew from the World Federation of Trade Unions and in 1951 they affiliated with the reformist International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. The leadership of the Neo-Destour withdrew its representatives from the Committee for Peace and Freedom. A government headed by Mohammed Chenik, with the participation of members of the Neo-Destour, was formed on August 17, 1950, and it began to negotiate reforms with the French Government.

At the same time the colonial authorities continued cruelly to suppress the national-liberation movement in the country. On November 21, 1950, French forces shot down striking agricultural workers at the Enfidaville estate. In response a general strike was declared.

At the end of 1951, the Franco-Tunisian talks, which had lasted for nearly a year and a half, became deadlocked. On December 15, 1951, the French Government rejected the demand for internal autonomy and reaffirmed the principle of "sovereignty", that is, preserving the colonial administration in the country.

Having become convinced that the policy of an "honourable compromise" was not supported by the French side, the Neo-Destour again called for active struggle. A three-day general protest strike was held on December 21-23, 1951, with the participation of the Communist Party, the Neo-Destour, Old Destour and both trade union centres,[8] the Tunisian Union of Artisans and Shopkeepers, the Committee for Peace and Freedom and other organisations. Unity of action of the national forces was restored. This historic strike was the prologue to armed struggle for independence.

On January 14, 1952, the Chenik Government appealed to the Security Council of the United Nations to resolve the dispute between France and Tunisia. On the same day, the French authorities shot down an Arab demonstration in Tunis, launching thereby hostilities against the Tunisian people. On January 18, the leaders of the Neo-Destour, headed by Habib Bourguiba, and the leaders of the Communist Party, headed by Mohammed Ennafaa, were arrested and exiled to the desert. General Garbay was appointed commander of the French forces in Tunisia. Garbay was known as the butcher of the Malagasy people, having killed 100,000 inhabitants of Madagascar in 1947. The troops commanded by Garbay began to comb Tunisian towns and villages, subjecting the people to wholesale repressions. On March 26, the French authorities, overriding the Bey, dismissed the Chenik Government, arrested the ministers and forced the Bey to withdraw the complaint from the Security Council.

In response to the violence of the colonialists, Tunisian patriots started to set up guerrilla detachments, which organised resistance to the punitive forces, in January 1952. Subsequently, the guerrilla detachments united into the Tunisian Liberation Army which, relying on the support of the entire people, successfully resisted Garbay's forces. The French authorities, alongside punitive operations, continued their attempts to undermine the resistance movement by petty reforms. But these reforms missed the mark.

[8] In 1956-1957, the trade union centres merged and formed one centre—the General Union of Tunisian Workers which, as before, was close to the Neo-Destour. The Union has now about 150,000 members.

Nor were Tunisians intimidated by open terror. On December 5, 1952, French terrorists from the "Red Hand" organisation assassinated Ferhat Hached, leader of the General Union of Tunisian Workers. This foul killing merely intensified the hatred of the people for the colonialists. Detachments of Tunisian rebels were constantly replenished by freedom fighters. Their operations became particularly vigorous in the spring and summer of 1954.

Unable to crush the heroic resistance of the people, France was compelled to agree to Tunisia's "internal autonomy". This was announced by French Premier Mendès-France on July 31, 1954, when he arrived in Tunisia. After the Franco-Tunisian talks opened in September, the Liberation Army stopped the armed struggle on December 9, 1954.

Habib Bourguiba, leader of the Neo-Destour, returned from exile on June 1, 1955 (this day is celebrated in Tunisia as Victory Day), Two days later, a Franco-Tunisian agreement on internal autonomy was signed. Henceforward the entire government of Tunisia consisted of Tunisians and she enjoyed independence in domestic affairs. France, however, kept control over questions of defence and the country's foreign policy.

The demands of the Tunisian people for complete sovereignty compelled France to renounce these privileges, too. The situation in other Maghreb countries, especially in Algeria at the beginning of 1956, also played a part in this respect. On March 20, 1956, a protocol on Tunisia's independence was signed on the insistence of the Tunisian Government. The treaties of the protectorate, signed in 1881 and 1883, were annulled and France recognised Tunisia as a sovereign state. True, the 1956 protocol provided for cooperation and "interdependence" of France and Tunisia, but the concrete forms of this cooperation were to be determined in future.

INDEPENDENT TUNISIA

The heroic liberation struggle of the Tunisian people brought to an end the 75-year protectorate, the "age of darkness and sorrow", as it was called by the classic of Tunisian poetry Aboul Kacem Chabbi. The prediction of the poet, who believed that his people would dispel the darkness and break the shackles came true. Tunisia entered a new period of her history, the period of national independence.

On March 25, 1956, elections to a Constituent Assembly were held. A majority was won by the National Front, formed by the Neo-Destour together with the General Union of Tunisian Workers, the National Union of Tunisian Agriculturists and the Tunisian Union of Artisans and Shopkeepers. The Constituent Assembly was opened on April 8 and Habib Bourguiba was elected chairman. Six days later, he headed the first national government

of independent Tunisia. It consisted entirely of members of the Neo-Destour, which thus became the ruling party.

The Bourguiba Government launched a number of reforms aimed at changing the country's socio-political and cultural life.

A judicial reform was carried out in August 1956. The religious sharia courts and also the courts of caids and tribal nobility were replaced by a single system of secular courts. A new code of laws on marriage, the family and divorce was adopted. Women were given equal rights with men; marriages of minors and polygamy were prohibited. The Tunisian Government has also adopted other measures to promote the participation of women in public life.

A single system of education was introduced: the school was separated from the church, elementary Koranic schools were taken over by the state and reforms were introduced in Az-Zitouna and other theological schools. Free education and state scholarships for students [9] were introduced. Great attention was devoted to eradicating illiteracy among the adult population, training technical and managerial personnel, teachers and civil servants.

The Neo-Destour leadership took a decision on the abolition of the monarchy on July 22, 1957. On July 25, the Constituent Assembly proclaimed Tunisia a republic. The Constitution of the Tunisian Republic was adopted two years later. It introduced a presidential regime in the country. According to the constitution, supreme authority in Tunisia is exercised by the National Assembly and the president elected by universal suffrage for a five-year term; the president is also the head of the government. The Chairman of the Neo-Destour Habib Bourguiba has been President of Tunisia since 1957.[10]

In the very first years of independence, the Tunisian Government also implemented important economic measures. It secularised and nationalised the *wakf* (*habous*) lands, which belonged to Muslim institutions; confiscated the property and lands of the former Bey and other members of the royal family and of persons who had collaborated with the colonialists during the protectorate and gained their property as a result of abuses. These laws finally undermined the positions of the feudal and compradore elements.

Agreements with France on the partial redemption of land owned by Frenchmen were concluded in 1957, 1960 and 1963. Under the latest agreement, Tunisia was able to redeem annually 50,000 hectares of such lands. The government launched in 1958

[9] Since 1965 students have been getting free medical aid. A law on social security for students was adopted at that time. They are given pensions in case of disability.

[10] In 1957-1959 Bourguiba was acting president, and after the adoption of the Constitution he was twice elected president (in November 1959 and 1964). Simultaneously with the presidential elections, the National Assembly was elected. In 1964, all the seats were gained by the ruling party.

a land reform in the valley of the lower Mejerda River, where most of the land belonged to rich French and Italian colons. It was stipulated that a landed estate in this area should not exceed 50 hectares, while surplus and idle lands (of more than two hectares) were to be taken over by the state and distributed among the peasants with repayment over 20 years.

The Tunisian Government nationalised some foreign industrial and transport companies. Although Tunisia remained in the franc zone, it introduced a national currency, the dinar, in 1959.

In the same year Tunisia withdrew from the customs union with France, which was replaced by a Franco-Tunisian trade agreement.

These measures somewhat weakened Tunisia's economic dependence on France, but it still remained very strong. Moreover, the economic position of the French monopolies and colons in Tunisia were reinforced by the preservation on her territory of 350 military camps, garrisons and bases of the former metropolitan country, including the biggest naval base in Bizerta.

The French Government ignored Tunisia's energetic demands for the withdrawal of its troops. Moreover, in February 1958 French military aircraft bombed and destroyed the Tunisian settlement Sakiet Sidi Youssef. This barbarous action, which aroused the indignation of the Tunisian people and all progressive mankind, led to a sharp conflict between France and Tunisia. The Tunisian question was raised in the U.N. Security Council. On June 17, 1958, France signed an agreement on the withdrawal of her forces and in October 1958 they left Tunisian territory. But the French military base in Bizerta remained and the French forces in Algeria repeatedly violated the Tunisian border and attacked Tunisian settlements.

In July 1961, the question of Bizerta caused a Franco-Tunisian conflict, in the course of which France utilised this base for armed aggression against Tunisia. Battles between French troops and units of the Tunisian army and volunteers raged for several days. The Tunisian Government lodged a protest against France's action with the United Nations. The Afro-Asian and socialist countries, the Soviet Union included, rose up to the defence of the Tunisian people. The United States and the other imperialist powers, on the contrary, refrained from condemning France. In the Security Council, they prevented the adoption of a resolution on the withdrawal of French troops from Bizerta. But at the special session of the U.N. General Assembly the colonialists found themselves in the minority. By a resolution of August 25, 1961, the General Assembly recognised the legitimate demand of Tunisia for the withdrawal of all French forces from her territory. In this connection President Bourguiba on August 29 sent a message to the leaders of the Soviet Government, in which he thanked the U.S.S.R., on behalf of the Tunisian Government and people, for upholding

the just cause of the Tunisians. "...Your delegation to the Security Council and the U.N. General Assembly", the President wrote, "took the most clear-cut and noble position in support of Tunisia."

An agreement on the evacuation of Bizerta was concluded between France and Tunisia in 1962. On October 15, 1963, the last French soldiers left Bizerta and the national Tunisian flag was hoisted over the town, signifying that the entire territory of the country had been rid of foreign troops. October 15 became a national holiday (la Fête de l'évacuation).

On the threshold of the 1960's, the Tunisian Government adopted a number of measures aimed at eliminating the economic backwardness and poverty inherited from the colonial regime. It renounced the policy of "economic liberalism" and went over to planning and state control over the economy. A development programme was undertaken in 1962. It called for the country's industrialisation and gradual modernisation of agriculture (development of cooperation, technical reconstruction, etc.). It was divided into three stages: the three-year plan (1962-1964), the first four-year plan (1965-1968) and the second four-year plan (1969-1972); originally it was believed that the targets could be achieved in the course of three years.

The building up of large industrial centres in the northern and eastern regions commands much attention in the economic development programme. A large oil refinery has been commissioned in Bizerta. It fully satisfies the country's requirements and enables it to export oil products. The first blast furnace in the Maghreb has been blown in at the iron and steel works in Menzel-Bourguiba. An electrical equipment plant and large textile mills are under construction there. The German Democratic Republic is taking part in building the mill and in training Tunisian personnel to operate it. An automobile factory has been built in Sousse; near that town, in Djebel Djelloud, a factory for the production of automobile, tractor and marine engine spark-plugs, the only one in Africa and one of the biggest in the world, has been erected. Among the new enterprises in operation there are the Sahel spinning mill in Sousse, built with the help of Polish specialists, a textile mill in Bir el Kassaa, a sugar refinery in Beja, a glass factory in Mégrine, a plastics factory, a cellulose factory (using alfa-grass as raw material), etc. The production of phosphorites, iron ore and other minerals is on the increase and so is the output of superphosphate. Oil has been discovered in El Borma, in the southern part of the country near the Algerian border, and production began in 1966.

The share of the state sector in industry has substantially risen. Transport, the power, mining, building and a number of new industries are under the control of the state (directly or through mixed companies), but private capital, especially foreign which is widely attracted, still holds important positions in the economy.

The Tunisian private sector (apart from mixed companies) is represented in industry chiefly by semi-handicraft establishments.

In ten years of independent development, gross industrial output has more than doubled. According to the first four-year plan, a third of all the investments is going for the country's industrialisation in 1965-1968.

Model state crop-growing and livestock farms (chiefly on estates formerly held by foreigners) have been set up to promote the development of agriculture. The organisation of peasant producer cooperatives started in 1962.[11] The organisation of associations of landless peasants, known as "pre-cooperatives", was started in the mid-1960's on lands belonging to state farms.

Tunisia suffers from periodic droughts, and the government naturally is devoting much attention to irrigation. Building of irrigation installations has been started in the northern and central parts of the country. From 15,000 to 20,000 peasant families are to be settled on irrigated lands in the Mejerda Valley by the beginning of the 1970's.

Socialist countries are rendering effective assistance to Tunisia in implementing her economic development plans. In 1961, Tunisia concluded agreements on economic cooperation with Czechoslovakia and agreements on scientific and technical cooperation with Poland, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. A Soviet-Tunisian agreement on economic and technical cooperation was signed on August 30, 1961. Under this agreement, the Soviet Union is assisting Tunisia, especially in irrigation and land reclamation. Soviet specialists—geologists, hydrotechnicians, topographers and agronomists—have done much exploratory work in the region of Lake Garaet Achkel in preparation for the building of hydroengineering and land reclamation installations. A dam and hydro-electric station on the Kasseb River, one of the biggest projects under the four-year plan, are being built with Soviet assistance. The station on the Kasseb will generate 4.5 million kwh of electric power annually and the big dam will make it possible to irrigate more than 25,000 hectares. The reservoirs will supply water for the needs of the population and industry of Tunis and the adjacent region. The U.S.S.R. is ready to provide technical assistance in building a dam on the Khezala River (under a contract signed in April 1966).

While visiting the United Arab Republic in February 1965, President Bourguiba highly assessed the significance of Soviet-Egyptian cooperation in building the Aswan Dam. "Cooperation of this kind", he said, "though on a smaller scale, is developing between Tunisia and the U.S.S.R. as regards the building of dams,

[11] In 1967 there were about 1,000 cooperatives in Tunisia, most of them in agriculture. But cooperatives of artisans, building and marketing cooperatives have also been organised. They embraced over 250,000 people, or more than 15 per cent of the country's gainfully employed population.

which are of much smaller size, but none the less meet the needs for the accelerated development of some Tunisian regions."

The law on the nationalisation of lands belonging to foreign owners (companies and private persons), adopted by the National Assembly on May 11, 1964, is important for uprooting the economic basis of colonialism in the country's agriculture.[12] While at the beginning of 1964, only some 260,000 hectares of land was redeemed from foreign colons, another 465,000 hectares (about 10 per cent of the entire cultivated area) has been nationalised under the new law, together with livestock and agricultural implements. Simultaneously, the government concluded an agreement with the Vatican, under which a considerable part of the Catholic churches in Tunisia with all their land and property, and the commercial companies belonging to the Vatican became the property of the state.

The Tunisian Government decided not to distribute the nationalised lands among individuals, but to hand them over (for redemption) to agricultural cooperatives. Moreover, in May 1964 the National Assembly promulgated a law placing more than 2,000,000 hectares of communal lands in the central and southern parts of the country under state control. Cooperatives are now being organised on these lands.

The abolition of foreign ownership of land, development of agriculture (through the stimulation of producer cooperatives) and industry—all this should facilitate an improvement in the welfare of the people. But so far their lot has remained hard and the property and social contrasts are very marked. According to data of the Tunisian and foreign press, there is quite a large group of owners (567,000 people), whose average annual income exceeds 218 dinars. On the other pole is a group of 1,655,000 with an average annual income of 14 dinars. Another 1,325,000 have an income of 28.5 dinars. The living standard of the peasants is exceedingly low. The annual income of three-fourths of the rural population does not exceed 30 dinars. Addressing the 7th Congress of the Neo-Destour, Habib Bourguiba said: "Actually, most Tunisians live today in such want that a worker who gets a regular wage seems to be a privileged person."

As early as April 1956, when the government of independent Tunisia was formed, Bourguiba formulated its main task as follows: "To free our national economy from the grip of stagnation and unemployment and create conditions for its rapid development so that it could become a means of restoring a sense of human dignity and wiping out privation and poverty." Subsequently, at the beginning of the 1960's, the Neo-Destour leadership proclaimed

[12] It is symbolic that the President signed this law on May 12, 1964, at the same table at which the Treaty of Bardo, signifying the protectorate of France over Tunisia, was signed on May 12, 1881.

the doctrine of "Destour Socialism" based on the interference of the state in economic life, a planning system and the development of cooperation. In view of this, at the 7th Congress, held in Bizerta in October 1964, the party was renamed the Socialist Destour Party.

Destour Socialism advances to the foreground the concept of national unity unrestricted by social bounds, and it maintains that the class struggle is not a regular development in Tunisia and does not exist there. According to this concept, Tunisian society has not reached the stage of clear-cut class differentiation. Although the existence of classes is admitted in principle (they are preferably called "social categories"), it is held that this does not give rise to any serious class contradictions. From this the conclusion is drawn that it is possible to build socialism, to establish, as it is usually said in Tunisia, "social justice" on the basis of harmonious cooperation of the working masses and the bourgeoisie, while preserving and maintaining the private sector in the economy. Bahi Laghdam, Secretary-General of the Socialist Destour Party, stated that Destour Socialism "displays concern not only for the public and cooperative sector, but also for the private sector". He said that the main task was to achieve coordination and harmony between them.[13]

Proponents of Destour Socialism counterpose it to scientific socialism—not only in the ideological sphere but in political life too. This was expressed in the prohibition of the Tunisian Communist Party (January 1963), notwithstanding the fact that the Communist Party invariably acted as the consistent fighter for national independence and social progress.

The idea of harmony of class interests is coming into conflict with reality. The Tunisian bourgeoisie, whose positions are strongest in commerce[14] and agriculture, tries to utilise the country's economic difficulties for personal enrichment. Speculation in foodstuffs and manufactured goods assumed a wide scale, and to combat it, the government had to introduce price control. But the speculators think nothing of violating the government decisions. The manufacturers are doing the same thing. Taking advantage of mass unemployment, they frequently ignore the labour laws and violate the workers' rights. There were also instances of open action by bourgeois elements against socio-economic changes.

[13] It is envisaged that the private sector should be controlled by the state and operate within the bounds of planned development. The Code of Property Rights, adopted by the National Assembly in March 1965, notes that the exercise of the right to own property "must correspond to the interests of all of society and conform to the principles of building Destour Socialism in the country." Ignoring these principles—for example, unprofitable management—may, according to the Code, entail the sequester of the property.

[14] While the country's foreign trade has largely been placed under state control, home trade is almost completely in private hands.

In December 1962, the authorities uncovered a reactionary plot, involving manufacturers and businessmen dissatisfied with planning measures, the enhanced role of the state sector and the establishment of price controls.

Strikes also revealed serious contradictions within Tunisian society. The strikers demanded higher wages, payment for overtime work, social insurance, etc. For example, in the autumn of 1962, workers of phosphorite mines in Sfax-Gafsa and transport workers went on strike, and in August 1964, workers of a plastic factory in Sousse. In June 1964, agricultural workers of the Nouhoud cooperative near Tunis went on strike.

Local trade-union organisations also demand higher wages. Differences have been brought to light between the party leadership and some trade unionists who seek greater independence and relaxation of control by the Socialist Destour Party.

Unemployment is one of the most acute social problems in Tunisia. Many of the unemployed are provided jobs at special camps. They work on public projects for small pay, building roads and dams, planting forests, digging wells and laying out new olive plantations. The teaching of the ABC and of trades has been organised in the camps. Vocational training centres for unskilled unemployed have also been organised. They train bricklayers, carpenters, mechanics and junior medical personnel.

Nevertheless, the wiping out of unemployment remains a primary task. In the mid-1960's there were about 200,000 fully or partly unemployed in Tunisia. Many Tunisians who found no jobs at home are working abroad, chiefly in France (30,000).

Big estates and the consequent contradictions between the local landowners and the peasant masses have been preserved. There are about 4,000 big landowners in the country who hold 550,000 hectares (about 11 per cent of the entire cultivated area), while the average peasant holding is about 7 hectares (one-sixteenth of that of the average landowner). The country is faced with the need of carrying out a broad land reform. The leaders of the Socialist Destour Party in principle admit the necessity for a ceiling on landholdings, but think that this matter requires further study.

The landowners and the rural bourgeoisie are actively resisting progressive changes in the countryside, particularly the development of cooperatives. Owners of big olive plantations in Msaken resisted the establishment of cooperatives at the end of 1964. They succeeded in winning over some of the peasants, who were afraid that on joining a cooperative they would lose their plots. The police arrested 147 participants in the anti-government demonstration and nationalised their olive-tree plantations.

Like many other young states, Tunisia is harrassed by serious financial troubles. The need for big investments made Tunisia turn for financial aid to France and other Western powers, especially the United States and West Germany, which affected the nature of her relations with these countries. The three-year plan was financed by foreign loans and credits to the extent of 47 per cent. Under the first and especially the second four-year plans, the share of foreign capital in investments is to be reduced.

In the meantime, the imperialist powers remain Tunisia's creditors. Not satisfied with the extraction of profits, they seek to reinforce their positions in the country by sending innumerable advisers and experts.

Moreover, Tunisia's dependence on the influx of capital from the outside and on the world capitalist export market is often turned into a means of crude economic and political pressure. Thus, in response to the nationalisation of foreign-owned lands [15] France stopped financial assistance to Tunisia, notwithstanding the fact that the Tunisian Government expressed readiness to pay compensation to their owners. France also denounced the Franco-Tunisian trade agreement of 1959, introduced customs duties on Tunisian wine [16] and applied other repressive measures.

French imperialism failed to force Tunisia to her knees. In May 1964, the National Assembly decided to float a five per cent national loan to stabilise the country's finances. A number of Arab states expressed readiness to help Tunisia. In June 1964, Kuwait gave Tunisia a loan of 4 million dinars. The United Arab Republic and Iraq concluded with Tunisia agreements considerably increasing trade.

Nevertheless, the harm inflicted on Tunisia's economy by France made itself felt. This was one of the causes for the devaluation of the dinar in September 1964. Simultaneously with a cut in the purchasing power of Tunisian currency by 25 per cent, prices of imported goods were correspondingly raised, including many prime necessities (fabrics, clothing, butter, sausage, tea, etc.). Prices of local goods also rose.

Devaluation and higher prices considerably worsened the condition of the working people because wages remained at the old level. Moreover, taxes (direct and indirect, including the wage tax) were raised by 10 per cent as of January 1, 1965. It was only a year later that a decree was adopted increasing wages of office employees, industrial and agricultural workers (from 6.6 to 26.6 per cent). The same decree introduced a minimum hourly wage: 84 millims in the larger towns (Tunis, Bizerta, Sousse and

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[15] Of the 465,000 hectares nationalised under the 1964 law, more than half (273,000) belonged to French companies and colons. The rest of the land was owned by Italian, Swiss and big Tunisian landowners connected with foreign companies.

[16] Under the agreement of 1959 three-fifths of the exports of Tunisian wine to France were admitted duty-free and for the rest a low (5 per cent) customs duty was established.

Sfax) and 66 millims in the rest of the country.[17] In the spring of 1966, the first labour code in the history of Tunisia was adopted by the National Assembly and approved by the president.

Housing is by far not the least vexing problem inherited by the Republic of Tunisia from colonialism. The ill-famed Bidonvilles have been preserved in the towns and a considerable part of the peasants live in *gourbi*, huts without windows and chimneys. Tunisia's development plans naturally provide for an improvement of housing conditions. Intensive construction is under way in many towns. Tunisians can settle in so-called European quarters. A decision to freeze house rents was adopted in 1964.

Medical service has improved. Prior to independence, only 16 per cent of the population enjoyed medical care as against 85 per cent today. Smallpox, a widespread disease in old Tunisia, has been eradicated. Countrywide campaigns against tuberculosis and poliomyelitis have been conducted. The number of people sick with tuberculosis was cut by 75 per cent at the beginning of 1966 (from 25 per 1,000 to 6). A large group of physicians from the socialist countries, including the Soviet Union, is working in Tunisia's medical establishments.

Notable progress has been registered in education, which claims one-fourth of the national budget. Prior to independence, only one of every three children of school age studied; ten years later, 70 per cent attended primary schools. The number of pupils in secondary schools has risen considerably. Tuition in Arabic is gradually being introduced. Among the newly-opened educational establishments is a university in Tunis. It will include a national technical college. This first centre for the training of highly qualified technical specialists (building, mechanical, and electrical engineers, etc.) is being built with the assistance of the U.S.S.R. under the Soviet-Tunisian agreement on economic and technical cooperation. In the 1967/68 academic year, 950,000 pupils and students attended schools and higher educational establishments. This means that every fifth Tunisian studies. In the same year co-education was introduced in the primary school (subsequently it will also be introduced in senior forms).

Science is successfully developing in Tunisia. A centre for economic research has been set up in the capital. The country's history, art and literature and also general problems of Arab culture are being studied in a number of other research institutions.

The national literature of Tunisia has always been based on the native tongue, Arabic. Tunisian prose began to develop after the Second World War, alongside traditional poetry. Under the protectorate, the development of progressive literature was hindered by the colonialists and their henchmen in every possible way. A characteristic case is the fate of the works of Aboul Hacem

[17] A millim = $^1/_{1000}$ dinar.

Chabbi (1909-1934), who is called the "poet of the revolution". It was only in 1955, more than 20 years after the poet's death, that a book of his verse, *Songs of Life*, was first published.

New Tunisia has taken the road of cultural revival and the advance of literature and the arts. Works of Tunisian poets and prose writers are published in book form and printed in newspapers and literary magazines. Music and choreography have been greatly developed. The foundations of modern painting (the first Tunisian artists have appeared), a national cinematography and the theatre are being laid. A national television system has been commissioned for the tenth anniversary of independence; prior to that Tunisia received TV programmes from Italy.

In world affairs, the Tunisian Republic ranks among the non-aligned countries. The Government of Tunisia has repeatedly stated that its foreign policy is based on the principles of active neutrality, support of the liberation movements and of Maghreb, Arab and African solidarity. During the war of the Algerian people for independence Tunisia rendered them effective help. Cooperation of Tunisia with the other Maghreb countries has been extended in recent years. In December 1964, a Tunisian-Moroccan convention was signed on coordination of foreign policy, cooperation in legislation, the judiciary, health services, communications, radio, TV, culture, etc.

Even before that (in September-October 1964), a conference of the Ministers of Economy of Algeria, Libya, Morocco and Tunisia was held in Tunis. The participants signed a protocol on coordinating their economic development policy and set up a Permanent Consultative (Economic) Committee of the four countries. At another meeting of Economy Ministers of the Maghreb countries, held in February 1966 in Algiers, it was decided to make Tunis the headquarters of the Secretariat of this Committee. In February 1966, a coordination conference of Maghreb states on questions of education was held.

In the early 1960's, relations between Tunisia and the other Arab countries developed successfully. Besides the trade agreements with the United Arab Republic and Iraq mentioned earlier, Tunisia signed a cultural agreement with the United Arab Republic in February 1965. In December 1963, the presidents of Tunisia and the United Arab Republic met in Bizerta during celebrations on the occasion of the evacuation of the French forces. In February 1965, Habib Bourguiba paid an official visit to the United Arab Republic.

But the line of rapprochement between Tunisia and the United Arab Republic and some other Arab states gave way in the spring of 1965 to a sharp worsening of relations. Tunisia did not attend the third meeting of Arab states in Casablanca (September 1965) and did not subscribe to the Pact of Solidarity adopted there, although she did not withdraw from the Arab League. Tunisian embassies in

the United Arab Republic, Iraq and Syria were closed, as were the embassies of these countries in Tunisia. The conflict was caused by differences between Tunisia and the Arab League over the ways of settling the Palestine problem and also refusal of the Tunisian Government to break relations with the Federal Republic of Germany following the latter's recognition of Israel.

But in view of the Middle East crisis in the summer of 1967 Tunisia proclaimed her solidarity with all Arab states in their struggle against Israeli aggression and discontinued the boycott of Arab League meetings. She restored diplomatic relation with the United Arab Republic and other countries.

Tunisia joined the Organisation of African Unity at the Constituent Conference held in Addis Ababa in 1963. In the Organisation of African Unity, the United Nations and other international forums, Tunisia has advocated the early abolition of colonialism.

In spite of its ties with the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany and other Western powers, the Tunisian Government is interested in broader international contacts with other countries, including socialist states. In addition to the agreements on economic, technical and scientific cooperation, Tunisia has concluded trade and payments agreements with many socialist countries. Her trade relations with Bulgaria, the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia and other socialist countries are being extended. The Soviet Union had advanced from 26th place in 1956 to 5th place by 1966 among the countries importing Tunisian goods. From 1957 to 1964, trade between the two countries increased more than 18 times; under the agreement for 1965-1968, signed in November 1964, it will double once again. Extension of trade ties was largely facilitated by the decision of the Soviet Union and a number of other socialist states to abolish customs duties on imports from developing countries.

The Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and other socialist countries have given Tunisia credits for financing her economic and cultural development plans. Tunisia has also concluded cultural cooperation agreements with many socialist states, including the Soviet Union (December 1963). A cultural centre has been opened by the Soviet Embassy in Tunis. A Tunisia-U.S.S.R. Association has been organised in Tunisia, and in the Soviet Union similar functions are discharged by the Society for Friendship with the Arab Countries and the Association for Friendship with the Peoples of Africa. The Soviet people highly value the efforts of the Tunisian people aimed at eliminating backwardness and poverty, the contribution of the young Tunisian state to the struggle against colonialism and to the strengthening of international cooperation.

LIBYA

At the beginning of the 20th century, most of Libya's population (at that time, about 600,000)[1] led a nomad and semi-nomad existence on a huge territory, almost completely taken up by deserts. The settled population was concentrated mainly in the coastal part of the country. Libya had a predominantly subsistence economy based on a combination of stock-raising and farming, and feudal-patriarchal relations prevailed in the country. Communal ownership of the land, livestock and water resources by the tribes gradually disintegrated, and the tribal chiefs (sheikhs) were turning into feudal owners. The population engaged in the crafts and trade was concentrated in the few coastal towns.

The Muslim Sanusi Order, in which a leading position was held by the feudal upper crust, played a big role in the country's socio-economic and political life, particularly in Cyrenaica, its eastern part.[2] In the struggle against the Turkish rulers, the Sanusites created a sort of a "state within the state". The Order's religious centres (*zawiyas*), of which there were many, were also administrative, judicial, commercial and military centres. The Order owned about 200,000 hectares of land, which was cultivated by Bedouins (nomads and semi-nomads). A tax in kind was also paid by the population dependent on the Order. Similar forms of exploitation were practised by the tribal aristocracy.

In 1911, Libya was subjected to Italian aggression and under the Treaty of Lausanne (1912) was "ceded" by Turkey to Italy. The Italian invaders succeeded in entrenching themselves only on the coast. The Libyan people continued the liberation struggle, in which patriotically-minded feudal elements took part alongside the peasants who made up the bulk of the population. Having scored se-

[1] According to the 1964 Census, Libya had a population of 1,559,000.

[2] The territory of Libya, a former vilayet of the Ottoman Empire, was divided into three main parts: Cyrenaica, Tripolitania (in the north-west) and the Fezzan (in the south-west). Up to the Second World War, these names (especially Cyrenaica and Tripolitania) were more commonly used than the general name of Libya.

veral victories over the Italians, specifically near Derna in 1913 and at el-Gardabia (Sirte district) in 1915, the sheikhs of the Cyrenaica tribes and the leaders of the Sanusi Order set up a local government and a legislative council in Agedabia. The government was headed by Emir Idris as-Sanusi, who subsequently, in 1918, became the head of the Sanusi Order.

The fierce resistance of the people of Libya and the setbacks suffered by Italy in Europe during the First World War compelled the Italian command to negotiate with the Libyans. Under the agreement concluded by Idris as-Sanusi with the Italians in Akrama in 1917, hostilities were stopped and Italy recognised the power of Idris in the unoccupied part of Cyrenaica.

Libya in 1918-1939. The Libyan people intensified their struggle after the Great October Revolution and the end of the First World War. A meeting of Tripolitanian notables (sheikhs and representatives of the urban nobility) in Misurat proclaimed the Tripolitanian Republic in November 1918. A legislative and an executive council were set up. These bodies, which were located in Garian, consisted chiefly of sheikhs, Muslim divines and also representatives of the emerging trading bourgeoisie. The functions of the head of the state were entrusted to a four-man council—Sulayman al-Baruni, Ramadan as-Suwayhili, Ahmad al-Murayyid and Abd an-Nabi Bilkhayr.

The Italian command had to reach agreement with the Tripolitanian leaders as well. Under the treaty, signed in Suani Ben Adem in 1919, Italy agreed to grant the Tripolitanian Republic internal autonomy. The treaty provided for the drawing up of a constitution and the election of a parliament of Tripolitania.

In the same year the Basic Law (constitution) of Tripolitania was adopted. The first political party in the country, named the National Reform Party, was founded and it began to publish a newspaper *Al-Liva at-Tarablusi* ("Banner of Tripoli").

A new agreement was concluded in 1920 in Ar-Rajma between the Italian representatives and Idris as-Sanusi. It confirmed Italy's recognition of the sovereignty of Emir Idris over the unoccupied part of Cyrenaica and his right of patronage over Libyans residing on the coastal territory of Cyrenaica held by the Italians.

The concessions made by the colonialists to the liberation movement were of a temporary nature. By concluding the agreement with the Libyans, the Italian authorities merely sought to weaken popular resistance and had no intention whatsoever to live up to their promises. The Italian Parliament refused to ratify the agreements signed in Suani Ben Adem and Ar-Rajma. Nor was the constitution of Tripolitania approved. Italian agents fomented strife between Libyan tribes, trying to prevent the unity of the patriotic forces. Ramadan as-Suwayhili, one of the leaders of the liberation movement in Tripolitania, became a victim of their provocative activity: he was assassinated in August 1920.

In these conditions a conference of Tripolitanian leaders was convened in Gharian in December 1921, and a new government, the Central Reform Organisation, was formed. The conference, presided over by Ahmad al-Murayyid, made an attempt to reconcile the leaders of the quarrelling tribes. It called for the unity of the people of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica in the struggle against the colonialists. To this end a delegation was sent to Sirte to meet with representatives of Idris as-Sanusi. These talks paved the way for the political unification of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica.

After the meeting in Sirte, Tripolitanian leaders asked Idris as-Sanusi to assume leadership of Tripolitania. Despite Italy's resistance, this proposal was accepted (1922).

With the establishment of the fascist regime in Italy (October 1922), the Italian Government started intensive preparations for resuming the war in Libya. Idris as-Sanusi emigrated to Egypt in December 1922. Religious and administrative leadership in Cyrenaica passed to his relatives, Muhammad ar-Rida as-Sanusi and Safi ad-Din as-Sanusi, and in Tripolitania, to Ahmad al-Murayyid. The military command was headed by the Sanusi sheikh Umar al-Mukhtar, who became the moving spirit of the resistance to the Italian invaders.

A new stage in the hostilities was ushered in by the perfidious attack of Italian troops on Libyan military camps in Cyrenaica in March 1923. In April 1923, the Italian governor-general of Cyrenaica declared that all agreements concluded by the Italian Government with the Sanusites would be considered null and void.

The Italian command expected military operations to be over in a few weeks. But notwithstanding the tremendous superiority of the Italians in troops and armaments, the war in Libya dragged on until the beginning of the 1930's. Libyan patriots headed by Umar al-Mukhtar repeatedly struck telling blows at the colonialist forces.

To break down the resistance of the Libyan people, the Italian fascists resorted to mass repressions. Peasants were driven off the land. In areas with a predominant nomad population the fascists seized the livestock and filled up the wells, dooming entire tribes to death from starvation. Thousands of women and children perished in the camps to which the Italian authorities had herded the local population.

The Libyan people suffered big losses, but it was only in 1928 that the Italians finally captured Tripolitania and in 1930, the Fezzan. Organised armed resistance in Cyrenaica ceased only in 1932, after the colonialists had routed the main forces of the guerrillas and captured their leader Umar al-Mukhtar (he was executed in the autumn of 1931). But guerrilla struggle in several spots continued for a long time.

The colonialists turned the conquered country into an agrarian appendage of imperialist Italy and a market for the sale of Ita-

lian goods. They confiscated 230,000 hectares of the best lands, mainly in the northern part of the country. Peasant communal lands, the holdings of the Sanusi Order (62,000 hectares) and of many sheikhs were expropriated. This largely explains the uncompromising attitude to Italian rule adopted not only by the peasant masses, but also by part of the feudal class.

The most fertile land, about 130,000 hectares, was handed over by the government (into full possession or use for 25 years) to Italian joint-stock companies and individual capitalists and also to generals and officers who took part in conquering Libya. Mechanised farms, run along capitalist lines and exploiting 20,000 Libyan agricultural workers, were set up on these "concession" lands. Inferior lands (about 100,000 hectares) were allotted for small Italian settlers.[3] The farms of the settlers, especially the "concession" farms, contributed a considerable part of Libya's production for the market (grain, olive oil, etc.).

All these colonialist actions reduced the working masses of the Libyan people to dire straits. They lost not only the finest lands but also most of their livestock. In Cyrenaica, for example, during the 20-year war which the colonialists waged against the Libyan people, the head of livestock dropped from 1,410,000 to 140,000. The country was on the eve of a financial crisis. Prior to Italian occupation, Libya was able to pay for her imports, while in 1935 the unfavourable trade balance reached 337 million Italian lire and in 1938, 773 million. Rapacious imperialist plunder led to the breakdown of the country's economy.

The colonialists sought to stifle national culture. The population of Libya was almost totally illiterate. Only a few Libyans managed to receive a higher education. Progressive leaders of national culture were persecuted, and works of Libyan writers opposed to colonialism (the poet Rafik al-Mahdawi and others) were proscribed.

The Second World War and the First Postwar Years. During the Second World War fascist Italy used Libyan territory as a base for invading Egypt. The course of hostilities will be described in the chapter on the United Arab Republic; here mention should merely be made of the fact that on January 23, 1943, British forces occupied Tripoli and ousted the Axis forces from Libya and that the people actively participated in driving out the Italo-German troops. Military units of Libyan emigrés, which had been formed in Egypt, took part in the war on the side of the Allies.

But expulsion of the Italian colonialists did not bring the Libyan people liberation. Cyrenaica and Tripolitania, occupied by British troops, were placed under British administration and the

[3] The mass influx of Italian settlers to Libya began after 1931. In 1939 there were, according to different sources, from 75,000 to 110,000 Italians in Libya.

Fezzan was occupied by the French. Taking advantage of the war situation, the United States also sent its troops to Libya and set up a military base at Wheelus Field near Tripoli.

The slogan of establishing a united independent Libyan state, put forward even before the Second World War by the Tripolitania-Cyrenaica Defence Committee,[4] gained great popularity among the Libyan people during the war. In October 1939, Libyan political emigrés in Egypt convened in Alexandria a conference which called for making Idris as-Sanusi Emir of Libya.

In an effort to enslave Libya, the imperialist divided her; they erected customs barriers between the three provinces, introduced restrictions on trade and travel and a special currency for each province, etc. That is why the Libyan people combined struggle for national independence with the struggle for the country's unity.

After the war, the demand for independence was again raised by organisations of Libyan patriots set up in exile. The Libyan Liberation Committee set up in Cairo sent to the Arab League a memorandum protesting against the establishment of military-political control over Libya by Britain and other imperialist powers. On behalf of the Libyan people the Committee put forward the following demands: (1) full independence; (2) the unity of Libya within the borders from Tunisia to Egypt and from the Mediterranean to the Sudan; (3) admission of Libya to the Arab League.

The Libyan Liberation Committee sent a memorandum to the representatives of the four great powers (the U.S.S.R., Britain, France and the United States), demanding the establishment of a united independent Libya. Similar demands were voiced by the National Party and other nationalist organisations set up in Libya herself.

Between 1945 and 1948, the question of Libya's future, as of the other former Italian colonies, was repeatedly discussed by the Council of Foreign Ministers of the U.S.S.R., Britain, France and the United States. The imperialists, who wanted to preserve an occupation regime in Libya, blocked an agreed decision by the four powers, and the Libyan question was turned over to the United Nations.

Winning Political Independence. Having divided the country, the imperialists tried to get United Nations sanction to Libya's partition under the guise of trusteeship by Britain over Cyrenaica, Italy over Tripolitania and France over the Fezzan. This plan was based on an agreement concluded between Britain and Italy on May 7, 1949, and known as the Bevin-Sforza agreement (named after the Foreign Ministers of the two countries). The imperialist powers wanted to postpone the granting of independence to Libya

[4] This committee was formed in 1928 in Damascus by Libyan political emigrés headed by Bashir as-Saadawi.

for ten years. Italy was to assume trusteeship over Tripolitania in 1951.

But the vigorous actions of the Libyan people against partition and the firm stand of the Soviet delegation in the United Nations, supported by other socialist countries and a number of Afro-Asian states, forced the imperialists to retreat. The Bevin-Sforza plan was rejected by the 3rd Session of the U.N. General Assembly at the end of May 1949. News of the failure of this colonialist plan aroused general elation in Libya. Demonstrations on an unprecedented scale were held in towns of Tripolitania. In Tripoli, for example, 40,000 people took part in the procession.

The colonialists, however, tried to drag out the granting of independence. The U.S.S.R. energetically opposed the Western powers' schemes. In November 1949, the Soviet delegation submitted to the 4th session of the U.N. General Assembly proposals, envisaging the immediate granting of independence, the withdrawal of foreign forces from Libyan territory in three months and the closing of military bases.

Mass demonstrations were held in Tripoli in November 1949 under the slogans "down with Anglo-American imperialism", "long live a united Libya". The people's growing sympathies for the U.S.S.R. were expressed in the slogan: "Long live the Soviet Union, champion of the peoples' independence!"

It was in this atmosphere that the U.N. General Assembly passed a resolution on November 21, 1949, on the granting of independence to Libya by January 1952. On December 24, 1951, the country was proclaimed a sovereign state, the United Kingdom of Libya. Emir Idris as-Sanusi became King Idris I of Libya.

INDEPENDENT LIBYA

The state structure of Libya (according to the 1951 Constitution) was based on the federal principle. Alongside the central government and Parliament, Executive and Legislative Councils of Tripolitania, Cyrenaica and the Fezzan, vested with broad powers, were formed. In 1963, measures to centralise state power were carried out by the Libyan Government. The division of the country into provinces was abolished (instead, ten districts were set up) and the provincial organs of power were dissolved. Of great importance was the granting of suffrage to women.

The first steps in building a national industry were taken. Libya's first five-year economic development plan was adopted in 1963 and the second five-year plan was approved in 1967. Measures are being implemented to create a national industry, develop agriculture, the transport system, power facilities, housing construction, education, and the health services. State credit institutions—a central bank and an agricultural and industrial bank—were set up to promote economic progress. The government is taking measures to restrict the activity of foreign banks, but Italian, British and other foreign banks (Banco di Roma, Banco di Napoli, Barclay Bank and others) continue to exert a considerable influence on the economy.

The positions of private national capital have been somewhat extended. It is represented chiefly in industry processing farm produce (small food, textile, leather and other factories).

Oil production has begun to play an important part in Libya's economy. It steeply climbed from 0.7 million tons in 1961 to 87 million tons in 1967. But the prospecting, extraction and export of oil, which is almost completely shipped abroad, is controlled by foreign monopolies, primarily American.[5] American investments in the country have reached 1,230 million dollars. Overseas Oil, Esso Libya and other American companies control about 90 per cent of the country's oil production. Although under the Libyan Oil Act, adopted in 1955, the profits should be divided equally between the government and the companies, the latter appropriate the lion's share.

Libyan democratic opinion and the press energetically oppose the looting of the country's wealth by foreign capital. They demand a radical revision of profit distribution, the establishment of strict control over the activities of the foreign companies, and the creation of conditions in which oil and the country's other natural resources would be utilised in the interest of the people. Under the influence of these demands, the Oil Act was amended in November 1965 so as to increase the oil revenue of the Libyan state.

Development of the oil industry made for a considerable increase in the country's budget revenue. While in the first years of independence the revenue side of the budget did not exceed 10 million, in the 1967/68 financial year oil revenue reached roughly $560 million. Under the existing procedure, 70 per cent of these receipts are allotted for economic development and the country's social and cultural needs.

With the growth of industry, a working class began to take shape. According to the 1964 population census, there were about 50,000 workers in Libya, of whom about one-fourth were engaged in the oil industry and sectors serving it.[6]

Libya has no political parties (in 1952 their activities were banned), but trade unions, organised in 1952, had 30,000 members already in 1959. The strike movement gained in momentum in 1955-1960. Under the pressure of the working class, a labour law was adopted in 1958, providing for a 48-hour working week and annual

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[5] The first oil company with mixed capital (Libyan capital owning 51 per cent of the shares) was organised only in 1962. A Libyan national oil board was set up in 1968.

[6] There are also more than 60,000 agricultural workers (not counting those who have a plot of land).

paid two-week holidays, a minimum wage, social insurance, etc. But the labour laws do not extend to office workers, persons employed in service establishments, agricultural workers and fishermen. Notwithstanding the fact that in 1961 strikes at state enterprises were prohibited and the right to srike was essentially curtailed at private enterprises, the 1960's have been marked by further growth of the working-class movement. The establishment of the All-Libya Federation of Trade Unions in 1963 was an important event in the history of the country's working class.

Definite progress has been registered in agriculture. The government is taking measures to open up new lands (experimental sowing of a number of crops is conducted, wells are sunk, etc.). Peasant cooperatives have been organised in some districts. But socio-economic relations in the Libyan countryside have not been essentially changed. According to the 1960 agricultural census, more than half of the cultivated land belongs to feudal elements and some of the best lands are still held by Italian settlers. About 200,000 Libyans led a semi-nomad and nomad existence. The extensive nature of stock-raising limits the possibilities of its development. The agricultural question remains one of the basic problems, without a radical solution of which it is impossible to improve the lot of the Libyan peasant.

Cultural life noticeably livened up after the gaining of independence. The Libyan Government introduced compulsory and free elementary education. State schools, in which tuition is conducted in the native language, were opened. In the course of three years (1964-1966), several hundred schools were built, bringing up the number of pupils from 40,000 to 250,000. In 1956, a national university with instruction in Arabic was founded. Technological and pedagogical colleges and agricultural, commercial-industrial and law schools train other specialists. National literature has made good progress. Alongside traditional poetry, prose is developing. It is represented by the works of a group of short-story writers (Tameb ar-Rawi, Zaima al-Baruni, Muhammad Ali Harati and others), whose works are published in periodicals and in book form. A number of newspapers and magazines are published, primarily in Arabic.

Abolition of military pressure by the imperialist powers is one of the prime tasks facing Libya. After the formation of an independent state, foreign troops and military bases remained in the country. Taking advantage of Libya's hard economic situation, Britain (in 1953) and the United States (in 1954) imposed on her unequal "aid" treaties. These treaties "legally" formalised the stationing of British and U.S. armed forces on Libyan territory. But the Libyan people have not reconciled themselves to this situation. Progressive Libyan opinion insists on the abrogation of the unequal treaties, evacuation of the foreign forces and the closing of foreign military bases. Under the Franco-Libyan treaty of 1955, the Libyan Government gained the consent of France to withdraw her forces (they left the country in 1956). In 1963, agreement was reached on the transfer to Libya of the airfields in Ghat, Gadames and Sebha, which had remained at France's disposal.

Early in 1964, the Libyan Parliament adopted a resolution calling for the closing of the Anglo-American bases in the country. The governments of Britain and the United States had to agree to talks with the Libyan Government on this question. In the spring of 1966, the evacuation of British infantry units stationed in Tripolitania was completed. But in Cyrenaica (Bengazi and Tobruk), British armoured units still remain. The British also hold the strategically important El-Adem airfield. The United States, which has one of its biggest overseas air bases, Wheelus Field, near Tripoli, is trying to put off the withdrawal of its troops from Libya.

The Libyan Government has proclaimed non-alignment to military blocs, the preservation of peace and development of international cooperation to be the main principles of its foreign policy. Libya took part in the Afro-Asian Bandung Conference (1955), in conferences of independent African states in Accra (1958), Casablanca (1961) and Addis Ababa (1963). In 1953, she joined the Arab League. The Libyan Government is also taking part in measures of the governments of the four Maghreb countries designed to extend cooperation and coordination between them.

The aggression of Israel against the United Arab Republic, Syria and Jordan in June 1967 incensed the Libyan people. Libya proclaimed her solidarity with the states subjected to aggression and the other Arab countries and again raised the question of fully closing the military bases of the imperialist powers on her territory. Talks between Britain and Libya in August 1967 resulted in the elaboration of a plan for the withdrawal of British troops.

Progressive forces of the world, including socialist states, are supporting Libya's efforts to strengthen national independence. Libya has established diplomatic relations with socialist countries—the U.S.S.R. (in 1955), Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and others. In 1961, a Libyan parliamentary delegation visited the Soviet Union and in 1966 a delegation of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet paid a return visit to Libya. The first Soviet-Libyan trade agreement, concluded in March 1963, stimulated commercial relations between the two states. Libya is also developing economic cooperation with other socialist countries.

THE UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC

Britain conquered Egypt in 1882 and actually reduced the country to the status of a colony, although formally it was considered a possession of the Ottoman Empire. In December 1914, after the outbreak of the First World War, Britain officially severed Egypt from Turkey by establishing her protectorate over it.

The Situation in Egypt at the End of the First World War. Colonial rule converted Egypt into a cotton producer for Britain and the latter's main bridgehead in North Africa and the Middle East. Egypt had little industry. But even the operating enterprises in the sugar, tobacco, cotton-ginning and extractive industries mostly belonged to foreign companies.

The war difficulties substantially reduced Egypt's imports of manufactured goods, which stimulated the development of local production. More workers were engaged in industry and construction, and the national industrial bourgeoisie gained in strength. But merchants, money-lenders and bourgeoisified landowners remained the main stratum of the Egyptian entrepreneurs.

Britain preserved and kept up survivals of feudalism in the country. At the beginning of 1918, 11,000 Egyptian landowners and 1,700 foreigners held 2,320,000 feddans[1] of land, while 1,100,000 poor peasants had less than 500,000 feddans. The overwhelming majority of the land-hungry peasants worked for the landowners and foreign planters as sharecroppers or agricultural labourers.

The British monopolies seized hundreds of thousands of feddans of the best irrigated lands; they also owned irrigation installations, railways, ports, mines, tobacco factories and ginneries. The British Government owned 45 per cent of the shares of the Suez Canal Company. Buying up at a low price all the cotton produced in the country, the British monopolies exported it, making huge profits. British and other foreign banks dominated Egypt's financial system. In the second half of the 19th century they imposed fettering loans on Egypt and extracted huge tribute (they were getting £4 million annually only as interest on loans).

[1] A feddan=0.42 hectare.

All this doomed the country to economic backwardness, the land-starved fellahs to privation and poverty, the artisans to ruin and the workers to hard toil and oppression. The national bourgeoisie too was dissatisfied with British rule: the grip of foreign, primarily British, capital impeded its development. All classes and sections of the population (except feudal landowners and the compradore bourgeoisie) were opposed to British colonial rule.

Advance of the National-Liberation Movement. The 1919 Rising. The Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia created the objective conditions for advancing the national-liberation struggle in the colonies and dependencies. It undermined and weakened imperialism in general and British imperialism in particular, and showed the Egyptian people that it was possible successfully to fight against imperialism. The emancipatory ideas of the October Socialist Revolution rapidly spread among the workers, peasants and urban poor, who were the main forces of the anti-imperialist movement.

Socialist and Communist groups arose in Cairo, Alexandria and Port Said in 1918 and 1919. Next year they formed the Socialist Party, which in 1921 was renamed the Communist Party of Egypt and in 1922 joined the Communist International. In February 1921, the newspaper *Al-Ahram* published the Party's programme, expressing the aspirations of the Egyptian people and formulating the tasks of their struggle for liberation. The programme was based on general national demands: withdrawal of British troops, genuine independence, nationalisation of the Suez Canal, abolition of the regime of capitulations and cancellation of the Egyptian national debt. The programme also included class demands of the proletariat and the peasantry: an eight-hour working day, recognition of trade unions and other organisations of the working class, confiscation of the big landed estates and their distribution among the land-hungry peasants, abolition of sharecropping and debts owed to money-lenders, reduction of the land tax, etc.

The first congress of trade unions was held in 1921 on the initiative and under the guidance of the Communists. The congress founded Egypt's General Confederation of Labour, with a membership of from 50,000 to 60,000 and affiliated with the Trade Union International.

An uprising against imperialism was maturing in the country. Underground organisations sprang up in many towns and villages, they arranged meetings and spread anti-British leaflets. Anxious to lead and control the popular movement, representatives of the national bourgeoisie led by Saad Zaghlul formed the Wafd Misri (National Delegation) at the end of 1918, which subsequently developed into the Wafd Party (1923).

The Egyptian working-class organisations set up in the first postwar years were still weak and had no political experience. The young Communist Party relied only on the most revolutionary-minded, but numerically small section of the working class and intellectuals and had no following among the peasantry. In these conditions the national bourgeoisie succeeded in assuming leadership of the liberation movement. But the activity of the national bourgeoisie, closely associated with the feudal landowners, was affected by its dual nature. It was interested in abolishing imperialist domination, but feared lest the popular movement get out of control and hence did not advocate broad democratisation and a land reform. Even at that early period the bourgeois nationalists were inclined to reach agreement with imperialism. But the objective contradictions between British imperialism and the Egyptian bourgeoisie hampered such agreement.

With the revolutionary movement on the advance, the Wafdists put forward a demand for self-government. The British imperialists reacted by banning the Wafd and exiling its leaders to Malta in March 1919. This sparked off a spontaneous uprising. Mass demonstrations, which frequently turned into armed clashes with the occupation forces, were staged in March in all cities, and guerrilla warfare broke out in some rural areas. National independence committees were set up in many towns and rural communities. Frequently, these revolutionary organisations were called "Soviets", a world borrowed from Russia. The rebels tore up the tracks and derailed British troop trains. By March 16, 1919, Cairo had been fully cut off from the other areas. But the insurgents could not exploit their success, above all because they had no centralised leadership. Leaders of the Wafd, which at that time enjoyed great influence among the people, did not venture to take part in the armed struggle. This made it easier for the colonialists to crush the insurgents. By the beginning of April 1919, the British had succeeded in stifling the uprising, although mass resistance in the form of a general strike continued up to the end of April.

Proclamation of Independence and the 1923 Constitution. The March uprising left an indelible imprint on Egypt's history. Though the patriots were defeated, the revolutionary spirit of the people was not broken. On the contrary, the armed clashes in the spring of 1919 rallied new sections of the population to the struggle for freedom. When the British, having realised that it was impossible to govern in the old way, tried to legalise their rule in Egypt by a formal bilateral but actually fettering treaty, this caused another uprising (December 1921). Pitched battles were fought in the streets and the rebellion spread to the countryside.

The bourgeoisie, however, again held aloof from the spontaneous struggle of the masses, and the colonialists once more brutally

quelled the patriots. But the days of brutal force were over and the British could no longer merely preserve the *status quo*; they had to resort to political manoeuvres.

In February 1922, the British Government published a declaration on the granting of independence to Egypt. The declaration was hedged by a number of essential reservations. Britain preserved a right to: (1) defence of Egypt; (2) protection of British imperial communications; (3) protection of foreigners residing in Egypt and national minorities; (4) continued rule over the Sudan. All this enabled Britain to keep in Egypt her occupation forces, "advisers" and high commissioner. That was a new political form of British rule in Egypt. Nevertheless, formal independence was a concession, which the revolutionary struggle of the Egyptian people wrested from the colonialists.

It is indicative that the British found it necessary to reinforce their internal mainstay in Egypt. This was the aim behind the establishment of the Party of Constitutional Liberals at the end of 1922. It represented the interests of the landowners and compradores and was led by Adli Pasha, Egypt's biggest landowner and financier. The Constitutional Liberals openly urged the Egyptian bourgeoisie to collaborate with Britain.

In 1923, the British had to agree to the introduction of a constitution in formally independent Egypt. It was drawn up by a commission consisting mainly of big landowners and compradores. The constitution left broad powers in the hands of the king (as the Egyptian sultan was called after 1922), who was a pliant tool of British imperialism. It confirmed the inviolability of the rights and privileges gained by foreigners in Egypt, and envisaged the setting up of a parliament. The constitution was limited to the formal proclamation of Egypt a sovereign state. But even this meagre constitution was a victory for the national-liberation movement.

The Wafdists won the parliamentary elections in 1923, and their leader Zaghlul formed the government in January 1924. But the coming of the Wafdists to office did not improve the lot of the people. On the call of the Communist Party the working class struck in defence of its rights in February and March 1924. Tense class battles were fought in Alexandria and in the vicinity of Cairo. The government employed troops and police to crush the strikers. Moreover, to behead the working class, it issued a decree banning the Communist Party and the General Confederation of Labour. The leaders of these organisations were arrested and sentenced to hard labour.

After banning the General Confederation of Labour the Wafdists decided to place the trade unions under their control. To this end they set up a General Union of Egyptian Workers, whose leaders urged the workers to abandon the class struggle. But neither repressions nor the reformist line of the Wafd-controlled

union leadership could break the will of the working class. Strikes continued almost throughout 1924.

The 1924 Coup. Egypt in the Second Half of the 1920's. The Wafdists championed the interests of the national bourgeoisie and demanded Egypt's independence, but tried to gain it by reformist methods. They placed special hopes in the Labour Government which came to office in Britain at that time, expecting it to grant freedom to Egypt. But the talks of Zaghlul with the Labour Prime Minister MacDonald in 1924 showed that this party pursued the same imperialist policy of enslaving Egypt as the Tories and Liberals. The sharpest contradictions between Britain and Egypt arose over the Sudan. Controlling the latter, the British could at any time deprive Egypt of water, without which the country would turn into a desert. The British imperialists always utilised this as an instrument for pressuring Egypt. An anti-imperialist movement, warmly backed by the Egyptian people, was developing in the Sudan. The Wafd, too, supported this movement.

The British imperialists were interested in ousting the Wafdist Government, which was a hindrance to them. Lee Stack, Governor-General of the Sudan and Commander of the Egyptian Army, was assassinated in Cairo in November 1924. Taking advantage of this, the British High Commissioner Allenby presented an ultimatum to Egypt.

The Wafdist Government accepted a number of British demands, including the prohibition and suppression of popular demonstrations. But it refused to withdraw Egyptian forces from the Sudan and grant the British Plantations Syndicate in that country the right to the unlimited use of the Nile waters for extending the irrigated area.

The British imperialists then decided to oust the government by force. They seized the custom-house in Alexandria and launched hostilities against the Egyptian forces in the Sudan. The Wafdists offered no resistance to the aggression; they resigned, making room for a government of feudal elements and courtiers, submissive agents of British imperialism, who formed the Union Party.

The 1924 coup in fact was an attempt to reintroduce the former purely colonial order in Egypt. But the British imperialists failed to obliterate the results of the revolutionary events in 1918-1924. The people of Egypt had no intention of reconciling themselves to the offensive of the reactionary forces. Strikes and anti-imperialist demonstrations spread throughout the country in the second half of the 1920's. Railway and streetcar workers of Cairo and Alexandria, tobacco workers and printers struck in 1927. Thirty-five strikes were registered in 1929. Dissatisfaction with British imperialism was also growing among the Egyptian bourgeoisie.

Afraid lest the working people and the national bourgeoisie pool their forces, the British began to explore ways for a deal with the latter. They made some economic concessions to the big Egyptian bourgeoisie. In 1927, a law on joint-stock companies was promulgated, allowing Egyptian capitalists to participate in foreign companies as junior partners. Each new foreign company in Egypt had to sell Egyptians not less than 25 per cent of its shares. Moreover, big Egyptian capitalists and landowners who were shareholders of the Misr Bank (opened in 1920) received the opportunity to organise 12 national trading, industrial and transport companies.[2] Lastly, the British authorities agreed to a new customs tariff (introduced in 1931), which was to give Egyptian industry some protection from foreign competition.

These measures consolidated the positions of the bourgeois compradore top group, but they did not eliminate the political contradictions between imperialism and the main section of the Egyptian bourgeoisie whose interests the Wafd represented. The keenest of them was the conflict over the unequal treaty which Britain sought to impose on Egypt. Early in 1928, the reactionary submissive government signed a treaty which provided for the maintenance of British troops in Egypt, British control over the Egyptian Army, British advisers and police commissioners. But when the Sarwat-Chamberlain[3] treaty was published, it evoked stormy protests in Egypt. Pressed by the people, Parliament, in which the Wafdists had a majority, refused to ratify the treaty, and the Sarwat Government resigned. The new government was headed by Mustafa al-Nahhas Pasha, who was elected leader of the Wafd in August 1927 after the death of Zaghlul. In June 1928, under British pressure, the Nahhas Government resigned and the unrestricted dictatorship of the British high commissioner was actually restored in the country. The new Prime Minister, Mohammed Mahmud Pasha, leader of the Constitutional Liberals, was merely his stooge. The operation of the Egyptian constitution was suspended for three years.

Egypt during the World Economic Crisis. In 1929, the Mahmud Government signed an unequal agreement with Britain. Egypt undertook to compensate the war outlays of the British in the country during the First World War and accepted a new draft treaty with Britain which was designated to legalise British occupation and intervention in the country's domestic affairs.

The world economic crisis sharply worsened the situation in Egypt. As in the other colonial countries, the crisis struck agriculture hardest. It especially affected cotton-growing. Prices of cotton and other agricultural commodities dropped precipitously.

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[2] At that time 238 foreign companies operated in Egypt.

[3] It was named after the Egyptian Prime Minister and the British Foreign Secretary who signed the treaty.

The value of Egyptian agricultural exports had declined more than half by 1932-1933.

The ruling classes, however, tried to keep their incomes at the old level by stepping up the extremely brutal exploitation of the peasantry. Moreover, Egypt, under the pressure of the imperialists, continued to discharge her financial obligations. To repay the foreign debts, the government literally extracted the taxes by force. Hundreds of thousands of ruined fellahs fled to the towns. The agrarian crisis became intertwined with the industrial. Many small and medium-size establishments curtailed production or closed down completely. Workers' wages were cut by two-thirds. Unemployment reached a staggering scale: there were 300,000 jobless and 200,000 part-time workers. A financial crisis broke loose simultaneously. [4]

The British imperialists employed manoeuvres to suppress the growing indignation of the ruined and starving people. They held talks with the Wafd leaders and, to win their support, consented to the restoration of the constitution. Elections, held at the end of 1929, brought the Wafd victory and a Wafd Cabinet, headed by Nahhas Pasha, was formed on January 1, 1930.

Not refusing in principle to cooperate with Britain, the Wafdists, however, did not recognise her right to exclusive rule over the Sudan. Having failed to subordinate the Wafdists, the British imperialists engineered another coup. The Nahhas Government was forced to resign and Parliament was dissolved. The new government, formed by representatives of the feudal compradore bloc, was headed by Ismail Sidky Pasha.

This reactionary coup aroused mass protests. A general strike was called and spontaneous demonstrations were held. In June 1930, barricade battles were fought between insurgents and government troops in Al Mansurah, Cairo, Alexandria, Port Said and Suez. The uprising, unorganised and lacking central leadership, was brutally crushed by the imperialists and the internal reactionary forces.

After suppressing the uprising, the Sidky Government introduced a new constitution. It was based on the old constitution, but essential amendments made it even more reactionary: the powers of the king were extended, direct elections were replaced by indirect, the age and property qualifications were raised, rural areas were given broader representation than industrial centres. But the people resisted the government's attempts to implement the new constitution and establish a dictatorship.

The general elections in May 1931, held on the basis of the new

[4] Egyptian currency was placed on a sterling basis during the First World War. After the abolition of the gold standard in Britain (1931), the Egyptian pound too was devaluated, which cut even more the real incomes of the workers.

constitution, were followed by uprisings in many towns which were supported by peasant actions. Again the absence of organisation and single leadership made it easier for the imperialists and the local reactionaries to crush the movement.

At the same time the events of 1930 and 1931 showed that the role of the working class in the national-liberation movement had substantially risen. Economic and political strikes, which did not abate in 1932 and 1933, were the most effective weapon of the working class.

Egypt in 1934-1939. After the crisis, the condition of the working people remained extremely hard. The incomes of the fellahs in the mid-1930's were half of what they had been before the crisis. Wages were preserved at the exceptionally low, crisis level, while prices of bread and other prime necessities substantially rose. The high price of bread, which especially cut into the workers' meagre budget, aroused unrest in the country's industrial centres.

The arrest of trade union leaders led to a big clash between the workers and the police in June 1934. The strike movement spread to all industries and the workers were supported by other sections of the population. Mass demonstrations under the slogan "Britain is our enemy" were held all over the country. The Wafd Party, which had been practically inactive for three years, again took to the political scene. To gain power, the Wafdists at their congress in January 1935 made concessions to the British imperialists and disavowed the slogan "Britain is our enemy". Simultaneously, to strengthen their influence among the masses, Wafdist leaders at this congress promised a number of reforms: to distribute newly irrigated state lands among the fellahs on terms of redemption, and to adopt labour protection laws. At the same time they were opposed to independent proletarian organisations and sought to keep the workers under their control.

Nevertheless, the British imperialists were afraid to let the Wafd come to power without getting definite guarantees of their economic interests. They specifically demanded a trade agreement providing for the purchase by Egypt of a definite quantity of British textiles annually. This was resisted by the Egyptian bourgeois whose interests the Wafd represented, because such a commitment would hamper the development of the Egyptian textile industry. The resultant conflict frustrated understanding between the imperialists and the Wafd.

The growth of the anti-imperialist movement compelled the British Government to make a concession: the 1923 constitution was restored on December 13, 1935, and parliamentary elections were held in May 1936. The Wafdists won by an overwhelming majority and formed a cabinet headed by Nahhas. The constitutional concession fully satisfied the Wafd and an Egyptian delegation sent to London signed on August 25 a 20-year treaty

of alliance based on the very principles Britain had so long sought to foist on Egypt.

The 1936 treaty, proclaiming the discontinuation of Egypt's occupation, actually sanctioned it. Britain received the right to keep troops in the Suez Canal zone. British troops could remain for eight years in Alexandria (where the British naval base was preserved) and for an unspecified period in Cairo. The British air force preserved the right to fly over Egypt and use Egyptian airfields. The Egyptian Army was placed under the control of the British military mission. The British high commissioner was named ambassador, but in effect retained his former powers.

The treaty was vehemently criticised in Egypt. The people were dissatisfied because it did not give the country genuine independence and preserved the occupation regime. At the same time the Wafd ran up against strong opposition of the feudal elements and compradores who were joined by a group of big financiers connected with the foreign monopolies. In 1937, this group broke away from the Wafd and organised the Saad Party.[5] The Wafd began to lose popularity, and at the end of 1937 a coalition of reactionary parties headed by the Constitutional Liberals came to office.

Egypt during the Second World War. In the course of the war Britain utilised Egypt's territory and her material resources and army for military operations against the Italo-German troops in Libya. Between 1940 and 1942, battles were fought directly on the territory of Egypt which, however, did not declare war on the Axis powers up to February 26, 1945, holding the position of a "non-belligerent ally" of Britain.

The sharp curtailment of imports in wartime spurred on the development of Egyptian industry, especially food, textile and chemicals. Because it was difficult to import equipment, many small establishments sprang up, but the number of big factories also increased. The number of industrial workers considerably rose.[6] Tens of thousands of ruined peasants were employed in growing industry and on military construction jobs. The population of the cities increased by 50 per cent in wartime.

This was not the only reason for the influx of peasants to the towns. The war greatly worsened the lot of the fellahs. The Middle East Supply Centre[7] bought up the entire cotton crop at fixed prices, which spelled ruin for the peasants. Moreover, to stimulate the production of food for the British Army, the government restricted the area planted to cotton. But this measure did not

[5] Named after Saad Zaghlul.

[6] In 1937 there were 275,000 workers, and in 1945, 362,000.

[7] The Middle East Supply Centre was a British military establishment which, during the war, set production assignments, regulated wages, controlled imports and exports, distributed food and all material resources of Egypt in the interests of the Allied Armies.

yield the results expected: the degradation of peasant farming, primitive implements and shortage of fertilisers prevented the low yields from rising. The peasants were starving and epidemics of the plague and cholera swept the Egyptian countryside. All this resulted in the mass flight of the fellahs to the towns.

Germany and Italy were eager to capture Egypt, which attracted them by her economic resources and strategic location. The reactionary clique of the biggest feudal elements and countries, headed by King Faruk[8] and Ali Maher Pasha, sympathised with the Axis powers but did not venture to come out openly against Britain. On the eve of the war, in August 1939, Ali Maher was appointed prime minister. On September 1, the day when the war started, his government announced it was breaking diplomatic and trade relations with Germany but did not declare war on her.

When in June 1940 Italy declared war on Britain, the Egyptian Government, only after being strongly pressed by London, broke diplomatic relations with Italy, expressing its regret over this action. Simultaneously it declared that it was holding a "defensive position" and even recalled part of the Egyptian troops from the Libyan border. At the insistence of Britain the Ali Maher Cabinet resigned and a new government headed by Hassan Sabry Pasha was formed.[9] But the new Prime Minister also declared that Egypt would remain neutral.

In September 1940, Italian troops invaded Egyptian territory from the west and advanced 100 km. into the country. Britain, utilising her bases and Egypt's economic resources and concentrating large forces, mounted a counter-offensive at the end of 1940. As a result the Italians were driven from Egypt and also lost a considerable part of Libya (Cyrenaica).

In the spring of 1941, the Germans transferred Rommel's tank corps to Libya. During 1941, battles were fought with alternating success. But in January 1942, the German-Italian forces drove out the British from Bengasi. Egypt again faced the threat of seizure by the nazis, and pro-fascist elements stepped up their activity. Considering the situation favourable for a pro-fascist coup, King Faruk dismissed the Sirry Government on February 2, intending to bring Ali Maher back to power. The British then decided to let the Wafd take office. On February 4, Faruk's palace was occupied by the British and the king was presented an ultimatum: either to abdicate, or sign an order appointing Nahhas prime minister. Faruk chose the latter and the attempt at a pro-fascist coup was scotched.

The new government, made up entirely of Wafdists, took measures to facilitate Egypt's participation in the war: it launched

[8] Faruk ascended the throne in 1936.

[9] After the death of Sabry in November 1940, Hassan Sirry Pasha became Prime Minister in November 1940.

a struggle against fascist agents within the country and placed the Egyptian army at the disposal of the British command. In September 1942, following a number of strikes, the government issued a law recognising the right of workers to organise trade unions, but this law placed the unions under government control and forbade them to engage in political activity. Agricultural workers, government employees, railwaymen and medical workers, as before, had no right to have unions of their own.

The Axis command prepared for another offensive on Egypt in the summer of 1942. On May 26, the German-Italian forces breached the British defences and on June 20 captured the Tobruk fortress. Developing the offensive, the fascists penetrated Egypt's territory for 400 km. and early in July reached El Alamein, 80 km. west of Alexandria. The air raids on the towns and the Suez Canal became more frequent. The fascists were preparing for another offensive with the object of capturing Egypt, breaking through to Western Asia and reaching the approaches to India.

But the historic battle on the Volga, where the huge German army was stemmed and then encircled and defeated by the Soviet troops, demanded of nazi Germany the utmost straining of all her forces. This made it easier for the British command to organise a counter-offensive. The battle of El Alamein began on October 23, 1942, and in the course of it the German-Italian troops were defeated and driven from Egypt.

Taking into account the role of the Soviet Union in the war and its popularity among the Egyptian people, the Nahhas Government offered to establish diplomatic relations with the Soviet Government. The U.S.S.R. and Egypt exchanged letters on this question in July 1943, and diplomatic relations were established on August 26, 1943. [10]

In the autumn of 1944, the movement for complete national independence, withdrawal of British forces from Egypt and the Sudan, and democratic changes flared up with fresh force. The Wafd took account of the situation in the country and supported these demands. Differences between the British imperialists and the Wafd leadership arose following the programme speech made by Nahhas in August 1944, in which he stressed the need to revise the Anglo-Egyptian treaty. Nahhas was allowed to stay in office only until the consummation of the talks on the establishment of an Arab league, in which the Egyptian Government played a prominent part. [11]

[10] Originally at the level of legations, which were reconstituted into embassies in 1954.

[11] The growing desire of the Arab people for unity forced the British to agree to talks about the setting up of the Arab League. The British imperialists wanted to lend the striving for unity the form of a bloc of Arab governments which actually would be dependent on Britain and, subsequently, to utilise this bloc as an instrument for suppressing the movement of the

On October, 7, 1944, a conference of Arab states in Alexandria adopted a decision to form the Arab League. [12] And the very next day King Faruk made the Wafd Government resign. A coalition of Saadists, Constitutional Liberals and other bourgeois-landowner parties came to power.

Egypt in the First Postwar Years. The agrarian system of Egypt continued to adapt medieval landownership relations to colonial exploitation and the interests of foreign capital. The landowners comprised only 0.4 per cent of all the landholders but controlled 34.7 per cent of all the land. Landlordism was the basis for preserving feudal survivals in Egypt's agriculture. Peasants, who had small plots and comprised 96.7 per cent of all the landholders, owned only 35 per cent of the land; 2.6 million Egyptian fellahs, agricultural labourers with small plots and sharecroppers were actually deprived of the land. Most of the landed estates were leased on fettering terms.

Egypt's industry had small power resources, was technically backward and had little skilled national technical personnel. The living standard of the workers was extremely low. Foreign capital continued to dominate the key industries, although the government promulgated a law in 1947 laying down that in new joint-stock companies 51 per cent of the shares must be held by Egyptians. In the mid-1940's, the Egyptian bourgeoisie controlled 20 companies (which belonged to the Misr Bank group) of the 400 joint-stock companies operating in the country. The other companies were either entirely foreign or mixed. This situation was advantageous for the big (especially compradore) bourgeoisie, which was closely associated with the foreign monopolies and itself was inclined to form monopoly associations. But the broad sections of the national bourgeoisie and to an even greater extent the petty bourgeoisie were dissatisfied with the grip of foreign capital and participated in the anti-imperialist struggle.

The militant forces of the national-liberation movement consisted of peasants, artisans, students and, of course, the working class, which invariably was in the front rank of the fighters against imperialist oppression. About one million people were employed in industry, transport, construction, trade and war production. The class consciousness and political activity of the working class rose although the proletariat was still insufficiently mature to head the national-liberation movement. A considerable part of the workers was under the influence of bourgeois nationalists. After the Communist Party was banned in 1924, there was no united Communist

Arab peoples for national liberation, as a means of carrying out their aggressive plans in the Middle East. In the long run these expectations were not justified. In the postwar period, in view of the mounting anti-imperialist struggle of the Arab peoples, the League has taken a stand against colonialism and the imperialist blocs.

[12] Officially it was founded in 1945.

organisation: several Communist groups existed but they did not succeed in forming a single party and in leading the majority of the working class. The Communists were subjected to brutal repressions and had to carry on their activities underground and in conditions of terror. Nevertheless, they made a big contribution to the national-liberation movement, which entered a new stage after the war.

A wave of mass demonstrations and meetings swept Egypt after the war ended. The people demanded the immediate withdrawal of all British forces, annulment of the Anglo-Egyptian unequal treaty of 1936 and the complete abolition of the occupation regime. In January 1946, strikes spread all over Egypt. The movement was headed by the Cogress of Egyptian Trade Unions, founded in 1945, and the Workers Committee for National Liberation which the Congress formed. Simultaneously students held demonstrations.

The government sent troops and the police to fight the strikers. The Workers Committee was banned, but repressions could not crush the movement. In February 1946, demonstrations were resumed, with the people demanding the resignation of the cabinet headed by the Saadist leader Nokrashy Pasha. In the course of the struggle a new organisation, a united anti-imperialist front, was formed (the National Committee of Workers and Students), which united patriotic elements of different political parties and trends. The Nokrashy Cabinet was compelled to resign on February 15. But the new government was headed by another reactionary, Ismail Sidky Pasha, and unrest continued throughout the country. The National Committee of Workers and Students called on the Egyptian people to hold a general strike on February 21, 1946, in support of the demand for the immediate withdrawal of the British forces. On that day large demonstrations were staged in all cities. British troops, the Egyptian army and the police attacked the demonstrators. The demonstration in Cairo was dispersed with especial brutality.

To pacify the people, Sidky Pasha hastened to begin talks with Britain on the withdrawal of her troops. He issued a decree prohibiting demonstrations on the pretext that they were hindering the talks. During the negotiations, which started in Cairo in April 1946, Britain put forward a number of conditions which would give her the right to keep her military bases in Egypt, control the Egyptian Army and, in case of necessity, use it at her own discretion.

In October 1946, Sidky Pasha and the Egyptian Foreign Minister left for London, where they signed an agreement with Foreign Secretary Bevin, accepting all of Britain's demands. The agreement was kept secret. Sidky Pasha decided to have it ratified by Parliament, where reactionary parties had a majority, and face the country with an accomplished fact. But the text of the

agreement was published in the Wafdist press and again strikes and demonstrations engulfed the country. Sidky Pasha had to resign.

Nokrashy Pasha, who headed the new cabinet, resumed talks with Britain in an effort to get some concessions. But the British were adamant. The talks were broken off in January 1947 and the Egyptian Government took the Anglo-Egyptian conflict to the Security Council of the United Nations. In the Security Council only the Soviet Union, Poland and Syria supported Egypt's just demands. On the other hand, the United States actually backed Britain, recommending Egypt to resume direct talks and suggesting that the Security Council refrain from trying to settle the Egyptian question. After ten stormy sessions the Security Council could not reach a decision and put off the examination of the question indefinitely.

Mass protest meetings and demonstrations were held throughout September 1947. In Al Mahallah Al Kubra, a major textile industry centre, 27,000 workers struck for two weeks. They were joined by textile workers of Alexandria and Shubra Al Haima. The strikes were conducted under the slogans "Down with imperialism", "Down with Britain", and were accompanied by stormy political demonstrations. The popular movement was mounting, and early in 1948 there were new strikes of textile and oil workers, students and medical workers; peasant actions became more frequent.

But the development of revolutionary events was staved off by the war of Arab states against Israel in May 1948, in which Egypt took part. The British mandate to Palestine was annulled by a United Nations decision as of May 1948. Instead of Palestine it was decided to form two independent states: an Arab and a Jewish. The government of the Jewish state, named Israel, was associated with American and British imperialism. The Zionists did not conceal their intention of capturing all of Palestine, Jordan and also a number of districts belonging to neighbouring Arab states.

In these conditions Egypt, Syria, the Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Iraq launched hostilities against Israel on May 15, 1948. But the Arab armies were unprepared for war; they were numerically small and poorly equipped. Moreover, there was no unity among the Arab allies. Military operations ended at the beginning of 1949. As a result of the war Israel captured a number of Arab districts. The imperialist powers, disregarding the United Nations, recognised these seizures in 1950. The United Nations decision to set up an Arab state in Palestine was also violated; this territory was divided between Israel and Jordan. Egypt assumed control over the Gaza strip.

The outcome of the Palestine war, the unwillingness of the Egyptian Government to end British occupation and the mounting

economic difficulties caused new anti-government demonstrations and student disturbances. Dissatisfaction was increasing in the army too. Many officers who took part in the Palestine war joined a secret society named the Free Officers, which was headed by Gamal Abdel Nasser.

In search of a way out of the political crisis, the Egyptian Government held parliamentary elections in January 1950. They brought the Wafd victory. Under the pressure of the masses the Wafd Government had to release some political prisoners and introduce a small cost-of-living allowance for workers.

But the continued rise in prices of prime necessities and the government's measures directed against the democratic freedoms of the workers sparked off another wave of strikes. Throughout 1950, strikes and demonstrations marked by great tenacity were held in all industrial centres. Nor did they stop in 1951. The workers demanded the nationalisation of British enterprises and the abrogation of the Anglo-Egyptian treaty.

In view of the mounting struggle for genuine national independence, the Egyptian Government informed Parliament on October 15, 1951, that it decided to reject the offer of Britain, France and Turkey inviting Egypt to join the Middle East Command, which was planned as an adjunct to the aggressive North Atlantic bloc. On the same day Parliament unanimously passed a law denouncing the Anglo-Egyptian treaty of 1936 and the 1899 agreement on the Sudan.

The British imperialists responded by cruel repressions. In 20 days the occupation forces killed and wounded more than 500 Egyptians. British forces surrounded Suez, and Egyptians began guerrilla operations in the Canal zone. The colonialists retaliated by razing the village of Kafr Abdu in the Suez area. The Wafdist Government was pursuing a dual policy: on the one hand, it denounced the Anglo-Egyptian treaty; on the other, it hurled police forces against the masses, taking no measures against the British troops.

On January 26, 1952, when a protest demonstration was being held in Cairo against the massacre of the peaceful population of Ismailia by the British a day earlier, offices of foreigners were set on fire and disorders were provoked in the city. King Faruk ousted the Wafdist Cabinet and appointed Ali Maher prime minister, making him simultaneously the country's military governor. The Maher Government brutally crushed the strikes and demonstrations. Military tribunals functioned throughout the country and many organisations of the national-liberation movement were broken up.

The July 1952 Revolution. Despite the terror a revolutionary situation persisted. By mid-1952 the Free Officers had stepped up their activity. This was an organisation of progressive-minded

officers who came from the ranks of the peasantry, petty and middle bourgeoisie and intellectuals.

On July 23, 1952, this organisation, with the support of the entire Egyptian army, made a coup compelling King Faruk to abdicate on July 26. All power in the country was actually taken over by the Revolutionary Command Council, which consisted of leaders of the Free Officers, although formally (on the next day after the coup) a government headed by Ali Maher was formed.

At the beginning, the masses adopted a waiting attitude, because they did not know the aims of the coup (these aims were not fully clear even to the leaders of the Free Officers, who elaborated a programme of action only in the course of the further development of the revolution, under the influence of the alignment of class forces that emerged in Egypt). But as early as July 26, 1952, the people welcomed the overthrow of Faruk. The victory of the revolution, initially effected by the army, was ultimately secured by the support of the people. Their participation and influence helped to deepen the revolution, which was anti-imperialist and anti-feudal in character.

Originally, the organisers of the coup intended to hand over power to the Wafd, the most influential political party in the country. But the Revolutionary Command Council put forward several preliminary conditions; specifically it demanded that the future government consent to control by the Council and to a land reform. The Wafd leaders, who wanted to strike a compromise with the feudal reactionary forces and the imperialists, rejected these conditions.

Ali Maher came out against a land reform. On September 7, 1952, he was removed from office and on the same day a new government headed by General Mohammed Naguib was formed. A day earlier, Naguib had been appointed chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council, but he was only the nominal leader and enjoyed authority to the extent to which he carried out the directives of the Council, which exercised actual power.

On September 9, the new government, by decision of the Council, promulgated the Agrarian Reform Law providing for limitation of agricultural land holdings and regulation of the landlord-tenant relations; royal land was confiscated and surplus land (above 200 feddans) held by the big landowners was expropriated. This land was distributed among land-hungry peasants of Egyptian nationality on terms of 30-year redemption (at a 3 per cent annual interest). The amount of redemption was set at 70 times the sum of the land tax. [13]

The reform covered about 10 per cent of all the arable land, that is, some 600,000 feddans. The new law also called for the

[13] Subsequently the amount of redemption was cut by 75 per cent, the period of payment was lengthened to 40 years and the interest rate cut to 1.5 per cent.

organisation of cooperatives of peasants who had received land and for helping them to buy farm machinery, fertilisers, livestock and selected seed and in getting credits from the Agricultural Bank.

The land reform law set a ceiling to rental payment (not more than half of the crop). Sub-leasing was restricted and provision was made for considerably extending the sown area by irrigating new lands.

The 1952 land reform did not settle the basic question of the Egyptian countryside. It was merely the first step to restricting large landownership. But even this modest reform was bitterly resisted by the landowners.

On September 9, 1952, the government issued a decree urging all parties to purge their ranks and to formulate their programmes in conformity with the new situation in the country. But the Wafd and the other political parties refused to cooperate with the Revolutionary Command Council. In January 1953, they were dissolved, following the abolition of the old constitution on December 10, 1952. Egypt was proclaimed a republic on June 18, 1953, and General Naguib became its first president.

As early as September 1952, the Egyptian Government demanded that Britain withdraw her forces from the Suez Canal zone and settle the Sudan question. Simultaneously, it established contact with the Sudanese parties. Faced with the combined forces of Egypt and the Sudan, London had to make concessions and on February 12, 1953, signed an agreement with the Sudan, which provided for granting the country independence by the beginning of 1956.

Egypt needed more time and much greater effort to settle the Suez issue. It was not until July 27, 1954, that an Anglo-Egyptian agreement on the Suez Canal zone was initialed; it was signed on October 19, 1954. Under this agreement, British troops were withdrawn from Egyptian territory and the military installations were handed over to Egypt. On June 13, 1956, the last British military units were evacuated from Egypt. This signified a major victory for the Egyptian people.

Even before the ratification of the Anglo-Egyptian agreement on the withdrawal of British troops a keen struggle had arisen between the supporters of Nasser and the group backing Naguib. Nasser and most of the officers wanted further to develop the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolution; they called for Egypt's economic independence and non-participation in aggressive military alliances and blocs. The Naguib group, however, was seeking to reinforce Egypt's essentially unequal ties with Western imperialism. Naguib was supported by the Muslim Brothers, a reactionary religious organisation. In October 1954, members of this organisation, outlawed by the government, tried to assassinate Nasser.

In the struggle between the Nasser and Naguib groups the people resolutely sided with the former, which predetermined the outcome. On November 18, 1954, Naguib was ousted from office and placed under house arrest. Gamal Abdel Nasser became the president of Egypt.

Nationalisation of the Suez Canal and Anglo-Franco-Israeli Aggression. The Nasser Government set out to strengthen the country's political sovereignty and achieve economic independence. The first step in this direction was the nationalisation of the Suez Canal Company by a decree issued on July 26, 1956.

Although the nationalisation of the Suez Canal was a domestic affair of Egypt, the imperialist powers launched furious attacks against the Egyptian Government. They instituted economic sanctions and resorted to war threats. Britain, France and then also the United States froze Egyptian foreign-exchange holdings abroad and proclaimed an economic blockade.

The socialist states, the Soviet Union included, took a fundamentally different stand. The Government of the U.S.S.R. recognised the legality of Egypt's decision and rendered her effective aid. When the imperialist powers, seeking to paralyse navigation in the Canal, recalled their pilots, the Soviet Government, at Egypt's request, sent Soviet pilots.

In August 1956, an international conference on the Suez Canal was convened in London. U.S. State Secretary Dulles submitted to the conference a proposal which boiled down to depriving Egypt of the right to the Suez Canal by handing over its administration to an international agency, a Suez Canal Board. The Soviet Government exposed the colonialist nature of the Dulles Plan and consistently upheld Egypt's interests: during and after the conference, the Soviet Government invariably called for a peaceful settlement of the Suez issue. In its statement of September 15, 1956, the Soviet Government declared that it "adhered to the opinion that freedom of navigation in the Suez Canal must be ensured for all countries, and that such a situation can and should be secured only in a peaceful way, taking into account both Egypt's inalienable sovereign rights and the interests of states users of the Suez Canal". At the end of September the Suez question was submitted to the U.N. Security Council. The Western powers' attempt to force Egypt to cede its lawful rights to the Canal to the so-called canal users association failed. This plan, formulated in the second part of the draft resolution submitted by Britain and France, was not accepted by the Security Council on October 13, inasmuch as the Soviet Union voted against it.

Alongside economic and political pressure, the imperialist powers resorted to armed aggression against Egypt, making use of Israel for this purpose. On the night of October 30, Israel launched armed aggression against Egypt and the next day Anglo-French armed forces attacked Egypt. Anglo-French aircraft bar-

barously bombed Cairo, Alexandria, Port Said, Suez and other Egyptian towns and communities of Egypt. When an emergency session of the U.N. General Assembly condemned Anglo-Franco-Israeli aggression against Egypt on November 2, and ordered a cease-fire, the governments of Britain, France and Israel refused to heed its decision.

The entire Egyptian people rose up to fight for their country, the defence of Port Said being especially tenacious. The working class displayed real heroism. Worker volunteers joined the army *en masse*. The National Guard, which protected factories and public buildings, consisted mainly of workers.

The people of the Arab countries rendered active aid to Egypt. Solidarity demonstrations with the heroic Egyptian people were held in Syria; port workers of the Lebanon refused to handle British and French oil tankers. Workers blew up oil pipelines on the territory of the Lebanon, Syria and Jordan. The solidarity movement with Egypt spread in Iraq, in other Arab states and in African countries.

World opinion vigorously denounced imperialist aggression against the freedom-loving Egyptians. The Soviet Union rendered effective support to Egypt. On November 5, 1956, the U.S.S.R. Government served the most earnest warning on the aggressors, declaring it was "fully resolved to employ force to crush the aggressors and restore peace in the East".

On November 6, Britain, France and Israel were compelled to agree to a cease-fire in Egypt. In December 1956, Anglo-French troops left Egyptian territory and the withdrawal of Israeli forces was completed in March 1957. The gallant struggle of the Egyptian people for their independence and the support of Egypt by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, the Arab states and all progressive mankind cut short imperialist aggression.

The Soviet Union's stand during those crucial days won the warm sympathies of all the nations, above all the Egyptian people. In an interview given to Soviet journalists, President Nasser said: "I avail myself of this opportunity to voice the gratitude of the Egyptian people to the Soviet people for their support of Egypt during the Anglo-Franco-Israeli aggression, launched with the object of conquering Egypt. The Egyptian people highly value the support given them by the Soviet people."

The United Arab Republic. Egypt and Syria united into one state on February 1, 1958. It was named the United Arab Republic. Yemen acceded to the U.A.R. on the basis of a federal union. A referendum held in Egypt and Syria on February 21 approved the formation of the U.A.R. Gamal Abdel Nasser was elected president of the new state and Cairo was chosen as the capital. A provisional constitution came into force on March 5, 1958. The United Arab Republic was proclaimed a democratic independent state, and its people, part of the Arab nation.

As a result of the union, Egypt and Syria became the southern and northern regions of the U.A.R. respectively. Local governments, subordinated to the U.A.R. central government, were set up in each of them.

But this federation proved unstable. In September 1961, the command of the Syrian army, following a rebellion, announced the separation of Syria from Egypt and proclaimed the Syrian Arab Republic. The union with Yemen was terminated in December 1961, but Egypt retained the name "United Arab Republic".

The U.A.R. Government pursued the policy, initiated by the nationalisation of the Suez Canal Company, of breaking the grip of foreign capital on the country's economy and building up a state sector. Assets of British, French and Australian banks, insurance companies and trading establishments were sequestered. They were subsequently nationalised or redeemed by national private capital.

In April 1957, the Egyptian Government nationalised communication enterprises (telegraph, telephone and radio) held by foreign capital. It also nationalised a shipping company and a company for the production of sugar. The National Bank was officially taken over on February 12, 1960, and it became the country's central bank. The significance of this development will be appreciated if we recall that the bank was in effect organised by British capital and for decades served as the mainstay of the British monopolies.

The Egyptian capitalists bitterly resisted the policy of nationalisation and reinforcement of the state sector, the line of developing new sectors of the economy[14] and improving the lot of the working people. The big bourgeoisie had demonstrated its inability to attain the country's economic independence and was increasingly linking up with external and internal reactionary forces.

Developments dictated energetic measures to restrict the activity of the bourgeoisie. The Egyptian revolution was on the threshold of its second stage. In the first stage, when the British colonialists were ousted and the hated royal regime was overthrown, the revolution was supported by a front of national forces extremely broad in social composition. It included both the masses and the national bourgeoisie and even part of the bourgeoisified landowners. But as it advanced, the revolution faced new pressing tasks. To develop it further it was necessary for the state to take over the basic means of production and the banks, to consummate the land reform and to effect social measures that would improve

[14] The development of heavy industry and other sectors ensuring the country's economic independence demanded big long-term investments. The Egyptian capitalists considered this unprofitable, preferring to invest money in trade and ancillary industries, which swiftly yielded a profit.

the living conditions of the people. This inevitably led to a clash between the interests of the working people and the exploiting elements who were seeking to preserve their dominating position. Simultaneously, the country's progressive forces were further consolidated.

Nationalisation of the Misr Bank in 1960 was the first blow struck at the Egyptian bourgeoisie. A series of presidential nationalisation decrees, issued from July 1961 to March 1964, were of even greater importance. They placed in the hands of the state all the banks and insurance companies, most of the big and middle-size industrial enterprises and companies and almost all foreign trade and transport. Moreover, the state instituted control over home trade. As early as the 1962/63 economic year, the state sector accounted for two-thirds of the country's entire industrial output.

The new progressive tax, introduced in July 1961, sharply limited the incomes of the bourgeoisie. Private persons were forbiden to own shares worth more than 10,000 Egyptian pounds. Subsequently, it was laid down that the redemption promised the owners of nationalised enterprises after 15 years must not exceed 30,000 Egyptian pounds per family.

Simultaneously, important measures were taken to improve the condition of the workers and draw them into control over production. A seven-hour working day and a minimum wage were instituted. Social insurance was introduced, giving factory and office workers disability and old-age pensions. Factory and office workers were also given a right to receive 25 per cent of the net profit of the enterprises employing them.[15] Elected representatives of the factory and office workers were put on the administrative boards of enterprises.

Large-scale nationalisation and the swift expansion of the state sector made it necessary to set up a single system of state economic institutions. Thirty-nine General Organisations, attached to corresponding ministries, were set up, with the Supreme Council of State Organisations, of which the president of the U.A.R. is chairman, offering general guidance to the associations and coordinating their activities.

Relying on the state sector, the U.A.R. Government gained the opportunity to plan the country's economy more effectively. The first five-year plan had been fulfilled in the main by the beginning of 1960. In 1960, the National Planning Committee drew up a 10-year economic development plan divided into two stages (1960/61-1964/65 and 1964/65-1969/70) and designed ultimately to double the national income as compared with 1959/60. Big changes were registered in the country's economy. The national income

[15] Fifteen per cent of the net profit go for social needs and 10 per cent are distributed directly among the workers.

rose from 806 million Egyptian pounds in 1952 to 1,762 million Egyptian pounds in 1965. In five years (1960-1965) the gross social product rose by 36.4 per cent (from 2,548 million to 3,474 million Egyptian pounds), although this is somewhat less than envisaged by the development plan (40 per cent).

The U.A.R. achieved its biggest successes in industrial development. In 1966, the value of the country's industrial output amounted to 1,213 million Egyptian pounds (559 million in 1959 and 314 million in 1952). About 800 factories and other industrial enterprises were built from 1957 to 1967. New industries have been developed (metallurgical, engineering, oil, chemical and others) and old enterprises have been rebuilt. Today the United Arab Republic produces steel and chemicals, electrical equipment and textiles, jet planes and railway wagons, cement and rockets.

The new land decrees, published in July 1961 and in March 1964, greatly facilitated the reconstruction of agriculture. The 1961 decree limited the maximum landholding by one family to 100 feddans.[16] The article of the 1952 land reform law pertaining to the lease of land was amended. Beginning with the 1961/62 agricultural year, a landholder having a wife and children under age could rent land provided the total area of his own and leased land did not exceed 50 feddans.

The new land decrees affected more than 1,500 Egyptian landowners and over 2,500 foreign holders. By mid-1968, about one million feddans had been taken away from the feudal elements and foreigners; of these, 696,000 feddans had been distributed among more than 350,000 peasant families.

In March 1964, the payment of redemption to former landowners whose excess lands had been confiscated was fully abolished. Payments for the land distributed among peasants having little or no land were cut by three-fourths.

The land reform wrought noticeable changes in land tenure. The share of small farms (with plots less than five feddans) increased. In 1965, they had 57.1 per cent of all the arable land (prior to the reform, 35.4 per cent). At the same time the share of the land held by estates with more than 50 feddans was cut from 34,2 per cent to 19.1 per cent. The position of middle landholders improved appreciably.

The land reform, by abolishing the biggest feudal estates, essentially eased the position of the small landholders and tenants. But so far the reform has not finally solved the agrarian problem. About 10 per cent of the peasants still have no land and hundreds of thousands of agricultural labourers are without jobs.

To extend the cultivated area, the government is paying much attention to the building of irrigation installations, to land recla-

[16] In case adult sons left the family, they could receive another 100 feddans of land. But in 1962 this provision was annulled.

mation and other projects designed to bring idle lands under cultivation. The most important of these is the Aswan High Dam. Development of arid lands in the At-Tahrir province (Lower Egypt) and the New Valley (Upper Egypt) has also been started.

The raising of yields commands much attention. Experimental fields and stations and seed-growing farms have been set up, and the production of chemical fertilisers is increasing. The cooperative movement is steadily developing in the countryside. More than 4,000 consumer and marketing cooperatives had been set up by 1968. Other initial forms of joint farming are being introduced.

All these measures have produced definite results. Yields and gross harvests have risen. On the whole, agricultural output increased from 469 million Egyptian pounds in 1952 to 742 million Egyptian pounds in 1965.

Despite the evident successes, development of the national economy is encountering certain difficulties. The bigger incomes of a considerable part of the working people as a result of greater employment and progressive social measures led to an increase in consumption not adequately covered by home production, especially of food (account should also be taken of the rapid increase of the population—almost 800,000 people annually on the average). The need to spend considerable sums for the imports of food and raw materials adversely affects the country's balance of payments; its deficit amounted to 60 million Egyptian pounds in 1965. The plans of capital investments in industry and agriculture are underfulfilled. To cope with these difficulties, it is necessary to mobilise the country's internal resources to the maximum, with the simultaneous extension of socio-political measures ensuring the active participation of the people.

Changes in the political structure of the U.A.R., dictated by serious shifts in the social structure and alignment of the class forces, have been made in recent years. Under the 1958 constitution, legislative power in the country was exercised by the National Assembly formed in June 1960. The deputies of the Assembly were appointed by the president from among candidates nominated by the National Union, a mass political organisation set up in 1957. The big bourgeoisie and landowners captured leading posts in bodies of the National Union in the localities and partly in central bodies. They also held a considerable number of seats in the National Assembly. Taking advantage of this situation, the reactionary forces resisted the government's socio-economic reforms.

On November 7, 1961, the National Assembly was dissolved by a presidential decree because it had failed to live up to the tasks entrusted to it. A National Congress of Popular Powers was elected in February 1962. All voters were divided into several groups. Workers were represented in the first group; peasants in the second; national intellectuals, in the third; the national bourgeoisie, in the fourth; and students, in the fifth group. Women members of mass organisations constituted a separate group. This division, however, was rather peculiar. The workers' group, for example, embraced all who received a wage or salary, including office employees and government officials; the peasant group included all who engaged in agriculture.

Representatives of reactionary circles—landowners and capitalists, businessmen and speculators, all who had ever collaborated with the imperialist forces—were barred from the polls. Altogether 1,500 delegates were elected by direct and secret ballot, of whom 300 were elected by workers and 375 by peasants. A presidential decree appointed another 250 delegates.

At the first sitting of the National Congress of Popular Powers, held on May 21, 1962, President Nasser submitted the National Charter, the country's political programme for the next ten years. Discussion of the Charter lasted for several weeks and the Congress approved it on June 30.

The Charter notes the postwar changes in the world, the growth of the national-liberation movement and the powerful impact exerted by the world socialist system and socialist ideas on the destinies of mankind. It emphasises that no developing country, including the United Arab Bepublic, can make progress following the capitalist path. The Charter shows that national regeneration and economic independence are possible only through building a socialist society. Outlining the prospects for the development of the United Arab Republic, the authors of the Charter speak of scientific socialism and its application in Arab countries. The concept of the Arab road to socialism, according to the Charter and statements made by U.A.R. leaders, excludes any form of exploitation, envisages the decisive role of the state sector in the country's economy and the development of the cooperative movement in trade and agriculture. Small and middle-scale private property, particularly in land, is recognised.

The Charter reflects both the progressive social shifts in recent years and the contradictions existing in the country's social development.

A decree issued on November 6, 1962, established, instead of the dissolved National Union, a new mass political organisation, the Arab Socialist Union, and appointed members of the Supreme Executive Committee of the Union, with President Nasser as chairman of the Union.

The Arab Socialist Union acts as a broad national front uniting the country's anti-imperialist patriotic forces. The Rules of the Union stipulate that workers and peasants must hold not less than half the seats in the Union's elective bodies. The Rules note that the Arab Socialist Union is called upon to wage a struggle against reaction and concentrate the efforts of the people on building a new society.

To guide the activities of the Arab Socialist Union and progressive socio-economic changes in the U.A.R., a "political organisation" is being set up within the framework of the Union to serve as an advanced political organisation exercising the functions of a party.

In 1968, some measures reorganising the Arab Socialist Union were carried out. Changes were introduced in the Charter of the Union, envisaging the application of the principles of democratic centralism and electivity of leading bodies. New leading bodies of the Union were elected in June and July 1968. A General Congress of the Arab Socialist Union, which performs the function of the country's highest legislative organ, was convened on July 23.

A new National Assembly was elected in March 1964. According to the election regulations, only members of the Arab Socialist Union could be its deputies. More than 50 per cent of the deputies have been elected as representatives of the workers and peasants.

On March 23, 1964, President Nasser proclaimed the new provisional constitution of the United Arab Republic. Based on the principles of the National Charter, it set the building of socialism as the main aim. The United Arab Republic was proclaimed a democratic socialist state based on the alliance of the working powers of the people. The constitutional declaration lists among these powers the peasants, workers, soldiers, intellectuals and the remaining national bourgeoisie, whose activity is drastically limited by law (this part of the bourgeoisie is regarded as "non-exploiting"). The main forms of ownership in the country are: ownership of the entire people or state ownership, cooperative ownership and private ownership. "The socialist system, which precludes any form of exploitation and ensures the building of a socialist society", is proclaimed to be the economic foundation of the state. Islam is the state religion of the United Arab Republic.

Another step in the country's democratisation was the decree annulling the emergency laws which came into force in 1949 and provided the basis for persecuting Communists (many of them were kept in prison for a long time). In the spring of 1964, all political prisoners, arrested on the basis of the emergency laws, including Communists, were released.

Addressing the second session of the National Assembly, President Nasser called for the further development of democracy and for the unity of all the national forces in building the new society.

The National Charter lays down the basic principles of home and foreign policy. It records that the United Arab Republic supports the peoples fighting for independence, is opposed to imperialism and colonialism, to military pacts and blocs, adheres to positive neutrality, works for the banning of nuclear weapons, for peace and peaceful coexistence with all countries, irrespective of their political, social and religious principles. The Charter emphasises that the United Arab Republic champions Arab unity. The government also backs the ideas of African unity. Delegates of the U.A.R. took an active part in conferences of independent African states, conferences of the African peoples, the 1955 Bandung Conference, Afro-Asian solidarity conferences, and the Havana Tricontinental Solidarity Conference (January 1966). Cairo is the headquarters of the Permanent Secretariat of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Council and the U.A.R. delegate (Yussef Sibai) is the General Secretary of the Council. The United Arab Republic plays a prominent part in the movement of the non-aligned countries. President Nasser was one of the sponsors of the Belgrade conference of the heads of neutral states (1962) and the conference of non-aligned states in Cairo (1964).

The U.A.R. is rendering extensive assistance to the Yemeni people in defending and strengthening the republican regime established in their country in 1962. At the request of the Government of the Yemen Arab Republic, the U.A.R. sent troops to Yemen to repulse aggression of external imperialist and reactionary forces. To put an end to the war in Yemen, the U.A.R. has tried to reach understanding with Saudi Arabia, which is helping the Yemeni monarchists. President Nasser met King Faisal in August 1965 in Jidda, Saudi Arabia, to discuss ways of settling the Yemen question. In keeping with the decisions of the Khartoum meeting of heads of Arab states (August-September 1967) which worked out a conciliatory plan of settling the problem, the Egyptian troops were withdrawn from Yemen.

Relations between the U.A.R. and Syria have notably improved recenty. Early in November 1966, leaders of the two Arab states had talks in Cairo, which ended in the signing of a joint defence agreement. It provides for coordination of political and military activities and joint rebuff if one of the parties is subjected to aggression. To this end it was decided to organise a Joint Council of Defence (consisting of the Foreign Ministers and Defence Ministers) and also a Council of the Chiefs of Staff of the armed forces of both countries. Understanding was reached on cooperation and coordination of action in the spheres of the economy, culture and information.

The United Arab Republic is engaged in active economic and cultural cooperation with the U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries. This cooperation and support by the socialist community is reinforcing the political independence of the U.A.R. and promoting its economic progress. In 1955, the Egyptian Government, after the West refused to sell arms to Egypt and finance the construction of the Aswan Dam, turned for assistance to the socialist countries. Egypt and Czechoslovakia concluded an agreement for the sale of arms which carried no political or other conditions.

In June 1956, a Soviet-Egyptian agreement on cooperation in the peaceful uses of atomic energy was signed. In accordance with this

agreement, the Soviet Union has assisted Egypt in building an experimental reactor in Inshas, training Egyptian specialists in the peaceful uses of atomic energy, carrying out relevant research, etc. A Soviet-Egyptian cultural cooperation agreement was concluded in 1957.

The two countries signed an agreement on economic and technical cooperation in January 1958. The Soviet Union undertook to help Egypt in building industrial enterprises and carrying out projects envisaged by the country's economic development plan. Equipment, machinery and supplies delivered by the U.S.S.R. are paid for by traditional Egyptian export commodities, including cotton, in the sale of which the U.A.R. is particularly interested. The U.S.S.R. extended to the U.A.R. a loan on favourable terms.

In December 1958, an agreement on the construction of the Aswan High Dam by the Soviet Union was signed. The completion of the Aswan project will considerably cut the period needed for eliminating the country's economic lag. This largest construction project on the African continent will increase by one-third the country's total arable and raise its electric power output several times. Egyptian economists have estimated that the commissioning of the Aswan Dam and the hydro-electric station will send up the country's national income by 35 per cent.

The bed of the Nile was blocked on May 15, 1964, signifying the completion of the first section of the Aswan Dam. At the end of 1967, the Aswan Hydro-electric Station supplied its first power to industry. The joint communiqué on talks between the Soviet Union and the United Arab Republic, held in May 1966, noted that the Aswan Dam was "a symbol of victory of men's will, graphic testimony to the realisation of the great aim of the Egyptian people and an expression of the lofty significance of fruitful cooperation between two friendly peoples". A big group of Soviet and Egyptian builders was decorated with orders and medals of the Soviet Union and the United Arab Republic for their part in building the Aswan project.

The Soviet Union is rendering great help in the country's industrialisation. As many as 133 industrial and other projects have been or are being built and designed with Soviet assistance, including an iron and steel works, engineering plants, oil refineries and chemical factories.

A number of factories built with Soviet assistance are producing goods which formerly had to be imported in full or in part. The largest pharmaceutical factory in Africa, for example, was commissioned at the end of 1963. The first section of the largest ship-building wharf in the Middle East was put into operation in Alexandria in 1965, and its second section was commissioned in 1968.

The new agreement, signed in May 1964, envisages additional Soviet credits of 252 million roubles and assistance in building a number of industrial projects, including a large iron and steel works, a heavy engineering plant, and new power stations. The Soviet-

Egyptian trade agreement for 1966-1970, signed in 1965, provides for an increase in commerce between the two countries by about 50 per cent as compared with the 1965 level.

Personal contacts between statesmen of both countries have facilitated the development of relations. Reciprocal visits by government delegations have become a regular feature in recent years. The 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was attended by representatives of the Arab Socialist Union. The C.P.S.U. and the A.S.U. exchanged delegations in 1966 and 1967.

Contacts of the U.A.R. with other socialist countries, specifically Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, are being extended.

The successes of the United Arab Republic in the economic sphere and the consolidation of its international positions are accompanied by an advance in culture. The government devotes special effort to the development of the health services and the educational system and to wiping out illiteracy. The network of medical institutions and elementary and secondary schools has been greatly enlarged since the 1952 revolution. Free tuition in state schools and higher educational establishments was introduced in 1963. The number of school pupils rose from 1.86 million in 1953/54 to 4.31 million in 1965/66.

The number of students in universities and colleges has risen. In addition to the old universities (Cairo, Alexandria and Ain Shams Universities), a university was founded in Asyut in 1957. The renowned Al-Azhar Theological University has been reorganised. A number of new departments—agricultural, medical, industrial construction and others—have been opened. Foreign students, especially from Afro-Asian countries, attend higher educational establishments in the U.A.R. The number of foreign students rose from 5,500 in 1953/54 to 33,400 in 1965/66. At the same time the number of Egyptians studying abroad increased. National Research Centres have been set up in Cairo for chemical, physical, agricultural and medical studies. The development of science is directed and coordinated by a central agency.

The advance of the anti-imperialist struggle in Egypt after the First World War promoted the development of literature and the arts. It was during this period that the literary trend known as the Egyptisation of literature was shaped. It called for a departure from the medieval canons of classical Arabic poetry and for the portrayal of the people's real life, for the raising in literature of acute social and political problems and the use of the living colloquial language. The works of such prose writers and poets as Taha Husayn, Mahmud Teimur and Tawfik al-Hakim won wide recognition in the 1920's and 1930's. Keeping in step with the progressive ideas of the time, they raised their voice in protest against British rule, flayed the landowners and corrupt officials and vividly portrayed the hard life of the fellahs and the urban poor. At the same time other tendencies, too, persisted in Egyptian literature of that period, especially mani-

fest when reaction was on the offensive, namely, the desire to escape from reality, decadent roamings and imitations of literary trends fashionable in Western countries.

But the realistic trend gained in strength during the Second World War and especially in subsequent years when the liberation movement advanced. The national revolution of 1952 opened broad vistas to progressive writers and poets. The realistic trend, strongly influenced by Soviet literature and the finest Western works, now prevails. Among its outstanding proponents are the poet Abd al-Rahman al-Sharkauy, the writers Abd al-Rahman al-Khamisy and Yussef Idris, and the critic Mahmud Amin al-Alim. Civic motives loudly resound in their works. They call for a fight against routine and everything that hinders the radical transformation of Egyptian society.

Development of the realistic trend is also characteristic of the contemporary Egyptian theatre, which has a history of nearly 100 years (the first national company was set up in 1869). The rooting of realism on the Egyptian stage is associated with the plays of Mahmud Teimur, Tawfik al-Hakim and other noted Egyptian authors. The U.A.R. has now a number of state theatres (including the National Theatre with two companies, dramatic and musical), and private and amateur theatrical groups. The works of Egyptian authors and world classical plays are staged in Cairo, Alexandria and other cities. The Institute of Theatrical Art in Cairo trains actors, playwrights, scenic artists and stage technicians. Artistes are also being trained for the national opera and ballet. A ballet school, set up with the help of Soviet teachers, enjoys great popularity.

The Egyptian cinema has achieved notable successes. There are eight studios which produce from 50 to 60 full-length films annually. The Egyptian cinema frequently turns to poignant social and political subjects and ordinary people are becoming its main heroes. Egyptian films have scored at many international festivals. The finest Egyptian cinema actors (Fatin Hammama, Imada Hamdy) enjoy great popularity in the country and abroad.

The national school of modern painting, graphic art and sculpture, which originated at the beginning of the century, has also registered notable achievements. The monumental works of the remarkable sculptor Mahmud Mukhtar (1891-1934), founder of modern Arab plastic art, have served as a school for training an entire generation of artists not only in Egypt but also in other Arab countries. Gamal Sanigui, a leading sculptor, in his bas-relief "Freedom" (1956) presented an expressive image of the people breaking the chains of slavery. It won a gold medal at an international exhibition in Moscow.

The foundations of contemporary Egyptian painting were laid in the hard days of imperialist rule and among its founders are such well-known artists as Mohammed Nagui (1888-1956), a landscape painter and father of the realistic trend, and Ahmed Sabry (1896-1955), a portrait painter who worked in the academic style.

The ranks of artists have grown considerably since the July 1952 revolution. Hundreds of people have studied at the Cairo Academy of Arts. An Art Institute has been opened in Alexandria, and art shows are arranged annually.

There are different trends in present-day pictorial art. Some of the painters, influenced by the West-European formalistic schools, have taken to abstract art. But progressive Egyptian artists want to reflect in their works subjects and problems agitating the people. Such, for example, are the paintings of Mohammed Oweitha, who portrays the life of workers and reveals the value of human labour. An Egyptian art critic has aptly remarked that art has found its hero.

The finest works of literature and art are annually awarded state prizes, which stimulate the development of national culture.

In an attempt to retard the progressive development of the peoples in the United Arab Republic and other Arab countries, and strike a blow at the national-liberation movement in the Middle East, the most reactionary forces of international imperialism, headed by the United States, have repeatedly sought to overthrow progressive national regimes in these states. In June 1967, Israeli ruling circles, with the support of the United States, Britain and West Germany, launched armed aggression against the United Arab Republic and other Arab countries. The surprise attack and unpreparedness of the armies of the Arab countries for war ensured Israel temporary superiority. The Israeli forces captured some territories of the Arab states, including the Sinai Peninsula, and reached the Suez Canal. But the aggressor failed to achieve the main objective—the overthrow of progressive regimes in the Arab countries. The swift, determined and joint action of the Soviet Union and other socialist states played an important part in ending hostilities in the Middle East.

Eradication of the consequences of Israeli aggression and liberation of Arab territories occupied as a result of this aggression, have become a major problem of state policy of the U.A.R. and other Arab countries. They are energetically reinforcing their defence potential, unity and preparedness to rebuff imperialism's aggressive intrigues. The Soviet Union, together with all the peace-loving countries, renders every support to the progressive forces in Arab states and helps their peoples in the struggle for the preservation and consolidation of national independence, for social and economic progress.

THE SUDAN

After the battle of Omdurman (1898), when General Kitchener's army defeated the forces of the independent Sudanese state, Britain and Egypt signed in January 1899 a Condominium Agreement on the joint administration of the Sudan. The agreement laid down that supreme military and civil authority would be exercised by the British governor-general empowered to enact any law; without his consent Egyptian laws would have no force in the Sudan. The country was officially named Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and was known as such until the proclamation of independence in 1956.

The British colonialists needed about 20 years to create the conditions for the systematic exploitation of the Sudan. During this period a so-called government was set up. It consisted of British officials who headed different departments. A new administrative division of the country was introduced and British governors were placed at the head of the provinces. A stringent taxation system was introduced.

The British administration at once adopted the policy of cooperating with the feudal upper crust, the tribal chiefs and reactionary part of the Muslim divines. But the people continued to resist the foreign conquerors. Scattered armed uprisings flared up in different districts of the large country and there were instances of mass disobedience of the orders issued by the colonial authorities.

In the interwar period, the Sudan provided Britain with gum arabic, ivory, ostrich feathers and hides. Even prior to the First World War, plans for the development of cotton-growing were drawn up, but the war prevented their implementation. Towards the end of the war cotton and sesame accounted for only 10 per cent of Sudanese exports. After the war, prices on the world cotton and cotton-seed market rose from 50 to 200 per cent as compared with 1913. The British cotton monopolies were lured by the prospects of making the Sudan one of the main areas of their activities in Africa (alongside of Egypt and Uganda). Construction of the Sennar Dam was completed in 1925, making it possible to irrigate more than 240,000 feddans of land in Gezira (the basin of the White and Blue Nile) and set up cotton plantations there.[1] In 1924-1925, cotton plantations were also laid out in Kassala (the Khor Gash River) and Tokar (delta of the Khor Baraka River). The best lands, formerly sown to grain, were taken up by cotton. As a result, the Sudan became a predominantly one-crop country: in 1929 cotton accounted for 70 per cent of all export receipts.

The Gezira system was controlled by British companies, the Sudan Plantations Syndicate and its subsidiary, Kassala Cotton Company. The British colonial authorities protected the interests of this monopoly and its big profits. Prior to the building of the irrigation system, lands in the Gezira district were owned by Sudanese. After irrigation they were partly expropriated by the colonial authorities, partly leased at ridiculously low prices for 40 years and handed over to a syndicate which divided them into 40-feddan lots and leased them to the former owners and to settlers. The Gezira irrigation system was built on tax receipts contributed by the local population, while the profits of the cotton plantations were exported to London. Forty per cent of the income from the sale of cotton were received by the tenants, 40 per cent by the British colonial authorities and 20 per cent by the Syndicate. Actually, very little was left for the tenants because they had to pay for the seed and fertilisers and hire seasonal workers.

The development of cotton-growing demanded the building of new railways. In 1924, Haiya (a station on the line running from Atbara to Port Sudan on the Red Sea) was linked by a railway with Kassala (346 km.) and in 1929, with Sennar. Towns where the first factories were built began to grow up. A national bourgeoisie (primarily petty and middle) and an intelligentsia appeared, and an industrial and agricultural proletariat, at first numerically small, emerged.

The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia stimulated an unprecedented advance of the liberation movement in the colonial and dependent countries. The anti-imperialist struggle in the Sudan, too, assumed new forms. It was also greatly influenced by the revolutionary events in Egypt. Demonstrations and meetings in support of the revolutionary actions of the Egyptian people and against British domination in the Nile valley were held in Omdurman, Atbara, Khartoum and Port Sudan between 1918 and 1920.

In view of the incipient crisis of the colonial system, the British imperialists drew into the colonial administration the exploiting upper crust, the so-called native authorities: tribal chiefs, feudal elements, and the rulers of various state formations. The latter, in exchange for the illusory preservation of their former rights and privileges, became a reliable mainstay of the colonial administration. Under this system, the colonial administration could successfully

[1] At present there are about one million feddans of irrigated lands in Gezira.

control all aspects of the African peoples' life. Moreover, this system was an effective instrument in the struggle against the liberation movement, reduced the expenditure on maintaining the costly apparatus of colonial officials and disguised British rule by a semblance of self-government. It came to be known as indirect rule.

In the Sudan, the system of indirect rule was introduced in 1922. The most important tribal confederations which had existed prior to the Mahdist movement and had been weakened in the process of emergence of the independent Sudanese state (confederation of the Kababish, Baqqara, Shukriyya, Hasaniya and other tribes) were restored. The remnants of the one-time strong Darfur, Sennar, Taqali and other sultanates and kingdoms were also preserved. The feudal rulers and tribal chiefs were converted into paid officials of the colonial administrative machine. Two-thirds of the territory of the Sudan, in which more than half of the country's population resided, were declared closed districts. The establishment of closed districts was caused by the desire of the British colonialists to exploit the remaining territory of the country, which brought in the biggest profits on invested capital.

Among the closed districts were four provinces—Darfur, Bahr el-Ghazal, Mangalla and Upper Nile, almost all of Kordofan, and several regions of the Halfa, Dongola and Kassala provinces. It was in these areas that the system of indirect rule was applied and pre-capitalist relations were artificially preserved. The closed districts in many respects resembled the reserves in South Africa. The free movement of the population within the closed districts was prohibited. Sudanese who lived in other parts of the country were not admitted to these districts.

The system of indirect rule and the establishment of closed districts could only impede but not stop the struggle of the Sudanese people for freedom. In 1924, army officers, national intellectuals and petty-bourgeois elements organised an underground society, the White Flag League. It was headed by a Sudanese officer Ali Abd al-Latif. The League advocated the unification of the countries in the Nile valley and unity of action by the Sudanese and the Egyptians in the struggle against British imperialism. It led anti-British actions in a number of towns (Khartoum, Malakal, Atbara, Port Sudan) in 1924. The British authorities ruthlessly crushed these manifestations of the people's dissatisfaction.

Lee Stack, Commander-in-Chief of the Egyptian army and Governor-General of the Sudan, was mortally wounded in Cairo on November 19, 1924. Britain used this as a pretext for removing from the Sudan the Egyptian troops and Egyptian officials who were there under the terms of the Condominium Agreement. The Egyptian troops were replaced by the so-called Sudan Defence Force, which was put under British command. The condominium was thereby actually abolished. (It was restored only under the 1936 treaty between Britain and Egypt.) A wave of arrests swept the Sudan.

The hard lot of the Sudanese people grew even worse during the world economic crisis in 1929-1933. The sown area was cut by 22 per cent; cotton prices dropped 50-75 per cent below the level of 1927-1929; the price of gum arabic was cut by half. The income of the Gezira tenant farmers was reduced by 61 per cent and unemployment reached menacing proportions. The living standard of all sections of the working people sharply declined.

The crisis intensified the struggle of the Sudanese for their political and economic rights. In 1931, students of Khartoum College, the only one in the country, declared a strike. In the summer of 1936, when Britain imposed on Egypt a new unequal treaty that prolonged indefinitely the military occupation of both countries in the Nile valley, the population of the Sudan expressed its protest by demonstrations and rallies.

In 1937, Sudanese intellectuals, students, bourgeois and civil servants founded an organisation named the Graduates' General Congress. In February 1938, the Graduates' Congress held its first convention, which adopted the rules and the programme and elected an executive committee. Prior to the Second World War, this organisation engaged chiefly in educational activities. Several petitions and letters requesting some reforms in the public health and educational systems were presented to the governor-general by the Congress. During the first four years of the Congress' activity, more than 100 schools were opened with the help of voluntary contributions. It began to publish a fortnightly, *Congress,* in 1939.

The Sudan in 1939-1955. The Sudan suffered the hardships of the Second World War. In the summer of 1940 units of the Italian army invaded the territory of the Sudan from Eritrea and occupied the towns of Kassala, Gallabat and Kurmuk. The Sudan Defence Force supported by the people stemmed this onslaught. By the spring of 1941, the fascist troops had been driven from the country. Sudanese units, numbering 26,000 men in 1944, continued to fight as part of the British forces in North-East and North Africa up to the end of the war.

The importance of the Sudan as a raw-material supplier of Britain rose considerably during and after the war. By the beginning of the 1950's, exports of Sudanese cotton to Britain had doubled as compared with 1934-1938. The decline in the imports of manufactured goods and foodstuffs to the Sudan during the war stimulated the development of the light and food industries.

Social changes were under way in the country. Capitalist relations developed more intensively, and the young Sudanese bourgeoisie stepped up its activity. But the possibilities for accumulating and applying national capital remained extremely limited, especially in industry and foreign trade. That is why the national bourgeoisie was above all connected with agriculture. Its most typical representative was the owner of a small plantation irrigated by pumps, who exploited agricultural workers and poor peasants. Bourgeoisified

feudal elements and tribal chiefs also readily invested their capital in agriculture. The urban bourgeoisie was represented chiefly by the owners of small factories and handicraft workshops, shipowners and wholesale and retail merchants.

At the same time foreign (chiefly British) capital predominated in the production and marketing of major export crops, buying up of cattle and animal products, not to speak of the main enterprises in the extractive, timber and manufacturing industries, the main sectors of foreign and home trade and banking institutions.

In the Sudan, as in a number of other African colonies, British capital, alongside the organisation of large cotton plantations, preserved small-scale peasant farming, subordinating the latter to its interests and forcing the peasants to grow industrial export crops. In the course of the property and social stratification of the peasantry, a numerically small group of merchants emerged; at the same time an army of land-hungry peasnats, reduced to abject poverty by unbearable rental payments and taxes, was swiftly growing. Taxes claimed from one-third to one-half of the harvest. The ruined peasants had to work on cotton plantations or flock to the towns. During the cotton-picking season, up to 150,000 seasonal and agricultural workers came to Gezira alone, where more than 30,000 tenants and their families grew this crop. Approximately the same number of seasonal workers was utilised at plantations in Kassala and Tokar on privately-owned and cooperative farms.

The industrial proletariat was numerically smaller than the agricultural workers. By the end of the 1950's, however, there were about 100,000 railwaymen and industrial workers. Wages were very low and prices were steadily rising. From 1938, to 1953, the cost of living in the Sudan rose almost four-fold.

The workers and peasants lived in hovels and suffered from constant malnutrition. In a country with a population of 9 million there were altogether 40 hospitals and 76 doctors. The expenditure on education did not exceed 5 per cent of the budget. In 1946, slightly more than 10 per cent of school-age children attended elementary school. Only 2 per cent of the population were able to read and write.

The British, in need of skilled cotton growers, railwaymen, technicians and clerks, had to open secondary and vocational schools. Some Sudanese succeeded in getting an education abroad. The national intelligentsia (coming primarily from the rich families) grew numerically as compared with the prewar period.

The development of capitalism proceeded very unevenly. It affected relatively little the Western borderlands and especially the Southern Sudan, the closed districts where nomad and semi-nomad stock-raising was the main occupation and where indirect rule helped preserve feudal and patriarchal-feudal relations. Capitalist relations took shape more swiftly in the central part of the country where the biggest cotton plantations and the railways were located. Here, too,

industry was most developed and large towns grew up. In 1913, Khartoum, for example, had a population of 32,000; in 1955 it rose to 75,000. The respective figures for Omdurman were 55,000 and 125,000. The towns developed from administrative and trading centres into economic and cultural centres. Factories, railway yards, educational establishments and the offices of newspapers and magazines were concentrated there.

In the central part of the Sudan, the development of capitalism swept away tribal barriers and the boundaries of feudal states. Here people from all parts of the country came to plantations and towns and the process of national consolidation was swifter than in other regions. The core of the Sudanese nation was crystallised here and a general national Sudanese culture was being shaped on the basis of the national culture of different peoples (Arabs, Nubians, Fur, Fung, peoples inhabiting the Red Sea coast and partly the Southern Sudan).

As the people's national awareness developed, the national-liberation movement gained momentum. It advanced during the Second World War and assumed the biggest scale in the postwar years, when imperialism's colonial system began to break up.

In April 1942, the Graduates' Congress, the only Sudanese national organisation at the time, sent the governor-general a memorandum demanding the establishment after the war of a self-government body which would possess, in particular, the right to draw the country's budget. The Congress also demanded the abolition of the government (i.e., British) foreign trade monopoly and the admission of Sudanese capital to foreign markets. The memorandum, expressing the aspirations of the developing Sudanese bourgeoisie, was rejected by the British authorities. The governor-general refused even to consider it.

At the same time, to mitigate dissatisfaction in the country, Britain launched partial reforms. As early as 1937, to improve the indirect rule system, the colonial authorities organised Advisory Councils in all provinces of the Northern Sudan in which, alongside British officials, representatives of the upper crust of the tribes and feudal elements took part. In face of the swift advance of the liberation struggle, a central organ, the Advisory Council of the Northern Sudan, was set up in 1944 with purely consultative functions. The British authorities demagogically pictured these measures as the introduction of "democratic self-government". They thought that such reforms would impede the anti-imperialist struggle, but their calculations proved to be unfounded.

On August 23, 1945, the Executive Committee of the Graduates' Congress, which had become a big political force in the country at the end of 1945 (the Congress had 20,000 members and about 100 branches were set up in towns and rural areas), adopted a resolution demanding the evacuation of British troops from the Sudan and her unification with Egypt along federative lines. The adoption of this

resolution was accompanied by struggle for leadership of the liberation movement waged within the Congress between two main groups: the feudal elements and the young Sudanese bourgeoisie. This struggle ended in a split of the Congress and the emergence of the country's two main political parties.

The national democratic sections of the bourgeoisie and intellectuals, supported by the leadership of the Khatmiyya, one of the two main religious groups of Sudan's Muslim population, founded in 1946 the Al-Ashiqqa Party. Its main slogans were the demands formulated in the August resolution of the Executive Committee of the Graduates' Congress. Al-Ashiqqa maintained close contact with the Egyptian Government and some nationalist parties in Egypt. Ismail al-Azhari, a noted political leader, became the party's chairman.

Another part of the Congress members formed Al-Umma, the party which represented the interests of the feudal elements, tribal chiefs, top government officials and the bourgeoisie connected with British imperialism. The ideological leader of the party was Abd al-Rahman al-Madhi, the head of another influential Muslim order, Ansar, which for a long time collaborated with the British. The leadership of the party formally called for an independent Sudan and was against alliance with Britain, but actually it was in favour of preserving sufficiently strong ties with the metropolitan country.

Several other, less influential, bourgeois parties were formed in 1945 and 1946. The Graduates' Congress, too, formally continued to function. Members of the two main parties participated in its conferences. But leadership of the Congress was actually held by Al-Ashiqqa and therefore Al-Umma practically did not carry out its decisions.

The Communist Party of the Sudan was organised in the summer of 1946. To avoid persecution, it operated for a long time under the name of the Sudan Movement for National Liberation. The Communist Party united in its ranks advanced workers, agricultural labourers and the finest section of the revolutionary-minded intelligentsia. Having gained in strength organisationally and rid itself of elements favouring a compromise with imperialism, the Party subsequently succeeded in leading the struggle of the working class, exerting in particular a great influence on the trade union movement. The first workers' union (of railwaymen)[2] was set up in 1947. Shortly afterwards, other unions were organised: workers of state warehouses, printers, port workers, taxi drivers, etc. Trade unions became an important force which the British authorities had to take into account.

In 1946, during the unrest in Egypt caused by Britain's refusal to revise the terms of the 1936 treaty, mass strikes and demonstrations were held in the Sudan's biggest towns under the slogans of abolishing the condominium, evacuating the British troops and granting the Sudan independence.

[2] Railwaymen are the most organised group of the Sudanese proletariat. More than 20,000 workers were employed on the country's railways at the end of the 1940's.

The Soviet Union rendered great moral and political support to the Sudanese peoples' struggle for liberation. In August 1947, when the U.N. Security Council discussed the Anglo-Egyptian conflict (in view of Britain's unwillingness to revise the 1936 treaty), the Soviet Union supported the demands voiced by the peoples of Egypt and the Sudan on the withdrawal of the British forces. The Soviet Government stressed that the future of the Sudan (joining Egypt or establishing an independent state) was to be decided by the Sudanese people themselves in conditions excluding any outside pressure. The Security Council took no decision on this matter owing to the resistance of Britain and the United States. Nevertheless, the British authorities had to make concessions.

A new constitutional reform in the Sudan was announced in June 1948. Instead of the Advisory Council of the Northern Sudan, a Legislative Assembly was set up and instead of the Governor-General's Council, which had existed since 1910,[3] an Executive Council (a government) was established. According to the draft constitution, the Legislative Assembly consisted of representatives of the entire country, including the southern areas. Direct elections were to be held in the larger towns and two-stage elections in the rest of the country.[4] The Executive Council was to consist of 12-15 people, of whom not less than half had to be Sudanese.

But supreme legislative and executive authority, as hitherto, remained in the hands of the British governor-general. He appointed and dismissed members of the Executive Council, approved and annulled laws adopted by the Legislative Assembly, he could at any time dissolve the Executive Council and the Legislative Assembly; he was in command of all the armed forces. This constitution did not satisfy the Sudanese. In November 1948, notwithstanding country-wide protests, elections to the Legislative Assembly were held amidst police terror. Only 19 per cent of voters went to the polls. The main political parties, except Al-Umma, boycotted the elections.

More than half of the seats in the Legislative Assembly were taken by tribal chiefs and feudal elements; the rest were held by British officials, Muslim divines and tradesmen.

The struggle of the people for freedom and independence flared up with fresh force after the elections. In May 1949 and March 1950, general strikes were held in which up to 50,000 people participated. The workers demanded an improvement of their economic condition and also recognition of the right to organise trade unions.

[3] The Council consisted of top British officials—heads of the departments of the Sudan's colonial administration, governors of provinces, etc.

[4] The first Legislative Assembly consisted of 91 members. Ten were elected by direct vote, 58 in two-stage elections, and the others were appointed by the governor-general.

In November 1950 a Sudan Workers' Trade Union Federation was organised. It united 53 unions of factory and office workers with a total membership of 150,000. The Federation called for the participation of the workers and their unions not only in the struggle for better economic conditions, but also for national liberation. It vigorously denounced any collaboration with the imperialists. The first Congress of the Federation (December 1951), to which a delegation of Egyptian workers was invited, decided to establish strong ties with the World Federation of Trade Unions and join the working people of Egypt in the struggle against the Anglo-American imperialists.

At the Second Congress of the Federation (November 1953), the workers of the Sudan demanded: (1) evacuation of all foreign troops and officials from the country; (2) the right of the Sudanese to decide their future themselves; (3) intensification of the struggle against the war-makers and the use of the Sudan for military purposes; (4) unity of all sections of the people whose rights are violated by the imperialists. Trade union committees were set up throughout the country and they became the centre for organising a united front against imperialism.

The trade union movement also embraced part of the rural population. In 1954, a mass organisation, Gezira Tenants' Union, was set up in the countryside. Agricultural workers, however, remained unorganised.

Progressive organisations of the Sudan, like the National Peace Committee, the Youth Congress of the Sudan, the Union of Sudanese Women and the Association of Art Workers, fought together with the trade unions for national independence.

Denunciation by Egypt on October 15, 1951, of the unequal Anglo-Egyptian treaty of 1936 and the Condominium Agreement of 1899 was heartily welcomed in the Sudan. Mass demonstrations were held on November 23 in Khartoum and Omdurman. The governor-general, not relying on the Sudanese police, asked for additional contingents of British troops from Egypt. Simultaneously with the punitive measures, the governor-general offered a draft new constitution to the Legislative Assembly (January 1952), whicht provided for the establishment of a two-chamber parliament and a Sudanese government. But the British governor-general fully preserved supreme power. The Legislative Assembly, in which a majority was held by Al-Umma, approved the draft constitution.

This constitutional manoeuvre was designed to divert the attention of the Sudanese people from the events in Egypt and bolster up the positions of British imperialism in the Sudan. But it was too late. The revolution in Egypt (July 1952) and the spread of the anti-imperialist struggle in the Sudan foiled the colonialist plans. Under the Anglo-Egyptian agreement of February 12, 1953, Britain had to recognise the right of the Sudanese people to self-determination.

This agreement contained the following provisions: a three-year transition period was introduced, during this time supreme authority was to be exercised by the governor-general but a parliament and national government were set up.

The agreement established an international Electoral Commission, composed of three Sudanese, one Briton, one Egyptian, one American and an Indian chairman. The Commission was to control the parliamentary elections in accordance with a constitution approved by the Legislative Assembly. The question of the Sudan's future—whether she would join Egypt on some terms, or enter the British Commonwealth, or gain full independence—was to be finally decided by the Sudanese Parliament at the end of 1955. The agreement also stipulated that prior to the adoption by parliament of one or another decision, all foreign troops and officials present in the country should be evacuated.

Parliamentary elections were held in November 1953. Candidates of the National Unionist Party (a party set up prior to the elections by merging Al-Ashiqqa with other party groups close to it) won an absolute majority of seats. During the elections, the National Unionists campaigned on a platform demanding the abolition of British rule, which ensured them the support of the unions and the masses. A national government headed by Ismail al-Azhari came to office. On August 16, 1955, the Sudanese Parliament, in conformity with the Anglo-Egyptian agreement of February 12, 1953, adopted a resolution on the self-determination of the Sudan. By that time the evacuation of foreign forces had been completed and foreign civil servants had been replaced by Sudanese. In December 1955, the leadership of the two largest parties, National Unionist and Al-Umma, drew up a common platform, having reached understanding on the establishment of a sovereign state. In the second half of December 1955, the lower chamber of the Sudanese Parliament and after it the Senate passed a decision proclaiming the Sudan an independent republic.

REPUBLIC OF THE SUDAN

On January 1, 1956, the Sudan was proclaimed a republic and the British governor-general left the country. Almost all states of the world recognised the republic. The Soviet Union and the Sudan exchanged ambassadors. The Republic of the Sudan was admitted to the Arab League and to the United Nations.

Early in June 1956, the al-Azhari Government resigned and its place was taken by a coalition government formed from members of Al-Umma and the National Democratic Party.[5] Abdallah Khalil,

[5] The National Democratic Party was formed in 1955 following the split of the National Unionist Party.

General Secretary of Al-Umma, became prime minister. On November 17, 1958, following a coup, power in the republic was taken over by a Supreme Council of the Armed Forces. Lieutenant-General Ibrahim Abboud, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces, became prime minister and minister of defence in the new government.

The military dictatorship established in the country reflected the interests of the nationalist landowners and the conservative sections of the bourgeoisie. Parliament, the political parties, trade unions and mass organisations were dissolved and progressive newspapers closed down. Trade union leaders, including the General Secretary of the Workers' Trade Union Federation, were imprisoned. Communists were brutally persecuted. But the Sudanese people, who had won freedom in drawn-out intense battles against imperialism and internal reaction continued to fight for the country's democratic development.

In 1959, a United National Front was set up with the active participation of the Sudanese Communist Party. It rallied together all the political parties, national and other organisations which resisted the Abboud regime and strove for the restoration of civil freedoms.

In view of the mass resistance to the military dictatorship, General Abboud repeatedly stated that parliamentary forms of rule would be restored. In November 1962, the main regulations for elections to the central council were made public. Within two years this council was to become the country's main legislative body, promulgating new laws, controlling the activities of ministries and ratifying international agreements and treaties. The central council was to examine and approve the new constitution and then, after a parliament was created on the basis of the constitution, to be dissolved.

Three-stage elections, far removed from democratic principles, held at the end of April 1963, gave a majority to elements suiting the Abboud Government. Members of municipal councils elected nine provincial councils. Each provincial council elected from among its members six delegates to the central council, 54 in all; 18 members of the central council were appointed by General Abboud himself. The first meeting of the central council was held on November 13, 1963, with General Abboud in the chair. During its entire existence the central council did not adopt a single decision that would run counter to Abboud's home policy. Moreover, the central council was obviously in no hurry to approve the new constitution. The state of emergency, declared after the coup, was not revoked. All power remained in the hands of the military junta.

As early as 1960, the Sudanese Government formally lifted the ban on trade unions, simultaneously placing them under rigid government control and depriving the workers of the right to strike. In June 1963, the railwaymen's union, the oldest and biggest in the country, was dissolved because it had organised strikes. All this

aroused dissatisfaction of the most active part of the Sudanese workers. In mid-August 1963, a general conference of Sudanese trade unions was held in Khartoum with the assistance of the International Labour Organisation and the World Federation of Trade Unions. The conference, attended by 350 delegates of 46 unions, adopted a number of decisions: non-alignment of the Sudanese trade unions to any existing international trade union centres; support of the decisions taken by the Addis Ababa Conference of heads of state; the establishment of a General Federation of Trade Unions and resumption of activities by the railwaymen's union; lifting of the state of emergency introduced in 1958; approval of the partial nuclear test-ban treaty; denunciation of the policy of racial discrimination and neo-colonialism in all its manifestations.

Shortly after the conference, an organisational committee was formed, which was to convene a congress of trade unions in the summer of 1964 to set up a General Federation of Trade Unions. In November 1963, the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces in principle agreed with the proposals of the organisational committee, but in August 1964 the holding of the congress was categorically prohibited and the committee itself dissolved.

The Republic of the Sudan has inherited from colonialism many intricate and difficult problems. Among them is the problem of the Southern Sudan. The Equatorial, Bahr el-Ghazal and Upper Nile provinces are inhabited by Negroid Nilotic peoples (Shilluk, Dinka, Bari, Nuer and others) who differ in language, culture and religion from the Muslim Arab-speaking population in the North. The establishment of closed districts in the Southern Sudan by the British colonialists not only helped to preserve social and economic backwardness among the Nilotic peoples but also led to the artificial isolation of the South from the rest of the country. The situation was aggravated by the fact that these peoples were scattered in the Sudan, Uganda, Ethiopia and the Central African Republic. For many years the British authorities, planning at a convenient moment to join the Southern Sudan to its colonies in Kenya and Uganda, fomented separatist tendencies among the Southerners, setting them against the population in the North. In their policy they relied on missionaries, who enjoyed great influence and, in particular, controlled all school education.

As early as August 1955, shortly before the proclamation of the Sudan an independent republic, Nilotic troops stationed in Torit (Equatorial Province) mutinied. The rebels demanded autonomous rule for the southern provinces. The uprising was crushed by the al-Azhari Government, but in subsequent years unrest among the Nilotes continued.

The Abboud Government, far from taking any effective measures to solve the problem of the South, by its entire policy exacerbated it to the utmost.

The Muslim religion was implanted by force among the Nilotic

peoples, tuition in schools was conducted in Arabic, all administrative posts were taken by Northerners, trade and the main industrial enterprises were in the hands of Arabs, wages in the South were much lower than in the North and labour conscription was widely practised. It should be added that the plans for the economic development of the Southern provinces, adopted by the government, were never carried out and that the South, just as during the days of colonialism, was separated from the North by the borders of the closed districts.

All this stirred up separatist tendencies among the Nilotes, which were, moreover, fanned by imperialist propaganda. It was not until September 1963 that the government decided to abolish the closed districts, but at that time unrest had spread in the Southern Sudan.

The struggle of the Southern Sudan rebels was led by the Sudanese African National Union, which was founded in 1961. Its general secretary William Deng advocated the idea of setting up a federation of Southern provinces, presenting a number of conditions unacceptable to the North. He demanded that the future federation should have its own army and pursue an independent foreign policy. As a preliminary condition he demanded the withdrawal of the republic from the Arab League. The positions of the Sudanese African National Union were strongest in Equatorial Province.

There were also other parties in the South: the Liberal Party (founded in 1953), the Southern Front (1964), and others. In January 1964, the rebels tried to capture Wau, the administrative centre of Equatorial Province; rebellions also flared up in the vicinity of the towns of Juba and Rumbek. The regular Sudanese forces which arrived on the scene quelled the disturbances. The government hastened to deport 300 foreign missionaries from the Southern Sudan, but no serious measures to normalise the situation were taken.

Since the formation of an independent republic the Sudanese people have made the first steps towards effacing the grave aftermath of the colonial regime and consolidating national independence. The government declared that it aimed to introduce planning in the country's economy. But the first five-year plan (1957-1961) was not fulfilled. A ten-year economic and social development plan (1961/62-1970/71) was approved in the spring of 1963. It devotes main attention to expanding agricultural production (which accounts for 60 per cent of the national income).

Work to extend the irrigated area has been conducted since independence. The Managil irrigation system, developed south-west of Gezira, made it possible to extend the irrigated area of Gezira from 406,000 to 801,000 hectares. Construction of this system had been completed by 1962. It brought water to 395,000 hectares of new lands. Building of a dam on the Blue Nile near Roseires is nearing completion. Another dam will be built on the Atbara. The area under cotton increased from 277,000 hectares in 1954/55 to

449,300 hectares in 1962/63 and the cotton crop rose from 84,200 tons to 176,500 tons respectively.

Some measures have been taken to abolish the concentration of the economy on one crop. The area under rice in Bahr el-Ghazal is being extended; the cultivation of jute, sisal and hemp has been started in Kordofan and the Upper Nile Province. The area under coffee and tea is being enlarged in Equatorial Province.

The government is laying stress on the development of the state-capitalist sector. It has taken over irrigation installations, railways, more than half of the land suitable for cultivation and a number of industrial enterprises. In agriculture, state capital investments comprise 70 per cent of the total. But alongside this, private enterprise has been encouraged in every way. At the end of 1962, it was announced that a project for distributing land among needy peasants was being prepared.

The share of industrial production in the national income is still small and amounts to about 2 per cent. From the very first days of the republic the line was taken to attract foreign capital and create favourable conditions for the development of the national bourgeoisie. A Law on Approved Enterprise was adopted in 1956. Its essence is that the government recommends entrepreneurs to invest capital in certain industries in the development of which the country is especially interested. These investors are guaranteed a number of privileges, and foreigners, also the right freely to transfer profits abroad. At the same time state control over the activity of private entrepreneurs and companies was instituted. A considerable number of mixed enterprises have been set up. Several new establishments (a sugar refinery, textile mill, tannery, paper factory and others) have been commissioned. The transport development programme provides for the building of railways to connect the industrial North with distant southern and western regions. A railway line from Babanusa to Wau (445 km.) has been built and it will be extended to Juba. The length of the railways in the republic increased from 3,859 km. in 1956 to 4,637 km. in 1962.

The government has widely drawn on foreign loans for carrying out economic development plans. In 1961, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Development Association gave the Sudan credits of 70.1 million Sudanese pounds. The republic also received big loans from Britain, West Germany, the United States, Italy and other countries. Taking advantage of the fact that the Abboud Government legislatively created favourable conditions for investors, foreign monopoly capital, American in the first place, launched an offensive on the country's weak economy.

The winning of independence has led to definite progress in eliminating the country's cultural backwardness. In 1955/56 social services (primarily public health and education) claimed 19 per cent of the budget (6.1 million Sudanese pounds), and in 1962/63, 30.1 per cent (15.2 million Sudanese pounds). In 1956, there were 115,382 pu-

pils in the 698 general educational schools; in 1961, 2551 schools had 337,025 pupils. In the summer of 1956, the University of Khartoum was organised on the basis of the University College. It had a student body of some 2,000 in 1967. The Khartoum Technical Institute (founded in 1951) and the Bakht er Ruda Institute of Education (founded in 1934) are training technicians and teachers for elementary and secondary schools. There is also an Islamic Institute in Omdurman (founded in 1901). More people study now abroad, specifically in the Soviet Union. The University of Khartoum is the country's main scientific centre. It regularly publishes the works of the faculty and senior-year students. Studies by Sudanese scientists—Saad ed-Din Fawzi, an economist, Mekki Shibeika and Mekki Abbas, historians—are well known.

The peoples of the Soviet Union have deep sympathies for the peoples of the Sudan who continue the struggle for eliminating the aftermath of colonialism, strengthening the national economy and democratising the country. In 1961, a Sudanese government delegation visited the Soviet Union and the Sudan was visited by a Soviet delegation headed by L. I. Brezhnev, then President of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet. In the same year the two countries signed a trade agreement for 1962-1964 and an economic and technical cooperation agreement. The Soviet Union extended credits of 8 million Sudanese pounds and is helping in the building of a number of industrial projects. The Aswan High Dam, which is being built in the United Arab Republic with Soviet assistance, is of great economic importance for the Sudan too. Under the agreement concluded between the United Arab Republic and the Republic of the Sudan, the annual consumption of Nile water in the Sudan will increase from 4,000 million cubic metres to more than 18,000 million cubic metres, which will make it possible to irrigate new lands.

After the proclamation of independence, the Sudanese Government declared its intention to pursue a neutralist and anti-colonial foreign policy. During the Anglo-Franco-Israeli aggression against Egypt (1956) the Sudan gave every support to Egypt. She also denounced U.S. aggression against the Lebanon (1958) and repeatedly raised her voice in defence of Algeria. Together with other African states, she joined the Organisation of African Unity. The Sudanese people are making their contribution to the struggle for the complete abolition of colonialism and for peace among the nations.

At the same time, during the Congolese crisis, the Abboud Government, contrary to the will of the people, closed the border with the Congo, Kinshasa (1960-1961), depriving Congolese patriots of outside help and placing them in a difficult position.

Dissatisfaction of the people with the military dictatorship mounted and progressive forces advocating the country's democratic development became more active.

A revolutionary explosion was maturing in the country and the least impulse was needed to stir the masses into action.

On October 21, 1964, the Union of Students at the University of Khartoum organised a meeting in their club, at which the policy of the government in the Southern provinces was sharply criticised. In the course of a clash with the police a student was killed. The funeral held the next day turned into a mass demonstration. Meetings and demonstrations continued on October 23. On Abboud's orders, the police and troops opened fire on the unarmed people, killing and wounding many. But neither tanks nor armoured cars could stem the course of events.

A revolution flared up in the country and literally at once the Professional Front was set up, embracing unions of workers, office employees and the Gezira tenants. On its initiative, a leading centre of the revolution, the United National Front, was set up on October 24. It included representatives of all the biggest political parties, both Left and Right, trade union, student, and women's organisations. On the same day the United National Front called a general strike, paralysing all life in the country.

General Abboud tried to convene the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces so as to put down the disturbances with the help of the army, but it was too late. Many officers had sided with the people. Abboud was compelled to negotiate with representatives of the United National Front. The talks ended on the night of October 28 in the capitulation of the military junta. The Supreme Council of the Armed Forces and the Central National Council were dissolved and a new government set up on October 30.

For a time Abboud kept the post of president and commander-in-chief. But he was deprived of these posts on November 11 for maintaining ties with reactionary elements.

The new government, headed by Khatim al-Khalifa, consisted of 15 ministers representing the parties making up the United National Front. The democratic forces had a majority in the government for the first time in the history of independent Sudan. The Professional Front was represented by eight ministers. There was one Communist minister, Ahmed Suleiman. The Right wing of the government consisted of representatives of Al-Umma, the National Unionist Party, Muslim Brotherhood and the Southern Front.

During the military dictatorship the face of some old political parties had changed and new parties had emerged. The National Unionist Party, for example, lost its revolutionary postwar traditions and entered into an open alliance with Al-Umma. The Muslim Brotherhood gained considerable influence among politically backward sections of the population. It united in its ranks the arch-reactionary nationalists. All the three parties—National Unionist, Al-Umma and Muslim Brotherhood—proclaimed struggle against Communism their main aim.

The People's Democratic Party represented the democratic forces of the urban population and a considerable part of the membership of the Khatmiyya Order. The party advocated struggle against im-

perialism and internal reactionary forces and energetically called for alliance with the United Arab Republic.

The government headed by Khatim al-Khalifa carried out a number of important democratic measures. The military regime was abolished, the constitutional system was restored, parties and trade unions were allowed to function, political prisoners were released, the most active elements of the military dictatorship were removed from the state apparatus and the army, and preparations for parliamentary elections were made.

Imperialist intervention in the Congo was denounced and the Sudan openly began to help patriots fighting the Tshombe regime. Britain was forbidden to use Sudanese airfields for transferring troops to the southern part of the Arabian Peninsula.

The government arrested members of the dissolved Supreme Council of the Armed Forces and set up a committee to purge the state institutions from money-grubbers and embezzlers. It also closed down reactionary newspapers financed by the military junta and allowed the publication of progressive periodicals.

The new government devoted much attention to the problem of the South. Early in November 1964, talks began with representatives of Southern Sudanese parties and in December, after the Prime Minister's visit to the South, a commission was set up to work out a constructive plan. The Prime Minister repeatedly stated that the problem should be solved only by peaceful means. At the beginning of December the government amnestied all South Sudanese who had fled abroad, inviting them to return home.

Reactionary laws directed against progressive and democratic organisations were annulled. In mid-January 1965, a conference of the Professional Front was held in Khartoum. The conference resolutions voiced the need to develop the country's economy along the non-capitalist path in keeping with the principles of scientific socialism.

Shortly after the October events sharp differences as regards further government policy arose between the Right-wing parties (Al-Umma, National Unionist Party and Muslim Brotherhood) and the Left parties (Sudanese Communist Party, People's Democratic Party) and the trade unions. The Right-wingers held that there was no need to hurry with the trial of the Abboud regime leaders and the purge of the state machine. They also actively resisted the proposal of the Sudanese Communist Party, the People's Democratic Party and the trade unions to organise an armed People's Guard. But the main difference was over the date of the elections to the Constituent Assembly.

The bloc of the Right-wing parties wanted early elections regardless of the results of the government's talks with leaders of the Southern parties. This would indefinitely put off a solution of the problem of the South, leading to elections without the participation of the Nilotic peoples, who cherished no sympathies at all for candidates of Al-Umma and the National Unionist Party. Early elections would play into the hands of the Right-wing forces. The holding of a conference to settle the problem of the South was several times postponed.

The Western powers took a sharply hostile stand towards the new government. This was explained by many reasons. A democratic, revolutionary Sudan, which boldly proclaimed that she would help the rebels in the Congo and South Arabia and support the anti-imperialist forces throughout Africa, obviously did not suit them. Moreover, these states had every reason to be anxious for the future of their big investments in the Sudan. Nor did the West like the noticeable improvement in relations between the Sudan and progressive Arab countries. Bourgeois newspapers were full of reports about the "communist danger" hanging over the Sudan. They gleefully commented on differences between the North and the South, predicting the inevitable dismemberment of the country.

A drive against the provisional government was launched by reactionary forces early in February 1965. Leaders of Al-Umma, the National Unionist Party and Muslim Brotherhood at rallies, in the press and over the radio harped on the point that the government was controlled by Communists and Nasser's supporters, that is supposedly was hatching a "conspiracy" against "democracy" and "freedom", and deliberately postponing the elections to the Constituent Assembly to usurp power. Thirty thousand armed members of the Ansar Order, hastily transferred by the Al-Umma leadership from the western areas of the Sudan to Omdurman, also demanded "renovation" of the government.

A campaign in defence of the gains of the revolution and the democratic government spread throughout the country; mass rallies and demonstrations were held under the slogans "down with reaction", " 'No' to a government without workers and peasants".

But the Prime Minister, without even consulting the members of the government, announced the resignation of the Cabinet on February 18, 1965. The Council of Sovereignty instructed the Premier to form a new government.

Protest demonstrations against the drive of reaction were held in many towns on February 20. The trade unions declared a one-day strike. Dozens of lorries carrying armed peasants set out from Gezira for the capital. They were going to defend the revolution, but the police and troops blocked their way.

A new government was formed on February 23, 1965. Al-Umma received three ministerial portfolios, the National Unionist Party, three, and the Muslim Brotherhood, one. The People's Democratic Party was given three ministerial posts and the Communist Party, one. But the most important change, on which the National Unionist Party and Al-Umma insisted, was that the Professional Front was no longer represented in the government. The Right-wing forces thus gained control over the government. Prolonged negotiations

with the Southern parties resulted in the convening of a round-table conference in Khartoum at the end of March 1965. It was attended by members of the government, representatives of trade unions and parties of the North and the South, observers from Algeria, Uganda, Kenya, Nigeria, the United Arab Republic and Tanzania.

The conference did not succeed in solving the problem, but its participants arrived at the conclusion that the conflict between the North and the South must be settled by peaceful means. The government undertook to increase the number of Southerners in the administrative apparatus, police and educational system, to open a university in the South and set up a National Council for Economic Development of the South. A 12-men committee consisting of Northern and Southern representatives was elected at the conference to explore a solution of the problem.

Elections to the Constituent Assembly were scheduled for April 21. The Sudan African National Union (South) and the People's Democratic Party decided to boycott them. By their refusal to participate in the polling the Southerners protested against the dragging out of the problem; the leadership of the People's Democratic Party thought that elections without the Southerners would only exacerbate the conflict.

Only 40 per cent of the voters registered in all the five Northern provinces. During the elections there were protest demonstrations and clashes with the police in a number of towns.

Al-Umma (75 seats out of 173) and the National Unionist Party (53 seats) won a majority in the Constituent Assembly. The Sudan Communist Party received eight seats, and several democratic candidates were elected on other tickets. Altogether they polled 77,000 votes, while Al-Umma polled slightly more than 200,000.

In the new government Al-Umma received seven ministerial posts and the National Unionist Party, six. Mohammed Mahgoub (Al-Umma) became prime minister.

In a speech over the radio on June 24 Mohammed Mahgoub made public the National Charter drawn up by the two ruling parties. He spoke about encouragement of foreign capital and the development of the private sector in trade, industry and agriculture. The Charter called for continued exploration of a peaceful solution to the problem of the South, and at the same time spoke of liquidating the existing "terrorist" organisations in the shortest time. On June 29, 1965, the Premier announced that the Sudan, loyal to the United Nations Charter, would not intervene in the affairs of the Congo (Kinshasa) and on July 3 the Supreme Court of the Sudan decided to release from custody members of the military junta. Somewhat earlier, on June 21, the government permitted the publication of reactionary newspapers which had been closed down after the revolution.

But powerful forces in the country opposed this policy. At the

head of these forces—the workers, peasants, urban poor and students—stood the Sudanese Communist Party, whose influence was swiftly growing. The Communists were acting openly, Communist newspapers and magazines were freely sold; they actively participated in discussions of political subjects in workers' clubs and, last but not least, they were represented in Parliament. All this was a hindrance to the reactionary forces.

On November 8, 1965, Shauki Ahmed Ali, a student, made a provocative speech insulting to Muslim believers. This was the signal for a wide anti-Communist campaign. All the Right-wing papers shouted that Shauki was a Communist. Although the Central Committee of the Communist Party had no difficulty in proving the opposite, this was completely ignored.

On December 9, the Constituent Assembly by a majority vote passed a bill proposed by the Government, banning the activity of the Communist Party. This law made it possible to expel the deputies elected on the Communist Party ticket from the Constituent Assembly, to prohibit the publication of Communist newspapers and magazines, close the central and district committees of the Party and stop the activities of workers' clubs. The law provided for imprisonment up to five years for the propaganda of Communist ideas.

The shameful outlawing of the Communist Party did not release the government of the need to live up to the promises generously handed out during the election campaign. But not a single serious problem has been solved so far.

An armed struggle of the Nilotic peoples against government troops continued in the South. The cost of living was rising and unemployment was on the increase.

At the end of July 1966, the Constituent Assembly passed a vote of no confidence in the Mahgoub Government. A new government was formed, headed by Sadik al-Mahdi, a great-grandson of Mohammad Ahmed (the Mahdi).

A new government crisis broke out in May 1967, and Mahgoub again formed and headed the government. The Constituent Assembly was dissolved in February 1968, because, according to the official version, of its inability to draft the Sudan's constitution. Elections to the new Constituent Assembly were held in April 1968. Mohammed Mahgoub once again headed the government.

In late August-early September 1967 the heads of state and government of the Arab countries met in Khartoum to discuss measures to do away with the aftermath of Israeli aggression.

IVORY COAST, UPPER VOLTA, GABON, GUINEA, DAHOMEY, CAMEROUN, CONGO (Brazzaville), MAURITANIA, MALI, NIGER, SENEGAL, TOGO, CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC, CHAD*

WEST AND EQUATORIAL AFRICA UNDER FRENCH RULE

On the eve of the First World War French West Africa and French Equatorial Africa administratively represented two areas ruled by governors-general. During the war the colonial possessions of France were extended. Togo and Cameroun, wrested from Germany, were divided between Britain and France. The division was sanctioned by the League of Nations, which in 1922 gave Britain and France mandates for administering Togo and the Cameroons. Most of the territory of these countries (Eastern Togo and East Cameroun) were joined to the colonial empire of the Third Republic. After that, the French possessions included eight colonies in West Africa (Mauritania, Senegal, French Guinea, the Ivory Coast, Dahomey, the French Sudan, Niger and Upper Volta), four colonies in Equatorial Africa (Gabon, the Middle Congo, Ubangi-Shari and Chad) and two mandated territories (Togo and Cameroun).

Specific Features of French Colonial Policy. The policy of France in Tropical Africa had its specific features shaped by economic and political development both in the colonies and in the metropolitan country.

After the World War, France continued to lag economically behind the United States, Britain and Germany. She was unable to export capital to the colonies on such a large scale as Britain, for example. The usurious nature of French imperialism, its traditional orientation on the export of capital in the form of loans to European countries, was the reason why its investments in the African colonies were relatively small. Here industry and agriculture developed more slowly than in Nigeria, the Gold Coast, etc. At the same time, French capital stuck to its old rule: to exploit its colonies in Tropical Africa above all through trade, let alone the taxation system and forced labour.

* The list of countries follows the order of the Russian edition.

One of the features of French policy was the line of assimilating part of the local population. The government adhered to this line only in the old overseas possessions where the positions of the Europeans were particularly strong. By means of assimilation, expressed in granting French citizenship to a limited number of local inhabitants, France wanted to reinforce her positions, to build up a strong mainstay among part of the population and set some Africans against others. In Tropical Africa the rights of French citizens were enjoyed, since the 1848 Revolution, by the people of four towns in Senegal—Saint-Louis, Dakar, Rufisque and Gorée, who elected one deputy to Parliament. The rest of the population had inferior status of subjects of the Third Republic.

In the two mandates, Togo and Cameroun, the French authorities, under their international obligations, had to give civil and political rights to the local population. But France, just as the other mandate-holding countries, actually reduced the mandate territories to the position of colonies. In particular, shortly after the First World War the laws of French West Africa were extended to Togo and the laws of French Equatorial Africa, to Cameroun.

Socio-Economic Development Level of the French Territories. The peasant was the central figure in the economic life of the French territories. He lived almost in the same conditions as centuries ago. The hoe was the principal implement and shifting cultivation with slash-and-burn field preparation prevailed. The patriarchal family as the main economic unit, domestic slavery and bondage for debts (the latter was expressed chiefly in the sale of children to the creditors)—all this testified to a low level of socio-economic development. In the Western and Central Sudan, the local nobility also employed feudal methods of exploitation. In the Tibesti highlands inhabited by Tedas (Chad), a sultan, who bore the title of *derdé*, preserved power, and the peasants had to perform all kinds of services for him. In the districts of Upper Volta inhabited by Mossis the *mogho-naba*, heir of the one-time powerful rulers of the Mossi state, stood out among the local nobility. The *mogho-naba* and his numerous vassals employed in their fields the labour of both slaves and serfs.

At the same time the subsistence economy was seriously undermined in the maritime districts, especially in the more developed colonies (Senegal, the Ivory Coast). Here commodity production developed and export crops (groundnuts, coffee, cacao, etc.) were grown. The French possessed effective means for compelling the people to produce these crops, taxation being the most important. But the French also utilised direct compulsion to draw their colonies into the capitalist world economy.

The use of wage labour was spreading in the colonies. In the 1920's, there were approximately 100,000 persons in French West Africa working for hire in ports, on railways, plantations, etc. Seasonal migration played a big part. Mossis, Gurunsis, Dogons, Mandingos and others living in Upper Volta and the French Sudan migrated

to Senegal, where the cultivation of groundnuts was developing, or to plantations in the British Gold Coast colony. Most *navetans*, as seasonal labourers were called in Senegal, worked for prosperous peasants as sharecroppers.

Development of capitalist forms of exploitation led to the birth of the working class, but the French colonies actually had no national bourgeoisie. Here, as in many other colonies, Europeans as a rule owned the enterprises in which Africans worked. Syrian and Lebanese Arabs, who began to settle in West Africa at the end of the 19th century, played an important part in trade.

Anti-Colonial Movement After the First World War. During the First World War, 134,000 *tirailleurs sénégalais*, as soldiers mobilised in Tropical Africa were called, fought on the European battlefields. In May 1918, Angoulvant, governor-general of French West Africa, voiced the hope that Africans would not bring back "seditious" ideas from Europe. But his expectations were not justified. Africans who had been to Europe witnessed the powerful economic and political actions of the proletariat which swept France after the October Revolution in Russia. Workers in French West Africa became more active. The strike which broke out in Senegal in 1919 on the Dakar - Saint-Louis Railway ended in victory for the workers. In the same year the strike movement spread to workshops and other enterprises and the port of Conakry, the capital of French Guinea.

Democratic organisations led by progressive-minded intellectuals became active in Senegal and Dahomey. Under their influence, the population of Porto Novo and adjacent districts refused to pay taxes at the beginning of 1923. Troops dispatched to Porto Novo fired on the demonstrators.

The big anti-colonial uprisings which flared up in the Sahara at the beginning of the First World War continued for several years. The nomads took advantage of the fact that during the war the French had to reduce their garrisons and send part of the units to Europe. In 1918-1920, having received reinforcements, the French restored their rule over the Sahara Tuaregs after cruel battles. The tribal chiefs who headed the uprisings were either executed or exiled. But the Arabs of Mauritania and the French Sudan did not lay down arms. Battles in the vicinity of Timbuktu and Port Etienne were frequent. In the 1920's, the French actually controlled only the southern districts of Mauritania adjacent to Senegal.

Direct Rule. Unlike the British who introduced indirect rule in their territories, the French employed primarily methods of direct rule. The latter were advantageous from the viewpoint of the metropolitan country for the following reasons. First, direct rule deprived the African chiefs of their own tax apparatus by means of which they could strengthen their economic positions; second, it increased political control over the chiefs.

Though outwardly the systems of direct and indirect rule differed from each other, they were identical in content. Under both systems

Europeans relied on the local nobility and actually worked hand in glove with the most reactionary elements. True, in the French colonies the capture of the most important economic and political positions by Europeans weakened the power of the chiefs. African officials of various origins, who often had no ties with the local nobility, were appointed heads of small administrative divisions. But the nobility (the so-called traditional chiefs) preserved considerable influence, particularly in Chad, Niger, Upper Volta and Mauritania, holding most of the offices in the lower echelons of the colonial administration; it continued to exploit the dependent peasants and was responsible for the collection of taxes. A basis was thus created for the political alliance of the metropolitan country and the local nobility, an alliance founded on the domination of the colonialists.

The Colonial Exploitation System in the 1920's and 1930's. The trading companies—Compagnie française de l'Afrique Occidentale, Société commerciale de l'Ouest africain and others, representing French monopoly capital, benefited most from the exploitation of the colonies. They had a wide network of shops, exported raw materials and imported European manufactured goods. Company agents did not disdain usury: they accepted the property of peasants as security and gave them loans in money, or for example, seed, which was to be returned three-fold the next year.

In the interest of these companies Senegal specialised in the growing of one crop (groundnuts) and Dahomey, in the production of palm oil. Prior to the First World War, French Guinea concentrated on the production of rubber, but after the sharp fall of world prices, began to export primarily bananas and pineapples. The Ivory Coast, Togo and Cameroun exported chiefly coffee and cacao and Gabon, commercially valuable timber. The other colonies produced export crops in limited quantity in view of the high cost of delivering the raw materials to Atlantic ports. That is why the French Sudan, Upper Volta, the Middle Congo and Ubangi-Shari served above all as suppliers of manpower for "public works", as forced labour on building highways, railways, etc., was called. As for Chad, Niger and Mauritania, these were primarily stock-raising countries, exporting animal products for which there was a big demand on the Atlantic coast.

European plantations were few. In the 1920's slightly more than 50 such plantations took up 4,000 hectares in the Ivory Coast. But European timber concessions were quite large. The main timber workings were in Gabon and there were some in the Ivory Coast and in the Middle Congo. The industrial development of the colonies, outside timber concessions and a few factories processing agricultural raw materials, was negligible. Most colonies had goldfields, but they were worked only by African prospectors who used antiquated methods. In the Middle Congo, the Compagnie minière du Congo français, organised before the First World War, was mining copper ore in the Mindouli district.

Railways were built on a relatively large scale. This was an important means of profiteering for the French monopolies. They organised affiliated companies which obtained building contracts and bought up the shares of colonial loans designated for financing railway construction. Money for the redemption of the loans was contributed from the budget of the colonies, that is, was extracted from the pocket of the African taxpayer. The loans were guaranteed by the government and the French monopolies had no reason to fear for their profits.

Railways were built chiefly in the colonies which had an outlet to the Atlantic. The biggest railways built in the 1920's and 1930's in French West Africa were the Thiès-Kayes (667 km.) and Abidjan - Bobo-Dioulasso (796 km.) lines. This facilitated a substantial increase in the exports of groundnuts from Senegal and timber and other commodities from the Ivory Coast. A railway line linking Brazzaville with Pointe-Noire (544 km.) was laid in French Equatorial Africa from 1921 to 1934. This line, the French press claimed, was needed for the export of raw materials from the interior of Equatorial Africa. But actually, its economic significance was not so great. It was built not so much for exporting raw materials as for strengthening France's strategic positions in Equatorial Africa, ensuring the construction of a naval base in Pointe-Noire and also giving speculators a chance to make profits on government contracts.

Forced Labour and Its Consequences. African labour was needed to build railways and highways, carry freight, erect administrative buildings, barracks, and villas for colonial officials. Africans were conscripted on the strength of forced labour regulations, issued by the colonial authorities.

Forced labour, in essence not differing from slavery, was wide spread in the French colonies from the very beginning. In August 1930, it was officially (for the nth time) sanctioned by a decree of the President of the Republic, which laid down that in each colony persons mobilised by the administration had to work as many days during the year as demanded by the local governor. Formally the tern of forced labour was short (for example, 8-12 days in French West Africa), but actually the colonial administration never considered itself bound by regulations limiting the employment of forced labour, regarding them as an empty formality.

The extensive use of forced labour, requisition of food and high taxes caused a mass flight of Africans from the French colonies. Mauritanian Arabs moved to Rio de Oro; Upper Volta Mossis, to the Gold Coast; Fangs and other peoples of the French Cameroun, to the British Cameroons, Rio Muni and Fernando Po Island.

French Equatorial Africa gained ill fame for the widespread use of forced labour. The authorities drove the able-bodied male population of Gabon and the Middle Congo to the timber workings on the Atlantic coast. On arriving to the place of work, the Africans were made to sign fettering long-term contracts with the European

employers. Since the male population was engaged on the coast, there was a shortage of manpower in the interior districts inhabited by Fangs, Bakotas and other peoples, and the area under food crops was cut. Weakened by constant undernourishment, the population became more susceptible to diseases: tropical malaria, sleeping sickness and tuberculosis. In the timber-working districts, where there were few women, prostitution and syphilis spread and drunkeness mounted catastrophically.

The colonial administration started building the Brazzaville - Pointe-Noire Railway in 1921. Up to 10,000 people were annually driven to the construction site and made to work by force. Unable to get sufficient manpower in Gabon and the Middle Congo, the authorities recruited inhabitants of Ubangi-Shari—Saras, Mandjas and others—who lived 1,000 and more kilometres north of Brazzaville. According to official data, 25 per cent of the workers perished annually from starvation, dysentery, etc., in the early 1920's. Subsequently, according to the same source, mortality declined to 12 per cent. This figure, however, did not include the porters and those who perished *en route* before reaching the construction site.

It is not surprising that many regions in French Equatorial Africa became depopulated. Official statistics gave contradictory figures of the population of this colony (from 2 to 4 million), but the majority of researchers who studied the situation in the area asserted that the population was declining. Bruel, the author of several detailed economic and geographic studies, estimated that there were about 5 million people in 1914 and only 3 or 4 million in 1927.

Uprisings at the End of the 1920's and in the Early 1930's. The Africans responded to the exploitation by anti-colonial actions.

Arabs in Mauritania, who refused to pay the livestock tax, kept up the insurgent movement. There were years when a nomad family had to sell up to 50 sheep in order to pay taxes. The colonial administration actually faced the Arabs with the alternative: either to pay taxes or to move to the territory of Rio de Oro, where there was a shortage of pasture-lands. Refugees from Morocco, who were fleeing from the French colonial army, arrived in Mauritania at the beginning of the 1930's. A number of successful raids on military outposts were staged with their help. In 1931-1932, arduous battles were fought, in which the colonial troops lost about 100 men. The disturbances in Mauritania were crushed only in 1933, simultaneously with the wiping out of the last nests of resistance in Morocco.

The anti-colonial movement in French Equatorial Africa flared up at the end of the 1920's. The French succeeded in putting down rather quickly the uprising in the Laï district (Chad), which started in 1927. But in the same year an insurrection broke out in the Middle Congo and it spread to Cameroun.

On the call of Karinou, the leader of the insurgents, Mandjas in the Middle Congo set up detachments, which heroically fought in the Upper Sanga Mountains up to 1929.

Influence of the World Economic Crisis. The crisis which began in France and her colonial empire in 1930 especially hit the countries of Tropical Africa with a one-crop agriculture—Senegal, Guinea, the Ivory Coast and Dahomey. During the crisis, purchasing prices of groundnuts dropped more than 50 per cent as compared with 1929 and prices of coffee, cacao and palm oil declined even more.

The peasants in French West Africa had to continue cultivating export crops despite the low prices because the receipts from their sale went to pay the money tax. Those who had no chance to pay their taxes, especially *navetans* who cultivated groundnuts and nomad Arabs, had to hire out for a mere pittance to European employers or fall into the clutches of the money-lenders. The flight of Africans to neighbouring colonies, which had subsided temporarily on the eve of the crisis, increased again in the 1930's. In Guinea, Dahomey and the French Sudan, the sale of children into slavery by poor peasants became wide spread.

In some areas of French West Africa where starvation was rampant, the colonial administration cut taxes (but not more than by one-third) and reduced the outlays on the inordinate bureaucratic machine. To this end the administrative territorial division was simplified. In 1932, Upper Volta was abolished (it was re-established only after the Second World War): her territory was merged with the French Sudan, the Ivory Coast and Niger. For a few years, from 1934 to 1937, the division of French Equatorial Africa into four colonies was abolished and all *cercles*, which were part of these colonies, were subordinated directly to the governor-general.

The decline in economic activity led to a drop in the incomes of the French companies which were looking for additional sources of profit through intensifying the non-equivalent trade with the colonies.

Foreign-trade statistics give an idea of the non-equivalent nature of France's commerce with her colonies during the crisis. In 1929, the price of a ton of goods imported to French West Africa was 2,800 francs on the average, and in 1933, 1,740 francs. Correspondingly, the price of a ton of exported goods was 1,580 and 660 francs. Consequently, the value of a ton of imported goods dropped only by 38 per cent, while the value of exported goods declined by 58 per cent. On the whole, the exports of the colonies decreased considerably less than the imports, attesting to the exploitation of the French possessions and the sharp drop in the purchasing power of the African population during the crisis years.

The peasants were drawn into the production of cash crops with the help of "sociétés de prévoyance", organisations for the marketing of raw materials and the distribution of seed, set up by the colonial administration. Formally, these organisations, which appeared prior to the First World War, were regarded as voluntary cooperatives. But actually the nine million peasants of French West Africa who in the 1930's were members of these societies had been forcibly enrolled. The societies imposed on the peasants low prices of agricultural raw materials, advantageous to the exporters. After the harvest the peasants had to pay a usurious interest (25 per cent and more) for the seed they had received. Although the seed was often of inferior quality, everyone had to take it, even those who did not need it. The local chiefs who directed the distribution of the "aid" appropriated the seed, extorted bribes from the peasants, and so on.

During the crisis, French textile manufacturers launched a campaign for increasing cotton production in Tropical Africa. Cotton prices on the world market were very low; hence, the cotton plantations could be extended only if the peasants were compelled, in one way or another, to grow this crop.

Cotton-growing was concentrated primarily in Upper Volta and the French Sudan. The tribal chiefs who forced the peasants to plant cotton received bonuses from trading companies. How the peasants were paid is shown by the following example: in Upper Volta they received from the sale of cotton only one-third as much as from the sale of millet which was also bought up at fixed prices. In 1932, the colonial administration announced the establishment of Office du Niger in the French Sudan, a state enterprise financed from the colony's budget funds, i.e., by the African taxpayer. A dam near Sotuba and other hydro-engineering installations, which were built in 1929, providing for the irrigation of 7,000 hectares in the middle course of the Niger, were handed over to Office du Niger. Eight thousand Africans were settled on the irrigated lands and made to grow cotton and rice.

Cotton production also increased in French Equatorial Africa, especially Ubangi-Shari. Here colonial officials knew that their promotion depended on the quantity of cotton delivered to the trading companies in their districts. To force the Mandjas to engage solely in cotton cultivation, they were forbidden to hunt, although there was very little livestock in Ubangi-Shari and hunting was the main source of meat in the people's diet. Mandjas had to give up their rifles and gun powder. A peasant in whose hut meat was found was treated as a criminal.

The Political Situation Prior to the Second World War. The role of the working class and the intellectuals rose before the Second World War.

In the 1930's the stratum of intellectuals, consisting of employees of private companies, colonial administration officials, teachers, etc., noticeably increased in Senegal, the oldest and economically best developed French colony. A number of Africans who had received a higher education in France started to publish newspapers. The first works by African writers (Bakary Diallo and Ousman Diop Socé of Senegal, P. Hazoumé of Dahomey and others) were published in French. Many intellectuals, particularly teachers and office employees, supported the progressive newspapers which were published in Dakar and Saint-Louis and criticised the most odious aspects of the colonial regime.

But the most privileged elements among the African intellectuals collaborated with the colonial authorities. Blaise Diagne, who prior to and after the First World War was elected to the French Chamber of Deputies by four Senegal towns, became Deputy Minister of the Colonies towards the end of his political career, in 1931. Galandou Diouf, elected to Parliament in 1934 after the death of Blaise Diagne thanks to the support of the progressive Senegalese press, disowned his election promises. At the municipal elections in 1935, Galandou Diouf collaborated with the police, barring from the polls those who were opposed to him and his supporters. As a result, police and demonstrators clashed on the streets of Dakar.

The activities of the French Communist Party, which tirelessly exposed the colonial system, acquired still greater significance in the 1930's. French office employees and teachers, members of the Communist Party, appeared in Senegal, the French Sudan and other countries. They founded several Marxist circles. The Popular Front in France played an important part in the life of the colonies. After the Popular Front Government was formed, the organisation of African trade unions was allowed—true, with "the participation of Europeans". The establishment of trade unions stimulated the activity of the working class in French West Africa (about 190,000 people on the eve of the Second World War).

In September 1938, the trade unions organised a big strike on the railways in Senegal. The strike, which began in protest against the arbitrary dismissal of workers, paralysed traffic on the Dakar-Niger line. In Thiès railwaymen stoned strike-breakers who under police protection tried to run trains. Troops shot at the strikers, killing 6 and wounding 50. Louga railwaymen (on the Saint-Louis - Dakar Line) then declared a solidarity strike. Ultimately, the colonial authorities had to satisfy a number of the workers' demands: raise wages and pay allowances to the families of those killed during the clashes with the police. Only after this was the strike called off.

The Period of the Second World War. In 1939 and 1940, 137,000 soldiers were mobilised in French West and Equatorial Africa and sent to Europe. After the surrender by the French Government, the *tirailleurs sénégalais,* by agreement between Pétain and the nazis, were sent to Algeria and then to French West Africa. The return of the soldiers, many of whom had learned as prisoners of war what the "new order" in Europe was like, helped to spread anti-fascist sentiments among the local population. Boisson, a placeman of Vichy who headed French West Africa, admitted in 1942 that he could not rely on the army and that it was impossible to make the population fight against the Allies.

Hostilities between the British, backed by de Gaulle's supporters, and Vichyites began in July 1940, when a British naval squadron arrived in Dakar. In response to Boisson's refusal to lay down arms the squadron shelled and disabled the Vichy cruiser *Richelieu* which was anchored in the port.

At the end of August 1940, the troops in Chad came out against the Vichyites. Marchand, commander of the military district, and Eboué, the colony's governor (a French Guiana Negro by origin), transmitted over the radio of Fort-Lamy a statement, declaring that patriotic-minded soldiers and officers did not recognise the Vichy government and would continue the struggle against nazi Germany.

Following the example of Chad, Cameroun, the Middle Congo and Ubangi-Shari joined the resistance forces. In Gabon Vichyites succeeded in winning over several army units, but after insignificant clashes their resistance was broken and the troops supporting General de Gaulle captured Libreville. French Equatorial Africa and Cameroun fully escaped from control of the Pétain government. The Vichyites, however, held on for another two years in French West Africa and Togo, until the course of the Second World War turned. It was only at the end of November 1942 when the nazis were stopped on the Volga and Allied forces landed in North Africa that Boisson and other Vichyites went over to the side of the Americans. French West Africa and Togo then became subordinate to the Free French movement.

A number of military units in which African soldiers were in the majority were formed on the territories liberated from the Vichyites. These units courageously fought against the German and Italian fascists. In 1941-1942 southern districts of Libya were raided from Central Africa. In the summer of 1942, battles flared up on the Mediterranean coast. At Bir Hakeim (Cyrenaica), soldiers from Gabon, stationed on the most dangerous battle sector, held their positions, repelling furious attacks. After receiving an order to retreat, they broke through the enemy ring, notwithstanding the loss of 40 per cent of the men.

While African soldiers were fighting against nazism, hundreds of thousands of people in the colonies produced strategic raw materials and subsequently supplied the armies of the Free French, Britain and the United States.

Thousands of Africans were sent to build highways and country roads, ports and airfields. Taxes were raised, notwithstanding the drop in the money income of peasants from the sale of cash crops. In 1943, prices of raw materials were cut by half and exports dropped by seven-eights. Specifically, in 1938 French West Africa exported 611,000 tons of groundnuts; in 1943, only 17,000 tons and in 1945, 135,000 tons. In the Ivory Coast many peasants were ruined by the low cacao prices. Those who failed to maintain their plantations in a good condition were fined. Thousands of Upper Volta peasants were brought by lorries under military guard to the Ivory Coast, where the local planters needed cheap labour.

Although the Free French fought against German fascism in the name of democracy and justice, their leaders actually had no intention of abandoning the old methods of colonial policy. This was confirmed by the Brazzaville conference in 1944, attended by representa-

tives of the colonial administrations in all African possessions of France.

The conference charted the policy of France in the postwar period. Having met at a time when the eventual victory of the anti-Hitler coalition became obvious, when the anti-fascist movement assumed a sweeping, worldwide scale, the conference considered it necessary to proclaim France's intention to democratise political life in the colonies. The Brazzaville decisions called for the establishment of representative institutions based on universal suffrage. But these institutions were not vested with real power: they were to be mere advisory bodies, their only right being to discuss local budgets. Chiefs who had loyally served as vehicles of French influence were to be used in the colonial administration system. The conference laid down that for five years after the war France would preserve in the colonies the "present labour regime", that is, forced labour.

The immediate future demonstrated that the French Government intended to abide by the Brazzaville decisions only in the part that called for preserving and consolidating the colonial regime. As for declarations about introducing universal suffrage, it was in no hurry to implement them. In the postwar period, the Africans' suffrage rights were systematically trampled underfoot. Despite repeated promises to abolish forced labour, it was preserved.

New Trends in Capital Exports in the Postwar Period. In the first 15 years after the war, important changes occurred in the French territories. After the victory of the revolution in Indochina, the colonies in Tropical Africa became one of the last reserves of French imperialism. In the second half of the 1940's and in the 1950's, French colonialism sought to utilise to the utmost these raw material sources and markets. This, in particular, spurred on the flow of capital from France.

As the crisis of imperialism's colonial system deepened, state investments increased much faster than private. This was a result of the enhanced role of the state in the economy of France herself and the unwillingness of the French bourgeoisie to risk its capital, inasmuch as it had no confidence in the future of its colonial empire.

In West Africa investments, as before, were made chiefly in trade. But in Equatorial Africa investments in the extractive industry, timber concessions and plantations were bigger than in commercial establishments. Private capital dominated undividedly in trade. It was represented by Compagnie français de l'Afrique Occidentale, controlled by the financial oligarchy, Société commerciale de l'Ouest africain, set up by the tycoons of the chemical and electrical equipment industries, and also the United Africa Company, an affiliate of Anglo-Dutch Unilever. Private investments also predominated in industry and agriculture. State investments went primarily into road building. In addition, the state financed geological prospecting, experimental agricultural stations and irrigation installations—in a word, all the undertakings that were unprofitable or yielded a small

profit. Office du Niger which financed the building of a dam near Markala remained the biggest state enterprise in agriculture. New lands were irrigated after the dam was commissioned in 1947.

State investments were designated, first, for stepping up the exploitation of Africa's natural and manpower resources by private capital and, second, for carrying out strategic plans. The building of roads, scientific exploration and irrigation development provided the prerequisites for expanding the exports of raw materials and the imports of French manufactured goods. The building of railways, highways, etc., was controlled by the army's General Staff, which, proceeding from strategic considerations, decided where the transport arteries were to be laid.

Geological maps were drawn up and prospecting for iron ore was conducted in the Nimba and Simandou mountains, Guinea. As soon as it became clear that the mineral deposits in these areas could be industrially exploited, private firms flocked to the scene. No little money was spent by the Atomic Energy Commissariat. But in 1960, when the Compagnie des mines d'uranium de Franceville was set up to work the uranium deposits discovered in Gabon, the Commissariat received only 20 per cent of the shares, while private capital grabbed the other 80 per cent.

The influx of American and British capital was a new feature in the economy of the French territories after the war. The United Africa Company controlled 60 per cent of Togo's foreign trade. After the war, exports of French West Africa to the United States trebled. In French Equatorial Africa the U.S. Steel Corporation established control over the mining of manganese ore in 1949. The output of the extractive industry in the French colonies was exported to France and also to Britain, the United States, West Germany and Canada.

Trade, Industry and Agriculture. Extending commercial operations in her possessions in West and Equatorial Africa, France gained the opportunity to cut imports from the dollar and sterling zones. The customs duties, annulled in the colonies during the war, were reintroduced in 1950, enabling France to gain control of 60 to 70 per cent of the foreign trade of these countries. At the same time the foreign commerce of the colonies was growing rather slowly. The prewar level in physical volume of imports was reached in 1949 and in exports, in 1953. In 1959, imports and exports in value were approximately twice the level of 1949-1953. But this was a result not so much of an expansion in physical volume as of the rise in prices.

The relatively slow growth of trade was due to the low level of commodity production, poverty of the population and the subsistence economy. As before, shifting cultivation and slash-and-burn field preparation prevailed. Although the use of ploughs and tractors swiftly expanded after the war, peasants stuck to the hoe.

The narrow specialisation of agriculture was preserved. After the war, groundnuts accounted for 85-90 per cent of Senegal's exports: the production of this crop for the market rose from 460,000 tons

in 1953 to 720,000 tons in 1959. There was an increase in the export of coffee and bananas from French West Africa and Cameroun, and cotton from Cameroun and French Equatorial Africa. At the same time the export of oil palm products (Dahomey) remained approximately at the same level. France did not need the traditional food crops (African millet and manioc) and the area under them increased very slowly. Even the production of rice, badly needed for supplying the population of the growing towns, was sharply fluctuating. The rice crop in the Ivory Coast, for example, dropped from 147,000 tons in 1952 to 70,000 tons in 1958.

Stock-raising, which played an important part among the Arabs, Berbers and Fulanis, was stagnating. The livestock was of low productivity. Epizootics were frequent because of poor veterinary service. According to approximate estimates, an African in the French colonies consumed 4 kilograms of meat annually on the average. The one-sided development of agriculture resulted in a steady increase of foodstuff imports.

Industrial development was confined to the working of forests and mineral deposits and processing of agricultural produce. From 1953 to 1959, French Equatorial Africa increased the export of timber from 600,000 to 900,000 tons; to replenish the reserves of okoume, forests of this valuable tree were planted. Large groundnut-oil factories were commissioned in Dakar. Several colonies considerably increased the exports of ores and minerals: iron ore (French Guinea), bauxites (French Guinea and Cameroun) and titanium ore (Senegal). Nevertheless, the extractive industry continued to play a minor part in the economy of the colonies. In the exports of French West Africa, output of the extractive industry accounted for not more than 2 or 3 per cent (in value).

The development of industries which could compete with French factories was impeded. Vegetable oil producers in Marseilles looked askance at the building of large groundnut-oil mills in Senegal (after the Second World War their productivity increased to 120,000 tons). By introducing quotas, the French Government limited the duty-free imports of groundnut oil to 45,000 tons annually, which was an obstacle to the development of Senegal's industry. When flour mills appeared in this colony in the early 1950's, the French Government forbade them to buy grain on the world market.

The Traditional Social Structure and Its Disintegration. In African society, traditional forms of exploitation continued to play a prominent part.

Slavery, chiefly in the household, existed almost everywhere. In some districts of Mauritania, there were more slaves than free people. Local Arabs engaged in the slave trade which, just as slavery itself, was banned in the French colonies only on paper. At the end of the 1950's in Mauritania the price of a five-year-old child was 20,000 colonial francs; a youth or a man, 80,000-100,000; a woman, 120,000 francs. The owner of a slave wielded the power of life and

death over him: he could doom him to forced labour or starve him to death. Part of the population of Mauritania were freedmen who tilled the fields of their former masters as sharecroppers and tended their cattle. Feudal forms of exploitation were likewise preserved. In districts where the Songhais settled (the French Sudan, Niger), the peasants had to work on the fields of the *meygas*, the local chiefs, present them with "gifts", and so on. The Songhai emir was regarded as the suzerain of the *meygas* who ruled separate villages or groups of villages.

Nevertheless, the old social structure was breaking up in the African village. It was a slow and very painful process in conditions of the colonial regime. Forced labour, low prices of agricultural raw materials and burdensome taxes hampered social development and steered it onto a road most arduous for the Africans. Colonial oppression artificially created an agrarian surplus population, forced the peasant to abandon his farm and go in search of a job to the town, where unemployment was rising.

Development of cash-crop farming and the migration of the rural population, especially the youth, to the towns undermined the traditional units—the patriarchal family and the rural community. Some members of the patriarchal family sought to establish and consolidate their individual families, to operate their own farms. The rural community did preserve its significance as the lowest link in the taxation machine built up by the colonialists, and partly as a form of landownership. But reallotment of the land in the community stopped long ago. Individual fields increased at the expense of the communal fields, which were regarded as a sort of a reserve that families could temporarily use.

G. Hauferlin, who made a study of the disintegration of traditional relations, cites the following description of this process as given by a chief in Dahomey: "Formerly all the fields and palm plantations were common. All members of the family jointly tilled the land. Every day or every other day, the head of the *tata* (patriarchal family.—*Ed.*) gave the women maize and fruit. Now everything is going differently: as soon as the parents die, the sons demand a division of the land. People no longer work together and even neighbours and friends have to be paid for helping out. If you have no land or there is not enough of it, you have to leave the village and go to work in Cotonou or Porto Novo."

The patriarchal-feudal nobility, primarily in the colonies where the growing of cash crops developed rather rapidly (Senegal, the Ivory Coast, Cameroun), began to use capitalist forms of exploitation. Capitalism developed on the plantations and in trade. A considerable group of African planters employing hired labour arose in the Ivory Coast; the first African national bank was founded there in 1949. The trading bourgeoisie grew very swiftly in Senegal. It was making its fortunes on the resale of local raw materials and European goods, partly smuggled in from the Gambia and Portuguese Guinea.

The working class was growing faster than the national bourgeoisie, inasmuch as both Africans and Europeans employed hired labour. According to official data, at the end of the 1940's there were 230,000 persons working for hire in French West Africa, 120,000 in Cameroun and 150,000 in French Equatorial Africa. But official statistics took no account of the overwhelming majority of rural workers, particularly *navetans*. Actually, the number of persons in paid employment in each of these colonies was approximately twice as high.

The bulk of the workers (70-80 per cent) was unskilled and received very low wages. In the 1940's, an unskilled worker in the Ivory Coast was getting 75-100 francs a day, while the price of one kilogramme of bread was 50 francs. Skilled workers were getting from 300 to 400 francs, which was barely sufficient for feeding the family. The minimum wage fixed by the colonial authorities for Africans was one-fifth of that for Europeans. Unlike the French, Africans did not receive sickness benefits and family allowances. In the African quarters of Dakar, Brazzaville and other towns, the local population lived in overcrowded hovels lacking light and water. The anti-hygienic condition of the African quarters contributed to the spread of epidemic diseases, tuberculosis, syphilis and leprosy.

Struggle of the French Colonies in Tropical Africa for Independence. The young working class, which enjoyed the growing support of the peasantry, was the most consistent fighter of the national-liberation movement. After 1945, the workers organised several new trade unions, many of which oriented themselves on the General Confederation of Labour, the progressive trade union centre of France. In 1947, railwaymen in French West Africa organised a big strike, which lasted for several months and forced the colonial authorities to satisfy the workers' demands.

Africans felt the need to pool their efforts in the struggle against colonialism. But with the exception of a few political circles, only one political party, the Socialist Party of France, functioned in the French colonies in West and Equatorial Africa prior to 1945. Subsequently, Modibo Keita, President of Mali, described its activity in the following terms: "We were thrown into prison, persecuted and oppressed here, in our country, with the support of a Socialist government. And this happened at a time when a Socialist was the governor-general in Dakar...." It was necessary to organise mass action, to coordinate the activities of the African representatives elected to French parliamentary institutions, to utilise for the anti-colonial struggle the territorial assemblies—the elected advisory bodies set up in each colony after the new constitution of France was adopted in 1946. All this had to be done by the mass political organisations of Africans which arose in 1945 and 1946.

Slogans formulated by the African intellectuals inspired the liberation movement. The general democratic, anti-imperialist trend of these slogans helped to unite the Africans. But the parties formed in the colonies frequently expressed only the interests of separate nationalities. The primary party organisations, as a rule, were set up along ethnic lines. Part of the leaders were inclined to reach a compromise with the colonial administration.

A conference of representatives of different parties was held in Bamako in 1946 on the call of several African M.P.'s. The conference decided to set up a common political organisation for all the French colonies in West and Equatorial Africa. The new organisation, African Democratic Assembly (Rassemblement Démocratic Africain—R.D.A.), was set up along federal lines. It was headed by Houphouët-Boigny, an African planter from the Ivory Coast. The Assembly urged Africans to fight for political and economic rights within the framework of the French Union, as the colonial empire of the Fourth Republic was called under the 1946 constitution.

Representatives of the R.D.A. in French parliamentary institutions acted together with the French Communist Party on a number of issues. The organisation was swiftly growing and in 1949 it had a membership of one million. Its influence was particularly strong in the Ivory Coast. Its positions, however, were weak in Senegal; the leading part in this colony had been played for a long time by the Socialist Party, and since 1949, by the People's Bloc of Senegal headed by the African writer and sociologist Léopold S. Senghor.

The colonial administration brought down repressions on the R.D.A. The Minister for Overseas Territories said in Parliament that he regarded the R.D.A. as a pro-Communist organisation. In February 1949, agents of the administration assaulted R.D.A. members in Abidjan and clashes broke out in that town. Many active members were arrested and thrown into prison, where they were tortured. Nevertheless, it was not so easy to crush the movement in the Ivory Coast. The people in Abidjan and other towns reacted to the police provocations by a boycott of French goods. Demonstrations and meetings demanded the release of the arrested. At the beginning of 1950, French troops repeatedly fired on demonstrators, killing and wounding more than 100 people. In April 1950, as many as 3,000 political prisoners were languishing in prisons in the Ivory Coast.

Eventually, the R.D.A. leadership struck a deal with the authorities. In return for the promise of the French administration to end the persecution, Houphouët-Boigny agreed to support the government majority in the parliamentary institutions of France and to put forward the slogan of the Africans' cooperation with France. This action of the leadership precipitated a crisis in the organisation. Sections of the R.D.A. in Cameroun, Senegal, French Guinea and Niger denounced the policy of the leadership and actually stopped obeying it. The R.D.A.'s influence noticeably waned.

After the R.D.A. renounced vigorous action, the role of the trade unions in the anti-colonial movement mounted. Most of these unions oriented themselves on the General Confederation of Labour and were under the influence of Communists. In 1952-1955, a wave of strikes swept the colonies. In 1952, the trade unions organised a

24-hour general strike, demanding a revision of the labour laws. With the active support of French Communists, the National Assembly of France adopted a Labour Code, which introduced a 40-hour week, paid vacations for industrial and transport workers, and proclaimed the principle of equal pay for equal work regardless of colour. The adoption of the code was a great victory for the progressive forces in France's African territories. But with the connivance of the colonial administration everything possible was done to reduce it to naught. Specifically, the provisions of the code directed against discrimination of Africans in wages were systematically violated.

The anti-colonial struggle assumed a particularly wide scale in Cameroun. The Union of the Camerounian Peoples (L'Union des Populations Camerounaises—U.P.C.), supported by the overwhelming majority of the population, resolutely opposed imperialist oppression and demanded abolition of trusteeship.

The French administration repeatedly persecuted this party: in 1950, the entire U.P.C. leading committee were arrected and in 1952 its regular congress was banned. The people took the matter to the United Nations. Representatives of the U.P.C. made wide use of the United Nations Trusteeship Council to expose the colonial regime introduced by France in this trust territory.

In May 1955, the French administration decided to put an end to the U.P.C. once and for all and, in accordance with the established pattern, declared that it was a pro-Communist organisation. Following clashes between U.P.C. supporters and a group of agents provocateurs, the French authorities began wholesale arrests. Fifteen hundred Africans were imprisoned, several hundred were wounded or killed during street demonstrations. The U.P.C. was forced to go underground and it responded to the repressions by organising guerrilla struggle. On the call of the U.P.C., the Bamilekes and other peoples in the southern, most developed, districts started an uprising. The French Government was forced hastily to bring over troops from Senegal and Upper Volta. The ensuing armed struggle dragged out for years. The punitive forces drenched the countryside in blood, razed dozens of villages and threw thousands of patriots into concentration camps.

In view of the uprising in Cameroun and the continued advance of the national-liberation movement in West and Equatorial Africa, the French Government thought it necessary to resort to constitutional manoeuvres. According to Deffere, Minister for Overseas Territories at that time, the government did not wish "events to run ahead and gain the upper hand". In an effort to prevent the break-up of the colonial empire France agreed to grant limited autonomy to her territories in West and Equatorial Africa provided she retained key economic and political positions.

In June 1956, the President of France signed a law empowering the government to extend the competence of the Territorial Assemblies. Under this law, the Assemblies received the right to elect Government Councils, executive bodies with restricted powers, and

also to approve local budgets. But the French governors were to preside in the Government Councils and all the decisions of the Councils, as well as those of the Territorial Assemblies, could be annulled by the Minister for Overseas Territories on the pretext that they "exceeded their competence" or were "an encroachment on national defence", etc.

One of the aims of the 1956 law was to dismember the two groups of colonies ruled by governors-general, putting up against them the government institutions in each of the colonies. Extending the powers of the Territorial Assemblies, France simultaneously prevented the establishment of organs of power which could guide the two groups of colonies—West and Equatorial Africa. These two groups of colonies, ruled by governors-general (or federations, as they were called after the Second World War), actually disintegrated. This made it easier for France to crush the anti-colonial movement in each colony separately. Moreover, on the pretext of the need to develop the economy in the desert and semi-desert districts, vast territories in the French Sudan, Niger and Chad were subordinated to the General Organisation of the Sahara Arcas. The establishment of the General Organisation which had a separate budget should have, according to the plans of the colonial administration, prevented the consolidation of power of the Government Councils in the French Sudan, Niger and Chad and should have promoted separatist tendencies among the Tuaregs and other Saharan nationalities.

Making use of the 1956 law and exerting political and economic pressure on the countries of West and Equatorial Africa, France was able to impede the establishment of federal state formations. But she was powerless to prevent the collapse of her colonial empire.

The working class in the colonies was extending its actions. It was headed by a large trade union centre, the General Union of Workers of Black Africa, founded in 1957. The African Independence Party, which enjoyed influence chiefly in Senegal, arose in the same year. This was the first party in France's Tropical Africa colonies which proclaimed Marxism-Leninism its theoretical basis. In Cameroun, guerrilla warfare continued despite constitutional reforms. The local Government Council, which at first consisted of Catholic leaders of the south and subsequently of Muslim feudal elements of the north, was maintained with the help of the colonial armed forces and the Foreign Legion.

The African Democratic Assembly (R.D.A.) stepped up its activity in French West Africa. Although at its Congress in Bamako in 1957 the R.D.A. did not take a clear-cut stand on the future of the French colonies, most delegates demanded that relations between France and her territories be based on the principles of complete equality. The Congress resolution read: "Independence of the peoples is an inalienable right enabling them to use the attributes of their sovereignty in the interests of the masses." The leading party of Ubangi-Shari, the Movement for the Social Emancipation of Black

Africa, took a resolute anti-colonial stand. This party, headed by Boganda, a Catholic priest, had a majority in the Territorial Assembly of Ubangi-Shari. It came out against the forced labour of peasants who were compelled to grow export crops, cotton in the first place. Demanding an expulsion of French officials who sabotaged the implementation of the 1956 law, Boganda declared from the rostrum of the Territorial Assembly: "Let them get out; our wives and children will throw a smouldering brand after the plane which carries them away, a symbol that there is no return, a symbol of shameful memories and the people's damnation."

In September 1958, amidst the continued break-up of imperialism's colonial system and the acute political crisis caused by the war in Algeria, the French Government was forced to submit to a referendum the question of independence of the countries in West and Equatorial Africa. Colonialist placemen, above all feudal elements who threw in their lot with imperialism, did everything to preserve the French Union, for which a new name was devised in the draft 1958 constitution, the French Community. "Never in the history of our countries were the elections (meaning the referendum.—*Ed.*) subjected to such crude falsification", said the statement of the General Union of Workers of Black Africa. "Never before has the colonial administration exerted such effort and resorted to such means to wrest, by means of blackmail, intimidation and corruption, 'Yes' at the unpopular referendum."

Many political leaders were afraid of a rupture in relations with France and the economic sanctions the French Government threatened to apply. Only in Guinea did the overwhelming majority of the voters, 95 per cent, demand withdrawal from the French Community. In this colony, the Democratic Party of Guinea (a section of the R.D.A.) carried out, with the help of the Territorial Assembly, important reforms on the eve of the referendum. It cut taxes paid by peasants, raised wages, succeeded in dismissing traditional chiefs from administrative posts and appointing its own supporters in their stead. These reforms rallied the masses round the party. In October 1958, the local Territorial Assembly, which declared itself a Constituent Assembly, proclaimed the independence of the Republic of Guinea.

But the final abolition of the French colonial system in West and Equatorial Africa was not long in forthcoming. The referendum was a temporary and incomplete victory for colonialism. In less than a year after it, African political parties one after another pledged to win independence for their countries.

Desperate eleventh-hour efforts were exerted to keep the colonies from fully breaking with France. The latter, as pointed out earlier, had succeeded in preventing the formation of big federal states. Mauritania, the Ivory Coast, Dahomey, Upper Volta and Niger refused to join the Mali Federation, whose establishment was contemplated on the territory of former French West Africa. Only Senegal and the

French Sudan joined the Federation (January 1959), which proved to be short-lived. At the same time the Ivory Coast, Dahomey, Upper Volta and Niger set up the Council of the Entente, an economic and political bloc which enjoyed French patronage.

Nevertheless, the disintegration of the French colonial empire was inevitable. In January 1960, under the pressure of world opinion which urged the United Nations immediately to abolish the trusteeship regime in Cameroun, this colony was granted independence. Next came the proclamation of independence of Togo (April), Mali (June), the countries of the Council of the Entente and four colonies of former French Equatorial Africa (August), and finally Mauritania (November). The French colonial empire in West and Equatorial Africa disintegrated and on its ruins there arose young states, whose peoples hoped for freedom, democracy and genuine economic and political independence.

THE POST-INDEPENDENCE PERIOD

By far most of the French possessions gained independence by non-military means. This came as a result of the exceptionally favourable international situation: the decisive influence exerted by socialism on world development and the sweeping movement against imperialism and colonialism, against aggression and war which spread throughout the world.

The peaceful transfer of power was undoubtedly an important positive factor. But power was taken over by governments formed during the period of colonial rule and often made up of people weighted down by traditions. This laid its imprint on the numerous cooperation agreements concluded in 1960 and 1961 between France and her former colonies. Under the agreements on military and technical assistance, France cooperates with these newly-free African countries (except Guinea and Mali) in organising, equipping and training their armies. Under the defence treaties France has preserved her military bases everywhere, except Guinea, Mali and Upper Volta. Although after 1963 France withdrew her troops from most of her former colonies, she retained the right to use local military bases.

French ruling circles have favourably received the organisation of the Brazzaville group of former French colonies in Tropical Africa (without Guinea, Mali and Togo) which set itself the aim of pooling the efforts of its members in the economic, political and military spheres. This organisation, after it was joined by the Malagasy Republic, was named the Afro-Malagasy Union. In 1963, Togo and Rwanda also joined it. The neo-colonialists hoped it would become an isolated group counterposed to the general African national-liberation movement.

Two opposite tendencies, however, emerged in the foreign policy of the Union members: one, towards greater isolation from the other African states and continued orientation on West European countries (especially France) and the United States; the other tendency sought to strengthen inter-African solidarity and develop friendly relations with all states.

Members of the Afro-Malagasy Union agreed to set up joint armed forces numbering 25,000 men. Measures for coordinating economic policy were also envisaged, specifically during the talks with the European Economic Community which all the countries of the Afro-Malagasy Union joined as associated members. [1] The Union members formed a group of their own in the United Nations to coordinate their position on international questions. Later on, they disbanded it so as to facilitate the establishment of a joint group of member countries of the Organisation of African Unity in the United Nations. In 1964, it was decided that the Afro-Malagasy Union in general would not deal with political problems, inasmuch as they came within the competence of the Organisation of African Unity. In view of this the Afro-Malagasy Union was reconstituted into the Afro-Malagasy Union for Economic Cooperation.

It seemed for a time as though the spirit of solidarity of all African states prevailed over the local group spirit which pervaded the Afro-Malagasy Union. But in 1965 the old Union was restored under a new name, the Afro-Malagasy Common Organisation. The Congo (Kinshasa), headed at that time by Moise Tshombe, was admitted to the Organisation. Mauritania, denouncing the reconciliatory attitude to Tshombe, resigned. In 1966, at a conference held in Tananarive the heads of member states of the Organisation discussed the draft charter. Its authors, guided by old principles, wanted the former French colonies to coordinate their foreign policy, which point was vigorously objected to by the Congo (Brazzaville). Ultimately, the charter was approved with essential amendments. It proclaimed that the aim of the Organisation was merely consultations on foreign policy, coordination of development programmes and strengthening cooperation which corresponds to the aim of the Organisation of African Unity.

The Tananarive conference also discussed the plan for an alliance of French-speaking states, put forward by the Tunisian leader H. Bourguiba and actively supported by L. Senghor. The latter, addressing the conference, proposed that this alliance include the countries of the Afro-Malagasy Common Organisation, the Maghreb countries, Cambodia, Laos and even Canada. The conference was in favour of the plan and instructed Hamany Diori, President of the Organisation, to begin consultations with the respective governments.

[1] The Common Market was also joined by other African countries—Mali, Nigeria, the Congo (Kinshasa), Burundi and the Somali Republic.

Politically and economically, the Afro-Malagasy Common Organisation is not homogeneous. Part of its members—Gabon, the Congo (Brazzaville), the Central African Republic (former Ubangi-Shari) and Chad—have been pursuing a joint policy on a number of questions since 1959. They held conferences of prime ministers, cooperated in training their armed forces and in 1966 formed, together with Cameroun, an Economic and Customs Union of Central Africa. No duties are collected at the frontiers between these countries. Projects of financial mutual assistance, regulation of prices of national manufactured goods, etc., were proposed.

In West Africa, the Council of the Entente has been preserved. Its original members were the Ivory Coast, Dahomey, Upper Volta and Niger. True, their unity was impaired in 1963 by the conflict between Niger and Dahomey. The conflict was precipitated by the decision of the Government of Niger to deport Dahomeyan citizens, many of whom had been employed as civil servants. In 1966, Togo joined the Council of the Entente. Members of this Council, like the parties to the Economic and Customs Union of Central Africa, cooperate in organising their armed forces and hold top-level conferences. They carried out joint measures in the economy: coordinated their economic development plans and adopted investment codes which gave a number of privileges to foreign companies.

Foreign capital has preserved important positions in industry, agriculture and trade in the former French colonies. France, as hitherto, predominates among foreign investors. She invests primarily state capital along the lines of the Aid and Cooperation Fund. Investments of E.E.C. members made through the European Development Fund, are growing in importance. U.S. private, state and semi-state organisations are also becoming more active.

But the positions of foreign capital have to a certain extent been weakened because the African states have taken over property which formerly belonged to the colonial administration—railways, ports, means of communication and public utilities. The state sector which has thus arisen may become an important factor in the progress of young African countries if they strive for economic independence and the restriction of foreign capital. Some of the former French colonies have already carried out important measures designed to eradicate the aftermath of colonial rule. This above all applies to Guinea, Mali and the Congo (Brazzaville), which have charted a course aimed at non-capitalist development.

THE IVORY COAST

Following the proclamation of independence in August 1960, the Ivory Coast adopted a new constitution which instituted a presidential regime in the country. Felix Houphouët-Boigny, leader and founder of the Ivory Coast Democratic Party, became the republic's president and head of government.

The Democratic Party was organised in 1946 on the basis of the African Planters' Union, and the big planters played the leading part in it. For 20 years it was the only party in the country.

The tasks facing the Ivory Coast were formulated as follows by Houphouët-Boigny in his 1962 New Year's message to the country: "The path of the Ivory Coast is evolution, and not revolution. We have no factories that could be nationalised but only the conditions for building them. We have no trade that could be handed over to the state and we have to organise it. We have no land for distribution, but have land for development." In September 1965, at the Congress of the Democratic Party Houphouët-Boigny reaffirmed that the Ivory Coast would continue the "liberalisation policy associated with state capitalism". The main trend in the policy of the Ivory Coast has been to strengthen the economy on the basis of free enterprise, wide attraction of foreign capital, utmost development of agriculture, in which more than 90 per cent of the population are engaged, and active participation of the state in the country's economic life.

These principles have been reflected in the so-called "transitional" economic development plan for 1962-1963, the first stage in the ten-year plan of socio-economic changes. Investments, private and state, are expected to reach 300,000 million African francs in ten years.

The transitional plan concentrated attention on the development of agriculture. The latter's narrow specialisation makes the country fully dependent on the world market. In 1962, for example, the Ivory Coast lost more than 12,000 million African francs as a result of the drop in coffee prices, that is, almost 10 per cent of her national income. That is why measures were taken to eliminate the one-crop economy. The area under rice, maize, cotton, and also plantations of hevea, oil palm, etc., have been extended. The government nationalised idle lands, demarcated and registered the plots; this accelerated the disintegration of communal land ownership and swiftly reinforced the private sector in agriculture.

The economy has been developing relatively fast in recent years. The Ivory Coast holds third place in the world for the production of coffee and fourth, for cacao. In the last ten years the gross product increased almost three times, mainly on account of coffee, cacao, bananas and timber. The annual growth rate of the national income reaches 6 per cent.

Industry has noticeably expanded in recent years. Fifteen new enterprises were built between 1960 and 1965, and eight more are under construction. Investments in industry amounted to 175,000 million African francs during these years. The output of industrial enterprises doubled in three years.

These achievements are largely explained by the "favourable investment climate". Foreign private capital is wooed. The export of a considerable part of the profits is guaranteed by the Investment Code. The president of the republic has assured private investors that

the Ivory Coast "will never resort to expropriation in any sphere of the economy without preliminary agreement on just compensation".

The Ivory Coast has created exceptionally favourable conditions for foreign capital. As a result of cheap labour and small expenditure on the social needs of the workers, private foreign companies receive $2 net profit for each invested dollar. It is not surprising that the industry and the most profitable plantations (banana, hevea and oil palm), warehouses, foreign trade and banks remain in the hands of foreign monopolies.

Private American corporations are investing their capital in prospecting for and working the natural resources and in setting up trading and banking establishments. A private U.S. bank has become a shareholder of the Bank for the Industrial Development of the Ivory Coast.

West German and Israeli companies are very active in the republic. But France, as hitherto, preserves the strongest positions. More than two-thirds of the private investments are French. The number of French settlers has doubled since the proclamation of independence.

At the same time the government is taking a number of measures restricting the activity of foreign capital. In 1962, an additional 10 per cent tax on all profits of trading and industrial establishments was introduced. Only companies which reinvest 20 per cent of their profits in sectors indicated by the government are exempted.

The National Investment Fund and the National Financing Co. were formed in 1962 to find internal resources for building state enterprises. A number of mixed companies was set up—National Bank for Industrial Development, Ivory Coast National Credit, Oil Palm Cultivation Co. and insurance companies. The government holds from 45 to 50 per cent of their shares.

In its foreign relations the Ivory Coast Government orients itself primarily on France. A tendency towards closer cooperation with the United States and West Germany has emerged in recent years.

In conformity with the agreements on economic, technical and cultural cooperation, concluded between the Ivory Coast and France on April 24, 1961, the young republic continues to remain in the franc zone. It is an associate member of the European Economic Community. Under the military agreement France has undertaken to deliver armaments and train military personnel for the Ivory Coast. In addition, the country is a member of the so-called Regional Defence Council, set up under the agreement on "collective defence" and on "technical assistance" between France, on the one hand, and the Ivory Coast, Niger and Dahomey, on the other.

The Ivory Coast is playing a considerable role in inter-African affairs. She is a co-founder of the Council of the Entente, which unites Dahomey, Niger, Upper Volta, Togo and the Ivory Coast.

The Ivory Coast Government has signed the Charter of the Organisation of African Unity. Simultaneously it is an active member of the Afro-Malagasy Common Organisation.

The country's internal political life is marked by growing opposition sentiments. Contradictions have become keener between the older and younger generations in the Democratic Party on the question of the country's ways of development. Students who received an education in France have criticised both the home and foreign policy of Houphouët-Boigny. In response, the government has organised the National Union of Students for young people who are loyal to it. All the members of this Union are provided with government scholarships and are given jobs upon graduation.

Several anti-government plots were uncovered in 1963. Eighty-five people were put on trial, including three ministers and seven M.P.'s This led to greater repressions. A State Security Court was set up and the party organised a militia of its own and purged its ranks. Compulsory two-year labour service was instituted for young people. Women's labour battalions have been set up. They are headed by Lieutenant-Colonel Dina Wert of Israel.

The government has placed the working-class movement under control. In 1961, a single trade union centre, the General Workers' Union of the Ivory Coast, was set up instead of the several trade union centres. The government forbade the federation to affiliate with international trade union organisations. A strike law is in force which restricts the activity of trade unions. Strikes under political slogans are prohibited.

At the same time the government has taken measures to improve the material condition of the people. In 1963, the minimum wage of industrial workers was raised by 6-8 per cent. But wages of agricultural workers, who make up the main mass of people in paid employment, remain at the 1952 level. Most of the agricultural workers are migrants from neighbouring countries.

During the years of independence the network of elementary and secondary schools has been extended. About 50 per cent of school-age children now attend school. In the 1964/65 academic year, 350,000 children attended elementary schools (in 1959/60, 200,000) and 23,000 children attended secondary schools (in 1960/61, 8,500). Much attention is paid to the training of skilled workers. There are 13 technical schools with 3,700 students and more than 30 centres for training workers in the different trades.

Prior to the proclamation of independence there were only 26 Africans with university diplomas in the country. A university with four departments—law, the humanities, medicine and natural science—was opened in Abidjan. In 1966, it had 1,700 students from eight African countries.

Colonialism has left a hard legacy in the field of health. Malaria, trachoma, tuberculosis and leprosy are still wide spread. The country is short of doctors and hospitals. Abidjan has only one medical

centre with 1,000 beds. (The town had a population of about 300,000 in 1965.) Each department with an average population of 300,000 has only one hospital and a few medical stations. Altogether, 121 doctors serve the entire country, that is, one doctor per 26,000 people.

UPPER VOLTA

Upper Volta gained independence on August 5, 1960. In November, a new constitution was adopted instituting a presidential regime in the country. Maurice Yameogo, General Secretary of the Volta Democratic Union (the local section of the African Democratic Assembly—R.D.A.) became the country's first president.

The government declared it would pursue a policy of strengthening relations with neighbouring states. An agreement abolishing customs frontiers with Ghana and opening air traffic between the capitals of both countries was signed in June 1961. This step was followed by the establishment of friendly relations with Mali and Guinea.

Somewhat earlier, in April 1961, "cooperation" agreements were signed with France, the latter preserving control over foreign trade, the monetary, financial and educational systems in the independent republic. Upper Volta has remained in the franc zone and is an associate member of the European Common Market.

At the same time, Upper Volta is the only member of the Council of the Entente which has demanded the closing of military bases on her territory and has refused to participate in the "joint" defence system based on the agreement with France. In 1961, she signed a joint defence pact within the framework of the Afro-Malagasy Union. Headquarters of the pact are located in the republic's capital. This choice was not accidental. The country which provided France with the famed *tirailleurs sénégalais* and cherishes its military traditions, Upper Volta is the only African state which has a special War Veterans Ministry (there are more than 250,000 veterans).

Upper Volta is located at the junction where trade routes linking Ghana, Guinea, Mali, the Ivory Coast, Togo, Dahomey and Niger cross. It owes its name of the "African crossroads" to her geographical position. This specific feature lays its imprint even on the country's foreign policy.

Economically, Upper Volta faces tremendous odds. The system of feudal-patriarchal land ownership continues to prevail in the countryside. Most of the peasants are dependent on the local nobility. The country's biggest feudal lord is the *mogho-naba,* emperor of the Mossis, the largest people in the country, who live in its central part. The peasants are forced to pay taxes not only to the government but also feudal rent to the *mogho-naba* and his vassals. The chiefs have preserved great power also among the Lobis, Bobos, Senoufos, Gourmas and Groussis. They allocate the land to the

tribesmen, make them work their fields and extort part of the earnings of peasants who go for seasonal work to the towns.

The government is trying somewhat to restrict the power of the feudal elements. In April 1961, it adopted a decision dissolving rivalling tribal associations, forbade the chiefs to wear the traditional headgear, and abolished some ancient rites which attested to the dependence of the peasants on the chiefs. But these measures have little affected the influence of the feudal lords.

The preservation of the "Mossi empire", the domination of the feudal elements and the shortage of land are the main reasons why Upper Volta is one of the most backward countries on the continent. Young people find no application for their energies either in agriculture or in industry and have to look for work at plantations and mines in the Ivory Coast or Ghana.

The situation is aggravated by unfavourable natural conditions. A considerable part of the country's territory has an arid climate and poor soils. In many districts agriculture without irrigation is impossible. Only six per cent of the suitable land is cultivated. Though the main crops are millet, sorghum, maize, rice and root crops, the food problem is acute. In some districts the population suffers from chronic malnutrition.

Livestock is the main wealth of Upper Volta. She holds one of the first places in West Africa for the head of stock and supplies meat to the Ivory Coast and Ghana. During the dry season, a considerable part of the peasants are forced to move with their livestock to the south, where there is more water.

A two-year economic development plan, adopted in April 1963, paid special attention to irrigation, prevention of soil erosion, development of stock-raising and combatting manpower migration. But in a country which has a population of 4.5 million and almost completely lacks state resources for financing the plan, it is very difficult to carry out the contemplated measures. One of the country's leaders described the path chosen by the government in these words: "The government of Upper Volta rejects the system of state socialism in favour of a mixed economy where the role of the state is frequently insignificant."

The government thus intends to utilise primarily private enterprise and to steer the country onto the capitalist path. It correspondingly began to attract private foreign capital.

The report of the Ministry of the Economy for 1964 pointed out that Upper Volta was getting annually up to 7,500 million African francs in foreign aid (including 2,500 million from France for balancing the budget and paying French advisers).

The big influx of foreign capital, however, failed to produce the expected results. The national debt of Upper Volta continued to swell. The expenditure on administration rose inordinately, but the peasants, 95 per cent of the population, are doomed to a beggarly existence. All this could not but arouse dissatisfaction.

Frequent reorganisations of the Government, the establishment of security courts, whose members were personally appointed by the president, and arrests of "opposition-minded" persons indirectly attested to growing dissatisfaction.

At the end of 1965, a wave of demonstrations swept the country and brought about the fall of the Yameogo regime on January 4, 1966. Lieutenant-Colonel Lamizana, chief of the Army General Staff, formed a new government.

The Lamizana Government cut the staffs in government offices, reduced salaries of civil servants and annulled a number of ministerial privileges. Nevertheless, the budget deficit persisted and the government appealed for financial help to several countries. Credit agreements were signed with France and the United States in the spring of 1966.

After the fall of Yameogo, political parties reappeared in the country (the activities of all opposition parties were banned in March 1959 by the National Assembly, where Yameogo's party had an absolute majority). In October 1966, spokesmen of the four leading parties—Volta Democratic Union, National Liberation Movement, the African Party Group and the Popular Action Group—presented a joint demand for a revision of the constitution and the holding of general elections.

In foreign policy the Lamizana Government proclaimed its loyalty to the Charter of the Organisation of African Unity. Upper Volta remains a member of the Council of the Entente and the Afro-Malagasy Common Organisation. Up to 1967, Upper Volta had no diplomatic relations with socialist countries, but the leaders of the new government expressed themselves in favour of establishing such relations.

GABON

Gabon is a country with very rich natural resources. She has one of the world's largest deposits of manganese ore and also reserves of oil, iron ore, non-ferrous metals and gold. Almost 90 per cent of her territory is covered with dense tropical forests abounding in commercially valuable timber.

In 1967, Gabon produced 3,169,000 tons of oil and 17,300,000 cubic metres of natural gas, 1,500 tons of uranium concentrates and 1,000,000 tons of manganese ore (she is one of the world's five biggest producers of this mineral).

Timber-working is being swiftly expanded. High-quality veneers and costly furniture are produced from Gabon woods. Outside the rather developed woodworking, the entire manufacturing industry consists of a few semi-handicraft establishments for the processing of raw materials, repair shops and yards for the building and repair of small river craft and sea-going vessels. In 1964, the manufacturing industry satisfied only 20 per cent of the country's requirements.

The extractive and manufacturing industries are fully controlled by foreign capital.

The swift expansion of mining and timbering have made for rather high economic growth rates. Since the proclamation of independence on August 17, 1960, and up to 1964, the national gross product rose from 15,000 million to 54,000 million African francs, that is, by 260 per cent. Gabon advanced to second place in Africa (after the Republic of South Africa) for per capita income.

The state capitalism sector has grown during the years of independence. The Gabon Development Bank with a capital of 1,000 million African francs was set up in 1961. Office des bois de l'Afrique équatoriale (with a monopoly right to purchase and export timber), Société d'énergie et d'eau au Gabon for the supply of electricity and water to the towns, Compagnie Gabonaise de distribution (with the right to import prime necessities from France) and other companies were organised.

Numerous measures have been taken to encourage private enterprise. Educational establishments have been opened to train businessmen from among Gabonese, and state funds for financing them have been allotted.

The government associates its hopes for an economic advance with the attraction of foreign capital. An Investment Code introduced on December 1, 1961, grants numerous tax and legal privileges to foreign companies. Their rights and privileges were further extended by the law of May 14, 1963. Owners of manufacturing, extractive, timber and even agricultural enterprises, which are being developed or extended, are fully or partially exempted from the payment of the taxes on profits, patents and on landed property for a period of from three to ten years.

The economic development of Gabon is extremely one-sided. Districts where the timbering, woodworking and extractive industries are developed represent oases, as it were, whereas in the rest of the country a natural and semi-natural economy continues to prevail. The backward patriarchal and semi-feudal order with communal landownership remains the predominating form of socio-economic relations.

At the same time, the army of wage workers is increasing in the industrial "oases". Between 1956 and 1963, the labour force in the extractive and manufacturing industries increased by 50 per cent, in construction by almost 100 per cent, and in trade by 150 per cent.

The condition of the workers is extremely hard. In 1966, the guaranteed wage minimum was 40 African francs per hour. This means that an unskilled worker has to work more than an hour to buy a kilogramme of bread and 23 hours to buy a kilogramme of beef.

The peasant is in a still worse plight. The average annual income of a peasant family did not exceed 40,000 African francs in

1966. On the other hand, the foreign companies, which buy up export crops—coffee and cacao—from the peasants, rake in huge profits. In 1966, for example, the monopolies paid the peasants 43 African francs for a kilogramme of cacao, but sold it in France for 127.5 African francs. The purchasing price of coffee was 50 African francs for a kilogramme and the wholesale price in France, 226 African francs.

The country faces many difficulties in education. While the proportion of children who attend elementary schools rose to 78 per cent in 1964/65, as compared with 56 per cent in 1959/60, the situation is much worse as regards secondary and higher education. In 1965, there were only 50 students in the Libreville Administrative School, the only higher educational establishment in the country, and no more than 200 Gabonese studied in institutes abroad.

In 1965, Gabon had five hospitals and altogether 57 doctors for a population of 500,000. Rural dwellers have practically no medical service. The sleeping sickness, leprosy and tuberculosis are wide spread.

The outcome of the keen political struggle within the country which had preceded independence was greatly influenced by foreign capital. When Gabon became an autonomous republic of the French Community and the first Government Council of Africans was formed in the summer of 1958, leaders of the Gabon Democratic Bloc came to power with the support of the colonialists. The first government was headed by Léon Mba, who favoured close economic, military and political alliance with France.

The Gabon Democratic and Social Union, the biggest opposition party at that time, represented sections of the national bourgeoisie, intellectuals and the traditional tribal elite, who sought to restrict foreign control in Gabon and the personal power of Léon Mba and to democratise the country's life.

In December 1959, freedom of the press was actually abolished by a decree of the government, and the activity of opposition parties, trade union and cultural organisations was placed under official control.

In February 1961, five months after the proclamation of independence, the constitution adopted in Gabon instituted a presidential regime, giving the head of the state virtually dictatorial powers. Léon Mba was elected president.

Despite all this, the opposition was not crushed. On February 18, 1964, the army made a coup, a provisional government was formed, which restored democratic freedoms and released political prisoners. But the next night French troops were rushed to Gabon and they crushed the uprising. Mba was reinstalled as president and he cruelly persecuted the insurgents.

On March 1, 1964, hundreds of people in Libreville came out into the streets carrying posters: "Down with Mba", "Long live free Gabon". Paratroopers and the police shot at the demonstrators, killing

and wounding many people. The next day the workers were supported by the students.

The Mba Government then resorted to a manoeuvre and arranged elections to the National Assembly. Despite the support of the state machine and police persecution of the opposition, the ruling party received only 54 per cent of the vote. The opposition parties—Defence of Democratic Institutions (it arose on the eve of the elections on the basis of the Gabon Democratic and Social Union) and Defence of Democracy (it was headed by Fidel Otandault, leader of the General African Workers' Confederation of Gabon—former section of the French General Confederation of Labour), received 16 out of the 47 seats in the National Assembly.

The election results stimulated the spread of the opposition movement. A wave of protest meetings, strikes and demonstrations swept the country. At that time Gabon had 43,000 persons in paid employment, or 20 per cent of the entire able-bodied population; of them almost 30,000 were workers.

Most of the workers followed the lead of the General African Workers' Confederation of Gabon. In addition, there were also the African Confederation of Religious Workers and the African Confederation of Free Trade Unions. The biggest strike in Gabon's history broke out on May 9, 1964. It was started by the workers of the Libreville port and shipping companies and then supported by workers at their enterprises. The police and gendarmes were thrown into action against the strikers. It was only on May 15, after the government had promised to meet their demands, that the workers ended the strike. The internal political situation remains tense up to the present. But at the elections held on March 13, 1967, the ruling party won all 47 seats in Parliament and Mba was re-elected president.

On December 1, 1967, following Mba's death, Vice-President Albert Bongo, with the approval of the Supreme Court, assumed the office of president.

In foreign policy, the Gabonese Government favours close economic and military-political cooperation with West European states. The closest ties are maintained with France. Gabon plays an active part in the Afro-Malagasy Common Organisation. In 1966, the country's ruling circles made the first timid steps to establish relations with socialist states, which are of advantage to Gabon.

GUINEA

The majority of the country's population—Malinkes, Susus and some other peoples—are farmers. Rice, fonio and manioc are the main local food crops, and bananas, coffee and copra are the chief export crops. At one time the Fulanis, the largest ethnic group in the country, engaged mainly in stock-raising, which remains an important field.

Extractive enterprises working for export prevail in industry. Bauxite deposits are worked on Los Islands and in the Fria district; an alumina factory is processing the Fria bauxites. Iron ore is mined near Conakry, gold is obtained on the Niger and diamonds, in districts near the borders with Liberia and Sierra Leone. Until recently the manufacturing industry was represented chiefly by a few rice mills, fruit juice factories and machine shops.

Guinea has embarked on the road of independent development in extremely hard conditions, being the first country in French Tropical Africa to get rid of colonial status. After the referendum of September 28, 1958, when the people of Guinea voted for independence, the French Government at once recalled all technical specialists. French companies withdrew from Guinea much capital and simultaneously the young state was refused any new credits. When they left the country, the French carried away the technical documentation of factories and offices. The difficulties facing the young state were especially great because the French Government actually instituted control over exports to the former colony, depriving it of many European-made goods.

But the hopes that Guinea would come begging for help and renounce her "premature independence" were in vain. In the very first months of its existence, the Guinean Government, relying on the support of the people, managed to organise the food supply of the urban population and carried out important measures to normalise the financial situation. Civil servants declared they agreed to a temporary lengthening of the working hours at the same salaries. In response to the call of the government, hundreds of Africans from neighbouring countries declared their readiness to come to Conakry to replace European specialists recalled to France. The Ghanaian Government extended a loan of £10,000,000.

Of great importance was the attitude of the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia and other socialist countries, which at once recognised Guinea and rendered her economic support. Sékou Touré said that the Soviet Union "was one of the countries which right from the start rendered disinterested assistance to the young Republic of Guinea".

On November 10, 1958, the Territorial Assembly, reconstituted into a Constituent National Assembly, unanimously adopted the constitution of the Republic of Guinea. It proclaimed that the citizens of Guinea enjoy democratic freedoms and equal rights to work, rest and leisure, social security and education. According to the constitution, the president of the republic, who is also the head of the government, is elected by universal suffrage for a term of seven years. He forms the government, appoints government officials and officers to all administrative and military posts. The president is responsible to the supreme organ of state power, the National Assembly, elected for a term of five years. The latter discusses and approves laws, including the state budget, and controls the execution of the

budget. Sékou Touré was elected the first president. He is the leader of the Democratic Party of Guinea, the country's only political party.

The Democratic Party already in the colonial period showed that it reflected the genuine interests of the working people and was striving for extensive changes, democratic in form and anti-imperialist and anti-feudal in content. The party acted as the spokesman of the most politically conscious sections, above all the incipient proletariat. It inspired the struggle of the trade unions for labour laws and supported the progressive centre of the organised workers, the National Confederation of Labour. Having won at the elections to the Territorial Assembly, whose powers were extended by the 1956 law, the Democratic Party insisted on the abolition of the institution of tribal chiefs, who served as the mainstay of colonialism, and the patriarchal-feudal order. In the course of the struggle for independence, the party consistently upheld the revolutionary and democratic principles in the national-liberation movement, which ensured it the people's decisive support at the referendum in September 1958. After the referendum the Democratic Party declared it would work further for the progressive reconstruction of society. The party set the tasks of putting an end to economic backwardness and steering the country onto the road of non-capitalist development.

In Guinea, as in some other African countries, national capital was of little importance during the period of colonial rule. After the gaining of independence, the positions of African capitalist elements in retail trade were strengthened, but the leading place in this sphere was held by foreigners, Lebanese Arab merchants. The numerically small urban proletariat consisted primarily of workers employed at foreign capitalist enterprises and also enterprises of the state sector. The latter arose as a result of the take-over by the state of property which had belonged to the colonial administration (the Conakry-Kankan Railway, ports, public utilities, etc.). In agriculture, too, hired labour was employed chiefly by French owners of banana, pineapple and coffee plantations. Wage labour was seldom employed on lands belonging to Africans.

The Democratic Party began to pay special attention to developing the state sector and organising cooperatives; it introduced a monopoly of foreign trade and started to plan economic development.

Development of the state sector encountered considerable difficulties, which could be overcome only gradually, by accumulating experience in operating the economy and by gaining managerial skills. Difficulties in training personnel in a country where almost the entire population was illiterate in the recent past and the inability of some leading personnel to cope with intricate tasks of running modern enterprises caused losses in the nationalised sector at the initial stage. In an effort to remedy the situation the government decided in 1961 to make a temporary retreat, specifically by abolishing the foreign trade monopoly. Capitalist elements took advantage of the

situation: they stepped up operations on the black market, illegal trade in foreign and Guinean currency and the smuggling of goods.

To put an end to prifiteering, it was subsequently decided to stop the retreat and resume the policy of accelerating the development of the state sector and encouraging various forms of cooperation. Reforms carried through in November 1964 restored the foreign trade monopoly, restricted the issue of licences for trading establishments and forbade the private mining of diamonds. The legality of the acquisition of property by tradesmen and persons holding high political and administrative offices was checked. To enhance the role of the Democratic Party in implementing these measures, the party intensified the struggle against corrupt elements who had wormed their way into its ranks. The 8th Congress of the Democratic Party, held in 1967, emphasised that party functionaries who in any form exploited labour would be removed from their posts.

Between 1961 and 1963, the country's economic development was regulated by a three-year plan. After its completion a seven-year plan (1964-1970) was adopted. Both plans noted that the primary task was to advance agriculture—the basis of the country's economy. Guinea strives to increase the production of traditional food crops and also export crops: coffee, oil-palm products, bananas and pineapples. These commodities remain the prime source of foreign exchange needed for financing foreign trade, the imports of industrial equipment, etc.

The government restricted the possibilities for setting up capitalist enterprises in agriculture by adopting in 1959 a decision prohibiting the sale and lease of land without the permission of the state, which had proclaimed that the land belonged to those who tilled it. At the same time, in conformity with the country's economic development plans, the cooperative movement had gained momentum; 550 agricultural producer cooperatives had been set up by mid-1964. Alongside of collective fields, cooperative members preserved individual plots. A number of supply and marketing cooperatives was also set up to unify peasants who grow rice and some other crops. Several state farms, specialised in the production of pineapples, bananas and other crops, were also set up. Modernisation centres, organised in each of the republic's 30 administrative districts, are rendering help to the peasants. These district centres are model farms which provide high-yield seed and improved livestock to cooperatives and teach the peasants rational farming methods.

A number of state enterprises have been built under the three-year and seven-year plans: two canneries, a fruit juice factory, a sawmill, a textile mill, a match-and-cigarette factory, two hydro-electric power stations, etc. In 1961 and 1962, the state sector was extended as a result of nationalising power stations, waterworks, two diamond mining companies, and a branch of the Canadian Aluminium Ltd., which mined bauxites on Los Islands. But foreign capital has

preserved considerable positions. At present bauxites are mined both by the state and the Fria consortium in which chiefly French and U.S. companies are represented. In 1964, by agreement with U.S. Harvey Aluminium, a mixed American-Guinean company was formed to work bauxite deposits in the Boké area.

State foreign-trade organisations which specialise in the imports of definite goods were set up and state organisations for wholesale trade within the country were formed. The government closed the branches of the big French banks which operated in Guinea, founded a National Bank and issued a national currency, the Guinean franc. After withdrawing from the franc zone, it instituted control over the country's finances. The profits of banks, which formerly were raked in by foreigners, are utilised for financing various measures by the state and for increasing the accumulation fund, i.e., for strengthening the national economy.

Progressive economic measures are being implemented simultaneously with important social changes and the enlistment of the urban and rural masses into active political life. Eight thousand primary organisations of the Democratic Party, usually set up along territorial lines and at times on the industrial principle, embrace most of the adult population. The party thus acts as the guiding force in the reconstruction of society and in a way discharges the function of a people's front. Only those who do not employ hired labour in any form whatsoever can hold elective party posts.

The Democratic Party draws its strength from trade union, women's and youth organisations. The National Confederation of Labour is working for higher labour productivity and is taking part in the forming of labour laws. The trade unions were instrumental in getting the guaranteed minimum wage raised by 40 per cent, family allowances by 50 per cent and paid holidays extended from two to three weeks.

The role of the Guinean woman has been enhanced. In the past she was enslaved by the patriarchal and feudal traditions, whereas now she participates in all economic, political and social activities. The law prohibits marriage without the consent of the bride and the barter of brides. The Democratic Party is fighting for the consistent application of the new laws and against the customs and survivals which infringe women's rights.

Notable progress has been scored in education. In colonial times only 8 per cent of children of school age studied, whereas now the figure is 65 per cent. The republic has set up its own institutions of higher learning: a polytechnical and a pedagogical institute, a higher administrative school and four teachers' institutes. The aim is to have the entire youth study in educational establishments and at courses. Hundreds of agricultural schools have been set up to enrol young people who graduate from elementary school. To raise the level of knowledge of the pupils, the period of study in the elementary school has been lengthened from five to six years.

Guinea has received extensive support from the socialist countries in developing her economy and eradicating the consequences of colonial rule. As early as 1959, the Soviet Union gave Guinea credits on easy terms under an inter-government agreement. Subsequently, the U.S.S.R. assisted in building a number of industrial projects, in the development of agriculture and transport, education and the health service. The Conakry airfield has been reconstructed, a cold storage, cannery, a sawmill, a polytechnical institute and a large sports stadium have been built with the help of the U.S.S.R. Soviet geologists have done extensive prospecting. Many Guinean students have been enrolled in Soviet universities and institutes, and Soviet teachers have been sent to the educational establishments of Conakry and other towns. An agreement on cultural cooperation between the Soviet Union and Guinea was concluded in 1959 during the visit of President Sékou Touré to Moscow. In 1960 and 1965, Sékou Touré revisited the Soviet Union. In 1961, Guinea was visited by L. I. Brezhnev, at that time President of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet.

The Guinean Government adheres to the policy of positive neutrality. In 1961, President Sékou Touré was awarded an International Lenin Prize for the Promotion of Peace among Nations.

Relations with France still remain very complicated. They are influenced by the fact that Guinea was a French colony in the past. Diplomatic relations, broken off in 1965, have not yet been re-established despite the efforts taken by Guinea.

The United States and West Germany are trying to consolidate their ties with Guinea. This tendency gained in strength after 1961, when those who in the past predicted the inevitable collapse of the republic began to say that the Guinean regime was not so bad and that the only thing it lacked was normal relations with the West. In 1961 and 1962, Guinea received credits of DM 80 million from the Federal Republic of Germany. The agreements concluded with the United States between 1960 and 1963 under the "Food for Peace" programme provided for deliveries of rice, flour and other goods. The money received from their sale went to cover the expenditure of the U.S. embassy in Conakry and to finance some projects, mainly in the infrastructure.

In international organisations, Guinea champions the principles of general disarmament; she has denounced American aggression in Vietnam and the policy of colonialism in Angola, Southern Rhodesia and other countries. When the war in the Middle East flared up in 1967, Guinea resolutely came out against the imperialist encroachments on the Arab countries and broke diplomatic relations with Israel. In the United Nations the Guinean Government supported the stand of the Arab states and urged the Organisation of African Unity to struggle for the eradication of the consequences of Israeli intervention and for the establishment of a just and durable peace in the Middle East.

DAHOMEY

The ethnic composition of Dahomey's population is extremely diverse. Three rival regions have historically arisen in the country's territory: the north, where Baribas, Sombas and other peoples live; the district of Abomey, capital of the Fon state (Fons are the country's main nationality); and the Porto Novo district inhabited by Yorubas. The ethnic differences between regions are supplemented by economic differences between the extremely backward northern districts and the south which is somewhat ahead in its development.

Subsistence or semi-subsistence peasant farming prevails on most of the territory, and this facilitates the preservation of regionalism. The rural community and the patriarchal family remain the basic cells of the social structure.

The disintegration of the rural community has advanced only in the south, where the oil palm is cultivated (these districts provide three-fourths of Dahomey's agricultural production for the market). Here communal landownership is giving way to private. Some members of the feudal-patriarchal nobility own plantations running into hundreds of hectares. The leasing of land has spread, seasonal work has developed and a rather numerous group of agricultural workers has emerged.

The bourgeoisified feudal-patriarchal top group is exerting great influence on the country's political life. Many members of this group held posts in the colonial administration.

A sizeable group of well-trained civil servants was crystallised in the colonial period as a result of the relatively greater spread of elementary and secondary education, as compared with other West African countries, and the activity of Catholic missions in the south. Dahomey was called the "Latin quarter of Africa". It provided civil servants for the colonial administration in all of French West Africa.

Even prior to independence, this elite comprised the embryo of the future bureaucratic bourgeoisie. It headed all the political movements in the country and its views seriously influenced Dahomeyan society.

With the development of the money economy new social groups came into being: a trading bourgeoisie appeared and the number of people working for hire increased. In 1966, there were about 29,000 people in paid employment.

The first political parties were founded in the 1950's. They were organised along regional-ethnic lines and had no essential differences in their programmes.

A wide movement for independence, in which different political groups participated, spread in the country between 1957 and 1960. Trade unions, organised in the mid-1950's, played a notable part in it. Alongside economic demands, the National Trade Union Federation of Dahomey came out in 1958 against the country's joining

the French Community and subsequently backed the slogan for immediate independence.

The growth of the liberation movement was marked by keen struggle between political parties. In mid-1960, after numerous mergers and reshuffling, the following parties functioned in the country: the Dahomey Democratic Assembly, headed by H. Maga, which was supported by the population in the northern districts; the Dahomey Democratic Union, headed by J. Ahomadegbé, which drew its support in Abomey and Cotonou; and the Nationalist Party, headed by S.-M. Apity, which enjoyed influence in the Porto Novo district. All the parties were represented in the Maga coalition government, the first in the Republic of Dahomey. The independence of the republic was proclaimed on August 1, 1960.

The economic situation in the country was extremely grave at that time. In 1960, the foreign trade deficit exceeded 5,000 million African francs. As much as 80 per cent of the country's budget was spent on maintaining the state machine. Industry and agriculture were stagnating.

The hard lot of the rural population, famine in a number of districts and the rise of prices in the cities aggravated the political situation. A wave of strikes swept the country. General strikes embracing all the towns were organised by the trade unions on September 1 and October 24, 1960: the first was directed against the bill which restricted the right of civil servants to strike and the second was in support of demands for higher wages.

Keen political struggle between the parties continued, resulting in the resignation of ministers representing the Dahomey Democratic Union. The two other parties, the Democratic Assembly and the Nationalist Party, merged and formed the Dahomey Unity Party with the object of strengthening the government coalition. In December 1960, the Dahomey Unity Party defeated the Democratic Union at the presidential and parliamentary elections. H. Maga was elected president and S.-M. Apity, vice-president. A one-party government was formed.

In an attempt to muffle the keen class, political and ethnic contradictions in the country, the Maga Government put forward the slogan of national unity. In April 1961, it proscribed the activity of the opposition, introducing a one-party system. In the same year the leaders of the opposition party, headed by Ahomadegbé, were arrested on a charge of plotting against the government and sentenced to five years' imprisonment.

The rivalry between the political parties affected the trade unions, which split in 1961. The government then dissolved the National Trade Union Federation and a new trade union centre, the National Federation of Workers of Dahomey, was set up. It accepted the programme of "constructive syndicalism" proposed by the government. At a meeting with the Minister of Labour in 1961, the leaders of this Federation said the trade unions "will never make

demands on the government but only address requests to examine a particular issue". The union leaders closely collaborated with the ruling circles.

A "social security" law promulgated in 1961 allowed the police to detain "persons whose actions endanger order and the maintenance of social peace in the country". A law restricting freedom of the press was approved.

The first detachments of the Dahomey national army were set up in 1961.

The main trend in the foreign policy of the first Dahomey Government was to strengthen cooperation with Western capitalist countries. Dahomey remained in the franc zone. She became an associate member of the European Economic Community. In 1961, the Governments of Dahomey and France concluded a military treaty and agreements on cooperation in the economy, finance, trade, higher education and justice. Dahomey also concluded agreements on economic and technical aid with the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany, the Taiwan regime and Israel.

Between 1961 and 1963, Dahomey actively worked in the Council of the Entente and the Afro-Malagasy Union. At the same time, she supported the establishment of the Organisation of African Unity. In keeping with the decision of this Organisation, the Dahomey Government in 1963 issued a decree announcing the discontinuation of trade with Portugal and the Republic of South Africa and prohibiting ships and aircraft of those countries from using Dahomey ports and airfields.

In 1962 and 1963, the Dahomey Government, seeking to extend its foreign economic relations, took steps to establish cooperation with the socialist countries. A good will mission, headed by Vice-President Apity visited the Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. Ambassadors of these countries were accredited to Dahomey in 1963, and trade and cultural cooperation with them began. A trade and payments agreement and an agreement on cultural cooperation were signed with the German Democratic Republic.

"Dahomeyan democratic dynamic socialism" has been proclaimed the main principle of the country's internal political life. Its leaders incorporated in this term the planning of economic development, creation of a mixed economy and preservation of the positions of private enterprise.

A four-year development plan for 1962-1965 was adopted in 1961. It provided for increasing the value of the country's gross output from 36,000 to 47,000 million African francs. Investments were to exceed 40,000 million African francs. The government wanted substantially to expand the production of cash and food crops. The organisation of cooperatives was declared the main method of developing the Dahomey countryside. The plan also called for building a considerable number of manufacturing enterprises. Large funds were

earmarked for education and the health service. But the plan actually remained on paper. The government spent considerable funds on building costly prestige projects, while investments in agriculture and industry were much smaller than those envisaged. Hardly any new cash crop plantations were set up. To increase food production, the government took administrative measures to set up "collective fields"; this line aroused great dissatisfaction among the peasants. The production of food and export crops remained at the old level and even declined, while the population grew. The building of only one industrial establishment, a palm-oil mill, was started. The decrease in the production of cash crops sent up the foreign trade deficit, which in 1963 exceeded 4,600 million African francs.

At the same time the government somewhat tightened control over the country's economy. Some enterprises, including four oil mills, were taken over by the state. Mixed private-state companies were organised: the Dahomey Republic Economic Development Co. for promoting the country's industry; the National Agricultural Development Co. to support the cooperative movement; the State Board for the Marketing of Farm Produce, which was to operate alongside foreign export firms; the Dahomey Trading and Industrial Co. is to operate in wholesale trade. Two banking organisations were also founded: the Dahomey Development Bank and the Dahomey Banking Co., in which the state holds most of the shares. These banks help in carrying out the planned projects.

Some headway has been made in education. The proportion of children who attend school rose from 31.3 per cent in 1959/60 to 36.9 per cent in 1962/63.

The measures carried out by the government between 1961 and 1963, however, did not bring about any noticeable changes in the country's economic pattern. Foreign capital preserved and even consolidated its positions in Dahomey. All the planned measures were financed by state-monopoly capital of France, other Common Market countries and the United States. A quite favourable Investment Code was adopted in 1961 to attract foreign capital.

Corruption became wide spread during the same years. An investigation of the Maga Government brought to light the embezzlement of considerable state funds. The upper echelon of the government officials also engaged in business. Moreover, the government increased appropriations for the maintenance of the state machine, having set up several new ministries.

The big increase in the number of Northerners in the state administration and the police aggravated regionalist contradictions.

Unemployment increased in the towns. Wages remained at the old level, notwithstanding the increase in prices; in 1961, the government even cut wages by 10 per cent.

To prevent the political struggle from growing sharper, the government released Ahomadegbé and other members of the opposition party from prison in August 1963.

The congress of the ruling Dahomey Unity Party, held in August 1963, revealed serious differences within the party; it could not ignore the acute problems facing the country. Under the pressure of the masses the leadership of the National Trade Union Federation for the first time in three years came out with the demand to raise the guaranteed minimum wage and to alleviate social hardships. All these demands were reflected in the congress decisions but they were not implemented.

The general strike organised by the trade unions on October 26-28, 1963, led to the fall of the Maga Government. But having brought about the resignation of the government, the trade union leadership called on the army to take over power. Colonel Soglo headed the Provisional Government which included Maga, Apity and Ahomadegbé. A month later Maga was arrested on a charge of embezzling state funds.

The Provisional Government dissolved Parliament and also all political parties and mass organisations except the Trade Union Federation. At the end of December 1963, several members of the government founded a new nationwide party, the Dahomey Democratic Party, which proclaimed itself the enemy of regionalism and tribalism. The party declared its loyalty to the principles of African unity, international cooperation and the strengthening of peace. In home policy the party set itself the task of normalising the economy and improving the people's living standard.

The revolutionary events in October 1963 for a time definitely influenced the Dahomey leading circles. Under the pressure of progressive-minded students, the national conference of the Dahomey Democratic Party in 1964 adopted a resolution recommending the socialist path for the country's development.

The government exposed abuses of the former authorities and put on trial Maga and several ministers. The expenditure on the state machine was cut and the new leadership made a special point of living modestly.

Municipal elections were held and municipal self-government agencies were restored. Alongside the governmental *Aube Nouvelle*, *Wolloguédé* (newspaper of the Dahomey Democratic Party) and newspapers of trade unions and other mass organisations were published. The policy of the government was debated in the press. *Wolloguédé* began to publish material on visits to socialist countries, to popularise the experience of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. and the experience of African countries which chose the non-capitalist road of development.

A draft new constitution was approved at a referendum on January 5, 1964. It included a new section on civil rights. Trade union freedoms and the right of workers to strike were restored. In contrast to the 1960 constitution, the new constitution prohibited the holding of the functions of head of the state and the government by one person and provided for the creation of the posts of president and

vice-president (the latter being head of the government); both were to be elected by direct and universal suffrage. Consolidating the country's sovereignty, the constitution prohibited the president from bringing in foreign armed forces for resolving internal conflicts.

At elections held on January 19, 1964, S.-M. Apity was elected President and J. Ahomadegbé, Vice-President and Chairman of the Council of Ministers. Both were candidates of the Dahomey Democratic Party. The northern part of the country was represented by T. Congacou, President of the National Assembly. The Provisional Government resigned.

The creation of a single party and the new alignment of forces in the country's leadership did not prevent fresh outbursts of tribalism. A rebellion organised by supporters of ex-president Maga broke out in the north in March 1964. In May 1965, the Association of National Imperatives, a tribalist group, launched wide anti-government propaganda. Both regionalist movements were stamped out by the government, but they considerably complicated the situation in the country.

No essential changes in the economic situation occurred in Dahomey in 1964 and 1965.

The Ahomadegbé Government associated economic development plans with financing from outside the country. It sought to resolve the financial and economic difficulties without affecting the interests of foreign companies. In 1965, the government cut by 25 per cent wages of all persons working for hire. This evoked a wave of strikes in the country.

The government tightened control over the activity of trade union and youth organisations. Ex-president Maga was released.

In 1965, Dahomey resumed close cooperation with the countries of the Council of the Entente, the Afro-Malagasy Common Organisation and, together with other members of the latter, boycotted the conference of the Organisation of African Unity convened in Accra in 1965.

Contradictions within the leadership of the Democratic Party were sharply exacerbated in the second half of 1965. The army again intervened in the conflict. The army leadership, supported by the trade unions and students, forced both the president and vice-president to resign. New presidential elections were to be held. A month later, amidst the keen struggle between the different political leaders, K. Soglo, Chief of Staff of the Dahomey Army, again took over power. The Soglo Government banned the activity of political parties and proclaimed an austerity policy. A new five-year economic development plan (1966-1970) was drawn up. The new government, as before, placed its main hopes for the country's economic advance on aid from the capitalist countries, France in particular. In December 1967, a group of young officers of the Dahomeyan army ousted Soglo from office. Lieutenant-Colonel Alphonse Alley became head of the state and the government.

CAMEROUN

East Cameroun, a U.N. trust territory which had been under French administration, was proclaimed the Republic of Cameroun on January 1, 1960.

West Cameroun, a trust territory under Britain, was administratively part of the British colony of Nigeria. After the proclamation of Nigeria's independence (October 1960), a plebiscite was held in the Northern and Southern parts of West Cameroun in February 1961 to decide their future, in accordance with a United Nations decision. In the Northern Cameroons, the population voted to remain in Nigeria and this territory became part of Nigeria's Northern Region in June 1961. In the Southern Cameroons, the people voted for reunification with the Republic of Cameroun, and the Federal Republic of Cameroun was formed on October 1, 1961. The two parts of the federation are respectively named East Cameroun (former Republic of Cameroun) and West Cameroun (former Southern Cameroons).

According to the federal constitution adopted in October 1961, both territories are member states of the federation. Each of them enjoys autonomy and has its own government and Legislative Assembly. In West Cameroun, some powers of a legislative nature have been retained by the House of Chiefs. The competence of the federation includes: foreign affairs, national defence, internal and external security, regulation of the economy, including foreign trade, currency, taxation, federal budget, higher education, transport, communications, etc. Representatives of East Cameroun, which has a much bigger territory and population and is economically more developed than West Cameroun, predominate in the country's federal agencies.

The Camerounian Union Party came to power in independent Cameroun, and Amadou Ahidjo, leader of this party, became the country's first president. The Camerounian Union was founded in 1958, drawing its strength primarily from the traditional and feudal Muslim nobility in the northern areas, and Cameroun officials in the colonial administration. The party advocated gradual independence predicated on close cooperation with France and other member states of the European Economic Community.

On assuming office, the Camerounian Union adopted the line of creating a one-party regime in the federation. This policy resulted in the founding of the Camerounian National Union in September 1966—the only political party in the entire federation. Besides the Camerounian Union it included the Cameroun National Democratic Party (the ruling party in West Cameroun), and the legal opposition parties in West Cameroun—the Cameroon People's National Convention and the Cameroon United Congress.

The main force which resisted the Camerounian Union was the Union of the Camerounian Peoples. As has been pointed out earlier, the Union of the Camerounian Peoples had headed the armed struggle against the colonial authorities since 1955. [1] The party advocated not only immediate independence, the country's reunification and withdrawal of French troops, but also radical socio-economic changes, specifically the handing over of the land to those who till it. After the proclamation of independence, the Union of the Camerounian Peoples decided to continue the armed struggle, asserting that the country had not attained real sovereignty. The government troops launched active hostilities against the guerrilla detachments led by the Union and succeeded in confining them to the south-western districts. Moreover, the leadership of the party split.

The ruling group ably exploited the situation to further its own ends. It took over a number of demands of the Union of the Camerounian Peoples: reunification, withdrawal of the French forces and a land reform. It put forward the slogan of struggle for "national unity" and "civil peace". The government introduced some measures to combat tribalism and corruption, train national personnel and africanise the administrative machine. The slogan of developing friendly relations with all countries, including socialist states, was proclaimed as the main principle in foreign policy. These measures in home and foreign policy have made the Ahidjo regime relatively stable in recent years.

Agriculture and forestry, in which more than 90 per cent of the gainfully occupied population are employed, form the basis of the country's economy. Agricultural produce, including timber, accounts for up to 70 per cent of all exports. Among food crops the most widespread are manioc and bananas (in the south), millet, sorghum, rice, groundnuts and maize (in the northern areas). They are grown on small subsistence and semi-subsistence farms, in which the hoe is the main implement. Slash-and-burn field preparation is practised almost everywhere. The main export crops are cacao, coffee and bananas. In East Cameroun they are almost entirely produced by Africans. In West Cameroun where large tracts of land had been alienated, the main plantations belong to British companies.

Only 4 per cent of the population are employed in industry. The main enterprises are engaged in processing agricultural raw material and timber. The aluminium plant in Edéa (East Cameroun), built in 1957 by the French Pechiney and Ugine monopolies, is of great importance. It now works on Guinean alumina. It is expected, however, that after the completion of the Trans-Cameroun Railway the large bauxite deposits surveyed in the Minim Martap district will be utilised.

Foreign trade holds a special place in the federation's economic life. Up to 25 per cent of the gross national product in East Cameroun is exported. Coffee, cacao and aluminium are the main export items.

As to the question of Cameroun's ways of development, her leaders have offered an economic programme of "modern liberalism and

[1] See p. 194.

planning", which presupposes the coexistence and close interlinking of private enterprise—national and especially foreign—with elements of state regulation and planning.

After the winning of independence, the mineral resources, thermal electric stations, most roads and railways, postal and telegraph communications, part of the land and agricultural experimental stations became the property of the state.

A National Office for the marketing of export crops was organised in 1962. At present it controls the operations of foreign trading firms which handle cacao, the chief export crop. A state credit institution, Banque Camerounaise de Développement, has been set up. But the main way of extending state regulation of the economy is the government's participation, jointly with private foreign capital, in mixed companies which have been organised in industry, agriculture, transport, banking and foreign trade.

The first five-year economic and social development plan ended in 1965, and the government drafted the second five-year plan (1966-1971). Data on plan fulfilment show that state investments were 75 per cent of the target figure. Subsidies of the Aid and Cooperation Fund (France) and the E.E.C. Development Fund, and credits and loans from the United States and West Germany made up the bulk of them.

The policy of encouraging private enterprise and the favourable terms of the Investment Code sent up private foreign investments. Between 1961 and 1963, they amounted to 20,000 million African francs in East Cameroun, as compared with 11,200 million of state investments. The French monopolies continue to dominate among foreign investors. West German, U.S. and Japanese monopolies have also stepped up their activities in the country.

High economic growth rates were registered during the first five-year period. The gross national product of the Federation rose from 113,600 million African francs in 1959 to 168,100 million in 1964/65, an average annual growth of 7.4 per cent. Per capita annual output increased from 24,500 African francs to 32,000 African francs respectively, an annual growth of 5.2 per cent.

Some progress has been made in education. In the 1964/65 academic year, 102 secondary educational establishments and 61 vocational technical schools functioned in the federation as compared with 59 and 43 respectively in 1959/60. The Federal Camerounian University was opened in Yaoundé in 1962.

But the country's development is extremely uneven. In agriculture (farming and livestock-raising), the average annual growth was 4.1 per cent between 1959 and 1963/64.

Communal land ownership prevails in Cameroun. It is intertwined with semi-feudal methods of the peasants' exploitation by the tribal upper crust. In the northern areas, where relatively developed state formations have arisen (feudal Muslim lamidates and sultanates), feudal forms of exploitation are more pronounced than in other areas.

The traditional elite, represented by the feudal Muslim nobility in the northern districts and the tribal upper crust, became a reliable mainstay of the government. The federation's president Amadou Ahidjo comes from the northern Muslim nobility.

The introduction of cash crops in peasant farms and the drawing of the latter in the money economy have greatly influenced the traditional agrarian relations. In areas where farming for the market is developed, communal land ownership is gradually giving way to private peasant ownership. In January 1963, the government of East Cameroun issued a decree on the take-over by the state of unoccupied and idle community lands. The decree envisages that within a community each member may become the owner of the plot he tills. This undermines communal land ownership and extends private ownership.

The lands seized by European companies remain their property. It is also planned to extend the categories of land which may be leased on concession terms to foreign capital.

The cooperative movement has so far remained little developed in the countryside. In East Cameroun 1 per cent and in West Cameroun 3 per cent of the population were members of cooperatives in 1961-1962. Only marketing cooperatives have been set up.

Industrial growth rates were considerably stepped up in the first five-year period. The gross industrial output of the Federation almost doubled from 1959 to 1963/64, with the annual growth rate rising to 15.8 per cent. The production of aluminium ingots steeply climbed upward and amounted to 51,500 tons in 1964/65. A department for the rolling of sheet aluminium has been commissioned; coffee-cleaning factories and cotton ginneries, rice mills, sawmills, a factory producing transistor sets, a factory making minor farm implements, etc., have been built. Industrial enterprises set up jointly with the Republic of Chad have been put into operation. These are a spinning-and-weaving mill and a dying mill, built with the participation of private foreign firms on Cameroun territory. A cement mill is nearing completion. Projects for building industrial enterprises jointly with the Central African Republic are under consideration.

The country has to cope with involved problems. It is a federation of two parts which for a long time were under the rule of two different imperialist powers. This makes for language differences, a differing level of socio-economic development, inadequacy of transport ties and different foreign-economic and political orientation. Moreover, when the federation was formed, West Cameroun was in the pound zone and East Cameroun, in the franc zone. The level of prices and wages, taxation and customs policy and economic legislation differed.

The first steps are made to obliterate all these differences. In West Cameroun, the Nigerian pound has been replaced by the African franc and the foreign-trade legislation of East Cameroun has been extended to this area too. Building of roads and railways to

link the two areas has been started. The guarantees and privileges of the Investment Code in East Cameroun were extended to private investors in the western area as of April 1964. The purchasing prices of the federation's principal export crops—cacao beans and coffee—are coordinated. A single metric system was introduced as of January 1, 1964. The government facilitates the study of English and French, which are the official languages of the federation.

At the same time, although more than seven years have passed since the federation was formed, these two territories in many respects remain economically disunited. While the economy of East Cameroun is almost completely bound to the French market (60 per cent of the exports and imports), the economy of West Cameroun continues to be influenced by Britain. Much time is required to eliminate these differences.

The majority of the population, as pointed out earlier, are peasants. But alongside the community members, peasants who operate farms of a capitalist type have appeared in the countryside. The formation of the rural bourgeoisie has been especially rapid in East Cameroun.

There are some Camerounian entrepreneurs in small-scale industry, timber-workings, transport, fishing and retail trade. Foreign capital is beginning to admit Camerounians into its joint-stock companies. But on the whole the national bourgeoisie has not yet been crystallised as a class.

The positions of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie, represented by the higher government officials and partly by the national intellectuals, have been considerably strengthened in the seven years of the federation's independent development.

The proletariat is still numerically small. In 1964, there were 201,300 persons in paid employment, of whom 154,700 were in East Cameroun (7 per cent of the gainfully occupied population) and 46,600 in West Cameroun (8 per cent). In their majority these are peasants who work seasonally and have not yet broken their ties with the land. The number of regular workers is small, although a stratum of skilled workers has been formed and is growing, primarily in centres like Douala, Yaoundé and Edéa.

When the federation was formed there were many trade unions in the country. The slogan of trade union unity on the scale of the entire federation is the most popular in the working-class movement. A Trade Union Federation of Cameroun was set up in January 1963. It united the five principal trade union centres in the eastern area. The government of East Cameroun backed the establishment of a single trade union centre, urging it to collaborate with foreign employers. It is trying to place the trade union movement in the area under its control.

In foreign policy the federation has proclaimed its non-alignment to blocs. Special attention is paid to developing relations with France and the other E.E.C. members. Cameroun is associated with the E.E.C.

In November 1960, the Federal Republic of Cameroun and France concluded a "treaty of cooperation", with the Camerounian Government undertaking to coordinate with France its policy of economic development and foreign relations. The agreement on military aid to Cameroun was an integral part of the treaty. It gave France the right to keep her armed forces on the territory of Cameroun. In 1964, in view of the general redeployment of French forces in Africa, they were withdrawn from Cameroun; but numerous advisers and technical experts of the French military mission remain in the country to this day.

Cameroun is a member of the Organisation of African Unity. At the same time, she belongs to the Afro-Malagasy Common Organisation. But in the latter, she is opposed to isolation from other African countries, advocates the strengthening of intra-African solidarity and the conversion of the Afro-Malagasy Common Organisation into an instrument of regional economic cooperation.

An economic and customs union of states of Equatorial Africa came into force in January 1966. Besides Cameroun, it includes the Central African Republic, Chad, the Congo (Brazzaville) and Gabon.

Relations of Cameroun with socialist countries are in the initial stage of development. A Soviet-Camerounian trade agreement was concluded in September 1962, during the visit of a Camerounian good will mission to the U.S.S.R. Agreements on cultural, economic and technical cooperation were signed in Yaoundé on March 22 and April 12, 1963. A diplomatic representation of the U.S.S.R. was opened in Cameroun in 1964. Under an agreement signed in Yaoundé in April 1966, the Soviet Union will assist Cameroun in building and equipping two schools—an agricultural and a forestry school.

Amadou Ahidjo, President of Cameroun, paid an official visit to the Soviet Union in July 1967.

Cameroun has established trade relations and concluded economic, technical and cultural cooperation agreements with other socialist countries—Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania and Yugoslavia.

THE CONGO (Brazzaville)

Independence of the former French Congo was proclaimed on August 15, 1960. The newly-free country faced tremendous odds. In 1958, per capita output amounted only to 31,300 African francs.

In most of the country the patriarchal-feudal order, intertwined both with emergent capitalist relations and tribal survivals, was preserved. Communal ownership of the land predominated. The national bourgeoisie arose only in secondary sectors of the economy. True, in recent years national capital has begun to operate in timber-

ing and goldmining, and in semi-handicraft industry. In 1960, there were no more than 30,000 workers in the country.

Early in the 1950's a stratum of national intellectuals—technicians, civil servants and teachers—was swiftly growing.

Under the pressure of the national-liberation movement, the Congo was proclaimed an autonomous republic within the French Community in July 1958, two years prior to gaining independence. A struggle for power then flared up between the Congolese parties. The Democratic Union for the Defence of African Interests was the most reactionary of all the parties. Founded in 1956 with the support of the colonial authorities, it represented part of the local bourgeoisie, the patriarchal-feudal elite, Catholic clergy and civil servants, who were interested in preserving the domination of foreign monopoly capital. Two other parties—the Congolese Progressive Party and the African Socialist Movement—hardly differed from the Democratic Union in social composition, but they demanded certain restrictions of foreign control and democratisation of internal political life.

Jacques Opangolt became the first prime minister of the autonomous republic in July 1958. He was general secretary of the African Socialist Movement, which had a majority in the Legislative Assembly at that time. But in November 1958, Abbé Joulou, chairman of the Democratic Union, staged what virtually amounted to a coup with the help of the colonial police and the army. At first Joulou was prime minister of the autonomous republic and after August 15, 1960, became the first head of the state and government of the independent republic.

The history of independent Congo is divided into two stages—the period of Joulou's neo-colonialist rule and the post-revolutionary period.

The Joulou Regime. From the very first days of his rule Joulou introduced a military-police dictatorship. He ruthlessly persecuted the opposition parties, trade unions and religious movements and extensively resorted to blackmail and provocation. According to official figures, more than 150 people were killed and wounded in clashes between tribes caused by such provocations in Brazzaville on June 17 and 18, 1959. According to other sources, there were more than 350 victims. At the same time, meetings and demonstrations against the preservation of the colonial order were brutally suppressed in Fort-Rousset, Dolisie, Pointe-Noire and other towns. Thousands of Congolese were killed, wounded, imprisoned or deported.

A wave of strikes rolled over the country in May 1960. Workers of Brazzaville, Pointe-Noire and Dolisie demanded higher wages and broader trade union freedoms. The authorities dealt brutally with the strikers. Twenty-four leaders of the progressive trade union centre, the General African Workers Confederation (prior to 1957, a section of the French General Confederation of Labour), were thrown into prison, including its leaders Aimé Matsika and Julienne

Boukambou. The National Assembly adopted laws which abolished trade union and other democratic freedoms—freedom of assembly, speech and the press. A regime of unlimited personal power was actually instituted in the country.

Joulou's economic policy was fully in line with the interests of the foreign monopolies. The Investment Code adopted in 1961 greatly extended the rights and privileges of foreign investors, enabling the monopolies not only to preserve their old positions but also to capture new ones. For example, they continued to control the country's finances. Most of the credit and currency operations were made not through national agencies, but through branches of French banks.

France concluded a number of "cooperation" agreements, which infringed the sovereign rights of the young republic. Under the "defence agreement" the French command gained the right to build military bases in the Congo, station troops there and transfer them to any part of the country.

The Joulou Government thus exposed itself as an agent of imperialism. Broad sections of the population rose up to fight the Joulou regime. They were headed by the progressive trade union centre. Afraid to lose their influence among the workers, even leaders of reformist trade union centres, like the African Confederation of Religious Workers and the African Confederation of Free Trade Unions, joined the opposition movement.

The August Revolution. In July 1962, leaders of the three trade union centres set up a joint committee of struggle for the restoration of democratic rights and improvement of the position of the working people. In the summer of 1963, the committee presented to the Joulou Government demands for the immediate resignation of ministers who had discredited themselves by collaboration with the neo-colonialists, dissolution of the National Assembly, the stamping out of corruption rampant among the ruling circles, etc. The committee decided to call a general strike on August 13 in support of these demands. The government banned the strike and imprisoned the trade union leaders. Despite these steps the general strike was held, paralysing life in Brazzaville. Seven thousand workers marched to Joulou's residence. The police opened fire, killing several people. But the demonstrators did not retreat. They captured the prison and released 400 political prisoners, including the trade union leaders.

Another demonstration of 10,000 people was held in front of Joulou's palace on August 15. The government was deposed and a Provisional Revolutionary Democratic Government came to power. It was headed by Alphonse Massamba Débat, a member of the former ruling party, the Democratic Union for the Defence of African Interests. Trade union leaders took most of the posts in the government.

A new militant organisation, National Movement in Defence of

the Revolution, was born in the crucible of the August revolution. It was formed by progressive leaders of the old disintegrated parties. The political forces became polarised. The progressive camp included the Confederation of Congolese Trade Unions, which was joined by all the major trade union centres (except the African Confederation of Religious Workers), organisations of students and working youth and progressive Congolese women. The reactionary camp was made up of conservative sections of the bourgeoisie, tribal elite, bureaucratic officials, Catholic clergy, leaders of the African Confederation of Religious Workers and also the scout youth organisations controlled by the clergy. The Catholic church did everything to prevent the Congo from taking the road of thorough socio-economic reforms by putting forward the slogan: "The August Revolution is better than the old regime. But the Joulou regime was better than socialism."

The progressive forces scored a great victory by gaining a majority at the election to the National Assembly in October 1963. A constituent congress of a new nationwide party, the National Revolutionary Movement, held in July 1964, consolidated the victory of the revolutionary democratic forces.

The congress formulated both the immediate and ultimate aims of the Congolese revolution. It decided that the country should follow a path in line with the principles of scientific socialism. The congress in particular called for nationalising some sectors of the economy (waterworks, the power industry and transport), for setting up state enterprises and committees to manage them, instituting control over prices, establishing a state foreign trade organisation, reorganising agriculture and developing the cooperative movement.

Nevertheless, these programmatic principles suffered from serious shortcomings. Proclaiming the ultimate aims of the revolution, they did not reveal the nature of the non-capitalist socio-economic changes, did not indicate the concrete ways and periods for accomplishing these aims, leaving room for contradictory interpretations. Reactionary forces took advantage of these failings.

Various "non-political" youth organisations, the Protestant Student Youth and Catholic Scouts, were extensively utilised to combat democratic changes. These organisations boycotted the constituent congresses of the Congolese youth (August 1964) and women (March 1965). These congresses were held none the less, and they set up national organisations—National Revolutionary Movement of the Youth and the Congo Women's Revolutionary Union. Both organisations approved the choice in favour of socialism made by the ruling party and its main programmatic documents.

A constituent congress of the Congolese Trade Union Confederation, a countrywide organisation, held early in November 1964, also supported the home and foreign policy of the ruling party and the government.

After the Congolese people so clearly gave preference to the

revolutionary democratic forces, reactionary organisations began to look for support abroad and, in effect, turned into counter-revolutionary bodies. In view of this, the National Assembly at the end of 1964 and early in 1965 took a decision prohibiting the activity of organisations hostile to the people.

At the same time a polarisation of forces took place in the ranks of the National Revolutionary Movement. In 1964 and 1965, by decision of the higher party bodies, open opponents to the anti-imperialist measures outlined by the constituent congress of the party as well as unstable elements whose actions were exploited by internal reactionary forces and the foreign monopolies standing behind them, were removed from the Political Bureau and the Central Committee of the party and from the National Assembly and the government. In particular, such well-known leaders of the African Confederation of Religious Workers as Okyemba and Kaya were deprived of ministerial portfolios and removed from other leading posts.

Simultaneously, measures were taken for the gradual conversion of the National Revolutionary Movement into a mass party. The plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the National Revolutionary Movement, held in February and March 1966, approved the party's Charter which recorded the aim of building socialism in the country; it adopted decisions on the democratisation of the army and the state apparatus and the utmost strengthening of the party's ties with the masses. After the plenary meeting, thousands of politically conscious workers, peasants, progressive intellectuals and petty bourgeois joined the party.

The government succeeded in getting French troops evacuated and foreign advisers removed from the Congolese army.

In the summer of 1966, a bill was drafted on the conversion of the Congo armed forces into a National People's Army. It provided for full control over the country's armed forces by the National Revolutionary Movement and the government and the introduction of a political administration and military commissars in the army. The special armed detachments of the revolutionary democratic state, the Civil Defence Corps, were preserved. They had 3,500 men (the strength of the army hardly exceeded 1,500 men).

Taking advantage of the dissatisfaction of part of the army officers with the drafted bill, reactionary forces provoked a mutiny against the government on June 27, 1966. Coming face to face with men of the Civil Defence Corps the rebels surrendered. Within a few days order was fully restored in Brazzaville.

The attempted coup showed that the reactionary forces had not laid down arms. It also revealed the tenacity of tribal discord. This danger was all the greater because the country has as many as eight large ethnic groups. Moreover, the population is divided along religious lines: 47.5 per cent of the population adhere to animistic beliefs, 35 per cent are Catholics, 17 per cent are Protestants and 0.5 per cent are Muslims.

A coup, staged in August 1968, deposed President Massamba Débat, accused of trying to set up a personal power regime. The National Council of the Revolution, set up in the course of the coup, took over power. The Council is headed by Major Ngouabi who directed the coup. The National Council of the Revolution formed a government headed by Major Raoul.

Since 1963, the people of the Congo scored definite economic and cultural achievements. The share of industry in the national product increased from 20 per cent in 1958 to 33.6 per cent in 1965. The output for export more than doubled and the unfavourable foreign-trade balance was cut. Between 1960 and 1966, budget revenue and expenditure trebled and state investments increased manifold.

Certain progress was also registered in education. The proportion of school-age children attending elementary schools increased from 50 per cent in 1959/60 to 83 per cent in 1964/65. The country's only institute, the Brazzaville Higher Education Centre, is maintained jointly by the governments of the Congo, Gabon, the Central African Republic and Chad. In the 1963/64 academic year it had 732 students from the four countries.

Although economic growth rates have risen, so far they are inadequate for eliminating the country's backwardness. The needs in manufactured goods, as before, are covered by imports to the extent of 60 per cent. The Congo is largely harnessed to the economy of the capitalist states.

In March 1964, Parliament enacted a law on the nationalisation of three Brazzaville companies—electric power, water distribution and transport. Subsequently, the other companies which produce and transmit electricity, the local air-line, mines, plantations and vegetable oil mills of the Compagnie Française du Haut et du Bas Congo were nationalised; some idle enterprises, including a Brazzaville textile mill owned by a French firm, were confiscated.

The agricultural cooperatives which had been set up under the colonial regime and were utilised by foreign monopolies and local buyers-up to exploit the peasants were dissolved in 1964. The system of purchasing farm produce was changed. Purchases are now handled by the National Agricultural Produce Marketing Office.

A National Trade Board was set up in the same year to supply the population with imported goods. A National Transport Board, Forest and Water Resources Board, semi-state soap-making company and other economic organisations and companies were also set up.

The first five-year economic and social development plan for 1964-1968 was launched in mid-1964. Total investments were set at 50,000 million African francs; 55 per cent were allocated for the development of industry and the needs of state economic organisations; 18 per cent, for the building or reconstruction of roads, airfields and means of communication; 17 per cent, for town improvements; 6 per cent, for the needs of agriculture and 4 per cent, for the development of education, the health services and building of houses for the people. The plan is financed primarily with the help of foreign loans and credits. At the same time the government is exploring internal potentialities for accumulation. In June 1966, Parliament adopted a law on deductions from the wages of all persons working for hire, ranging from 1 to 20 per cent. The question of obligatory reinvestment of part of the profits made by foreign companies is under consideration. The government intends widely to utilise private capital for national development. The Investment Code, which ensures the free export of profits and capital and grants private firms various legal and financial privileges and guarantees, remains in force.

To resist more effectively the pressure of foreign capital, the country's revolutionary democratic leadership is trying to consolidate and extend relations with socialist states. Diplomatic relations were established, trade and economic agreements and conventions on scientific, technical and cultural cooperation were promptly signed with most of the socialist countries. Relations with the Soviet Union are regarded as particularly important.

A delegation of the republic's National Assembly and the People's Revolution Movement paid a friendship visit to the Soviet Union in 1965. In August 1965 and in 1967 two more Party and Government delegations of the Congolese Republic came on official visits to the U.S.S.R.

A Soviet Party and Government delegation, youth, trade union and women's delegations visited the Congo. These exchanges of visits are notable landmarks in the development of friendly Soviet-Congolese relations.

MAURITANIA

Three-fourths of the territory of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania are located in the Sahara Desert. The meagre pasture-lands in some parts of the desert can maintain only a small number of livestock. That is why almost the entire population of the country is concentrated south of 18°N, near the capital Nouakshott. Here in the sahel zone nomads raise cattle, sheep, goats and camels and collect gum of wild-growing acacias used in the making of dyes and some fabrics.

In the southernmost part of the country the population settled in the Senegal River valley grows African millet on alluvial soils. The nomads do not live near the river because their camels can hardly stand the humid climate.

Mauritanians who engage in nomad stock-raising are primarily an Arabic-speaking Europoid people, descendants of Berbers who in the Middle Ages intermingled with the Arabs. The language and customs of these nomads have been adopted by part of the Negro

Africans—Haratins. The settled Negroid population in the south constitutes a special group: these are chiefly Toucouleurs who live both in Mauritania and in adjacent Senegal and Mali.

Feudalism and survivals of patriarchal relations persist among the nomad Mauritanians. These survivals are manifested specifically in the division into tribes which honour common ancestors and are united by traditions of mutual assistance and joint ownership of pastures. Patriarchal relations are inseverably linked with feudal relations. The chiefs of the tribes, coming from the noblest and most prosperous families, possess large herds pastured by personally-free tribesmen and semi-dependent Haratins. In the Senegal valley the tribal chiefs also have plots of land which are cultivated by Haratins, who turn over the biggest part of the crop to their masters.

Toucouleurs and other Negroid peoples in the south, who make up about one-fourth of the population, are subjected to the influence of the money economy to a greater extent than the nomads. People who live in the river valley frequently leave their villages and go to Senegal where they become unskilled labourers, artisans and street vendors. On returning to their villages these men bring back the spirit of the modern town, its new developments and sentiments. Some of them move to Senegal for good, abandoning their fields, which yield an income insufficient to feed the family.

There are capable tradesmen among Mauritanians, who sell livestock to neighbouring countries and bring European goods to the nomad north. Trade is best developed in the Senegal valley. The gum collected by nomads is bought up here. Frenchmen and Lebanese also engage in trade.

Modern industry is a very recent development. It consists primarily of the Fort-Gouraud iron ore mines, which were opened in 1963. The mines are worked by the Miferma Co., whose shares are owned chiefly by the French Government and French and British private companies. To export the ore, a railway from Fort-Gouraud to Port-Etienne, port installations, etc., had to be built. Two-thirds of the necessary funds were loaned by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the French Government. In 1965, Miferma exported 6 million tons of ore with a very high iron content (65 per cent), which is in big demand on the world market. The ore is strip-mined. It is expected that the reserves with a high iron content will suffice for 25 years. After this the mining of deposits of poorer ores (these resources are practically unlimited in northwestern Mauritania) will be started.

The fishing industry is also being developed. The ocean near the country's shores abounds in fish, which is caught by Mauritanian, Senegalese and European fishermen. Cold storages and fish-drying and curing establishments had been built in Port-Etienne, to which the fishing boats usually bring their catch.

The 1961 constitution established a presidential regime in Mauritania. The president, elected by direct suffrage for a term of five

years, must be a Muslim. The constitution guarantees freedom of conscience but proclaims Islam the "religion of the Mauritanian people". The president appoints and heads the government; with the permission of Parliament (the National Assembly) he issues ordinances which have the force of law. Ould Daddah, the head of the Party of the People, is the president of the republic.

Shortly before independence a bitter struggle was fought in Mauritania between the Party of the People (at that time the Party of Mauritanian Regrouping) and the Mauritanian Concord, a political organisation which advocated the country's joining neighbouring Morocco. The latter has repeatedly declared that she considered Mauritania a part of her territory severed as a result of France's colonial policy. Although the chiefs of some tribes supported the Mauritanian Concord, the latter was defeated in the Territorial Assembly. Mauritania was proclaimed an independent country and Ould Daddah's opponents emigrated to Rabat. The Party of the People actually became the only political organisation; this was formalised by the law of 1965, which instituted a one-party system.

In its home policy the Mauritanian Government exercises strict thrift, seeking to accumulate funds for the development of education, the health services, etc. The budget deficit, up to 1965 covered by French subsidies, was eliminated. Salaries of high officials, especially members of the government, were sharply reduced, the number of ministerial posts cut, etc. But so far investments needed for the economy are provided by foreign capital, above all the French Aid and Cooperation Fund and the European Development Funds set up by the Common Market members.

Notwithstanding the government's efforts, the educational system remains little developed: in 1965, only 8 per cent of school-age children attended state educational establishments. The nomads' children continue to study mainly in Koranic private schools.

Mauritania maintains close ties with France. Under agreements concluded in 1961, French troops remain in the country. France controls Mauritania's armed forces, economy and finances. Relations with Morocco remain tense. They are further complicated by the claim of both states to the Spanish Rio de Oro colony. This contradiction between two African states is artfully exploited by the Franco Government.

The Government of Mauritania favours non-alignment and the development of friendly relations with all countries. In 1964, understanding was reached on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the U.S.S.R. and Mauritania. In 1965, Mauritania withdrew from the Afro-Malagasy Common Organisation because the latter admitted the Congo (Kinshasa) where Tshombe was in power at the time. Mauritania has supported the actions of other African countries against Portuguese colonialism and broke off diplomatic relations with Britain in protest against the latter's position on the ques-

tion of Southern Rhodesia. She supported the Arab states during the 1967 Arab-Israeli conflict.

MALI

The distinctive features of economic life in the Republic of Mali largely stem from the diversity of its natural conditions. Farming is the main occupation of the Negroid peoples inhabiting the Sudanese savanna. As in the past, the bulk of the peasants employ the shift-and-fallow cultivation system, burning down the vegetation cover in the dry season. Only few peasant families use ploughs. The most fertile soils are in the valley of the Niger and they take up approximately 300,000 sq. km. Owing to the arid climate, cereal yields are unstable. The southern part of the valley, where the climate is more humid, is the main producer of African millet and the district of the Niger's inland delta, a rice producer.

North of the Niger, in semi-desert and desert areas, farming is practised only in the oases. The Arabs and Tuaregs living here are chiefly stock herders. The sahel districts located between 14° and 18°N. have vast pasture-lands and, in the opinion of some specialists, could serve as a basis for creating a "new Australia". Stock-raising is of an extensive nature, with epizootics and the shortage of water leading to considerable losses. Nevertheless, Mali holds first place among West African countries for the head of cattle, sheep and goats.

Many features of traditional relations have been preserved in the socio-economic system. For example, among the Bambaras each rural community is made up of several patriarchal families. Usually a family has from 10 to 12 members and at times several dozen. By tradition, the head of the patriarchal family must be the eldest brother among the older generation. Each patriarchal family has a field, assigned from the communal land, on which all members work jointly several days a month. The other days the adult members of a family may work their individual plots. Semi-patriarchal and semi-feudal survivals persist among Europoid peoples in the remote northern areas. The Tuareg society, for example, is divided into privileged "warriors", dependent "vassals", and so on.

Immediately after the achievement of political independence the former French Sudan and Senegal formed the Mali Federation. The latter, however, began to disintegrate in the very first months and existed only up to August 1960, when a sharp conflict flared up between leaders of the Sudan and Senegal. Léopold Senghor and other Senegalese leaders announced their withdrawal from the federation. With the help of the gendarmerie of Dakar, they arrested the Sudanese leaders including Modibo Keita, who was prime minister of the federation, and deported them to the former French Sudan.

In conformity with a decision of the Sudanese Union, the only political party in the country, the former French Sudan was proclaimed the Republic of Mali a month after the break-up of the federation. The National Assembly adopted a new constitution, according to which "the Mali Republic is an indivisible, democratic, secular and social state. It guarantees all equality before the law irrespective of origin, race, sex or religion". The president (Modibo Keita, leader of the Sudanese Union, became the country's first president) is appointed by the National Assembly and excercises the functions of the head of government. He appoints ministers, civil servants and army officers and also promulgates the laws. The president is responsible to the National Assembly, which is elected by universal suffrage for a term of five years. The National Assembly discusses and adopts laws, including the law on finances (the national budget). The constitution proclaims that Mali citizens have the right to work and leisure and the establishment of trade union organisations.

In foreign policy, the Republic of Mali took the stand of positive neutrality. Back in 1960, Modibo Keita urged France to discontinue the war against the Algerian people. In 1961, the republic demanded the closing of French military bases on its territory, and a few months later the last foreign soldier left the country. In the United Nations the delegates of this young African state have repeatedly advocated peaceful settlement of international conflicts, prohibition of nuclear weapons and complete abolition of the colonial system. Mali broke diplomatic relations with Britain in protest against the British Government's position on the question of Rhodesia. The Mali Government insisted on stopping the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the withdrawal of foreign forces from South Vietnam. It vigorously denounced Israeli aggression in the Middle East.

The relations with France were rather contradictory. De Gaulle's refusal to support Mali in the conflict with Senegal brought about a cooling off, which affected political and economic relations. But in 1966 several agreements were signed, with France undertaking to render economic aid to the Mali Government. This was done on condition that Mali effects a 50 per cent devaluation of currency (which jacked up prices in the home market by as much as 100 per cent), accepts French advisers, etc.

The Republic of Mali has established friendly relations with socialist countries which have rendered it extensive assistance. The Soviet Union has given Mali long-term credits, rendered assistance in geological prospecting, development of Office du Niger, the building of a cement mill, a vocational training school and sports facilities in Bamako. In addition, the Soviet Union has built free of charge two educational establishments (two more are under construction) and has enrolled Mali students in its universities and institutes.

Relations with other socialist countries are successfully being developed. A large tomato and mango processing cannery was built in Baguinéda with the assistance of Yugoslavia. The plantations which provide tomatoes for this cannery have been organised with the participation of Bulgarian specialists. The Korean Democratic

People's Republic helped Mali build the biggest ceramics factory in West Africa, which produces dishes, sanitary equipment and tiles.

The break with Senegal in 1960 interrupted traffic on the only railway linking Mali with the Atlantic coast. Foreign trade had to be carried mainly through Guinea and the Ivory Coast. After the railway resumed operations in mid-1963, Mali is again utilising in foreign trade transit shipments across Senegal. The main imports are manufactured good, primarily of French origin, and the traditional export crops are groundnuts and cotton. The export crops go mainly to countries of the European Economic Community, which Mali, along with other African states, has joined as an associate member. Mali livestock is bought by many neighbouring countries: the Ivory Coast, Senegal, Guinea and Upper Volta. The great length of frontiers hampers the establishment of customs control over the export of livestock. This circumstance and the extremely low level of prices in Western Europe for agricultural raw material exported from Mali, create considerable difficulties for the young state and increase its foreign indebtedness.

The Republic of Mali has launched important reforms. The peasants, workers, intellectuals and petty bourgeois are taking part in building up the new life. Mali has no big bourgeoisie. The local capitalist elements are tradesmen, owners of transport facilities (automobiles) and artisans who employ hired labour. The progressive forces have proclaimed their intention to steer the country onto the non-capitalist path and to undertake the building of a socialist society. The leaders of the young African state call for an end to property inequality, appealing to the civic consciousness of those whom they consider the privileged part of the population: civil servants, businessmen and artisans. Nevertheless, now, according to Modibo Keita, there are people in Mali who own ten plots of land, "while others have no roof over their head".

Mass organisations are playing a big part in building the new life. The Mali National Workers Union, the trade union centre of the young state, is striving to foster a new attitude to their jobs among the workers and to raise the profitability of state enterprises. As the country develops, the role of the trade unions rises. In 1963, a law was promulgated providing for the establishment of administrative committees at state enterprises, which are to include representatives of the management and the trade unions. Administrative committees possess broad powers: specifically, they examine questions of wages, and hiring and dismissal of workers. Progressive undertakings are given every support by the youth and women's organisations. Young people set up teams of volunteers to build highways and schools and combat crime. Women's organisations are working to eradicate illiteracy and to protect mothers and children.

The remaking of society is resisted by pro-capitalist and bureaucratic elements. The neo-colonialist forces which have been organising counter-revolutionary coups all over Africa have also stepped up

their activity. A National Committee for the Defence of the Revolution was set up in 1966. This highest organ of the party and the state was headed by Modibo Keita. In August 1967, the Committee dissolved the Political Bureau of the Sudanese Union, assuming all its prerogatives.

On November 19, 1968, a coup took place in Mali. Modibo Keita was removed from office. The power was assumed by army officers, who set up a military Committee for national liberation. The essence of the coup will be made clearer by future events.

Cooperatives are developed in the countryside, and Rural Production and Mutual Aid Groups are organised. The latter buy new farming implements and set aside fields which are jointly tilled by all cooperative members. The income from such fields is sometimes used for the payment of taxes. These groups have shops which sell goods at stable prices. The peasants no longer sell their raw material to middlemen but to these groups. The profits formerly received by businessmen are now utilised for strengthening collective production. The groups enjoy state financial support. Since 1966, they have been given credits by consumer cooperatives set up in the towns.

Mali cooperatives are faced with no few difficulties. Some rural groups were set up hastily without preliminary explanatory work. The state is not yet able to organise the wide sale of manufactured goods in rural localities. But it is giving considerable help to cooperatives. In five years they received 30,000 ploughs, thousands of tons of fertilisers and insecticides, more than 100 tons of selected groundnut seeds, etc.

The nationalisation of Office du Niger was of considerable importance for the development of Mali agriculture. Prior to independence, it owned 55,000 hectares of irrigated lands, which were tilled by 38,000 African settlers. More than 6,000 hectares have been irrigated additionally by the settlers, whose number was brought up to 45,000. Office du Niger is now a major supplier of cotton. It also has cotton ginneries, groundnut-oil factories, soap factories and a fertiliser factory.

By now all more or less sizeable industrial enterprises had been nationalised. Some of them are under the jurisdiction of Office du Niger. In addition, a board in charge of power stations, a national mineral prospecting company, an export-import company which received the sole right to trade in certain goods, and a transport board which has hundreds of motor vehicles, have been set up. State stores and chemist's shops have appeared in Mali.

Up to mid-1962, France fully controlled the foreign exchange operations of the republic where the colonial franc was the monetary unit. In July 1962, the government introduced a national currency, but subsequently reached agreement with France on Mali remaining in the franc zone.

The Republic of Mali intends steeply to increase agricultural production. At present, it still has to import dairy products, sugar and

other foodstuffs. The Modibo Keita Government wants to diversify the country's agriculture and solve the food problem. State farms, which are raising livestock and picking big cotton crops will render essential aid to agriculture. In five years after the achievement of independence a number of industrial enterprises was commissioned, which reduced the dependence on the imports of some goods. A cannery, groundnut-oil factory and soap factory, two cold storages, a rice mill and a cigarette factory have been built. Two sugar refineries, a textile mill and other establishments are under construction.

Important reforms have been carried out in the educational system. Only 8 per cent of the children attended elementary school before independence. In 1965, more than 20 per cent of the children studied; the number of pupils in secondary schools quadrupled.

Mali is thus making important steps in eliminating her age-old backwardness and strengthening her economic and political independence.

NIGER

Located deep in the interior, the Republic of Niger is called a bridge between North and Tropical Africa. Although the country bears the name of a great African river, it is only in its westernmost part that the people's life is connected with the Niger River.

Niger is a land of deserts and semi-deserts, which take up 70 per cent of the entire territory, a land of rare oases often linked only by caravan paths. More than 20 per cent of the population are nomad stock-raisers: Tuaregs, Fulanis, Arabs and Tibbus. Djerma and Songhai farmers and fishermen live in the west and Hausa farmers and artisans, in the south.

The geographical location of Niger (the great distance from the sea), her natural conditions and specific features of the nomadic life led by a considerable part of the population have largely determined the republic's economic backwardness even as compared with other African countries.

In 1960, when Niger's independence was proclaimed, per capita income amounted to 12,000-17,000 African francs annually ($50-70).

Today, too, the overwhelming majority of the population are engaged in farming, in which shifting cultivation with slash-and-burn field preparation prevails, and in nomad stock-raising. These two sectors provide more than 70 per cent of the national income. Subsistence peasant farming, based on communal landownership, is intertwined with elements of feudal landownership. Patriarchal-feudal relations, combined with tribal survivals, predominate.

The patriarchal-feudal nobility plays a very prominent part in the countryside. The chiefs practically decide all matters related to the allotment and inheritance of land and administer justice. The positions of the traditional elite are particularly strong among nomad and semi-nomad peoples in the Sahara districts.

True, with the increase in the production of export crops (the harvest of groundnuts and cotton rose substantially between 1960 and 1968), the sphere of commercial farming was extended. The demand for hides and skins in the world market brought about an increase in the output of animal products. Seasonal work, primarily in the southern groundnut-growing areas, has also facilitated the development of the money economy. The number of seasonal workers reaches 160,000 annually. But in Niger the money economy develops at a slower pace than in other West African countries. Private landownership tendencies are extending but within very limited bounds. Capitalist forms of paid employment are little developed. Seasonal workers go to neighbouring countries, the Ivory Coast and Ghana.

At the time independence was proclaimed, the country's industry was represented by one cassiterite mine and three factories for the cleaning of groundnuts and the production of groundnut oil. All of them were owned by foreign capital. By 1960, Niger had no considerable stratum of businessmen, not even of a national petty bourgeoisie.

Among the 1.1 million able-bodied people, only 18,000 were in paid employment. These were mainly civil servants and African intellectuals. Industrial workers made up only about 6,000.

Cultural backwardness was extremely great. Only 4.7 per cent of the school-age children attended school (in 1967, 10 per cent).

The proclamation of independence had been preceded by a keen political struggle between the Sawaba Party and the Niger Progressive Party (a section of the African Democratic Assembly). The former was supported by the Niger section of the General Federation of Workers of Black Africa, patriotic-minded intellectuals and students. The party was also popular in the southern agricultural areas. Sawaba put forward the slogan of immediate independence. It was opposed to Niger's participation in the French Community, demanded the withdrawal of French forces, "effective africanisation of state institutions" and suppression of "reactionary and parasitic institutions which do not discharge their duties to the nation and only brazenly exploit the Nigerian peasantry".

The Progressive Party, representing the feudal-patriarchal upper crust and the higher officials, favoured the country's participation in the French Community. This party, supported by the colonial administration, won at the 1958 referendum, and Niger remained in the French Community. The Sawaba government had to resign. At the elections to the Territorial Assembly in December 1958 the Progressive Party gained 54 out of the 60 seats. In 1959, the government proscribed the activities of the Sawaba Party and then dissolved the National Trade Union Federation. A single trade union centre, the National Federation of Niger Workers, was set up. Many Sawaba members and trade unionists were arrested. In face of the ban and persecution the Sawaba leadership emigrated. A one-party

system was thus established in the country. The constitution, adopted on November 8, 1960, legislatively consolidated the personal power regime of the republic's president. Amani Diori has held this post since 1960.

Notwithstanding the establishment of a personal power regime, the struggle of different political forces in the country continued, reaching periodically the stage of open conflicts.

At the end of 1963, a group of military men unsuccessfully tried to stage a coup.

The Sawaba Party kept up its activities underground, constantly criticising the policy of the ruling party and the Diori Government. In 1964, the Sawaba leadership called for an armed uprising. Sawaba detachments simultaneously launched military operations in different parts of the country, but failing to win extensive support, they were defeated. Many insurgents were executed or sentenced to long imprisonment terms.

The ruling party and the government pursue a policy of strengthening ties with capitalist countries, attracting foreign state-monopoly and private capital and encouraging the national bourgeoisie.

In 1961, Niger and France signed agreement on joint defence, cooperation in the economy, finance, civil aviation, post and telegraph communications and higher education. Niger remained a member of the franc zone and an associate member of the European Economic Community. Members of the French "Progress Volunteers", an organisation similar to the American "Peace Corps", are working in Niger.

The United States, too, has stepped up its activity in the country, where over 100 Peace Corpsmen are working. The U.S.A. gave Niger two loans for a sum exceeding $2,000,000. Relations with the Federal Republic of Germany were strengthened. The latter signed an agreement on economic and technical cooperation with Niger and extended a loan of DM12,000,000. Contacts are also maintained with Israel and Taiwan.

Niger is an active member of the Council of the Entente and the Afro-Malagasy Common Organisation. In 1963 and 1964, Niger's relations with Dahomey greatly deteriorated. The territorial conflict over the border island of Lete was complicated by the fact that the Dahomey Government denounced Niger's political line. In retaliation the Niger Government deported more than 10,000 Dahomeyans. Dahomey responded by closing the border to goods coming to Niger via her territory. The conflict was settled within the framework of the Council of the Entente only in 1965, with the active cooperation of the Ivory Coast and Upper Volta.

Niger participated in founding the Organisation of African Unity. Her government champions inter-African economic cooperation. In addition to member countries of the Council of the Entente, Niger maintains economic ties with the United Arab Republic, Tunisia, Algeria, Mali and Nigeria. Niger took an active part in conferences

for coordinating economic plans of West African countries for developing the basin of the Niger and Lake Chad. The government is carrying out, jointly with other countries, some important economic measures, for example, the inoculation of cattle.

Extending its foreign economic ties, the Government of Niger signed agreements on trade and cultural cooperation with the U.S.S.R., Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Yugoslavia. Niger has no diplomatic relations with socialist countries.

In its home policy the Niger Government is out to create a mixed sector of the economy, which is to operate parallel to the private sector. President Diori said in 1962: "We are laying stress on mixed companies in which the state will hold most of the shares in order to possess an effective instrument for the early reconstruction of the economy inherited from the colonial regime." About 20 mixed companies have been formed. A big part in them is played by state-monopoly and private foreign capital, by the rising Niger bourgeoisie.

Niger launched a three-year economic and social development plan (1961-1963), which was fulfilled in many respects. A ten-year development programme for 1965-1974 and development plan for 1965-1968 have been drawn up.

According to estimates of the U.N. Economic Commission for Africa, at the end of 1967, the country's gross national product amounted to 66,700 million African francs (an increase of 35 per cent as compared with 1960). The production of the main export crops (groundnuts and cotton) increased. Measures have been taken to improve the water supply and to combat epizootics.

A few small enterprises, a confectionery factory, flour mill and a plastics factory have been built since the proclamation of independence. A cement mill covering the country's needs has been put into operation. Designs for a meat cannery, tannery and textile factory have been drawn up. The discovery of big uranium deposits in 1967 has opened up new prospects; Niger will be receiving revenue for financing her economic plans.

Almost all measures of the 1961-1963 plan were financed by foreign state-monopoly capital and foreign private investments. Foreign sources also predominate in the ten-year plan (1965-1974).

In recent years, the government has taken measures to improve the health service. Hospitals in Niamey and Zinder have been enlarged and medical stations set up in rural localities. Inoculations against smallpox and yellow fever and prophylactic examinations of the rural population are conducted.

Some progress has been made in elementary and secondary education. In 1965, the number of pupils in elementary schools almost doubled as compared with the pre-independence level, but school attendance remains low (8.6 per cent of the total number of school-age children). Since 1962, a campaign to eradicate illiteracy among adults has been conducted with UNESCO assistance. More than 10,000 adults study at evening schools.

SENEGAL

The independence of Senegal was proclaimed in June 1960. At first, Senegal and the former French Sudan (the present Republic of Mali), when they gained their independence, united in the Federation of Mali. But two months later, because of a number of economic, political and ideological reasons, the federation disintegrated.[1]

The constitution, adopted by the National Assembly on August 25, 1960, proclaimed Senegal a "laic, democratic and social republic". A bourgeois democratic parliamentary regime was established. Executive authority was divided between the president and the prime minister; the head of the government was responsible to the National Assembly, the highest legislative authority.

In March 1963, a new constitution came into force instituting a presidential regime. Léopold Sedar Senghor, president of Senegal since the proclamation of independence, became the head of the state, government and the armed forces.

So far independence has not brought about any substantial economic changes. Senegal remains a one-crop country: groundnuts take up more than half of all the cultivated area (one million hectares), making Senegal a leading world exporter of this commodity. About 80 per cent of the gainfully occupied population is engaged in agriculture. The income of this sector exceeds 27,000 million African francs, which is equal to about one-fourth of the country's national income.

The technical level of agriculture remains low. Manual labour and slash-and-burn field preparation prevail in agriculture, which satisfies neither the needs of the population in food nor the needs of the industry, in raw materials. About one-third of the food is imported. Stock-raising and also river and sea fishing play an important part in the economy.

Industry is more developed than in neighbouring African countries. During the period of colonial rule Senegal was the industrial centre of the entire French West Africa. More than 90 per cent of the country's industrial enterprises are concentrated in Dakar and its suburbs. Most of them process agricultural raw materials. These are in the first place oil mills, flour mills, fish canneries, textile mills, soap factories and other enterprises of the food and light industries.

The mining industry, which arose in postwar years (mainly the mining of phosphorites and ilmenite), and the transport network in Senegal are served by railway yards, automobile repair shops, ship repair yards, a structural steel plant, etc. A cement mill has been commissioned and a mineral fertiliser factory, the first in West Africa, is under construction.

Foreign, chiefly French, capital has preserved strong positions in

[1] See the article on Mali in this volume (p. 234).

Senegal's economy. The proclamation of independence has so far changed little the position of state and private investors. The biggest French companies—Compagnie française de l'Afrique Occidentale and Société commercial de l'Ouest africain—were renamed and are extracting profits in the independent republic on the previous scale and the previous terms. Simultaneously, U.S. and West German capital are increasingly penetrating the economy. More than 100 U.S. firms are operating in Senegal; most of them make investments in the mining industry, banking, agriculture, etc.

The state sector, as in other African countries, arose after the state took over the ports, airfields, railways, etc. It has been extended by state investments through participation in mixed companies jointly with private foreign and national capital. In Senegal, the state sector has gained great importance above all in trade, whereas in production its role is insignificant. In agriculture the state owns the large Richard Toll rice-growing company.

In 1964, changes were made in Senegal's Investment Code, providing more favourable conditions for foreign and national capital. The code facilitates the position of the national bourgeoisie and promotes its growth.

The local bourgeoisie has developed to a greater extent than in neighbouring countries, but it controls not more than 2 or 3 per cent of the country's output. Alongside the trading and industrial bourgeoisie, strong influence in the country is enjoyed by the bureaucratic bourgeoisie, which consists of the top government officials.

In view of the relatively higher development of industry, Senegal has about 100,000-110,000 persons working for hire, of whom about 60 per cent are industrial workers. The position of the workers has not improved during the years of independence. A standing army of unemployed does not give the workers the possibility firmly to defend their interests. The Labour Code adopted in the republic actually deprives the workers of the right to strike.

The peasantry comprising about 80 per cent of the entire population is the poorest class in Senegal. The average annual income of a peasant is about 10,000 African francs, while the income of a government official is 360,000 African francs.

The village has a stratum of prosperous peasants, who employ hired labour, and feudal elements. The latter, represented chiefly by the Marabouts, leaders of Muslim sects, are quite important. More than one million people cultivate the lands of the Marabouts, on which about half of the marketable groundnut crop is gathered. The Marabouts enjoy great influence among the population and play a considerable part in Senegal's political and economic life.

The Senegal Progressive Union, the ruling party, plays the decisive role in the country's political life. Founded in 1959, the Union attracted intellectuals and national bourgeoisie and also peasants and workers by its struggle for national liberation. Uniting different sections of the population, it largely expresses the interests

of the national bourgeoisie and intellectuals closely associated with France.

During the years of independence the Senegal Progressive Union has pursued a policy of abolishing the opposition parties. In December 1963 the Bloc of the Senegalese Masses, the biggest opposition organisation, and in June 1966 the African Regroupment Party decided to merge with the Senegal Progressive Union. Their top groups joined the leadership of the Union and received ministerial posts in the government.

The Progressive Union is not homogeneous ideologically and organisationally. At times struggle within the party on questions of internal development and foreign policy assumes acute forms. This was clearly displayed in December 1962, when a group of leaders of the Union tried to make a coup. The plotters were put on trial and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.

The African Independence Party, set up in 1957, united the scattered Marxist circles in the country. It was joined by the foremost workers, peasants and intellectuals. The party was driven underground in 1960 by the government which during the municipal elections accused it of "violating democratic laws" and arrested and persecuted its leaders. The first congress of the African Independence Party, held clandestinely in March 1962, adopted the party's Programme and Rules, based on Marxist-Leninist principles. The congress proclaimed a policy of building a national democracy in Senegal its minimum programme.

The government has also dissolved the Senegalese section of the General Federation of Workers of Black Africa and set up a National Senegalese Workers' Union, which is under the direct influence of the Senegal Progressive Union and supports the government's policy.

"African Socialism" has been proclaimed the ideological basis of the Senegal Progressive Union. L. Senghor, leader of the Union and president of the republic, is one of the fathers of the "African Socialism" theory, which has become wide spread in Africa at the end of the 1950's and in the early 1960's. In its documents, the Senegal Progressive Union has repeatedly stressed that, after examining the experience of building socialism in the U.S.S.R. and developing capitalism in the United States, it chose a "middle road, democratic socialism, which is connected with the old ethical trend of the French Socialists".

The main thesis of "African Socialism" is based on the point that the propositions of scientific socialism are inapplicable to African society, whose characteristic feature supposedly is the absence of classes and class struggle. Senghor also asserts that African society prior to the advent of the colonialists was socialistic. He holds that primitive-communal relations are not a stage in society's development but a characteristic feature of the African way of life. Senghor's socialism is sometimes called "lyrical" because it is based

not on the facts of reality but on views of the ideal society which supposedly existed in the distant past.

In home policy, the Senegal Progressive Union admits the need for planning, "socialisation" of agriculture (establishment of cooperatives and reorganisation of the system of buying up farm produce) and for certain state regulation of industry and trade, while preserving and further encouraging private enterprise.

The cooperative movement commands great importance in the country. In 1960, there were 810 cooperatives, while in 1965 their number increased to 1,461 and they had 200,000 members. Cooperatives enjoy the support of the state. They are given credits for the purchase of machinery, building materials and fertilisers. At present cooperatives engage only in marketing agricultural produce. Subsequently it is planned to turn them into producer cooperatives. The marketing of groundnuts is done almost completely by cooperatives and the National Office for Cooperation and Development (formerly the Agricultural Marketing Board).

The government is planning the country's economic development. The first four-year economic and social development plan (1961-1965 financial years), drawn up under the direct guidance of French experts, was based on the expectation of foreign, chiefly French, aid. It was financed to the extent of 75 per cent by private capital and "aid" from the capitalist countries. An oil refinery was built and the construction of a phosphorite fertiliser factory and a number of other enterprises was started under the first four-year plan. In agriculture, measures were taken to raise the yield of groundnuts and extend the area under food crops.

But on the whole the plan targets were mostly not fulfilled. The gross national product increased at a rate of 3.27 per cent annually as against the planned 8 per cent.

President Senghor admitted that one of the main reasons impeding the country's economic growth was the expenditure on the maintenance of the state machine, which claims more than half of the budget. It rose nine times as compared with 1959.

Intensification of agricultural production and development of industry remain the central aims of the second four-year plan (1965-1969 financial years). The annual growth rate of the gross national product is set at 6 per cent. Foreign capital remains the primary source of financing the plan.

The main trend of Senegal's foreign policy is to preserve and strengthen economic and political relations with France and also to extend ties with other capitalist states. French military bases have been preserved on the country's territory. It was from Dakar that troops were dispatched to Gabon to restore the regime of Léon Mba.

Senegalese leaders took an active part in setting up the Afro-Malagasy Union. Senegal was one of the first countries to speak up for association with the Common Market. At the same time Senegal is

a member of the Organisation of African Unity. On the initiative of Senegal good-neighbour relations were restored with Mali and ties with Tunisia and other African countries are being consolidated.

New tendencies in the foreign policy of the Senegal Government, aimed at improving relations with socialist countries, appeared in 1962 and 1963. Agreements on economic, technical and cultural cooperation were signed with the U.S.S.R., Poland, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia. The first step along these lines was the visit by a Senegal government delegation to the Soviet Union, Poland and Czechoslovakia in 1962. In the course of this visit understanding was reached on the establishment of diplomatic relations between Senegal and the U.S.S.R.

Senegal, particularly Dakar, is the centre of scientific and cultural life in all of West Africa. About 2,500 young people from many countries of the continent study at Dakar University, one of the largest in Africa. About 70 per cent of the students specialise in the humanities. An institute of African studies (Institut fondemental de l'Afrique Noire) is also part of the University.

In addition, there are more than 30 technical and humanitarian colleges, pedagogical schools and various courses.

The government is now exerting much effort to increase the number of pupils in elementary and secondary schools and to eradicate illiteracy.

The first International Festival of Negro Art, which graphically demonstrated the well-springs and development of African culture, was held in Dakar in 1966 on the initiative of the government.

TOGO

The small Republic of Togo, set up on the former French mandate territory, stretches in a narrow strip 600 km. long from the Gulf of Guinea deep into the interior. Owing to different climatic zones—mountainous districts with high humidity and relatively arid regions of the Sudanese savanna—the people cultivate a wide range of crops. The Togolese, who in their majority are farmers, grow yams, manioc and maize for local consumption and cacao, coffee and cotton for export. Stock-raising is hampered in a number of areas by the sleeping sickness and is wide spread primarily in the north, where cattle, sheep and goats are raised.

Disintegration of the patriarchal and feudal way of life and the emergence of capitalist relations are proceeding quite swifty. This is facilitated by the considerable growth of plantations in the southern, most developed districts after the Second World War. Tens of thousands of peasants leave the backward central and northern regions for southern Togo and neighbouring Ghana. They hire out as sharecroppers on coffee and tea plantations belonging to prosperous Ewes (Togo's largest ethnical group). The most widespread forms of

rent are work for a half or a third of the crop. The amount of rent fluctuates, depending on what share of the expenditure for buying seeds, etc., is assumed by the tenant. Frequently, he falls into debt of the landowner. The latter, however, may cede the land to the sharecropper, preserving the right to receive rent.

Industry is represented above all by textile mills, an oil mill and phosphorite mines, the exploitation of which was started in 1961 and which are owned mainly by French and West German companies. Lebanese and Syrian merchants play a noticeable part in trade, but the biggest trading establishments belong to Frenchmen. In finance, dominating positions are held by the leading French banks: Crédit lyonnais, Banque de l'Afrique Occidentale, Banque centrale des Etats de l'Afrique de l'Ouest. Foreign trade is oriented chiefly on France. In 1965, West Germany held second place and Japan third. Phosphates, coffee and cacao are the main export items.

The Togolese Unity Party gained a dominating position in the country's political life immediately after independence. This party relied on the Ewe chiefs and the influential "mammies", as women traders are called in the Gulf of Guinea countries. The programme of the party, which won mass support, was levelled against dismemberment of the Ewes between the former British and French Togoland and against the joining of former British Togoland to Ghana. S. Olympio, leader of the Togolese Unity Party who became head of the state, banned the opposition parties, arrested their leaders or forced them to emigrate. Olympio's policy of suppressing democratic freedoms encountered resistance and in January 1963 a group of army men made a coup. The immediate cause of the government's overthrow was its refusal to admit to the army servicemen demobilised from the French forces. Olympio was killed and a coalition of representatives of the opposition parties and the Togolese Unity Party came to power.

N. Grunitzky, leader of the Togo People's Democratic Union, was elected president. This party, formed as a result of the merger of the Union of Northern Chiefs and Nationalities with the Togolese Progress Party, a southern political organisation, is known for its French orientation. Two other parties were represented in the government: the Togolese Popular Movement and Juvento. The first was formed by a group of southern chiefs and intellectuals who broke away from the Togolese Progress Party, and the second, by a democratic-minded youth organisation which formerly belonged to the Togolese Unity Party.

A new coup was staged in January 1967. It had been preceded by anti-government demonstrations in Lomé and other towns of southern Togo, where most of the Ewes supported the Togolese Unity Party. President Grunitzky, removed by the army leadership, left the country. A new government was formed and it assumed the name of National Committee of Reconciliation. It is headed by Colonel Kléber Dadjo, who was chief of staff of the armed forces un-

der Olympio. The National Committee of Reconciliation announced it would put an end to corruption and the struggle for power between political leaders and organise free democratic elections in the immediate future. At the same time the Committee urged the people to concentrate efforts on fulfilling the first five-year development plan.

The plan for 1966-1970, drawn up when Grunitzky was president, calls for advancing the economy by attracting foreign capital. It is a continuation of the previous government programme aimed specifically at extending the food resources by developing animal husbandry and increasing the production of traditional crops—rice, coffee, cacao and cotton. Actually, only the cacao programme was carried out. The production of other traditional and export crops remained at the 1961 level. It should be borne in mind that the Togolese export crops face the constant threat of a drop in world prices. In 1964 and 1965, the purchasing prices of cacao were cut almost by half. In industry, projects were approved for building power facilities (chiefly hydro-electric stations), factories for the production of building materials and canneries.

Shortly before the proclamation of independence, the Republic of Togo signed agreements with France, with the latter assuming responsibility for the finances, defence and foreign policy of the young state. Togo is financially dependent on France and also gets diverse aid from West Germany and the United States. Most of the funds provided by the West German Government, which is particularly active in Togo, go for the development of the infrastructure (building of the Lomé port). A textile mill and a brewery have been built with the capital of private German companies.

In her African policy, Togo has favoured rapprochement with countries of the Council of the Entente—the Ivory Coast, Dahomey, Upper Volta and Niger. In 1966, Togo joined the Council. Relations with Ghana are entangled by the problem of national frontiers. The future of Ewes, living both in Togo and in Ghana, has not been settled so far.

The Togolese Government has declared that it wishes to pursue an independent foreign policy, adhere to neutrality and develop relations with all countries. Shortly after the proclamation of independence, Togo and the Soviet Union established diplomatic relations. The Republic of Togo calls for the abolition of the remnants of colonialism in Africa and has denounced the imperialist policy in the Portuguese territories, Southern Rhodesia and other countries.

THE CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

A new stage in the history of the Central African Republic (formerly the French colony of Ubangi-Shari), the stage of its independent political development, began on August 13, 1960.

The republic received a bitter legacy from the colonial regime. In 1960, the per capita gross social product barely reached 27,000 African francs or less than $100. The economy was one-sided. Three items—diamonds, cotton and coffee—accounted for 80 per cent of all exports in 1960.

On the very day when political independence was proclaimed the republic's government signed a string of "cooperation" agreements, assuming the obligation to consult France on matters of foreign policy, defence, economics, finances, the use of strategic raw materials and the organisation of its transport system and higher education.

Progressive circles were dissatisfied with the preservation of foreign control. The situation in the country was complicated by the heterogeneous social composition of the forces striving for national liberation. This was a consequence of general backwardness. The republic had no large-scale industry. The patriarchal-feudal order, combined with tribal survivals, was wide spread. National capital had limited possibilities for development in the production of export and locally-consumed crops, in small-scale retail trade, the extractive and manufacturing industries and transport.

Long before the establishment of the country's independence the colonial authorities worked hard to reinforce the positions of their social mainstay—the middlemen, money-lenders, bureaucratic bourgeoisie and the tribal elite. Forced by the liberation movement to allow the establishment of national political parties, trade unions and other mass organisations, the colonial authorities helped the men who collaborated with them to gain leadership in these organisations.

This was clearly revealed in the activity of the country's most influential party, the Social Evolution Movement of Black Africa. It was founded in 1946 by Barthélémy Boganda, noted fighter for the people's freedom in Ubangi-Shari, as a mass organisation of the peasants, national bourgeoisie and wage workers to fight for the abolition of the colonial order. But as the national-liberation struggle deepened and social contradictions within the movement mounted, sections of the bourgeoisie, tribal elite and civil servants who were not interested in the full abolition of colonial rule gradually gained the upper hand in the party leadership, especially after the death of Boganda in an air crash in 1959.

In 1958, leaders of the Social Evolution Movement formed the government of the autonomous Central African Republic, which was part of the French Community. (It became the republic's sovereign government after independence.) At the end of May 1960, that is, less than three months prior to the proclamation of independence, there was a split in the party. Radically-minded leaders resigned, setting up an independent party, the Democratic Evolution Movement of Central Africa. It was headed by Abel Goumba, a lawyer. The new party called for more effective measures to democ-

ratise the political regime and relax the grip of the foreign monopolies.

A greater tendency towards tribal and consequent regional separatism appeared in the first years of independence. No less than ten relatively big ethnic groups live in the country—Banda, Manjia, Fertit, Baguirmi and others. Ethnic differences are aggravated by religious distinctions: the republic has 1,000,000 animists, 170,000 Catholics, 110,000 Protestants and 50,000 Muslims.

Under the guise of combating separatism, the government accused the Democratic Evolution Movement of undermining the country's national unity and violating public order and issued a decree on its dissolution. The party's leaders were put on trial and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

On November 17, 1960, the National Assembly adopted a constitution vesting the president, the head of the state, with broad powers.

These measures enabled the government to tighten the screws on the opposition. By the law of May 17, 1963, the National Assembly declared the Democratic Social Movement the only legal party, giving it thereby a monopoly of the country's entire political life.

The ruling party and the government took measures to establish control over the working-class movement. There were several trade union organisations in the country which were affiliated with the main trade union centres of France (the General Confederation of Labour, Confederation of Christian Workers and Force ouvrière) and independent unions. Despite the absence of unity, factory and office workers, whose number exceeded 50,000 in 1963, actively fought in defence of their rights. While in 1959 only 334 people took part in strikes and labour conflicts and in 1961, 460, in 1963 their number increased to several thousands. To establish control over the trade union movement, the ruling party at its congress on March 30-April 4, 1964, decided to unite all the trade unions into one centre, the General Workers' Union of the Central African Republic, consisting of two federations, workers in the state sector and workers in the private sector. The Union was to be controlled by the party.

This is how the government (since 1960 it has been headed by David Dacko, chairman of the Social Evolution Movement and nephew of Barthélémy Boganda) introduced a presidential regime.

During the years of independence, the growth rate of the national income in the republic (five per cent), though higher than in most neighbouring countries, remained inadequate. As hitherto, more than half of the country's needs were covered by imports, and foreign capital predominated in the economy. Although the national sector expanded, it remained weak on the whole.

Nor did the lot of the peasant improve. The crop, as before, was bought up by the monopolies at very low prices, while the prices of prime necessities continued to rise. The peasants were kept in bondage by the local buyers-up, money-lenders and tribal upper crust.

The annual income of a peasant family did not exceed 10,000-12,000 African francs. A wage worker had to toil for more than two hours to buy a kilogramme of bread; four hours, a litre of groundnut oil; 25 hours, a kilogramme of beef; and two hours, a packet of cigarettes.

The education system remains grossly inadequate. In the 1963/64 academic year, 33 per cent of the children attended elementary school as compared with 19 per cent in 1956/57. A very small percentage continued studies in seconary schools. The country did not have a single university or college. No more than 10 per cent of the population were able to read and write.

In 1964, there were only two hospitals in the country and one physician for more than 20,000 people.

The government tried to solve all these acute and diverse problems by planning the country's development. At the end of 1964, Parliament adopted a two-year plan for 1965-1966. The financing of the plan depended almost entirely on capitalist countries; only 5 per cent of the investments were to be covered by the republic's own resources.

State banks and institutions were set up and they received rights to exercise control in industry, trade and other spheres of economic life.

The government exerted efforts to advance agriculture. By the beginning of 1965, 39 cooperatives had been set up uniting 13,400 peasants. It was planned to organise 17 cotton and sugar-cane state farms.

At the same time the rights and privileges of private capital were extended. The Investment Code of 1962 provided additional legal and financial guarantees for private firms building enterprises important for the republic's economy. Private capital was enlisted in carrying out major projects of the two-year plan.

Exploring new sources of aid and ways of extending mutually advantageous cooperation, the Dacko Government decided to abandon the one-sided foreign orientation and in 1964 established diplomatic, economic, scientific, technical and cultural relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The participation of the state in economic development, though it had certain progressive significance, was clearly inadequate for eliminating the hard colonial legacy. Popular dissatisfaction was mounting in the country because of the inability of the ruling circles to take effective measures for advancing the national economy and abolishing poverty and their unwillingness to put an end to corruption and waste. This dissatisfaction was utilised by the army command, which staged a coup on the New Year's eve of 1966. Colonel Bokassa, chief of the general staff who led the coup, was proclaimed president of the republic and head of the government. His closest aid, Lieutenant-Colonel Banza, became Minister of Finance and Minister of War Veteran Affairs.

While declaring the economic policy of the former regime insolvent, the Bokassa Government continues it to a large extent. All major measures of the Dacko government have remained in force, especially as regards building up a state and semi-state sector. The new authorities have enacted laws to combat corruption and waste. The government promised to reduce taxes on private enterprise.

Simultaneously, measures have been taken to reinforce the military dictatorship established by the coup. Representatives of the army command have taken major government posts. The numerical strength of the army has been more than doubled and, despite financial difficulties, salaries of officers have been considerably raised.

Signs of dissatisfaction with the military dictatorship are increasing. In 1966, several plots were uncovered. They aimed to overthrow the Bokassa regime and replace it by a civilian government.

In foreign policy, the Bokassa Government has maintained political and economic cooperation with the principal imperialist states. At the same time contacts are being established with all socialist countries, except the Chinese People's Republic. Its government has been accused of organising an underground army and inspiring a plot against the Central African Republic. A few days after the coup the new regime broke relations with the Chinese People's Republic and deported its representatives.

The Bokassa Government champions stronger cooperation among African states. The Central African Republic is a member of many all-African and regional African organisations.

CHAD

The Republic of Chad, far removed from the Atlantic and Indian oceans, is situated at the crossing of roads which have for ages linked the Western and Eastern Sudan and the Mediterranean area and Tropical Africa. The entire northern part of the country lies in the Sahara, where only a few oases and rare seasonal pastures can be found amidst the sands and barren mountains. A semi-desert extends farther to the south. Here nomads pasture their livestock along the beds of *wadis,* streams which disappear in the dry season; here and there the settled population grows African millet on plots cleared from shrubs. Still farther south stretches the savanna with a longer rain season which feeds the *wadis.* African millet and sorghum are the traditional food crops grown by the settled population in the savanna. Groundnuts and cotton go for export, with the latter cultivated chiefly in the basins of the Shari and the Logone. Lastly, the floodlands of the Logone are suitable for the growing of rice, which is in big demand in Fort-Lamy, Fort-Archambault, Moundou and Bongor.

The population is made up mostly of peoples of Negro origin (Saras, Barmas, Mabas, Zaghauas and others.) But Chad is one of the African regions where the black and the white races have intermingled for a long time. A considerable part of the population consists of Arabs who had moved from the north over several centuries and largely intermingled with the local peoples. As a result, Islam and the Arabic language spread in the northern stock-raising districts. The farming population in the south has either preserved the ancient polytheistic beliefs or embraced the Christian religion under the influence of Catholic and Protestant missionaries in the 20th century. The Negroid peoples in the south speak the local languages, while French is used by the elite.

Pre-class relations are preserved in the south. Feudal forms of exploitation play an important part among some peoples in the Baguirmi and Ouadaï regions. To this day personally dependent peasants in northern oases work for their masters, the chiefs of nomad clans. So-called sultans, who rule in Massénya, Abéché and other towns collect tribute and act as a component of the local administration. But the patriarchal way of life and feudalism are eroded by the development of capitalist relations. Growing migration from the village to the town turns some of the peasants into proletarians and strengthens the positions of capitalist elements which emerge from different sections of society, particularly Arab, Hausa and Bornuan merchants.

The main cash crop, cotton, accounts for three-fourths of Chad's exports. It is cultivated in areas inhabited by Saras and other southern peoples; this enables them to play a decisive part in the country's economic and political life. Although the area under cotton is growing steadily, the money income of the peasants is rising at a relatively slower pace. This is caused by the decline in prices: in ten years, from 1956 to 1965, the price of Chad cotton dropped by more than 25 per cent.

At the end of 1965, another drop in world prices began, menacing the sale of the next crop. The export of livestock and animal products is an additional source of foreign exchange. Cattle and sheep are driven to neighbouring countries: Nigeria and the Sudan. The aerial transportation of meat products to Brazzaville and Leopoldville was started as early as 1947. Such transportation is costly but with long-distance non-stop flights it becomes profitable.

Industry is represented by a score of small cotton ginneries, meat-packing plants, cold storages and groundnut-oil mills. Shortly before the country became independent, a shoe factory and bicycle assembly plant were built. A textile mill was put into operation in 1967. The mineral resources have been little studied; geological prospecting for minerals and for water (in the central and northern areas) is now conducted.

French businessmen preserve dominating positions in the economy. The buying up and marketing of cotton is monopolised by the Franco-Chad Cotonfran Co. A considerable part of the foreign trade is handled by the Société commerciale du Kouilou-Niari, a branch of Unilever. In the south of the country the wholesale merchants are

primarily Frenchmen, and the African shopkeepers depend on them to a greater or lesser extent. But French control is slipping in markets of northern areas, where local merchants and Arabs from Syria, the Lebanon and Libya prevail.

Chad is a republic with a presidential regime. According to the 1962 constitution, the president is elected for a term of seven years by an electoral college consisting of deputies of the National Assembly, mayors, municipal councillors and local nobility. The president appoints and heads the government, which is responsible to him and to the National Assembly. In case of a non-confidence vote, the president may dissolve Parliament and appoint new general elections. In 1965, an amendment to the constitution instituted a one-party system. But even three years earlier all the political organisations were dissolved except the ruling Chad Progressive Party, headed by President Tombalbaye.

The Chad Government widely enlists private and state capital, especially French. "Our general concept in the economic sphere includes the private sector", President Tombalbaye stated at the end of 1965; the government "will allow it freely to operate within the general framework of our policy".

The president has repeatedly declared that he favours close co-operation with France. The latter, having recognised the independence of the republic in 1960, simultaneously concluded with it a number of economic, political and also military agreements: on the French air base in Fort-Lamy, the keeping of European civil servants in the administrative apparatus, etc. But subsequently new tendencies made themselves felt in relations with France. In 1964, the National Assembly unanimously demanded the withdrawal of foreign troops and the africanisation of the administrative apparatus. The government declared that it was opposed to colonial regimes and racial discrimination. It was a co-sponsor of the proposal on the conversion of Africa into a denuclearised zone and began to extend foreign ties, especially with African countries. Diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Chad were established in 1964.

In the economic sphere, the government intends to develop enterprises that would lessen dependence on imports of manufactured goods: it wants to build a textile mill, a meat cannery and a sugar refinery. Much significance attaches to the project for extending the trans-Cameroun railway to the territory of Chad which, located hundreds of kilometres from the sea lanes, urgently needs cheaper transportation links.

The government is exerting considerable effort to develop the educational system. The number of pupils in elementary schools rose from 54,000 in 1960 to 148,000 in 1965.

The first five years of independence were marked by several sharp conflicts between President Tombalbaye and his opponents both in the Chad Progressive Party and outside it. In 1960, the party's founder Lisette, an Antillean Negro by origin, was deprived of Chad citizenship. His ousting, which was opposed in Parliament, enabled Christians from the south to gain prominence in the party leadership. In 1963 and 1965, political leaders, mainly Muslims who in the past headed opposition parties, were arrested. There were no arrests among feudal rulers who repeatedly expressed their loyalty to Tombalbaye. In 1966 and 1968 troops were sent to the regions, where armed anti-government actions occurred.

Part of the Muslim opposition leaders, even before independence tried to win over to their side the population at large by advocating socialist slogans. Irrespective of the political objectives sought by these leaders, the popularity of socialist ideas is not accidental. Proletarian and semi-proletarian sections are playing an increasing part in Chad. The importance of the trade unions is growing. They are affiliated with the National Workers' Union of Chad, controlled by the Chad Progressive Party. The new Labour Code, adopted by the Government in 1965, reflected a number of demands by workers of Fort-Lamy and other towns.

The shaping of new social forces is thus laying its imprint on the life of the young state and promoting its progressive development.

SIERRA LEONE

The conquest of Sierra Leone (in its present boundaries) by Britain was completed towards the end of the 19th century. The colonialists established in the country a specific system of administration of a dual character. The city of Freetown and adjacent areas formed the colony proper. Many inhabitants of the colony traced their origin to the first settlers—freed slaves brought to the West African coast from Britain at the end of the 18th century. Descendants of these slaves called themselves Creoles. The British often used them as officials in the lower echelons of the colonial administration and as middlemen in trade, missionaries, etc. The people of Freetown received the privilege of electing a municipal council.

In contrast to the colony proper, the country's internal areas were declared a protectorate. Practically all power both in the colony and the protectorate was in the hands of the British governor appointed by the Colonial Office. As in some other British colonies in West and East Africa, a system of so-called indirect rule was introduced in Sierra Leone.

At the time the territory was conquered by the British, there were no fully developed feudal relations there. The chiefs, elders and others of the tribal nobility in most cases adhered to the rules of customary law, characteristic of pre-class social relations of the type of a military democracy. Of course, within the bounds of these relations the property and social differentiation of the community members was quite far advanced: in the villages there were rich and poor peasants. In a number of districts the offices of elders and chiefs were hereditary in certain families or groups of families. The colonialists, seeking to build up a social mainstay for themselves among the tribal upper crust, accelerated its feudalisation. They extended the rights of the chiefs as regards taxation, the administering of justice and employment of forced labour. As a result, the local chiefs were in effect turned into officials of the colonial administrative machine. Subsequently, they received salaries which amounted to a definite share of the taxes collected in the given district. Moreover, while formerly the chiefs were elected by members of the community, now they were frequently appointed and dismissed by

the governors or district commissioners contrary to the will of the local population.

The purpose of indirect rule, as far as the colonialists were concerned, was to create among the population a semblance of preserving and even strengthening the traditional organs of power and simultaneously to ensure the conditions for exploiting the country's natural wealth with the least outlays.

Methods of Imperialist Exploitation. British monopoly capital turned Sierra Leone into a source of agricultural and mineral raw materials. London and Liverpool trading companies, including the United Africa Co., set up their own branches for the purchase of oil-palm products, ginger, cola nuts, piassava and other farm produce. Taking advantage of their monopoly positions, these companies set prices which were much lower than those on the world market. During the world economic crisis and depression in the 1930's, these low prices were cut to a fraction. Thus in 1920-1929, Sierra Leone peasants were paid about £18 for a ton of palm kernels bought from them, while in 1934 they received £7; for a ton of palm oil, £31 and £8 respectively and for cola nuts, £96 and £12. In other words, the purchase prices were cut from 75 to 88 per cent. At the same time the prices of imported British goods bought by the peasants (fabrics, paraffin oil, soap, matches, etc.) were reduced only by 30-40 per cent. As a result, the producers of agricultural raw materials in Sierra Leone were robbed twice. Their purchasing power sharply declined. The peasants were impoverished and ruined. Many of them were forced to go to the towns and mines in search of a livelihood.

The obtaining of monopoly-high profits in export and import trade was the main but not the only method of exploiting the local population. At the end of the 1920's and early in the 1930's the colonial authorities made a geological survey of districts in the interior, which resulted in the finding of deposits of diamonds, iron and chromium ores and rare metals. Big mining companies received the monopoly right to extract and export diamonds and metal ores. Workers recruited from among the ruined peasants and artisans were employed at the mines and diamond fields. By the beginning of the Second World War, mineral raw materials accounted for more than half of the value of all Sierra Leone exports.

To accelerate and make cheaper the export of mineral and agricultural raw materials from the country and also the import of manufactured goods from Britain, it was necessary to build railways and highways, ports, warehouses and other facilities. That is why construction of a railway was started at the end of the 19th century. Subsequently, it was brought up to the eastern borders of the country. Forced labour of thousands of peasants driven by order of the colonial authorities from neighbouring villages was widely utilised. Back-breaking toil, anti-sanitary conditions, constant malnutrition resulted in high mortality of the peasants engaged in building transport installations. Forced labour was also widely employed in the

building of administrative offices, prisons, police headquarters and houses for colonial officials and tribal chiefs.

But the normal functioning of the system of colonial exploitation could not be ensured solely by forced labour. For this free workers, deprived of the means of production and compelled to seek employment at mines, factories and plantations, were needed. Taxation of the local population became an important instrument for turning the peasants and artisans into proletarians.

As far back as the end of the 19th century, the colonial authorities introduced a poll-tax, the rates of which were subsequently steadily raised. Moreover, the local chiefs themselves introduced additional taxes and levies, resorting to all kinds of abuses. Under the weight of the tax burden many peasants and artisans were ruined and replenished the ranks of hired labourers, compelled to accept any wage.

At the beginning of the Second World War, Sierra Leone had about 30,000 hired workers employed at mines, on transport and in construction. Their working and living conditions were appalling. Wages, as a rule, were from 7 d. to 1 s. daily. This sum was barely sufficient to buy food for one person. Even the British colonial officials themselves had to admit that at the beginning of the Second World War the diet of the local population was much worse than in the pre-colonial period. A report of a special committee which studied the diet of the population in the British colonial empire (published in 1939) noted that the minimum needed to provide a decent food ration in Freetown was estimated at 6-7 d. daily, or 15 s. a month. That sum was the wage of an urban worker; if he wanted to get adequate food for himself he could not feed his wife and children, let alone spend money on clothes, pay house rent, and so on. Most workers lived in slums, in dilapidated huts. A report of the Public Health Department issued in 1926 pointed out that Freetown in general was overcrowded. Most houses had no fresh air, and it was difficult to imagine how people could stay indoors on hot nights in rooms lacking ventilation and the air filled with the smell of burned paraffin oil.

In view of the constant undernourishment and unsanitary housing conditions, the population was very susceptible to all kinds of infections. Most of the people were sick with tuberculosis, malaria and other diseases. The colonial authorities, however, were least of all concerned with improving the health services. In 1914, the civil service employed 25 medical workers, while in 1936 the number was reduced to 21. All this resulted in a high death rate, especially child mortality. In interior areas, from 300 to 400 of every 1,000 new-born infants died in the first year. Mortality in Freetown exceeded the number of births in 21 out of 25 years (1919-1943).

Anti-Imperialist Movement in the 1920's and 1930's. The beginning of the anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples in Sierra Leone dates back to the end of the 19th century. It was in 1898 that the

first mass movement against foreign oppression developed in the country. The direct cause of this action was the introduction of the poll-tax. Before long, however, the struggle against taxes turned into a broad peasant movement directed against British colonial oppression. The peasants set up armed detachments and for many months waged guerrilla warfare which spread over a greater part of the country. But the peasant actions were of a spontaneous character, had no clear-cut programme and were not supported by the urban working people. By concentrating relatively large military units, the British authorities crushed the rebellion.

The development of capitalist relations and the appearance of the first groups of the proletariat initiated the working-class movement. The first strike in the history of Africa took place in Freetown as far back as 1874. During the First World War a railwaymen's union was founded in Sierra Leone and it organised a successful strike in 1919. The workers won a certain increase in wages and an improvement in their working conditions. But in subsequent years the rise in food prices and rents reduced to naught the concessions made by the railway administration. In 1926, the union again demanded a wage increase and also a reduction of working hours. In reply the governor resorted to mass repressions. The workers staunchly fought for six weeks, but many arrests and a lockout declared by the railway management broke the strike. Tens of active trade unionists were dismissed and blacklisted and the railwaymen's union was smashed; it was restored only many years later.

In the 1930's, new union organisations were set up at mines and in ports. But officially they were recognised only during the Second World War.

Members of the rising bourgeoisie and intellectuals, chiefly from among peasant communities, joined the peasants and workers in the struggle against the colonialists. In 1920, delegates from Sierra Leone took part in founding the National Congress of British West Africa. The first public and cultural organisations helped spread the demands for giving Africans the right to participate in administering their own country, for the development of national culture, the extension of the educational system, improvement of medical services, etc. But the practical activity of these mass organisations was confined to drawing up timid petitions to the British authorities, asking for partial reforms, which did not affect the foundations of the colonial regime. The Fourah Bay College in Freetown, the first in West Africa, played a big part in moulding the national intelligentsia. It was the *alma mater* of many public and political leaders not only of Sierra Leone, but also of Nigeria, the Gold Coast, the Gambia and many other countries.

A Youth League was organised by radically-minded intellectuals in the second half of the 1930's. The programme and activity of the League in many respects coincided with that of the Nigerian Youth Movement organised at the same time in Nigeria. Some leaders of

the working-class movement and the trade unions took an active part in guiding the League. Afraid of the influence of this socio-political organisation on the masses, the colonial authorities persecuted the leaders of the League and actually prohibited its activity.

Socio-Economic Changes during and after the Second World War. Considerable shifts occurred in Sierra Leone's economy and social life in wartime and the post-war period. They were associated with a certain acceleration in the development of capitalist relations and also class differentiation in town and country. These changes were of a contradictory nature and in the long run sharply intensified the anti-imperialist struggle.

British monopoly capital extended the system of exploiting Sierra Leone, applying some new methods for exacting colonial tribute. On the pretext of war exigency and subsequently "for the sake of the supreme state interests", the colonial authorities requisitioned a considerable part of the goods, promising to pay for them in future. All the foreign exchange resources of the colony were transferred to London.

As a result of these operations, the sterling holdings of Sierra Leone, that is, the value of goods and services for which the population of the colony received no compensation whatsoever, reached approximately £60 million at the end of the 1950's. This sum was right to ten times greater than the annual budget. The colonial authorities stimulated to the utmost the production of export crops and at the same time set very low purchasing prices, which on the average were only 50 or 60 per cent of the export price. The Marketing Board, a state monopoly organisation, thus appropriated a good part of the surplus product of the peasant farms. It were the profits of the Marketing Board that formed the basis of Sierra Leone's sterling holdings.

After the war, big English mining companies greatly extended the extraction and export of diamonds, iron and chromium ore. The profits of the British mining monopolies totalled a huge sum in post-war years, exceeding £40 million.

As a result, the colonial tribute extracted from Sierra Leone between 1945 and 1960 exceeded £100 million. This sum was more than 30 times greater than the average annual investments in the country's entire economy. It was this pumping out of a considerable part of the national income by the British imperialists that was the main obstacle to Sierra Leone's economic development.

But even in these conditions, the home market grew slowly and in a contradictory way owing to the spread of the money economy and capitalist relations in all sectors. In agriculture, the production of export crops was expanding and money accumulations were increasing. They were concentrated in the hands of the tribal elite and the few rich farmers. Some local merchants extended their positions in trade in agricultural produce, diamonds and other goods and established the first national joint-stock companies. In the mining industry tens of thousands of prospectors, as a result of prolonged struggle, weakened the monopoly of the Selection Trust, a British company, and won the right to work the diamond fields. A stratum of small and middle entrepreneurs who exploited dozens of prospectors gradually emerged from their midst. Thus, the formation of the national bourgeoisie, which in many cases preserved close ties with the feudal nobility, proceeded in all sectors of the economy. The national bourgeoisie increasingly demanded more rights for Africans in the administration and a restriction of the activity of foreign capital.

In face of the crisis and disintegration of the colonial system in Asia and Africa, and the radical change in the correlation of world forces in favour of socialism, the British imperialists had to consider the growing dissatisfaction even in such a small country as Sierra Leone. They decided to make certain economic and political concessions to the local bourgeoisie and the tribal upper crust so as to prevent a mass liberation movement and preserve their main positions in the country. As early as 1945, the colonial authorities set up a so-called Protectorate Assembly, an advisory body to the governor, which consisted almost exclusively of the tribal nobility. But these actions did not satisfy the national bourgeoisie and the chiefs associated with them. In 1951, a party representing a bloc of the national bourgeoisie and the tribal nobility was founded. It was named the Sierra Leone People's Party and was headed by Milton Margai, a doctor by profession. He had been a health department official and was connected by kinship ties both with the local tradesmen and district chiefs in the protectorate. The party demanded the self-government of Sierra Leone, expecting thus to win the support of the masses. In the first years of its activity it extended its influence among the national bourgeoisie and intellectuals, and also won the support of some trade union leaders and representatives of youth, women's and cultural organisations.

The British authorities had to consent to the election of a House of Representatives. Wishing to secure themselves against possible exigencies and prevent an "excessive" strengthening of the positions of patriotic-minded African bourgeois and intellectuals, the British reserved a considerable number of seats in the House of Representatives for the supreme chiefs of the protectorate, expecting in case of necessity to put them up against the radically-minded deputies. True, the leadership of the People's Party ultimately succeeded in getting the supreme chiefs to take part in its activities. But even after joining the party the chiefs constantly sabotaged any reform and refused to support the slogan of struggle for national independence. Candidates of the People's Party won the elections and most of the seats in the House of Representatives.

In 1951, the first government with the participation of Africans was formed. Its powers, however, were quite limited. The British authorities expected these measures to win them the cooperation of

the national bourgeoisie and the tribal upper crust and to preserve intact their main economic and political positions. To a certain extent these calculations were justified. Taking part in the activity of the government formed after the elections, the People's Party did not demand full political independence. But the further course of events was decisively influenced by the masses whose actions created an entirely new situation in the country.

Mass Working-Class and Peasant Movement in 1955-1956. The emerging working class began to play an ever greater part in the country's socio-economic and political life after the war. The appearance of the first more or less large factories, extension of a modern transport network and the increase in industrial and housing construction resulted in the formation of groups of regular workers. Simultaneously, the number of people engaged at enterprises in the state sector, and also of teachers, medical workers and other intellectuals increased. Most of them worked for hire and in their economic and social position gradually drew closer to the skilled workers. In the mid-1950's, the total number of wage-workers more than doubled as compared with the prewar figure. Factory and office workers sought to establish and strengthen their trade unions so as to fight in an organised way for better working and living conditions. By that time more than one-third of all factory and office workers had become union members and had in one or another way taken part in the country's socio-political life. Moreover, under colonial conditions the struggle of the trade unions for the workers' economic demands inevitably assumed a political character and became an integral part of the liberation movement.

The beginning of the new stage of the anti-imperialist struggle in Sierra Leone is linked with the first general strike in Freetown in February 1955. The direct cause of the strike was the rise in prices of staple foods (rice, fish, palm oil), increase in rents, transport rates and other expenses. By 1955, even the official cost-of-living index, which concealed the real scale of the price increases, had risen four times as compared with the prewar level. But wages of most workers had increased not more than three times: thus, real wages in Freetown and its suburbs at the beginning of 1955 were 25 per cent lower than the prewar starvation level.

The workers demanded at least a 50 per cent wage increase. The employers, backed by the British authorities, categorically rejected this just demand. On February 9, 1955, two of the biggest unions called a strike and asked all other unions and workers in Freetown and the protectorate to support them. About 10,000 workers took part in this strike, the biggest in the country's history. Workers of state, municipal and private enterprises—docks, railway yards, warehouses, rice mills, electric stations, garages and public utilities—laid down tools. The strike lasted for five days and became general, paralysing Freetown. Thousands of workers, their wives and children marched through the streets of the city. The demonstrators were

joined by unemployed, people from the middle strata and even some leaders of bourgeois parties. The strike movement transcended the bounds of an economic struggle and acquired a political tinge.

The British authorities ordered the police to disperse the demonstrators. In several cases the police opened fire, and the workers began to erect barricades. They besieged police precincts and blocked the road to army units sent to quell "the disorders". Only big army units which entered the city and repeatedly opened fire on the peaceful population compelled the strikers to retreat. Several hundred people were wounded and about 100 men, women and children were killed.

The cruel suppression of the strike in Freetown aroused indignation not only in Sierra Leone but far beyond its bounds. The World Federation of Trade Unions sent a vigorous protest to the British Government, demanding severe punishment of the guilty parties.

The general strike in Freetown compelled the employers and colonial authorities to make serious economic concessions. Wages were soon raised, working hours at a number of enterprises were reduced and the living conditions of some categories of workers were improved. The imperialists failed to break up the unions, which led the strike. On the contrary, their membership increased by more than 20 per cent.

The strikes showed the workers that only organised and determined action can force the employers and colonial authorities to retreat. The workers realised that it was necessary to extend the class struggle to win partial successes. But the strike in Freetown not only raised the class consciousness of the workers. It triggered off peasant actions, which before long swept the greater part of the interior.

The immediate reason for mass actions in the countryside, as in Freetown, was the sharp worsening in the condition of the mass of the rural population. The peasants especially hated the local chiefs and elders who ruthlessly robbed the rank-and-file members of the community, extorted bribes, persecuted all undesirables, confined them to prison and frequently forced them to leave their homes. The colonial officials and the tribal nobility were tightening the screws of the taxation press. The peasants and artisans had to pay up to 30 different kinds of taxes. There was literally no object, no trade, no type of human activity that was not taxed.

The chiefs and elders collected taxes not only from adults but also from children, from the living and the dead. For failure to pay taxes, the peasants were fined, beaten and imprisoned; their property, homes, livestock and implements were confiscated. Thousands of people were ruined, swelling the ranks of the unemployed, pauperised population. When rumours of the strikes in Freetown reached the protectorate, the peasants decided to put an end to the arbitrary rule of the feudal elements and colonialists.

In the autumn of 1955, mass peasant unrest began in the Western districts, where the traditions of the national-liberation struggle were particularly strong, gradually spreading to most of the country. The peasants refused to pay taxes, drove out the local chiefs and elders, and court officials. Thousands demonstrated in the streets of district centres. Even according to official data, more than 100,000 peasants, that is, practically the entire adult population of the affected districts, took part in demonstrations, meetings and rallies in villages. In a number of districts, the peasants in effect set up their own organs of power and demanded their recognition by the British. At first the movement was of a peaceful nature, but after the governor ordered the police and the troops to disperse the demonstrations and restore the power of the chiefs and local officials, the peasants resorted to armed struggle.

Guerrilla detachments sprang up in several districts and they fought pitched battles against the police and troops. The rebels set fire to homes, warehouses and other buildings belonging to the most hated chiefs and elders, and destroyed their crops. In many places, the lists of taxpayers were torn up. The peasants offered armed resistance to the police and soldiers sent to quell the movement.

Frightened by the powerful scale of the peasant movement, which objectively was acquiring an increasingly distinct anti-imperialist nature, the British colonialists had recourse to the stick-and-carrot tactics.

The British officials agreed to remove some of the local chiefs and elders and replace them by men more acceptable to the population. They also promised to abolish some taxes and unlawful levies, remove the dishonest petty officials and somewhat extend the rights of local self-government bodies. All these measures had to split the ranks of the peasants, win over moderate elements to the side of the authorities, and isolate the most radically-minded leaders of the peasants and artisans.

Simultaneously, the colonial authorities brutally dealt with those who refused to lay down arms. After several months of struggle they defeated the guerrilla detachments operating in the north. By the spring of 1956, the peasant movement had subsided, and the colonial authorities announced that "law and order" had been restored in Sierra Leone.

The economic and political struggle of the people in town and country assumed such a mass scale in 1955-1956 that it changed the relation of forces in Sierra Leone and compelled all the main sociopolitical organisations to revise their positions and demands, and change their tactics. Like other organisations, the People's Party, under the pressure of the masses, abandoned the policy of gradual constitutional changes and put forward the demand for full independence in the immediate future. On the other hand, the events in 1955-1956 clearly demonstrated to the imperialists that a revolutionary situation was maturing in the country, endangering the entire

system of colonial rule. The British imperialists considered it best to make new concessions—moreover, not only of an economic, but also of a political nature—to prevent a recurrence of anti-colonialist actions.

Talks between representatives of Sierra Leone's main political parties and organisations and the British Colonial Office were repeatedly held between 1957 and 1960 concerning the terms and date of independence. In the long run, at the 1960 constitutional conference, Britain agreed to grant independence within the framework of the Commonwealth, but succeeded in making the Sierra Leone delegates agree to the conclusion of a "defence treaty" in future. Siaka Stevens, a leader of the People's Party and participant in the London talks, came out against the conclusion of such a treaty. On returning to Freetown he resigned from the People's Party and set up a new political organisation, the All People's Congress.

SIERRA LEONE AFTER THE PROCLAMATION OF INDEPENDENCE

The independence of Sierra Leone was proclaimed in Freetown on April 27, 1961. The first national government was headed by Milton Margai, a leader of the People's Party. In its statement, the government pointed out that Sierra Leone would pursue a policy of nonalignment to military blocs and pacts and establish friendly relations with all states, irrespective of their political and social system. In the same year, Sierra Leone was admitted to the United Nations, becoming its 100th member. The government of Sierra Leone has been opposing colonialism and supporting the demands of the African countries for granting independence to all the peoples. Sierra Leone is a member of the Organisation of African Unity and actively champions the settlement of issues arising between African countries through negotiations and mutual concessions.

A proponent of all-round extension of intra-African economic and cultural ties, the government is taking measures to expand trade with neighbouring countries and has concluded appropriate agreements with them.

Economic and cultural ties between Sierra Leone and the socialist countries are gradually being extended. Sierra Leone has established diplomatic relations with the U.S.S.R., Bulgaria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Cuba, the Korean People's Democratic Republic and Yugoslavia. The first parliamentary delegation of Sierra Leone visited the U.S.S.R. in October 1963, and Soviet M.P.s paid a return visit in 1965. An agreement between the U.S.S.R. and Sierra Leone on cultural relations provides for the establishment and extention of contacts in science and education, health services, culture and art, radio and TV, tourist travel and sports.

Foreign trade plays an important part in strengthening relations between Sierra Leone and socialist countries. Sierra Leone is increas-

ing imports of industrial equipment, farm machinery, rolled ferrous metals and various manufactured goods in exchange for industrial diamonds, titanium ore, rubber, cacao beans, coffee, oil-bearing seeds and other of her traditional export products. The public favours the further development of economic, political and cultural ties with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

In its home policy, the government of Sierra Leone follows the line of accelerating the country's economic growth through the maximum attraction of foreign private and state capital, known as the open door policy. Seeking loans and credits of West European countries and the United States, the government has enacted laws which guarantee the inviolability of foreign private investments and ensure the free transfer of a considerable part of the profits obtained by foreign companies operating in the country. But the British, West German and American monopolies take a greater interest only in the most profitable sectors, for example, the extraction of mineral raw materials, and are by no means inclined to invest in the manufacturing industry, without which the country's balanced economic growth is inconceivable. It is indicative that U.S. monopolies are taking part in oil prospecting and also in the development of titanium ore mining. British, American, West German and other foreign companies are trying to secure the conditions for the most profitable exploitation of the country.

While attracting private foreign capital, the government is working to extend the state sector. The ten-year economic, social and cultural development plan (1962/63-1971/72) adopted in 1962, calls for investments of £164 million, most of which should go to build up the infrastructure (transport, communications, power and public utilities). Only about £25 million, or a quarter of the entire sum allotted for the first five years, is to be invested directly in production, that is, in agriculture and industry.

The discussion of the ten-year plan in Parliament and in the press brought out the fact that the sources of financing the different projects had not been determined. About half of the investments are to be made with funds received from imperialist states as credits, loans and donations. But Britain, the United States and West Germany are in no hurry to provide money for the ten-year plan. As a result, actual investments between 1962 and 1966 were a mere fraction of the originally planned amounts and it was decided further to reduce annual appropriations.

The open door policy is seriously opposed by the All People's Congress and organisations supporting it. The Congress leaders stated that the attraction of foreign capital was hampering the struggle for the country's economic independence and the building up of a diversified economy. They also pointed to the need to implement deep-going socio-economic reforms, restrict the power of the feudal elements and chiefs in the village, raise wages and introduce social insurance for industrial workers, establish a just system of taxation and

undertake the all-round development of education, the health services and culture.

Parliamentary elections on the basis of universal suffrage were held for the first time in May 1962. Candidates of the People's Party received about 35 per cent of the vote, and of the All People's Congress, about 23 per cent. The rest of the electorate voted for so-called independents, who shortly after the elections joined the parliamentary group of the People's Party. M. Margai again headed the government, and S. Stevens, the Congress leader, headed the opposition. In May 1964, after the death of Milton Margai, his brother Albert Margai, one of the leaders of the People's Party, became the prime minister. The elections showed that the struggle around the choice of ways for further development was becoming sharper, that growing influence was exercised by public and political organisations which in one or another form favoured the country's non-capitalist future.

Faced with an aggravation of social and political contradictions, the government and the ruling party wanted to introduce a one-party system in the country; this step, however, was vigorously combated by the opposition both in Parliament and outside it.

The parliamentary elections held in March 1967 aggravated to the utmost the tense situation. A group of army officers, taking advantage of the struggle for power between the People's Party and the All People's Congress, staged a coup at the end of March. A National Reform Council, headed by Colonel A. Jackson-Smith, was set up.

Another coup was staged in mid-April 1968 by army officers who set up a Provisional National Council which handed over power to civilians. Siaka Stevens became Prime Minister.

Work to regenerate culture, extend the educational and health systems and revive national art became an important aspect of life in independent Sierra Leone.

For many years the colonialists spent paltry sums on education and the health services. As a result, the overwhelming majority of children did not attend school. Even after the Second World War, in 1950, the country had only 292 schools (including 15 secondary schools), attended by 37,300 pupils. In other words, only one out of 30 school-age children studied. According to the 1963 population census, more than 90 per cent of the country's entire adult population were illiterate.

The country was short of hospitals and other medical institutions. Until recently there was only one doctor per 40,000-50,000 rural inhabitants. In these conditions widespread diseases became a scourge of the rural population. But in the towns, too, medical aid was practically inaccessible to the majority of the people.

Steps are being taken to develop education and the health services. Elementary and secondary schools, hospitals and medical stations are being built, mobile medical teams are set up to combat epidemics. Propaganda of sanitary rules is conducted in the press and over the

radio. All these measures have yielded their first results. In 1966, there were about 900 elementary and secondary schools in the country. The student body of Fourah Bay College has increased, and a new college has been opened. It is expected that in future they will be reorganised into a university. But the educational system by far does not cope with the country's needs in personnel with a higher or secondary education. The government is providing a considerable number of scholarships to young men and women who go to study at foreign universities.

The first groups which seek to revive the people's original art have appeared. Dance and chorus groups, literary and artistic circles enjoy the sympathies of audiences both in the capital and in the interior. Public opinion demands that the authorities render every aid, including financial, for the revival and development of national culture and art.

The years which have passed since winning political independence show that the forces advocating deep socio-economic changes and the accelerated development of the national economy and culture are gaining in strength in Sierra Leone.

LIBERIA

1918-1939. At the end of the First World War, Liberia was one of the very few independent African states, but its sovereignty was largely of an illusory nature. The specific difficulties of Liberia as a settlers' state stemmed mainly from two factors: first, the unwillingness of American Negroes to emigrate to Africa and, second, the abyss dividing the relatively small group of settlers and the overwhelming majority of the local population.

The first settlement of American Negroes in Africa was founded in 1822, and the Republic of Liberia was proclaimed 25 years later, on July 26, 1847. It was expected that in time American Negroes would move *en masse* to Africa. Though this plan was a mere utopia, it was supported by many prominent U.S. leaders who saw in it the only possibility for resolving the social and racial difficulties engendered by Negro slavery. The primary reason which frustrated the plan was the opposition of the American Negroes, who considered the United States their native land and refused to go to Africa. As a result only about 20,000 people had moved there by 1917. This was the main reason for the organic weakness of the Republic of Liberia.

The second factor was the unwillingness of the settlers who founded the first African republic in modern times to extend the democratic rights recorded in the constitution to the country's aboriginal population. A peculiar situation arose there: 20,000 newcomers set themselves as masters in relation of the one million local inhabitants. The latter defended their right to freedom, at times arms in hand. Wars between the settlers and the local population were the second factor making for Liberia's weakness. The newcomers, who called themselves Americo-Liberians so that they should not be mistaken for the "aboriginal pagans", undividedly dominated the administrative machine and the economy.

In the first decades after the republic's formation they actively participated in trade with Europe and America, making big profits. But when sail boats were superseded by steamships and companies possessing big capital were formed, Americo-Liberians were ousted

from commerce and only some of them held on, acting as compradores. In addition, a small group of Americo-Liberians had their own plantations, employing hired labour to grow cash crops.

For most Americo-Liberians the civil service became the only chance for a well-to-do life. They turned into a hereditary caste of politicians, diplomats, lawyers, army officers, etc. In 1869, they formed the True Whigs Party which has been in office ever since 1878. This is how a bureaucratic and compradore bourgeoisie emerged in Liberia.

As for the country's aboriginal population, it engaged in subsistence farming, characterised by the prevalence of communal land tenure, shifting cultivation and slash-and-burn field preparation.

Unwillingness of the top stratum of Americo-Liberians to engage in productive labour and the need to extract from the native population by force of arms the means for the maintenance of the inordinate state machine, made themselves felt before long. Liberia had to resort to fettering foreign loans (British loans in 1870 and 1906, and an international loan in 1912). This made Liberia directly dependent on the Great Powers, Britain in the first place. U.S. capital began to show an interest in Liberia only on the eve of the First World War, in connection with the international loan.

Early in 1918, Liberia formally entered the war on the side of the Entente. The Allies used Liberian ports as naval bases and set up their own radio station there.

Extensive penetration of Liberia by U.S. capital began after the war. In 1926, Harvey Firestone, president of the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company (one of the four monopolies in the U.S. rubber industry), received a big concession from the Liberian Government. He enjoyed the active support of the U.S. State Department. The rubber supply was a quite acute problem for the United States at that time; it accounted for 85 per cent of the world production of automobiles and consumed three-fourths of the world production of natural rubber, but had no rubber sources of its own. Hence the plans of the American monopolies to convert Liberia, which has favourable natural conditions, into a big rubber-producing area. The terms of the concession were fettering for Liberia. Firestone received a 99-year lease on 400,000 hectares of the finest lands; he had to pay 14.85 cents for each utilised hectare and 1 per cent of the total value of the exported rubber. The concessionaire received the sole right to build highways and railways and a port for exporting rubber. Liberia undertook to provide manpower for the plantations and road building. Simultaneously, Firestone gave Liberia a $5 million loan at an annual interest of 7 per cent.

This agreement greatly strengthened U.S. positions in Liberia, giving it a bigger hold on the country's economy than Britain.

The Firestone Co. set up its own bank in 1930 and the latter gained control of Liberia's foreign trade. In 1928, as much as 20 per cent of the country's entire revenue went for the payment of the loan; in

1931, 55 per cent; and in 1932, 60 per cent. The export of rubber which began in 1933 grew especially after 1938.

As many as 30,000 workers were employed at the plantations, toiling from sunset to sunrise for a pittance (about 25 cents a day). Super-exploitation of the Liberian workers became a primary source of enormously high profits for Firestone.

The other imperialist powers, however, were not inclined to cede their positions in Liberia to the U.S.A. Though Liberia was admitted to the League of Nations, Britain and France tried to convert this African republic into a mandate territory. At the end of the 1920's and early in the 1930's, this question was officially raised in the League of Nations, though no decision was taken.

On the eve of the Second World War, German capital became very active in Liberia, operating through dummy Swedish and Dutch firms.

The position of the local population in the interwar period, especially during the 1929-1933 world economic crisis, sharply deteriorated. As a result of the crisis, foreign firms stopped buying farm produce from the Liberian peasants. Meanwhile the government tried to overcome its difficulties by raising taxes.

These actions led to a conflict between the government and many of the peoples inhabiting the country. In 1931, disorders broke out in the coastal areas inhabited by the Kru people. A considerable number of them worked as dockers and seamen, and also engaged in fishing. In view of widespread unemployment, the Krus appealed to the government for a deferment of tax payments. The authorities accused them of disobedience and sedition and on May 20, 1931, dispatched a punitive expedition which brutally stifled the protest.

1939-1945. Liberia officially declared war on the Axis powers only in January 1944. But the strategic position of Liberia on the ocean lanes from America to Africa and Asia turned it much earlier into an important link of the Allied communications. This was enhanced after the Axis powers deranged navigation in the Mediterranean in 1941. After that, American armaments to the Middle East had to be shipped around the Cape of Good Hope. Planes flew along the route U.S.-Brazil-Liberia-the Sudan (Khartoum)-Iraq. Moreover, during the war Liberia and Ceylon were the only sources of natural rubber accessible to the Allies.

It did not take the United States long to impose a number of new unequal treaties on Liberia. These agreements opened up big possibilities to the United States for strengthening its positions in the country. A Liberian newspaper rightly qualified these agreements as the handing over of part of Liberia's territory to a foreign power for an unspecified period and without any mention of returning it.

U.S. ruling circles stressed that all these agreements had been prompted by Washington's desire to preserve the independence and integrity of the Liberian Republic. Actually, however, in wartime the United States largely ousted its European rivals from Liberia

and further reinforced its economic and political influence in that country.

As early as 1941, the United States accounted for two-thirds of Liberian exports, as compared with 15 per cent in 1934, and about half of the imports. Moreover, American goods were imported duty-free. In 1943, the U.S. dollar became the country's national currency, replacing the British pound, and the Bank of Monrovia was turned into a branch of the First National City Bank of New York. In wartime, the United States built the Robertsfield air base in Liberia and undertook to construct the Monrovia port.

1945-1967. The radical postwar changes throughout the world could not but affect the internal political situation in Liberia. The country's ruling circles, subjected to direct pressure by their own people and indirect pressure by neighbouring African peoples fighting for independence, realised that without reforms they could not escape social upheavals. As a result, President Tubman, who came to office in 1944, formulated a new line, whose main principles were the "Unification Policy" and the "Open Door Policy".

The Unification Policy envisaged measures to bridge the abyss dividing the Americo-Liberians and the local population and was prompted by the desire to put an end to the concept of two peoples in one state. President Tubman formulated this task in the following words: "If we are to build a truly great and powerful nation, if we are to live in peace and tranquillity with equal opportunities to pursue happiness and prosperity, we must learn to march along together as one people . . . we must learn to work together, to play together and live together." Tubman vigorously objected to the use of the term Americo-Liberian, asserting that one people, Liberians, lived in the country.

Implementation of the Unification Policy began. In 1945, the aboriginal peoples were given suffrage (limited by a property qualification, as a result of which they held only one-third of the seats in the House of Representatives in the mid-1960's); they were given access to the civil service, and some representatives of the tribes assumed high posts. The Tubman Government succeeded in winning over the tribal chiefs and in the mid-1960's it was more stable than its predecessors. Formerly the president stayed in office for not more than two terms, eight and four years respectively. The constitution, however, has been amended and now the president can be re-elected for a four-year term any number of times. Tubman himself has been inaugurated six times (in 1944, 1952, 1956, 1960, 1964 and 1968).

In pursuance of the Unification Policy, the government reformed the country's administrative structure. It had been divided into five coastal counties, each of which elected two senators, and provinces in the interior not represented in the Senate. On June 26, 1964, the provinces were reconstituted into four counties and now the local population has its own representatives in the Senate as well.

It should be noted that the Unification Policy was resisted by some groups of former Americo-Liberians who were afraid of losing their

privileges. The opposition was headed by ex-President Edwin Barclay. After an attempt on Tubman's life in June 1955, the opposition was crushed and, subsequently, its proponents have not come out openly against Tubman. On the whole, the Unification Policy is progressive, although the local population has not yet been fully equalised in rights with the former Americo-Liberians.

Liberia's Open Door Policy consists of a range of measures designated to stimulate the influx of foreign capital. These include a low profit tax, the granting of long-term concessions, absence of control over foreign-exchange operations, etc. Proclamation of the Open Door Policy signified that Liberia's ruling circles have chosen the capitalist way of development. Moreover, they want to effect this development by giving foreign monopolies wide access to the country's wealth.

As far back as the Second World War, exceedingly rich deposits of high-quality iron ore were discovered in different parts of the country. It is this industry that has lured foreign capital most. The Liberia Mining Co. was the first to receive in August 1945 a concession for working the Bomi Hills iron ore deposits. Subsequently, the National Iron Ore Co., Liberian American Swedish Minerals Co. (Lamco) and the German Liberian Mining Co. joined in working the ore mines.

American and also West German and Swedish capital dominates this industry. Liberia mined 17 million tons of iron ore in 1966, becoming one of the world's biggest exporters in this field. This rapid development was made possible by the big influx of foreign capital: $400 million of foreign, chiefly American, investments, went into iron-ore mining between 1961 and 1965.

Foreign capital has been no less active in producing agricultural commodities for export. So far Firestone Plantations Ltd. has no rival. Its rubber plantations take up 100,000 acres (90,000 in Harbel and 10,000 in Cavalla). They have the highest yield of latex in the world—1,048 pounds per acre.

In addition to Firestone, two more American companies have large rubber concessions—Goodrich and United States Rubber Co. The latter received in 1965 a concession for 600,000 acres in Southern Liberia for $7.7 million.

Liberia Co., a U.S. outfit set up after the Second World War under the guidance of ex-State Secretary Stettinius, has become a big producer of cocoa and other agricultural commodities.

Foreign investments have essentially changed the composition of the country's foreign trade. While in 1945 rubber accounted for 96.6 per cent of Liberian exports, 20 years later, in 1965, iron ore advanced to first place (75 per cent of the entire value of exports). Although the production of rubber did not decline, it now accounts only for 20 per cent of all exports.

The first manufacturing establishments were built in Liberia after the war. At the end of 1967, the country had a small oil refinery and two cement mills, a palm-oil extraction mill, shoe and clothing fac-

tories, a brewery, which also produces soft drinks, etc. These enterprises were set up by Swedish, Italian and other foreign firms, but Liberian state and private capital is taking an active part in them.

The first railways (Monrovia-Bomi Hills, 64 km., and Buchanan-Nimba, 270 km.) have been built for delivering iron ore to sea ports.

Formation of the national bourgeoisie has been accelerated in recent decades. The bureaucratic top group and the rich tribal nobility are increasingly investing their capital in various enterprises. As every emerging bourgeoisie, the Liberian capitalists prefer to invest money in real estate—houses, land, etc. At the same time many Liberians are buying shares of foreign companies.

Foreign firms, interested in the establishment of a social mainstay in the country, are encouraging the crystallisation of national capital. Firestone's policy is indicative in this respect. His company has for a long time been subsidising, rendering technical assistance and supplying seedlings of hevea trees to all "independent producers", that is, local plantation owners.

There are about 2,600 "independent producers" and they account for about 20 per cent of the latex crop. But this relatively small group is exerting a decisive influence on Liberia's policy. Suffice it to say that it includes President Tubman, most of his ministers and leaders of the True Whigs Party.

The country's national bourgeoisie, closely interlinked with foreign capital, is relatively small numerically and weak economically. The weakness of the national bourgeoisie and the desire to protect its interests has compelled the government to enhance the role of the state in the country's economy.

Since 1952, when signing new concession agreements the government lays down as an indispensable condition its participation as a partner having a definite block of shares. As a result, the government owns 50 per cent of the shares of the Liberian American Swedish Minerals Co., German Liberian Mining Co. and National Iron Ore Co. The participation of the government in leading agencies of the concession companies is of considerable importance. The government holds three out of the thirteen seats on the board of directors of the Liberia Mining Co. and four on the board of directors of the Liberia Co. In 1961, five Liberians and one Ghanaian were appointed to high posts in the Firestone Co. In an effort somewhat to restrict the influence exerted by American corporations on the country's economy, the government has extended economic ties with European states.

The registration of foreign merchant ships in Liberian ports has become a considerable additional source of state revenue in the post-war period. The registration fee in this country is one of the lowest in the world and, although Liberia has no merchant marine of its own, thanks to the flag of convenience she formally holds one of the leading places in the world in merchant marine tonnage (on January 1, 1966, ships with a displacement of 20.6 million tons sailed under her flag).

An important change in the country's economic policy occurred in 1951: it began to tax foreign concession holders (35 per cent of the net profit exceeding $50,000) and state revenue increased sharply. The government has been able to repay its foreign debts in part. The day when the last installment on the Firestone loan, which seriously infringed national sovereignty, was repaid became a national celebration. This happened in 1951, 15 years prior to the expiration of the term for the redemption of the loan. A monument was raised to mark this occasion.

Liberia made notable economic progress after the war. The gross national product increased by 250 per cent from 1950 to 1962. The country's exports, which amounted to $28 million in 1950, rose to $148 million in 1965, i.e., increased more than five-fold. Economic growth rates in Liberia are faster than in many other African countries. In 1960, the economic growth index was (1954 = 100) 125 in Uganda, 150 in Nigeria and 175 in Liberia. Liberia advanced to first place in Africa in iron ore exports (40 per cent of the continent's total) and third place in the world (after Canada and Sweden). She also was the second-biggest rubber exporter in Africa after Nigeria. In 1960, the per capita production index (1954 = 100) was 170 in Liberia as against 140 in Nigeria and 120 in Uganda. Road construction was steeply expanded.

In 1964, there were 912 schools with 86,000 pupils, while in 1950 only 25,000 children studied. The country has a university (in Monrovia), four colleges, 23 hospitals with 1200 beds, 106 out-patient clinics, a tuberculosis sanatorium and an ophthalmological clinic. A school of medicine for the training of doctor's assistants and other medical personnel has been opened. But the country's economic and cultural development is hampered by the fact that most of the profits on exploiting the rich natural resources flows into the safes of the foreign concession holders.

In 1965, exports of iron ore and rubber totalled $148 millon, while the revenue of Liberia from the exports of these goods amounted to $12 million, that is, only about 8 per cent of their actual value.

Liberia has been building her economy along capitalist lines for more than 100 years now. In the West she is even called a show-window of free enterprise in Africa. The Open Door Policy is a programme for stepping up the development of capitalism in the country. But so far Liberia has not been able to settle even her most urgent economic, social and political problems. The advances registered in recent years, attained by exploiting the country's natural resources, enrich the foreign investors above all. Liberia's economy is specialised in the production of two commodities, rubber and iron ore, and fully depends on the world capitalist market. But the situation on that market is clearly unfavourable for raw material producers, Liberia included.

While in 1953 the price of a pound of rubber was 60 cents, at the end of 1963 it was only 17 cents. Iron ore prices have also been stea-

dily declining. In 1960 the price of a ton of iron ore was $11.9 and in 1963, $7.03 (a drop of 40 per cent). As a result, although Liberia produces more, she gets relatively less.

One more factor determines Liberia's unstable economic position. Her development is financed above all by foreign loans. At the beginning of 1965, the national debt amounted to $167 million. In the next 15 years Liberia will have to pay annually $11-12 million to redeem her loans.

After the boom in 1960-1962, crisis symptoms appeared in Liberia's economy. They were evident in 1963-1966. While during the boom years foreign investments reached $100 million annually, in 1963 they were $86 million and in 1964, $60 million. Prices of rubber and iron ore dropped sharply and economic activity receded, resulting in mass unemployment and the ruin of many "independent" planters.

Looking for a way out, the Liberian Government introduced rigid control over the spending of state revenue and launched a campaign under the slogan "produce or perish". The point is that in recent years Liberia, encouraging in every way the production of export crops, noticeably reduced the sowing of cereals, rice in the first place. The food shortage has to be covered by imports. From 15 to 20 per cent of all imports consist of foodstuffs, on which huge funds are spent.

Little wonder that the government regards self-sufficiency in food as an important factor of economic stability.

The accelerated development of Liberia along the capitalist path is accompanied by mounting social contradictions. The ostentatious luxury of dozens of newly-rich businessmen stands out strikingly against the background of the poverty and suffering to which hundreds of thousands of Liberians are doomed.

It must not be forgotten that 90 per cent of the country's population still live in tribes, maintain a subsistence economy, are illiterate in their majority and held in the grip of superstitions and tribal survivals. A single nation has not been formed in Liberia so far: the many tribes making up its population preserve their ethnic distinctions and their own language. As a result, social contradictions are supplemented by a conflict between modern development and traditionalism, which at times assumes diverse forms. But the crystallisation of a nation has already begun. It is under way primarily in the sphere of capitalist economy, where the recent member of the rural community is gradually being turned into a regular worker.

The number of wage workers is rapidly growing in Liberia. At the beginning of 1968, there were about 110,000 people working for hire. Nine-tenths of the workers are Africans; 25 per cent of them are engaged in skilled and semi-skilled labour, and 75 per cent have no skill at all. Most of the latter are seasonal workers.

Three trade unions are functioning in the country: the Workers' Union of Liberia (1949), the Workers' Congress of Liberia (1951) and the Congress of Industrial Organisations (1960). The trade unions,

according to their own data, have more than 50,000 members. Despite full government control over trade union activity, there have been more strikes in recent years.

In 1945, workers engaged in building the port of Monrovia went on strike; they demanded equal pay for equal work for local and foreign workers. In 1946, workers and seamen and the technical personnel of river vessels of the Firestone Co. laid down tools demanding higher wages. In 1950, workers of Firestone and Liberia Mining Co. struck simultaneously. The government introduced a state of emergency in the areas gripped by the strike and sent armed detachments there.

In 1957, more than 10,000 workers left the Firestone and Goodrich plantations, protesting against the extremely low wages. They left on such a scale that Firestone had to raise wages by 10 per cent and Goodrich had to employ women.

In June 1961, miners of the National Iron Ore Co. declared a strike. Troops were sent against the workers who besieged the office of the company.

Having gained experience, the workers of Liberia organised the first general strike in the republic in September 1961. It was accompanied by a demonstration of 15,000 strikers in front of the presidential palace. The strike was crushed with the help of troops.

The strike wave especially rose in the years of economic recession. In July 1963, 18,000 tappers at the Firestone plantation at Harbel succeeded in winning a rise in the daily wage from $1.07 to $1.21.

Under the pressure of the workers, the Legislative Assembly had to revise the minimum wage rates. The minimum hourly rate of agricultural workers was raised from 6 to 8 cents and of industrial workers, from 10 to 15 cents.

But the struggle did not subside for long. In March 1965, 3,500 Lamco miners struck. At the end of October 1965, 1000 builders of the hydro-electric project on the St. Paul River laid down tools. In mid-December 1965, a one-day stoppage was organised by 1,500 miners of the National Iron Ore Co. In February 1966, a powerful strike swept the Firestone plantations in Harbel; 10,000 tappers stopped working, protesting against a revision of the quotas and demanding an increase in wages. Simultaneously, a strike broke out at the rubber plantations of Afrikanische Frucht, a West German company, near Greenville. A state of emergency was declared and troops were used against the workers. One worker was killed and two were wounded.

Strikes in Liberia are primarily of an economic nature and are caused by the exceptionally low wages. A Liberian worker gets only 10 or 15 per cent of the wages of a worker in developed countries.

The dual position of the Liberian bourgeoisie which, on the one hand, is closely connected with foreign, primarily U.S., capital and, on the other, is subjected to ever growing pressure of progressive

forces in the country and the entire continent, accounts for Liberia's inconsistent foreign policy.

To begin with, Liberia, in contrast to most African countries, supported U.N. actions in the Congo (1961-1963) and favoured the preservation of close ties between African states and the West. On July 8, 1959, Liberia concluded a military agreement with the United States on consultations between the two countries "in the event of aggression or threat of aggression against Liberia". In effect, this is a treaty of military cooperation between the two countries.

At the same time, in her foreign policy Liberia is inclined to pursue joint action with other African states in their struggle for peace and the abolition of the remnants of the colonialists' political rule in Africa.

Liberia has participated in almost all major African and Afro-Asian forums, meetings and conferences. She supported the just cause of the Algerian people, denounced the actions of the South African racialists and declared a boycott against the South African Republic. She protested against the tests of French atomic weapons in the Sahara and supported the demands to grant the Angolese people political independence.

In January 1956, understanding was reached on the establishment of diplomatic relations between Liberia and the Soviet Union. Vice-President W. Tolbert paid an official visit to the Soviet Union in 1962. In recent years, contacts between Liberia and the socialist countries have become more frequent.

GHANA

The British Gold Coast colony had a population of 2.3 million in 1921. It was the world's biggest producer of cacao beans —the country's chief export item. Together with Nigeria, the Gold Coast assured Britain a dominating position on the world cacao market. Cacao beans were grown by local farmers, among whom there were big planters: many tribal chiefs in the cacao-growing area (mainly the territory of the former Ashanti state) set up large plantations and employed hired labour, thus turning into capitalist entrepreneurs. The crop was bought up by British firms.

At the end of the 19th century, British companies extended the mining of gold, which for a long time had been exported from this country in large quantities (that is why the colonialists had named it the Gold Coast). Production of manganese ore was started during the First World War. The export of raw materials demanded the building of railways, but there were only 600 km. of lines in the early 1920's. A considerable number of Africans were employed in the extractive industry, transport and trading establishments of European companies and in the colonial administration. In December 1915, automobile drivers organised a union, the first in the country.

1918-1939. Struggle for the participation of Africans in administering the country marked the first stage of the crisis of the colonial system in the Gold Coast.

A so-called Legislative Council under the British governor had been functioning in the colony since 1874: it was an advisory body consisting solely of British officials. In 1888, the governor appointed to the Legislative Council the first African, a merchant named John Sarbah, from Cape Coast. Towards the end of the First World War, there were six Africans in the Legislative Council, all of them appointed by the governor. They were in the minority and could not influence the governor's decisions. Between 1917 and 1919, they submitted a number of proposals, but not one of them was adopted, inasmuch as they were to some extent directed against the interests of the British colonialists.

A movement for a reform of the Legislative Council was initiated at that time by a group of local intellectuals headed by Casely Hay-

ford (1866-1930), a brilliant publicist and lawyer. The idea of convening a conference of Africans in the Gold Coast, Nigeria, the Gambia and Sierra Leone with the object of uniting the progressive forces in all British West Africa in the struggle for democratic rights originated as early as 1917. This conference was held in March 1920 and it decided to set up the National Congress of British West Africa. The Congress did not demand the abolition of the colonial regime. Its programme was quite moderate and resolved to an extension of political rights of the African population while preserving the power of the British governor. But even such a moderate programme was bitterly opposed both by the British Government and by the local feudal elements. Lord Milner, the British Secretary for the Colonies, said that Africans were not ready yet to participate in administering their countries. Ofori Atta, feudal ruler of Akim Abuakwa, who for 30 years (1914-1943) was a member of the Legislative Council, urged the traditional chiefs to reject the principle of electing members to the Legislative Council.

The British colonialists pursued the policy of so-called indirect rule in the Gold Coast, as in their other colonies. Before its conquest the territory of the colony did not represent a single state. There had existed many small and tiny state formations of the early feudal type organised on a tribal basis: each tribe was a "state" independent of others; in the British colonial lexicon these tribal states became known as the "native states" and their heads as "chiefs" or "paramount chiefs". The Ashanti tribes alone had united at the end of the 17th century in a federation, but with the establishment of the colonial regime, the federation disintegrated. The British colonial authorities incorporated in the Gold Coast 109 such "native states". The feudal or semi-feudal heads of these "states" enjoyed certain rights and privileges. They served as advisers to the British officials. It was held that they represented the interests of the local population before the British authorities.

When in the 1920's urban democratic elements demanded participation in administering the country, the aristocratic top group, fearing to lose its privileged position, sided with the colonial authorities.

The latter, however, had to make concessions and in 1925 introduced a new constitution, under which three of the biggest coastal towns (Accra, Cape Coast and Secondi-Takoradi) received the right to elect one representative to the Legislative Council. This was a negligible concession, but at the same time it was the first, even though small, victory for the democratic forces.

The opening of the Prince of Wales College in Achimota (1927) was an important event in the life of the colony at that time. It was an educational centre offering all stages of a pre-university education and special (teachers training, commercial, etc.) courses. The college played a prominent part not only in developing the education system, but also in the country's political life. Many leaders of the national liberation movement, in particular, Kwame Nkrumah, the first President of the Republic of Ghana, were graduates of Achimota College. For many years it was the main centre where anti-colonial political ideas originated.

For all the modesty of its demands, the National Congress of British West Africa played a big role in developing the national-liberation movement not only in the Gold Coast, but also in the other British West African colonies. It was not a mass organisation, however. In the struggle against the British colonial administration and the local feudal elements supporting it, the Congress leaders did not even try to win the backing of the people. On the contrary, when under the influence of the world economic crisis of 1929-1933 unrest spread among the masses, the Congress leaders agreed to strike a deal with the feudal nobility and, together with it, to collaborate with the colonial administration. This undermined its influence. In the 1930's, after the death of Casely Hayford, the Congress disintegrated.

The 1929-1933 world economic crisis hit hard the economy and worsened the condition of the people in the Gold Coast. Production of cacao beans was the basis of the economy, but cacao prices dropped from £120 in 1920 to £18 in 1930. The small cacao producers were ruined and all economic life was paralysed. Wages of miners and railwaymen were sharply cut and unemployment became widespread. To cover the budget deficit, the colonial authorities increased import duties and public utility rates, which at once sent up prices.

In 1931, the authorities tried to introduce a system of direct taxation of the African population. The colonialists had repeatedly tried to introduce direct taxation in order to make the people themselves pay for the maintenance of the colonial machine, but each time encountered resistance and retreated. This time, too, they were forced to withdraw. The plans of the colonial administration brought into being an all-out anti-taxation campaign—protest meetings and demonstrations were held throughout the country and the intervention of the police led in places to clashes. Speaking at the meeting of the Legislative Council, Nanka-Bruce, delegate of Accra and well-known physician, put the following question to the governor: was the government prepared to extend representation in the Legislative Council and hand over control of finances to the people? The matter of introducing new taxes was thus turned into a question of handing over power to the people, and the British colonialists withdrew it from the agenda.

When the economic crisis ended and prices of cacao began to rise on the world market, British companies tried to keep purchasing prices at a low level. In 1937, 14 companies which were buying up cacao in the Gold Coast and Nigeria, concluded a corresponding agreement. The Gold Coast cacao producers reacted with a boycott: they stopped selling cacao and buying imported goods. The companies did not want to yield and the boycott continued from October 1937 to April 1938. The British Government had to step in and make the companies raise the price.

The 1925 constitution, the anti-tax campaign in 1931-1932 and the boycott of the British companies in 1937-1938 signified the beginning of a new stage in the history of the Gold Coast. The people recovered from the grave defeats suffered in the 19th century and began to muster forces to fight for national freedom. But at that time there were no political organisations in the Gold Coast capable of offering the people a clear-cut anti-imperialist programme and head their struggle. The Gold Coast Aborigines' Rights Protection Society, an organisation founded in 1897, played a certain constructive part, but was afraid of a mass movement. The National Congress of British West Africa retired from the scene early in the 1930's, and the working class was still numerically small and unorganised. Several small unions (automobile drivers, builders, postal employees and others), which were not recognised by the colonial authorities, confined their activities to defending the economic interests of their members and took no part whatever in the country's political life. Various associations and circles, uniting mainly the student youth, functioned in the towns. In April 1930, the first Gold Coast Youth Conference was held in Achimota College on the initiative of a number of prominent political leaders. Casely Hayford, Ofori Atta, Nanka-Bruce and others took part in it. Such conferences were held several times; they undoubtedly helped consolidate the forces resisting the colonial administration, but made no demands for the abolition of colonial rule, nor did they offer the people an anti-imperialist programme.

1939-1945. The people of the Gold Coast actively participated in the Second World War. About 70,000 men were drafted into the armed forces of the British empire, and Gold Coast soldiers took part in liberating Ethiopia and Burma. The military Council of West Africa, headed by Lord Swinton, had its headquarters in Achimota College. Taking advantage of the war situation, the British authorities introduced an income tax in 1943. The sum of £340,000 of voluntary donations was collected and interest-free war loans were distributed for more than £1,000,000. The exports of cacao, palm products, rubber and other valuable raw materials increased. The mining of manganese ore was extended and the working of bauxite deposits began in 1941.

During the war years, the condition of the working class was extremely hard. The colonial authorities and the companies sapped the life-blood of the workers. The cost of living rapidly climbed, but wages were frozen. Defending their vital interests, the workers extensively resorted to strikes, the traditional proletarian method of struggle, which was more or less new to them. In 1938-1939, there were four strikes, in 1939-1940 eight, in 1940-1941 six, in 1941-1942 six, etc. In September 1942, the British authorities were compelled to allow the organisation of trade unions.

Taking part, together with the British, in the war against the Hitler coalition, the Gold Coast Africans could not forget that they themselves were enslaved by the British imperialists. African representatives in the Legislative Council pressed the British Government for a statement on the policy it intended to pursue after the war. There were frequent demands for the introduction of a democratic constitution and africanisation of the administrative apparatus. When the governor, justifying the introduction of an income tax, declared that it was paid in all the civilised countries, Moore, the Cape Coast delegate, said it was true that direct taxes were paid in the civilised countries, but then the British must recognise that the Gold Coast too was a civilised country; why was the colonial regime still preserved there?

In 1940, a Gold Coast Youth Conference, held in Ackropong, drew up a programme of reforms, but the governor would not even listen to any suggestion of changes. In 1941, the lawyers Danquah, Kojo Thompson and Korsah, prominent public leaders, formed a committee to draw up a new constitution. In 1943, the draft constitution was presented to the Colonial Secretary when he visited the Gold Coast. The Colonial Office refused to discuss any constitutional changes. The British still expected to govern the colonies in the old way, but the Africans thought otherwise. In 1941, Churchill and Roosevelt signed the Atlantic Charter. This was merely a manoeuvre designed to win the support of the colonial peoples. But the latter received it differently. In 1943, a group of West African journalists, headed by Nnamdi Azikiwe, published a memorandum on the Atlantic Charter and British West Africa, demanding that the Charter principles be applied to the African colonies.

1945-1956. The 5th Pan-African Congress met in Manchester in October 1945, a few months after the end of the war. As at all previous congresses, Dr. Du Bois was in the chair; Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and some other Gold Coast political leaders played an active part in the Congress. Nkrumah wrote the "Declaration to the Colonal Workers, Peasants and Intellectuals", adopted by the Congress, which called for the organisation of mass movements against colonalism. This appeal struck the widest echo in the hearts of the peoples who were oppressed by the colonialists.

The British imperialists sought to confine themselves to insignificant constitutional concessions. In 1946, they introduced a new constitution of the Gold Coast. Of the 30 members of the Legislative Council, 12 were appointed by the governor from among British officials and 18 were elected in an involved undemocratic way. Moreover, the governor reserved the veto right. This manoeuvre aroused the indignation of the people, who demanded not an "improvement" of the colonial regime but its abolition. A new political organisation arose in 1947, the United Gold Coast Convention, which for the first time demanded independence.

The upper crust of the national bourgeoisie and part of the feudal stratum whose interests were close to those of the bourgeoisie, took the initiative in founding this organisation and they directed it. George Alfred Grant, a big timber producer and exporter of timber and

cacao, became the president of the Convention, and Dr. Danquah, a brother of Ofori Atta, was vice-president. The leadership of the Convention was afraid to draw the masses into the movement and hoped to reach understanding with Britain on new, more essential constitutional concessions.

A mass movement against the high cost of living was maturing among the people. At the end of 1947, the cost of living index doubled as compared with 1939. Workers, who were fighting for higher wages, held 37 strikes in one year, from April 1947 to March 1948. Demobilised soldiers, who had received neither discharge pay nor work, were in dire straits. The bourgeoisie, too, joined in the struggle against the high cost of living, hoping to utilise the people's dissatisfaction in order to strengthen its positions. A boycott of imported goods began in January 1948, and rallies and demonstrations were held throughout the country. A peaceful procession of ex-servicemen to the palace of the governor to present their demands was arranged in Accra on February 28, 1949. But this peaceful demonstration was fired upon by the police.

To weaken the mounting anti-imperialist movement, the authorities had to make new political concessions. They set up a commission to revise the constitution, which consisted exclusively of Africans and was headed by a local judge named Coussey. Almost the entire leadership of the United Convention was put on the constitutional committee. Dr. Danquah published a pamphlet, *Friendship and Empire,* in which he called for revising the former slogan of immediate independence, claiming that Britain had changed her attitude towards the colonies.

This swing to the right by the Convention leadership resulted in a split. In June 1949, the Convention People's Party arose. It was headed by Kwame Nkrumah, who had been secretary of the United Gold Coast Convention. The new party was the first in the history of the Gold Coast which set out to head the movement of the people for national independence. Its programme included the demand not only for independence and the abolition of imperialism and all forms of national and racial oppression, but also abolition of capitalist exploitation. It was supported by all the sections of the working population and above all the working class organised in trade unions.

When the Coussey Committee published the draft new constitution predicated on the preservation of the colonial regime, the Convention People's Party and the Trade Union Congress (founded in 1945) convened the country's Representative Assembly on November 20, 1949. More than 500 organisations—trade unions, cooperatives, women's, youth and cultural organisations—took part in the Assembly. It rejected the Coussey draft and demanded that the Gold Coast be immediately granted dominion status. Proceeding from this main demand, the Assembly proposed amendments to the constitution, which were sent to the colony's paramount

chiefs and to the British Colonial Secretary. The paramount chiefs refused to support the Assembly's decisions and the Colonial Office rejected them. The Convention Party appealed then to the people to launch a civil disobedience campaign. The Trade Union Congress supported the appeal and called for a general strike. It began on January 8, 1950, and was followed by a boycott of British goods. The governor introduced a stage of siege and launched police terror. The leaders of the Convention People's Party and the Trade Union Congress, including Kwame Nkrumah, were imprisoned.

But this persecution reinforced the prestige and influence of the Convention People's Party among the masses. A meeting to mark the first anniversary of the party was held in August 1950. The party had then 45,000 members, 4,000 of whom joined after the January events. A red-yellow-green flag was hoisted at the meeting and it was declared the national flag.

The Coussey draft constitution was approved with some amendments in London. In February 1951, elections to the Legislative Assembly ended in a resounding victory of the Convention People's Party. Kwame Nkrumah, who was in prison at the time, was also elected. Fearing new demonstrations, the colonial authorities released him. A government was formed in keeping with the constitution. Shortly afterwards the post of prime minister was instituted, and on March 5, 1952, Kwame Nkrumah assumed that office. But that did not yet spell the end of British colonial rule. The British governor, vested with the right of veto, still headed the country. A difficult struggle lay ahead but the Nkrumah Government resolutely pressed for political independence, backed by the absolute majority of the people.

In May 1953, the Legislative Assembly asked the British Government to submit to British Parliament a bill on the proclamation of the Gold Coast a sovereign independent state within the Commonwealth. This decision was supported by the masses, but the feudal elements who threw in their lot with British imperialism and served as its reliable social mainstay, tried to split the united national front. They were supported by separatist elements motivated by their narrow selfish interests. Several political parties were organised and an intricate struggle began over the future state structure. Ashanti feudal elements demanded the establishment of a federal state and threatened to dismember the country into several miniature states. Busia, a representative of pro-colonial circles, went to London and asked the British authorities not to hurry with independence.

The British Government tried to exploit the differences in order to put off the granting of independence. It demanded new elections to the Legislative Assembly before the expiration of its term in the hope that the forces opposed to the Convention People's Party would win a majority. At the elections held in July 1956,

the people again voted for independence and London was forced to retreat. A meeting of the Legislative Assembly on September 18, 1956, was informed about the decision of the British Government to grant the Gold Coast the status of a dominion, join to it the western part of Togo and to name the new state, in conformity with the wishes of the people, Ghana. The date for the proclamation of independence was set for March 6, 1957.

It will be recalled that after the First World War, Togo was divided between Britain and France. The western part was under British trusteeship. In conformity with the demands of the people of Togo and the decision of the U.N. Trusteeship Council, a referendum was held in Togo in May 1956. The question was whether to preserve British trusteeship or join the Gold Coast when the latter gained independence. The majority of the population voted for joining the Gold Coast.

The solemn ceremony of proclaiming the independent state of Ghana was held on March 6, 1957. A new period began in the country's history, the period of eradicating the remnants of colonialism, developing the national economy and national culture and building a new life.

INDEPENDENT GHANA

The achievement of political independence and the establishment of a sovereign national state were a historic event in the country's life, but this was the first step towards emancipation from colonialism. Compelled to give Ghana political independence, the British imperialists did everything to preserve conditions that would enable them to continue exploiting their former colony. After the proclamation of independence, the Convention People's Party and the Government of Ghana launched a struggle to wipe out the remnants of colonialism, consolidate independence and convert Ghana into a truly sovereign, independent state.

The conditions of this struggle were not easy. At the last stage of the struggle for independence, several organisations opposed to the Convention People's Party arose. In November 1957, all of them merged into the United Party and launched a fierce struggle against the government's progressive, anti-imperialist policy. The Ashanti feudal nobility continued to collaborate with the imperialists and actively supported the United Party. The extreme nationalist element of the Ewe people in the southern districts of former British Togo, which now became part of Ghana, fomented separatist sentiments; on the day independence was proclaimed, the government had to send troops to Togo.

British officials still played a big part in the state machine. The British flag, as before, was flying over Christiansborg, a fortress near Accra, where the residence of the British governor-general was located. The British imperialists agreed to Ghana's independence, provided she stayed in the Commonwealth as a dominion. This meant that the British Queen remained the head of the state (her representative in Ghana, the governor-general, was actually the head of the state and the commander of armed forces). The leadership of the Convention People's Party had to agree to these terms because otherwise the proclamation of independence would be indefinitely put off.

Immediately after the proclamation of independence a movement sprang up for revising the constitution, establishing a republican system and abolishing the dominion status. Overcoming the bitter resistance of reactionary forces and the United Party, which represented their interests, the government persistently and systematically prepared the country for this major step.

In April 1960, a referendum on the form of government was held: 1,008,000 people voted for the republic and 131,000 against. Simultaneously, elections of the republic's president were held. The People's Party put up Dr. Kwame Nkrumah as its candidate, and the United Party, Dr. Danquah. Kwame Nkrumah polled 1,016,000 votes and Danquah 124,000 votes. The republic was proclaimed on July 1, 1960.

In conformity with the new constitution, a presidential regime was instituted, the president heading both the state and the government. Ghana remained in the Commonwealth, but the proclamation of independence automatically terminated the operation of dominion status. The last British governor, Lord Listowell, left the country.

Together with preparations for abolishing the dominion status, other survivals of colonialism in the state structure of Ghana were eliminated. In 1959, the armed forces of Ghana were withdrawn from the British armed forces in West Africa. The army command was gradually africanised. But many British advisers remained in the army. On their recommendation, the army kept aloof from politics. Ghanaian officers were trained in Britain and they entertained pro-British sentiments. The soldiers were trained in the spirit of blind obedience to their officers. The Ghanaian army thus remained under the influence of the former colonialists.

Laws elaborated by the British during the colonial period and, naturally enough, serving the needs of colonial rule, remained in force in the first years of independence. The training of lawyers continued in Britain. In 1959, the Ghanaian Government opened its own law school. In 1961, the Ghanaian Parliament promulgated a law making it necessary for judges, barristers and other workers in the judiciary system who have British diplomas, to gain the right to practise law from the Ghanaian Law School. The civil and criminal codes were gradually revised and brought into conformity with the needs of the young national state.

But no essential changes occurred in the state apparatus. Pro-British officials remained at their posts. Corruption, wide spread

among them, inflicted great harm on the activity of state institutions. Frequent reorganisations of the state apparatus produced no positive results.

The government carried out measures to abolish economic dependence on Britain. It introduced a national currency. Withdrawal of English currency from circulation and its replacement by Ghanaian currency began on July 14, 1958. The government took steps to establish state control over foreign trade and foreign exchange operations. The transfer of the cacao exchange from London to Accra was an exceedingly important step. In the same year, the government took over the diamond trade. In 1960, five British gold mining companies were nationalised. But foreign companies continued to hold strong positions in industry and trade. To protect the country from rapacious exploitation by foreign companies, which was characteristic of the colonial period, the government obligated them to invest part of their profits in the country's economic development.

In 1958, a state maritime shipping company was organised. A state air travel company was set up in the same year; 40 per cent of the shares belonged to the British, but in 1961 the government paid them £160,000 and became the sole owner of the company. The Soviet Union rendered much assistance in setting up a civil aviation: Soviet IL-18 airliners made up an essential part of Ghana's civil aviation and the Soviet Union trained Ghanaian pilots and mechanics.

The establishment of business relations with the socialist countries, the Soviet Union above all, was the initial step of the government in strengthening the sovereignty of the young state. In 1958, ambassadors were exchanged, and in June 1959 the first trade agreement with the Soviet Union was signed. Economic cooperation was also arranged with other socialist countries.

The main question Ghana had to decide was the ways of further development. Even during the period of struggle for independence, the Convention People's Party proclaimed the building of a new society, free from the exploitation of man by man, its ultimate aim. The Rules of the party adopted in 1958 formulated this aim as the building of "African Socialism". In subsequent years, a keen ideological battle was fought between the proponents and opponents of the socialist way of development. The concept of "African Socialism" was the subject of lengthy debates. The newspapers were full of articles on this subject. The Convention People's Party carried on extensive political education among the masses. An institute for training party workers was opened in Winneba.

The 11th Congress of the Convention People's Party, held in July 1962, was a highly important event in the country's life. The Congress summed up the results of Ghana's development in the first five years of independence and adopted a new programme

named "Labour and Happiness". The programme proclaimed the building of socialism in Ghana the party's aim.

Approving its programme in 1962, the Convention People's Party took another step forward in its evolution. It recorded in the programme that scientific socialism was the ideological foundation of the party. But there were many difficulties in the practical application of the theory of scientific socialism; here the influence of "Democratic Socialism", sedulously propagated by the British Labourites during the colonial period, was definitely felt.

Nevertheless, the ideas of socialism furnished the theoretical basis for the entire practical activity of the Convention People's Party and the government. Planning was introduced in the economy. A five-year plan was launched on July 1959. The 11th Congress of the Convention People's Party approved a seven-year plan, whose implementation began on July 1, 1963.

Industrial development commanded special attention in these plans. In a relatively short period of time dozens of manufacturing enterprises were built and work was started on a major hydro-engineering and industrial project on the Volta River, which includes a hydro-electric station and an aluminium works. Preparations were completed for the building of the first steel works in the country. Simultaneously, a programme for the advance and reconstruction of agriculture was launched with the object of abolishing concentration on one crop, raising yields and the productivity of animal husbandry. The communication network was extended, and a new port was built at Tema.

Carrying out such extensive economic development plans, the government was forced to draw on foreign credits. The socialist countries rendered great help to Ghana. But at the same time the government mobilised internal accumulations. It raised corporate taxes, developed savings-banks, enacted a law on compulsory saving, arranged state lotteries, etc.

In developing the economy, the government at that time followed the policy of strengthening the state sector. The new industrial establishments were mostly either state or mixed enterprises. In 1962, a state trading network was organised. In agriculture, large state farms were set up; some of them were set up with the assistance of the Soviet Union. The first steps were made in organising peasant producer cooperatives, and machine and tractor stations were established to provide them with modern machinery. The government thus followed the line of restricting private enterprise and developing the state and cooperative sectors.

Great progress was registered by the government in extending the systems of medical service and education.

In 1958, 115,000 pupils were enrolled in the first form of the elementary school and in 1961, 219,000. In 1961 alone, 2,493 new elementary and 374 secondary schools were opened. Compulsory free elementary education was introduced in Ghana in September

1961. Much was done to eradicate illiteracy among adults. Attention was concentrated on developing higher education and training national personnel. The department of London University in Legon was transformed into the State University of Ghana in 1961; in the same year a second university with technological specialisation was opened in Kumasi on the basis of the former Technological College. A university college was opened in Cape Coast in December 1962. Many young people were sent to foreign countries to get a higher education and special training, specifically to Soviet universities and institutes. To promote scientific studies a National Research Council was set up in 1958, and it was reorganised into the Academy of Sciences early in 1963.

Much organisational work was done in developing national culture. Efua Sutherland, well-known poetess, founded the first dramatic studio. The first Ghanaian musical comedy, *Obadzeng*, was presented in 1960 under the directorship of Saka Akwaye. Unions of writers, journalists and other cultural workers were set up. The first issue of *Okyeame*, magazine of the Writers' Union, was published in 1960. A national film industry came into being. A state committee for the unification of the written language of tribal dialects was set up. In September 1962, Parliament adopted a law abolishing the custom of scarring the face with tribal marks.

But the government encountered serious difficulties in the struggle for economic independence. For a number of years the deficit of the national budget was on the increase owing to the drop in cacao prices on the world market. The chocolate kings, dissatisfied with the restriction of their activity in Ghana, sought to undermine the country's economy. As a result, the government was faced not only with a decline in export receipts but with a reduction in the influx of foreign capital necessary for implementing the seven-year plan. It had to restrict the import of consumer goods. Economic difficulties sent up prices of prime necessities, including foodstuffs. At the same time wages remained unchanged.

In foreign affairs, the government consistently pursued a policy of struggle for the final abolition of colonialism on the African continent, for general and complete disarmament and world peace. The Ghanaian Government was a sponsor of the first conference of independent African states held in Accra in April 1958. That was a great historic event which played a major part in the further development of the anti-imperialist revolution on the continent. The Government of Ghana was also the initiator of setting up a Union of African States. In 1958, Ghana entered into a state union with the Republic of Guinea. In 1960, the Republic of Mali acceded to this Union. In April 1961, the presidents of these three republics signed the Charter of the Union of African States. Ghana took a very active part in the conference of heads of African states in Addis Ababa in May 1963 and signed the Charter of the Organisation of African Unity.

For many years, Ghana marched in the van of the anti-imperialist revolution on the African continent. The first African People's Conference was held in Accra in December 1958. The capital of Ghana was chosen as the headquarters of the Secretariat of the African People's Conference. The Ghanaian Government took a clear-cut and firm anti-imperialist stand on all prime questions of struggle against imperialism and colonialism (the Congo, Algeria, Angola, etc.) and gave every support to the fighters for liberation from colonialism. Leaders of the national-liberation movement in the countries where the colonial regime was preserved after 1960 (Africa Year) met in Accra in 1961 to discuss measures for the final abolition of foreign rule on the continent.

The Ghanaian Government steadfastly advocated disarmament and peace. In the United Nations, the Ghanaian delegation supported the Soviet Union's constructive proposals on these questions. On the initiative of the Ghanaian Government, a Conference on Positive Action and Security in Africa was arranged in Accra in 1960. In 1962, the International Assembly for the World without the Bomb met in Accra, also on the initiative of Ghana.

Ghana consistently pursued a policy of non-alignment to blocs, developing extensive ties with all countries irrespective of their social system. Ghana established close, friendly relations with the Soviet Union. L. I. Brezhnev, who at that time was President of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet, visited Ghana early in 1961, and President Kwame Nkrumah next came on a visit to the Soviet Union. In October 1961, a delegation of the Convention People's Party attended the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The progressive policy of the Convention People's Party and its government was bitterly opposed by the foreign monopolies and internal reactionary forces. Between 1962 and 1964, there were several attempts on the life of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah.

A coup was staged in Ghana on February 24, 1966. The National Liberation Council deposed President Nkrumah, many of his supporters were arrested and the Convention People's Party was dissolved. The constitution was declared null and void and the seven-year plan was suspended. Control of imports became less drastic. Foreign capital was given greater freedom of action. All these measures were designed to strengthen the positions of the nascent Ghanaian bourgeoisie and attract foreign capital. Political emigrés, members of the United Party, returned to Ghana.

In 1966 and 1968, the situation in the country remained tense. Owing to economic difficulties unemployment assumed large proportions and many enterprises were closed down. In April 1967, a group of officers tried to stage another coup but failed.

NIGERIA

The Interwar Period. Britain completed the seizure of Nigeria on the threshold of the 20th century and gradually extended the system of indirect rule to the country's entire territory. This system preserved and utilised the old, historically-shaped forms of administration and the power of the local feudal rulers, turning them in effect into highly paid colonial officials. But while the emirates in the north represented a favourable field for this system, in the south-east, where there were no feudal state formations, the British colonial officials had to resort to the services of so-called "warrant chiefs", appointing the latter from among the tribal upper crust.

Early in the 20th century, new phenomena in economic and social life, associated above all with the development of commodity-money relations, made themselves felt throughout Nigeria, though in differing degree.

The introduction by the colonialists of direct money taxation (at first in the northern and, after 1916, also in the southern provinces) led to dual consequences. On the one hand, to pay the taxes, peasants had to cultivate cash crops or seek employment in the towns, at construction sites and mines. The expansion of the area under cash crops undermined the subsistence economy and accelerated the stratification of the peasantry. On the other hand, the local feudal elements sought to increase their share of taxes, resorting to all kinds of abuses. The money they accumulated was most often invested in trade and money-lending operations. This provided the basis for the gradual bourgeoisification of the feudal and semi-feudal top group.

As a result of the forcible introduction of cash crops, which ousted food crops, Nigeria turned into a large supplier of palm kernels and palm oil, cocoa beans and groundnuts. The export of mineral raw materials was also developed. In 1912, more than 80 tin-mining companies were operating in Nigeria. Coal pits appeared near Enugu, and the Lagos-Kano Railway was built to facilitate Nigerian exports to Britain.

All this brought into being the first group of industrial workers and a national bourgeoisie. The latter at first consisted of petty

tradesmen and owners of small handicraft workshops or manufactories. They engaged primarily in retail trade and the services.

Feudal, tribal and capitalist relations were intertwined in Nigeria towards the end of the First World War; the variegated ethnic composition of the population further complicated the situation. As a result, the crystallisation of the main classes and social strata proceeded slowly, painfully and in a contradictory way.

Kano, Katsina, Sokoto, Zaria, Bornu and other large feudal states, inhabited chiefly by the Hausa and Fulani peoples, were preserved in the northern provinces. A strictly centralised administrative system existed in these states. Many feudal rulers (emirs, chiefs) in fact exercised both secular and religious power.

In the south-western and south-eastern areas, feudal relations were much weaker, but in the south-west, too, quite large feudal state formations of the Yoruba people (Oyo, Ilesha, Ife and others) existed, which hardly differed from the emirates in the north. Here, however, centralisation of power was much weaker. As for the south-eastern provinces, the peoples in this part of the country (Ibo, Ibibio, Efik and others) were still making the transition from pre-class primitive-communal relations to class society.

During the First World War, the economic ties of Nigeria with Britain and other imperialist states were temporarily disrupted. The purchases of Nigerian export products were curtailed and prices dropped. But shortly after the end of the war, the imperialist monopolies operating in Nigeria greatly extended their activity. Thousands of tons of tin ore were shipped to Britain, the United States and Germany annually. Palm products, cacao beans, groundnuts and cotton, bought from the Nigerian peasants at extremely low prices, were exported in steadily increasing quantities. In eight years, from 1921 to 1928, Nigerian exports increased more than 75 per cent, from £9.7 million to £17.2 million. Britain accounted for four-fifths of the country's entire foreign trade, and Nigerian finances were controlled by British banks.

Huge wealth was pumped out of the country, but its population was doomed to abject poverty. Chronic malnutrition and mass epidemics claimed hundreds of thousands of lives.

The peoples of Nigeria did not submit meekly to colonial bondage. Rebellions against the British authorities and their servitors from among the feudal elements and tribal chiefs continued incessantly in the southern provinces. Large punitive expeditions were sent to crush the rebels, and the colonial authorities instituted regular military patrolling of the areas in the interior.

The liberation movement in Nigeria advanced after the First World War and the October Revolution. In 1918, a peasant uprising flared up in the small Egba Kingdom. The immediate cause was the introduction of direct taxation. The insurgents destroyed the railway and telegraph lines linking the towns of Baro and

Minna. The troops sent to the area killed and wounded hundreds of people, sparing neither women nor children.

In the 1920's, Onitsha and Calabar provinces were the scenes of disturbances, and miners struck at Enugu. Particularly large were the anti-tax peasant demonstrations in Warri Province.

In the Muslim districts of Northern Nigeria popular unrest usually assumed the form of religious movements. Local "prophets", who proclaimed themselves to be "mahdis" and rallied thousands of peasants, appeared now in one, now in another province. The colonialists used troops to crush these movements.

But the popular actions both in the south and in the north were of a spontaneous, unorganised nature; they were not interconnected and the colonial authorities crushed them with relative ease.

Prior to the First World War, more or less stable social and political organisations or unions did not exist in Nigeria. In 1920, a branch of the National Congress of British West Africa was organised in Nigeria and it published a newspaper, *West African Nationhood*. But the activity of the branch did not extend beyond Lagos and two or three other towns.

The first political party, the Nigerian National Democratic Party, was founded in 1922. It took part in the elections to the Legislative Council, winning all the three seats in Lagos.[1] H. Macaulay, the party's founder, is often called the "father of Nigerian nationalism".[2] The programme of the Nigerian National Democratic Party incorporated demands expressing the interests of the incipient Nigerian bourgeoisie and especially the intellectuals. Actually, the party's influence was felt only among the intellectuals, tradesmen, artisans and petty officials in Lagos. Efforts to set up branches in other towns were unsuccessful. The party's moderate political programme, not envisaging struggle for independence, largely determined the limited nature of its activities.

The world economic crisis and depression in the 1930's greatly affected Nigeria's economy. The country's foreign trade slumped. (The value of exports declined from £18.2 million in 1929 to £8.9 million in 1934.) Prices of Nigerian exports declined, while the prices of imported manufactured goods remained high, which accentuated the non-equivalent nature of Nigeria's foreign commerce.

The economic hardships bred mass dissatisfaction. At the end of 1929, large demonstrations were held in towns of the Oweri

[1] "Clifford's constitution", named after a governor of Nigeria, was introduced in 1922. It provided for the setting up of a 46-man Legislative Council. Africans were given ten seats in the Council, of which four were elective. Lagos, the administrative centre of the colony, elected three deputies, and Calabar, one deputy.

[2] H. Macaulay was born in 1864. He graduated from a secondary school in Lagos and then spent a few years in Britain, where he received the diploma of a land surveyor. After returning to Lagos (1893), he fully devoted himself to political activity.

and Calabar provinces. Thousands of people gathered in front of the residences of British officials and the offices of trading companies, demanding an abolition of taxes and an increase in the purchasing prices of palm oil. Rumours were spread in the south-eastern provinces that not only men but also women would be taxed. Demonstrators in the town of Aba, mostly women, demanded the prevention of such a law. A political demand was voiced for the first time during these demonstrations, namely, that all white people go back to their country and that the land in this area be returned to the people to whom it belonged in the past, prior to the arrival of the white man. On orders of the colonial authorities, the police shot at the demonstrators, killing about 80 women and children and severely wounding scores of others. These events, which went down in history as the "Aba riots", exerted a definite influence on the further development of the national-liberation movement in the country.

The idea of uniting and setting up trade, social, cultural, tribal and other associations and unions materialised at the end of the 1920's and early 1930's. Most of the new organisations, at least in the early stage, did not engage in political activity. They united chiefly people having common interests in some sphere—economic, social or cultural. Very frequently, their members came from one area, region, tribe or nationality, residing in towns with a mixed population. Many future leaders of the national-liberation movement began their public activities in these organisations.

The Lagos Youth Movement, founded in 1933 by a group of intellectuals, exerted the deepest influence on the country's political life. It united different peoples and tribes (Ibo, Yoruba, Ijaw and others). Members of the Lagos Youth Movement protested against the barring of Africans from the civil service, sharply criticised legal discrimination against Nigerian tradesmen, motor-car owners, etc. In 1936, the organisation was renamed the Nigerian Youth Movement, but its activity at first was confined to Lagos.

In preparation for the elections to the Legislative Council in 1938, leaders of the Youth Movement published the Youth Charter which defined the main aims and purposes of the organisation: "The principal aim of the N.Y.M. is the development of a united nation out of the conglomeration of the peoples who inhabit Nigeria. It shall be our endeavour to encourage the fullest play of all such forces as will serve to promote understanding and a sense of common nationality among the different elements in the country. We will combat vigorously all such tendencies as would jeopardise the unifying process. . . ."

The political section of the programme demanded full autonomy for Nigeria within the bounds of the British empire and independence in internal administration.

The Youth Charter dealt a blow at the ideas of tribal and national exclusiveness prevailing at the time. It evoked a lively res-

ponse among Nigerian public opinion, especially in Lagos and other towns. The programme of the Nigerian Youth Movement ensured its victory at the elections to the Legislative Council. Its candidates won in all the three Lagos constituencies.

In 1938, new local organisations of the Nigerian Youth Movement sprang up in Ibadan, Benin, Aba, Enugu, Calabar, Port Harcourt, Jos, Kaduna, Zaria, Kano and other towns. At the end of 1938, the Nigerian Youth Movement, according to data of its leaders, had up to 10,000 members in 20 provincial branches. Its active members included many people who subsequently became prominent statesmen and political leaders, in particular Nnamdi Azikiwe, the future first president of Nigeria. But the absence of real unity and constant struggle within the leadership of the organisation ultimately led to its collapse.

Although the social, cultural-educational, trade, tribal and other organisations and groups which arose in the 1920's and 1930's were marked by regional separatism or local exclusiveness and were numerically small, they played a notable part in the history of the national-liberation movement in Nigeria. Their activity objectively promoted the national consciousness of the Nigerians and prepared the ground for the subsequent formation of mass political parties.

The Second World War. During the war years the British imperialists greatly stepped up the plunder of Nigeria. From 1939 to 1945, Nigeria lost more than £30 million only through non-equivalent trade with Britain. During this period Britain "borrowed" Nigerian sterling holdings of £45 million. This figure plus the profits of British industrial and trading companies and banks, which defy exact calculation, make up the colonial tribute extracted by Britain from Nigeria during the war.

The production of such traditional Nigerian export goods as palm kernels and palm oil, groundnuts, cacao beans, sesame and cotton was expanded in wartime. Britain also tried to organise the extraction of new mineral raw materials (columbite and tungsten) and to boost the production of tin. The cultivation of rubber was started.

As the war spread to North Africa, the Middle East and India, large troop contingents and armaments were concentrated in Nigeria—a strategic base of Britain.

Shortly after the war broke out, partial mobilisation was carried out in the country. Nigerians fought in Somaliland and Ethiopia, in Burma and the Middle East. Altogether more than 100,000 Nigerians were called up during the war, not counting the people mobilised for building roads, defence installations, airfields, etc.

The colonial authorities established wartime control over prices of products supplied by Nigerian peasants, but did not prevent the increase in prices of imported consumer goods. The upshot was a sharp decline in the real incomes of the peasants. At the

end of the war, their purchasing power dropped by 50-67 per cent as compared with the prewar level.

Wartime difficulties drastically reduced food imports. In 1940-1945, the imports of tinned fish amounted to 11 per cent of the 1934-1939 level; the imports of dried fish were 2 per cent, rice 8 per cent and sugar 26 per cent respectively.

Higher prices of consumer goods and foodstuffs hit hard the workers whose wages, even according to official statistics, were in 1942 about 70 per cent of the 1939 level. Working conditions also deteriorated and forced labour was introduced at the mines.

Notwithstanding the wartime regime and the ban on strikes and demonstrations, workers demanded an improvement of their living and labour conditions now in one place, now in another. After a series of strikes in 1941 and 1942, the British colonial authorities had to introduce a so-called cost-of-living allowance. But even after that the earnings of the workers were considerably below the minimum cost of living.

The Nigerian bourgeoisie somewhat strengthened its economic positions during the war. The derangement of world economic ties and weaker competition of British goods facilitated the expansion of its activity in trade and industry. National capital began to set up woodworking shops, small textile mills, tanneries, etc. Trading companies and even banks appeared.

At the same time Nigerian businessmen everywhere encountered resistance of the British banks and the export and import companies which held sway in the country. As their contradictions with the colonialists grew sharper, the national bourgeoisie began to demand political independence.

Greater political activity of the national bourgeoisie was expressed in faster consolidation of numerous parties, associations and groups under the slogan of struggle for national independence and reforms in the economy and culture. The more far-sighted and radically-minded spokesmen of the national bourgeoisie, chiefly intellectuals, began to advocate the need for unity of the national-liberation movement. Trade, youth, women's and other organisations united in 1944. A decision to form a new political party, the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (N.C.N.C.), was taken on August 26, 1944, by delegates of various organisations and groups. Macaulay was elected president of the party and Azikiwe, general secretary. The programme of the N.C.N.C was theoretically and politically based on the principles formulated in a memorandum drawn up by a group of West African journalists who visited Britain in 1943 and in the work of Nnamdi Azikiwe, *Political Blueprint of Nigeria*, published in the same year. The party's programme called for national independence within the framework of the British Commonwealth, the introduction of a democratic constitution, the consolidation of the country's unity, utmost spread of education, etc. All this was in line with the aspi-

rations and hopes of millions of Nigerians. The influence and prestige of the N.C.N.C. grew very swiftly and it was supported by broad sections of the national bourgeoisie, intellectuals, workers and peasants. The formation and swift consolidation of the N.C.N.C. was a great victory for all the anti-imperialist forces in Nigeria. Actually it signified the creation of a united national front of struggle for liberating the country from colonial bondage.

Nigeria in 1945-1960. Serious socio-economic changes in the postwar period exerted a determining impact on all aspects of the country's economic and political life. The formation of a home market proceeded at a fast pace, the urban population grew numerically, and the specialisation of the country's different regions was furthered. The production of cacao was extended in Western Nigeria; palm products and rubber, in Eastern Nigeria; groundnuts and cotton, in the northern part of the country. Commodity-money relations developed very unevenly, with the Northern Region lagging considerably behind the southern areas in this respect. The value of per capita export production in Western Nigeria was twice as high as in Eastern Nigeria and four times as high as in Northern Nigeria. Per capita consumption of fabrics, paraffin oil, footwear and other products in the Western Region was several times greater than in the Northern Region.

The considerable expansion of the area under cash crops (on the scale of the entire country) sent up the share of the latter in the total value of exports from 55 per cent in 1939 to 70 per cent in 1958.

The Nigerian bourgeoisie grew numerically and consolidated its positions after the war. Trade was an important sphere for the accumulation of national capital. The number of Nigerian entrepreneurs in manufacturing, transport and construction increased in postwar years. The owners of textile mills and shoe factories, furniture shops, plants producing metalwares and building materials, tanneries and transport enterprises became an imposing economic and political force. Not confining themselves to trade, industry, construction and transport, the Nigerian national bourgeoisie sought to reinforce its positions in the financial and credit system in the teeth of resistance by British banks.

The advance of the national-liberation movement and the strengthening of the national bourgeoisie compelled the imperialists to change their tactics. They started to admit Nigerians to their companies and even appoint them to the boards of directors. But though the Nigerian capitalists extended their activity, the British monopolies preserved their grip on the key sectors of the economy.

The number of persons in paid employment rose notably after the war. In 1938, there were 227,000 factory and office workers in the country, and in 1958, 478,000. This number did not include

persons employed in handicraft workshops and seasonal agricultural labourers, of whom official statistics kept no records.

As capitalism developed in agriculture and more and more peasants were impoverished and driven off the land, increasing numbers of rural inhabitants flocked to towns, mines and construction sites to escape from starvation. A considerable part of Nigerian workers preserved ties with the countryside. The constant migration of labour prevented the formation of a stable proletariat and slowed down the growth of its class consciousness.

Thus, the growth of capitalist relations in town and country determined the further development of the main classes of capitalist society—an industrial and agricultural proletariat and a national trading and industrial bourgeoisie. The subsistence economy, feudal relations and survivals of the primitive-communal relations continued to play a definite part in the country, although to a smaller extent than before the war. Different socio-economic forms continued to coexist and compete in the country. For their part, the British colonialists sought to preserve and perpetuate all kinds of backward, reactionary institutions, which facilitated the country's exploitation. Imperialist oppression remained the main obstacle to the development of the country's economy and greatly worsened the conditions of the many millions inhabiting Nigeria, especially the workers and peasants.

The weakening of Britain's positions in the world and the ever deepening economic and political crisis of the British empire enhanced the role of Nigeria in the British imperialist system. Even according to official statistics, dividends of foreign companies in Nigeria amounted on the average to £6 million annually between 1946 and 1959. Consequently, total dividends during this period exceeded £80 million.

The establishment of what virtually was a monopoly of foreign trade was another important channel for Nigeria's plunder by British imperialism. This greatly extended the scale of non-equivalent trade between Britain and Nigeria. To buy the same quantity of cotton fabrics, Nigerian peasants had to sell five times as much cacao in 1946 as in 1913. Even in 1958, when prices of cacao substantially rose, the purchasing power of cacao was only 65 per cent of the 1913 level. Even if we proceed from the rate of profit on foreign trade, set by British bourgeois economists at 5 per cent, the profits of the British monopolies amounted to about £150 million between 1946 and 1959.

The extraction of huge quantities of goods "on credit" was widely practised, especially after the war. Britain, acting in accordance with the formula "let the poor help the rich", converted Nigeria into an unwilling creditor. In the first 14 postwar years (1946-1959), the sterling holdings of Nigeria in Britain increased approximately by £185 million, which bled white the national

economy and slowed down the development of Nigeria's productive forces.

Nigeria's losses as a result of greater colonial exploitation, even according to incomplete and very approximate estimates, totalled about £500 million from 1946 to 1959. This sum was more than 60 per cent of the country's entire national income.

The stranglehold of the imperialist monopolies and greater colonial exploitation stimulated the unity of the working class, peasantry and national bourgeoisie in the struggle for political and economic independence. The Nigerian working class became particularly active.

The national-liberation movement after the war was greatly influenced by the general change in the international situation: the enhanced strength of the Soviet Union, formation of the socialist community, disintegration of the colonial system in Asia and the further weakening of the forces of world imperialism.

Immediately after the end of the war, in June 1945, came the first general strike in the history of Nigeria, in which factory and office workers in different industries took part. The exceedingly hard lot of the workers was the direct cause of the strike for higher wages. In 1945, average wages plus the cost-of-living allowance did not exceed £35 annually, while not less than £52.5 was needed merely to feed a family of three.

Workers of state and municipal enterprises in Lagos and other towns made up the majority of the strikers. Subsequently, they were joined by workers at private industrial and transport establishments. The general strike almost completely paralysed the country's economic life and the situation in Nigeria was the subject of a debate in the British Parliament.

The strike lasted for six weeks and was called off only after the colonial authorities agreed to examine the demands of the workers.

Another big action of the Nigerian proletariat dates to the end of 1949. On November 18, 1949, the police fired on striking Enugu miners, killing and wounding more than 40 people. News of the Enugu massacre swiftly spread and the people clashed with the police in many towns. Strikes and protest demonstrations were most numerous in Eastern Nigeria, where the coal pits are located.

The struggle of the Enugu workers, who at first put forward purely economic demands, increasingly assumed a political character. The population of Enugu, Aba, Port Harcourt and other towns demanded the abolition of the entire system of colonial oppression.

Between 1950 and 1959, there were many other strikes of miners, railwaymen, workers of woodworking factories, agricultural workers and others. The biggest was the 18-day strike of 40,000 tin-miners in October 1955.

The strike movement promoted the organisation of the work-

ing class, swelled the ranks of trade unions and other mass organisations and helped to draw new groups of the proletariat into active political struggle. Greater political activity of the workers, supported by peasants, intellectuals and certain sections of the national bourgeoisie belonging to the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons, coupled with the general weakening of the economic positions of British imperialism, compelled the colonialists to speed constitutional reforms.

As early as December 1944, A. Richards, Nigeria's governor, drafted a new constitution, which provided for bigger representation of Africans in the Legislative Council and the setting up of local self-government agencies; at the same time the Richards constitution preserved the unlimited power of the British governor, who had the right to veto the action of any administrative body. The main feature of the draft was the regionalisation principle, that is, the division of the country into three administrative regions. Thus, the Richards constitution reflected the desire to fan separatism and disunite the country's peoples with the object of weakening the national-liberation movement.

Assessing Richards' proposals, Mbonu Ojike, well-known Nigerian political leader and statesman, wrote that Governor Richards had sought to nip in the bud the incipient Nigerian nationalism. Nigeria was to be divided into the Northern, Eastern and Western regions, each with its own organs of power, which, however, only had the significance of debating societies.

The struggle against the constitution, which had been drafted, as Azikiwe put it, by one man without the knowledge and consent of millions of Nigerians whom it directly affected, was headed by the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons. The party arranged rallies and demonstrations in all regions, organised the collection of signatures to petitions protesting against the introduction of the constitution, and launched a campaign in the press.

In April 1946, the N.C.N.C. leaders toured the country to gain the people's support in their struggle against the Richards constitution. It was also decided to send a delegation to London. The population of 153 towns and rural communities contributed money to send the delegation headed by Azikiwe, but the Labour Government in Britain refused to receive the delegation.

The London-imposed constitution came into force on January 1, 1947. The colonial authorities at once launched a drive against the country's democratic forces, the N.C.N.C. above all. The entire arsenal of tried and tested means of struggle against the colonial peoples was brought into action. Repressions and terror were combined with the fomenting of national enmity. British propaganda constantly harped on the impossibility of rapprochement and cooperation between the different peoples in the country, above all the Ibo, Yoruba and Hausa. Nigerians were told that the "premature" withdrawal of Britain would necessarily be followed by

"chaos" and "fratricidal war". Various means were also employed for splitting the trade unions. In the autumn of 1948, at the insistence of advisers from the British Labour Party, the Trade Unions Congress (with which most of the country's unions were affiliated) withdrew from the N.C.N.C.

This entire campaign, launched with the object of saving the Richards constitution, could not, however, prevent the inevitable. After the Enugu events the British Government was forced to make further political concessions to the Nigerians.

The General Conference for revising the Richards constitution was convened in Ibadan in January 1950. The British hand-picked delegates ensured a majority to the Northern feudal elements and to trading compradore elements of the West. The imperialists artfully exploited the differences between the Northern and the Western delegates, on the one hand, and the N.C.N.C. delegates, on the other. While the former advocated the country's division, the latter upheld its unity. The colonial authorities supported the proponents of regional separatism and at the same time posed as a "supreme arbiter", supposedly compelled to consider the will of the "majority". Nevertheless, the convocation of the Ibadan Conference was a serious concession by the colonial administration because Nigerians for the first time participated in discussing the constitution.

The new constitution (named the Macpherson constitution after the governor who replaced Richards) entered into force in June 1951. It increased the representation of Africans in central government bodies, but further extended the rights of the regions, thus consolidating the regionalisation principle. A House of Representatives was set up instead of the Legislative Council as the central legislative body. It consisted of six official members (British), 136 elected members and not more than six special members appointed by the governor.

Executive Councils vested with rather broad powers were set up for the first time in the administrative regions. The rights of the regional assemblies were extended. But neither the central nor the regional legislative and executive bodies possessed full powers because the British governor and his representatives in the localities preserved the right of final decision.

Shortly after the Ibadan Conference, the Action Group Party was set up in the Western Region. Trading compradore elements played a considerable part in the leadership of this party (O. Awolovo became its leader). The Northern Peoples' Congress was founed in 1951. It represented the interests of the feudal elements and was headed by A. Bello.

The different social basis of the main parties made for serious differences between them on many issues of the country's political life. Moreover, the British kept up their efforts to put the main parties at loggerheads, to break up the unity of the anti-imperialist

forces, and steer the national-liberation movement against imperialism into the channel of struggle between various regions and parties. The feudal elements in the North were their chief mainstay in these activities.

But the slogan put forward by the National Congress of Nigeria and the Cameroons—one country, one constitution, one destiny—gained ever greater popularity among the people, who called for unity in the struggle for Nigeria's independence.

The British Government sought to stem the national-liberation movement by political manoeuvres. The Constitutional Conference held in 1953 and 1954 produced one more constitution. (It was named after Lyttelton, who was Britain's Secretary for the Colonies at the time.) Nigeria was declared a federation of three regions and the federal territory of Lagos. A Council of Ministers was to be set up in the federation and in each region, and the composition of the central and local legislative bodies was extended.

The Lyttelton constitution came into force on October 1, 1954. The first parliamentary elections in the history of Nigeria were held at the end of the same year. They brought victory to the N.C.N.C. in the Eastern and Western regions. This gave the party the right to six ministerial posts out of ten in the Federal Council of Ministers. The Northern Peoples' Congress won in the Northern Region. Thus, the first federal government was a coalition of two parties.

In 1957-1958, a new constitutional conference was held, at which the delegations of all the political parties and all regions unanimously demanded independence. The firm stand taken by all the Nigerian delegates on the question of independence compelled the British Government (after a series of manoeuvres and delays) to agree to grant Nigeria independence on October 1, 1960.

Throughout 1959, the main political parties fought for victory at the elections to the Federal Parliament, held on December 12, 1959. The elections resulted in the victory of the Northern Peoples' Congress in the Northern Region and of the N.C.N.C. in the Eastern Region. But no party won a majority in Parliament. Negotiations brought about agreement to form a coalition government of representatives of the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons and the Northern Peoples' Congress, headed by A. T. Balewa, one of the Congress leaders.

Official celebrations proclaiming the independence of Nigeria were held in Lagos on October 1, 1960. They were attended by a Soviet government delegation. A message of the Soviet Government, addressed to the prime minister of Nigeria, stated that the Soviet people voiced sincere joy at the attainment of independence by the African state with the largest population and that they wholeheartedly wished the Nigerian people great successes in independent development. Diplomatic relations were established between the U.S.S.R. and the Federation of Nigeria.

The first stage of the national-liberation struggle in Nigeria was thus completed. The Nigerian people won state sovereignty, but the road they had traversed was not easy. Each concession made by the colonialists was wrested in bitter struggle. Strikes, demonstrations, petitions and at times clashes with troops and police—such were the forms the anti-imperialist movement assumed in Nigeria. Her experience fully confirms the conclusion, drawn in the statement of the meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow in November 1960, that "the peoples of the colonial countries win their independence both through armed struggle and by non-military methods, depending on the specific conditions in the country concerned. They secure durable victory through a powerful national-liberation movement. The colonial powers never bestow freedom on the colonial peoples and never leave of their own free will the countries they are exploiting." [3]

NIGERIA AFTER WINNING INDEPENDENCE

Immediately after the proclamation of independence, the Government of Nigeria declared that it intended to adhere to the policy of non-alignment to military blocs and pacts and to establish friendly relations with all states. It also voiced its resolve to strengthen the unity of independent African states and to fight for the abolition of the remnants of colonialism on African soil.

Annulment of the Anglo-Nigerian Defence Agreement was one of the major acts of the government in foreign policy. The decision to abrogate the agreement had been preceded by a protracted and keen struggle. As far back as the Constitutional Conference of 1957-1958, the British Government sought to preserve control over Nigeria's armed forces. During the May talks in 1960, the British representatives brought strong pressure to bear on the Nigerian delegates to make them approve "in principle" the basic provisions of a future bilateral defence agreement.

The text of a draft defence agreement was published in a White Paper on November 14, 1960; and on November 19, the Federal House of Representatives after stormy debates approved the Anglo-Nigerian Defence Agreement by a vote of 166 to 38. But the results of the voting in Parliament did not reflect the relationship of forces in the country. Approval of the agreement incensed the people in the capital and many other towns. The reaction of the youth—university and college students, secondary-school pupils and young factory and office workers—was particularly stormy. On November 28, 1960, more than 3,000 demonstrators surrounded the building of Parliament, demanding abrogation of the agreement. Mass demonstrations were held in many towns at the end of 1960.

[3] *The Struggle for Peace, Democracy and Socialism*, Moscow, 1961, p. 62.

The agreement came into force on January 5, 1961. But even after this the opponents of military agreements with the imperialists kept up the struggle.

The Anglo-Nigerian Defence Agreement was in the focus of attention at the first All-Nigeria People's Conference, convened in Lagos in the summer of 1961 to formulate the positions of the main political parties and also public, cultural, educational, workers' and other organisations on basic problems of the country's foreign and home policy. The delegates unanimously approved a declaration calling for the annulment of the defence agreement. As a result, a year after the agreement had come into force, the government officially announced its abrogation (on January 21, 1962). This decision notably reinforced the country's sovereignty. Another important measure along the same lines was the proclamation of Nigeria a republic on October 1, 1963.

Since 1960 Nigerian representatives have been taking an active part in the work of the United Nations and other international assemblies and conferences, where many urgent problems have been examined. The Nigerian representatives, together with delegates of socialist and Asian countries, have actively worked in the United Nations Disarmament Commission for a mutually acceptable solution of this overriding problem.

Nigeria has established diplomatic relations with many states, including the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Poland and other socialist countries. In 1963 and 1964, the Soviet Union and Nigeria exchanged parliamentary delegations. Understanding on the establishment of direct air traffic between Moscow and Lagos was reached in 1966.

Nigeria has actively participated in founding the Organisation of African Unity. Several important African conferences were held in Lagos, the country's capital. The Nigerian Government stands for the solution of problems arising between African states through negotiations and reciprocal concessions. Together with a number of Afro-Asian states, Nigeria demanded the expulsion of the Republic of South Africa from the British Commonwealth. The country's statesmen and political leaders, expressing the will of millions of Nigerians, have repeatedly denounced the inhuman policy of racial discrimination against Africans practised by the fascist-minded rulers of the Republic of South Africa and Portugal.

It will be recalled that the International Court of Justice in the Hague had rejected the complaint of Liberia and Ethiopia, which spoke on behalf of all the independent African states and called for the abolition of the actual annexation of South West Africa by the racialist rulers of the Republic of South Africa. Commenting on this disgraceful ruling, the Government of Nigeria declared that the Court's decision would prompt Nigeria and other African states to step up the struggle for the restoration of the inalienable rights of the people of South West Africa and for

the liberation of the African continent from the last vestiges of colonialism.

In home policy the Nigerian Government has been faced with the task of eliminating age-old backwardness in all spheres of the economy and culture.

The colonialists, who extracted from Nigeria the lion's share of her national income, bled the country's economy white. When Nigeria's independence was proclaimed, per capita income in the country was only about 7 per cent of that in Britain; per capita power consumption was less than 1 per cent; and the production of power, about 0.5 per cent. The number of students in secondary and higher schools (per 10,000 of population) was only one-sixteenth of that in Britain. In Nigeria, there was one doctor per 33,000 people, whereas in Britain the corresponding figure was 40-45.

Economic growth rates increased after the country gained independence. For example, the average monthly production of electric power rose from 35.3 million kwh. in 1960 to 88.9 million kwh. in 1965; and oil production, from 70,600 tons in 1960 to 5,480,300 tons in 1964. In 1965, oil production more than doubled as compared with 1964, reaching 13 million tons, with Nigeria becoming one of the world's major oil producers. Between 1961 and 1965, more than 200 new enterprises of the oil, gas, chemical, food, textile, footwear, glass, woodworking and other industries were commissioned. Among the new establishments are a large flour mill in Apapa (a suburb of Lagos), a pharmaceutical factory in Aba, a sheet-iron works near Enugu, a factory for the production of bitumen in Port Harcourt, a factory for the assembly of wireless sets and air conditioning equipment, etc.

Specialists for various industries are being trained at a fast pace. The Nigerian Government has encouraged private enterprise and attracted foreign private and state capital. At the same time the state sector of the economy has been developed. These tendencies were manifested even during the period of colonial rule. Boards for the marketing of palm oil, cacao, groundnuts and cotton were set up at the end of the 1940's and the beginning of the 1950's, as were also various development corporations designed to promote economic progress (by providing loans to private and state companies), to finance industrial construction, etc. State corporations to administer the power stations, railways, mines and ports were set up. As long as Nigeria remained a colony all these organisations were in effect a component of Britain's state-monopoly sector. After independence they became the property of the Nigerian state and a component of the state sector in Nigeria's economy.

The first six-year national development plan (1962-1968) was launched in April 1962. It calls for capital investments of £1,183,000. State appropriations under the plan are set at £676,800,

of which about 42 per cent is to be invested in agriculture, trade and industry (including power), and 21 per cent in the development of the transport system. The other funds are to go for the development of means of communication, education, the public health services and the improvement of villages and towns. The plan assigns a special place to building a large 480,000 kwh. hydro-electric station on the Niger. It also provides for building a steel works (utilising local deposits of iron ore, coal and limestone) and an oil refinery with an annual output of 1.5 million tons of oil products. Under the plan, about £500 million is to be received from abroad in the form of loans, credits and subsidies; of this sum more than £300 million is designated for the state sector.

The problem of financing the plan has attracted public attention. Mass organisations and political parties have voiced serious apprehensions lest foreign capital attracted for financing the development programme gain the opportunity to exert pressure on the government's policy. These apprehensions were voiced at the first All-Nigeria People's Conference.

The delegates called for the nationalisation of a number of foreign companies because, as the *West African Pilot* put it, the worst thing was that the main sectors of Nigeria's economy were subsidised from abroad by the selfsame men who two years earlier had been the country's masters.

Like most other developing countries, Nigeria after independence was directly faced with the problem of choosing a path of socio-economic development that would ensure accelerated economic growth and the abolition, on this basis, of the tremendous gap between the level of production and consumption in Nigeria and in industrially developed countries. Various political parties and mass organisations put forward their programmes which, as a rule, were called socialist. Thus, leaders of the National Convention of Nigerian Citizens [4] proclaimed as their aim the building of a "welfare state". Similarly to the leaders of the Action Group, [5] they are proponents of "African Socialism". But their theories of socialism are far removed from its scientific concept and are contradictory. Proclaiming equal opportunities, freedom of the individual, brotherhood of all people, and so on, the votaries of these theories advocate the development of the so-called mixed economy, that is, they stand both for encouraging private enterprise and increasing the role of the state in the country's economic development. They call for the utmost attraction of foreign capital.

[4] In 1962, areas of the former British Cameroons which administratively were part of Nigeria were joined to the Cameroun Republic (1961). In view of this, the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons was renamed the National Convention of Nigerian Citizens. The northern part of the former British Cameroons remained within Nigeria; it was incorporated in the Northern Region as Sardauna Province.

[5] The party's heterogeneous social composition and differences in the political views of its leaders led to a split in 1962, which greatly weakened its influence.

At the same time, the number of mass organisations which voice their loyalty to the ideas of scientific socialism increased in Nigeria after the winning of independence. The Socialist Workers and Farmers Party of Nigeria, formed in August 1963, is guided in its practical activity by the theory of scientific socialism. The party unites in its ranks workers, peasants and progressive intellectuals. It is the only party which includes representatives of different peoples and tribes, and is resolutely opposed to national or tribal exclusiveness. The congress of the party in December 1965 demonstrated its growing influence. It publishes a newspaper, *Advance*.

The programme documents of the Nigerian Youth Congress also stressed the desire of this mass organisation to adhere to the theory of scientific socialism.

In addition to important socio-economic reforms, the peoples of Nigeria face intricate tasks in developing education, science, literature and the arts.

During the many decades of colonial rule, the imperialists, while extracting huge wealth from Nigeria and reaping fabulous profits, assigned measly sums for education. From 1918 to 1939, the outlays on education did not exceed 3 per cent of the budget on the average. As a result, the population of Nigeria was almost totally illiterate. According to the 1952-1953 census, not more than 1.3 million children attended schools of all types.

The situation greatly changed after independence. The number of elementary and secondary schools and teacher's colleges has increased. Approximately 3,000,000 Nigerians study today.

For many years there had not been a single university or college in Nigeria. A University College was opened in Ibadan in 1947; in 1948, it had a student body of only 104. It was subsequently reconstituted into a university. Four new universities have been opened since the gaining of independence. In the 1965-1966 academic year, all the universities had about 7,500 students.

Notwithstanding the definite successes in developing the economy and education, the material condition of tens of millions of Nigerians remained extremely hard.

Unemployment has been steadily growing. From 1961 to 1965, the ranks of the unemployed were swelled by not less than 200,000 school graduates who could find no jobs. Prices have been rising. The retail price index increased in 1964, as compared with 1960, by 12 per cent in Lagos, 18 per cent in Kaduna and Port Harcourt, 27 per cent in Ibadan and 47 per cent in Enugu. In 1964-1965, monthly wages of an unskilled worker in Lagos did not exceed £8-9, and in rural localities £4-5. Yet, a government commission arrived at the conclusion that monthly wages of a worker in Lagos should be not less than £16 16s.

The sharp drop in world cacao prices hit hard the Nigerian peasants cultivating this crop.

At the same time, the ranks of Nigerian businessmen and their

capital kept increasing between 1961 and 1965. The country now has its own millionaires.

Widespread corruption and extravagant spending by central and local government officials aroused popular indignation. Even ministers of the Federal Government, for whose maintenance not less than £8,500 is spent annually (this is approximately 200 times more than the average annual income of a Nigerian in rural localities), engaged in land speculation, swindling operations and extortion.

Social contradictions have been sharply exacerbated. While in 1960-1961 there were 65 strikes, in 1964-1965 their number reached 195, that is, trebled. A strike in which about 800,000 industrial and office workers took part was held in June 1964. It was without precedent in the country's history and perhaps in the history of all Tropical Africa. As a result of the strikes, the fixed minimum wage was raised.

Economic difficulties were coupled with an exacerbation of the political situation. In 1964, in view of the federal elections appointed for December, two rival political blocs were formed in Nigeria: one was named the United Progressive Grand Alliance, which included the National Convention of Nigerian Citizens, the Action Group and the Northern Progressive Front (United Middle Belt Congress and the Northern Elements Progressive Union). The other was the Nigerian National Alliance, which was headed by the Northern People's Congress and included the Nigerian National Democratic Party, the Mid-West Democratic Front, the Niger Delta Congress and other organisations.

In the course of the election campaign supporters of these blocs clashed in various parts of the country. Victory of the Nigerian National Alliance did not relieve the strain. It became more acute after elections to the Parliament of the Western Region held in 1965. Supported by the Northern Peoples' Congress, the National Democratic Party, according to the press, won through falsification and juggling. Its leader Samuel Akintola formed the regional government. But supporters of the Action Group refused to recognise him. The proponents and opponents of the new government clashed in many localities. As a result, a state of emergency was instituted in the region. The crisis in Western Nigeria kept the entire country on edge.

A military coup was staged amidst the acute political crisis and the general dissatisfaction engendered by the inability of the ruling circles to improve the lot of the people.

On January 14, 1966, in the town of Kaduna, administrative centre of Northern Nigeria, and the main point of troop concentration, [6] a small detachment commanded by 28-year-old Major Chukwuma Nzegwu surrounded the residence of Ahmadu Bello. Several of the premier's guards were killed in the skirmish and the premier was shot.

[6] The Nigerian army, navy and air force had a total strength of about 10,000 men and officers. The officers' corps consisted mainly of people from the southern areas (Ibo and Yoruba). Most of the officers had studied or undergone training in Britain.

A meeting of Nigeria's cabinet was held on January 16, after which it was announced that the government was temporarily handing over the country's administration to the army and the police. Major-General Aguiyi Ironsi, commander-in-chief of the armed forces, became the head of the state and the government.

It should be noted that the coup was approved by many political parties and mass organisations. The Socialist Workers' and Farmers' Party of Nigeria, the National Convention of Nigerian Citizens, the Joint Action Committee of the Nigerian Trade Unions and other organisations pledged support to the new government.

In a speech over the radio, made on January 29, Aguiyi Ironsi presented his programme. He spoke of the need to put an end to separatist tendencies and voiced the intention of his government to preserve Nigeria as a united, centralised and strong state.

The government reduced the number of ministries, and the funds assigned to finance the officials' visits abroad were cut. Low-price houses began to be built for the Lagos workers; measures to combat the soaring of prices were envisaged.

The first steps of the new government testified to its intention to normalise life in the country and introduce socio-economic changes. But it ran up against heavy odds, against strong opposition on the part of internal and external reactionary forces. A decree of the Supreme Military Council, made public on May 24, 1966, abolished and dissolved the regional governments. Simultaneously it was decided to ban the activity of all political parties and tribal organisations until January 17, 1969.

The emirs and tribal chiefs of Northern Nigeria, who regarded the government's decision as an infringement of their privileges, came out openly against the Ironsi Government. A meeting of 105 Northern emirs and chiefs presented to the government an ultimatum, demanding the abolition of the decree converting Nigeria into a unitary republic and the preservation of the federal structure until a referendum was held. Simultaneously, attacks were launched against Southerners living in Kano, Katsina, Sokoto, Bauchi and other towns in Northern Nigeria. They resulted in the killing and wounding of several thousand people.

Another coup at the end of July 1966 placed in power a group of military men headed by Lieutenant-Colonel Jakobu Gowon.

The new government could not ensure political stability in the country. The greatly exacerbated contradictions between the central government and the government of Eastern Nigeria eventually brought about the separation of the latter and the formation of the Republic of Biafra.

Hostilities between forces of the Federal Government and troops of Eastern Nigeria began in the summer of 1967, embroiling the country in a cruel war. By the autumn of 1968, the army of the Federal Government, as a result of hard-fought battles had gained control over the larger part of Eastern Nigeria.

THE GAMBIA

The Gambia was one of the first British colonies in Africa. As early as 1661, British soldiers seized the island in the mouth of the Gambia River. The Union Jack was followed by trading companies which set up their settlements on the river banks. For more than 150 years the British confined their activities in the Gambia to trade with local tribes. The conquest of the Gambia was completed in the 19th century.

A British governor was in charge of all the affairs in the colony. In 1888, an Executive and a Legislative Council were set up as purely advisory bodies to the governor.

A dual system of administration was instituted in 1902. St. Mary's Island and the adjacent districts constituted the colony proper. The population here consisted primarily of the descendants of freed slaves who had been brought from Britain. Power in the colony was exercised by the British commissioner.

Britain instituted a protectorate system in four divisions in the interior which were headed by British officials. These were subdivided into 35 districts administered by local chiefs.

At the time the colonial regime was established, the Gambia was inhabited by some 20 tribes, of which the Mandingo, Wollof, Fula and Jola were the largest. The power of the chiefs and elders was based on the rules of customary law and ancient traditions. The tribes engaged in primitive farming and, to a smaller extent, in fishing and stock-raising. The crafts—tanning of leather, making of clothes, rope and basket weaving, pottery making and the building of boats—were developed.

1918-1939. The British turned the Gambia into a one-crop country, supplying groundnuts (in 1938, groundnuts accounted for 96.7 per cent of the entire value of Gambian exports). The local inhabitants continued to grow rice, maize, millet and sorghum, but on a small scale, and large quantities of foodstuffs were imported.

During the First World War, British companies ousted their French competitors, who formerly held key positions in the Gambia's trade. While in 1914 France bought 78 per cent of the groundnut crop, in 1919 as much as 91 per cent of the groundnuts were exported to Britain.

The British made huge profits on the sale of groundnuts, but did practically nothing to improve the welfare of the population. In 1931, per capita budget outlays amounted to £1.14. Neither railways nor highways were built in the country. In 1938, the Gambia had only three hospitals, 15 medical stations and 18 elementary and secondary schools. Moreover, most of them were on the territory of the colony proper.

The liberation movement started in the interwar period, when the tribal upper crust, petty tradesmen and artisans became politically active. In 1920, Gambian delegates took part in founding the National Congress of British West Africa. [1]

Bathurst, the country's administrative centre, was the scene of a big strike in 1929, caused by a cut in the wages of dockers and seamen. The seamen struck first and they were joined by the dockers. The 60-day strike ended in a victory for the workers; their trade union was officially recognised, wages were increased and the strikers were not persecuted. The authorities subsequently broke up the union, however.

1939-1945. During the Second World War, two battalions of Gambian soldiers fought in Burma. The British built an airfield near Bathurst, which was used by the Allies. The arrival of foreign troops and experts, and the decline in imports livened up home trade and production. The cut in food imports, Burmese rice above all, caused serious difficulties. The Gambians had to extend the area under rice, and its crop almost doubled towards the end of the war.

1946-1959. The struggle for national liberation advanced in the Gambia under the impact of the anti-colonial movement throughout the African continent after the war. The tribal nobility, the emergent petty bourgeoisie and intellectuals gradually joined the movement for national liberation. The first political party, the Gambia Muslim Congress, uniting the Muslim clergy and part of the chiefs, was founded in 1945. The United Party, supported by the chiefs and the trading elements, and the Democratic Party, which enjoyed some influence among the Bathurst population, were organised in 1951. These parties, organisationally weak and numerically small, had originally almost identical programmes. They demanded the participation of Africans in the administration, extension of the educational and health systems and suffrage. The differences between the parties were mainly of a religious and ethnic character.

The general change of the situation in Africa and the world compelled the British to modify their policy even in relation to small colonies like the Gambia. They took a number of steps to develop the country's economy. In 1948, the British Government set up a state company, the Gambia Oilseeds Marketing Board, to handle the exports of groundnuts and copra. The Board built two factories for the cleaning of groundnuts, and two more were set up by British private firms. The authorities built small canneries near Kombo. The British state-owned Colonial Development Corporation undertook to set up a poultry farm and several experimental rice farms, but in 1951 gave up work on these projects. Titanium ore deposits were found in 1953. In 1957, some 20,000 tons were mined, but in 1959 the working of the deposits was stopped and the mines were abandoned.

[1] See the article "Ghana" in this volume.

The colonialists introduced reforms in the administration. Constitutional changes were consecutively made in 1947, 1951 and 1954. While in 1946 the Legislative Council consisted of seven officials and four members appointed by the governor, in 1954 the Council had 21 members: five officials and two members appointed by the governor, seven members elected by the colony and seven members from the protectorate who actually represented the chiefs. Correspondingly, prior to the reform, the Executive Council consisted of four officials and subsequently of five officials and six representatives of the local population. Three of them, leaders of political parties, were appointed ministers. In 1948, Africans were admitted to the civil service. In 1955, 43 Africans worked as civil servants.

These reforms stimulated political activity. The parties demanded suffrage both for the people in the colony and in the protectorate, and also self-government. The People's Progressive Party, founded in 1959, called for radical reforms in the administration, restriction of the representation of the chiefs in the Legislative and Executive Councils, extension of the rights of the population in the protectorate and improvement of the people's living standard.

The Gambia Workers Union, set up in 1957, attracted a large part of the working population—dockers, building workers, office employees, palm-oil producers and artisans. The Union grew and turned into the largest mass organisation in the country.

The governor convened a constitutional conference in Bathurst in 1959. The conference, attended by representatives of the colony and the protectorate, decided to introduce universal suffrage in the protectorate, to extend the Legislative Council to include 34 members, of whom 19 were to be elected, and to hold general elections in 1960.

1960-1965. The first general elections to the Legislative Council under the new constitution were held in 1960. The People's Progressive Party won in the protectorate, and the United Party gained most of the seats in the colony proper. In the Executive Council the governor preferred to have members of the more moderate United Party and only one from the People's Progressive Party. In 1961, P.S. N'Jie, leader of the United Party, was appointed the Chief Minister of the Executive Council.

The working-class movement grew stronger in the country. In 1960 and 1961, meetings, demonstrations and strikes were held under the leadership of the Gambia Workers Union. After winning a wage rise for dockers, the Union demanded, in August and September

1960, a minimum wage and an improvement in labour conditions for all workers. The colonial authorities rejected these demands, prohibited mass meetings and began to persecute active trade unionists. The Workers Union reacted by calling a general strike in January 1961. The police was brought into action and in clashes with the strikers 29 people were gravely injured. The strike lasted for a week and the authorities had to make certain concessions. They recognised the trade union and the right of the workers to hold meetings and demonstrations and raised the daily minimum wage to 5 s. 8 d.

The Gambia Workers Union also put forward political demands. Early in 1961, when the governor decided to negotiate with representatives of the local population, the Union issued a statement demanding that workers' representatives take part in discussing questions which concerned the entire country.

Talks between representatives of the Gambia and the British Colonial Office on the country's future status were held from May to July 1961. They were attended by leaders of all the political parties, representatives of the chiefs and Jallow, the leader of the Gambia Workers Union. It was decided to convert the Legislative Council into a House of Representatives; 36 of its 39 members were to be elected by the local population (32, at general elections and 4, by the Assembly of Chiefs). The Executive Council was taken as the basis for setting up a government. A new constitution was to come into force after the 1962 elections.

Elections to the House of Representatives were held in May 1962. In the course of the election campaign, the national forces were consolidated. The Democratic Party and the Gambia Muslim Congress united and then concluded an agreement with the People's Progressive Party on a joint election campaign. The People's Progressive Party, which advocated the early abolition of the colonial regime and was supported by the Gambia Workers Union, won a majority—18 seats. One seat was gained by its election ally. The United Party, which pursued a policy of compromise, won 13 seats. The first government of the Gambia was headed by David Jawara, leader of the People's Progressive Party. But the British governor remained the head of the executive and legislative authority.

Jawara insisted on the proclamation of the Gambia's independence in 1963. In one of his speeches he said: "The living standards, the productivity and purchasing power of the mass of people, the farmers and manual workers, is abysmally low. It is sometimes argued that because of its small size and its lack of rich resources the Gambia dare not claim its freedom. This argument is not valid as all people, rich or poor, are equally entitled to freedom."

By decision of the British Government, the Gambia was proclaimed a self-governing colony on October 4, 1963. The governor preserved control over the country's foreign policy, internal security and defence.

Following another constitutional conference in July 1964, the British Government agreed to grant the country independence in February 1965.

INDEPENDENT GAMBIA

The independence of the Gambia was proclaimed on February 18, 1965. The national government inherited an extremely backward economy from the colonial regime. Farming, in which about 90 per cent of the population engages, is primitive and of low productivity. A baobab stick charred at one end remains the main farming implement. Industry is in an embryonic state. There are a few factories for the cleaning of groundnuts, oil mills and a soft drinks factory (built by private British companies in the last years of colonial rule), and some workshops. The country has practically no modern roads. In the last ten years the Gambia's budget has always had a deficit, which sometimes reached £500,000. The per capita income, about £25, is one of the lowest in Africa.

The Jawara Government has been unable to overcome the economic difficulties in such a short span, but has made certain headway. A national currency, the Gambia pound, equal to the British pound, was introduced in June 1964. In October, new banknotes, in English, Mandingo and Wollof, were put into circulation by the Gambia Currency Board. A four-year development programme (1964-1967) was drawn up and approved. Total investments were set at £4.4 million. Production was to grow at an annual rate of 5 per cent. A large part of the money was to go for the development of the health and educational systems. (In 1965, only about 22 per cent of the children attended school; the Gambia had 77 elementary and 13 secondary schools.) In the economic sphere, investments were allocated for the infrastructure and also the construction of clothing, food and building materials factories. The programme was to be financed mainly with British aid.

In foreign affairs, the Government of the Gambia adheres to the policy of neutrality and friendly relations with all states. It has established diplomatic relations with many African countries. The main problem in foreign policy is relations with Senegal, which surrounds the Gambia almost on all sides. The Jawara Government favours rapprochement with its neighbour, considering that a small state like the Gambia will be unable to solve many development problems by herself. In 1965, agreements were concluded with Senegal on mutual defence, joint foreign policy (Senegal will represent the Gambia in countries where the latter has no diplomatic missions) and the joint use of the resources of the Gambia River.

The national government stands for the consolidation of African unity. In March 1965, the Gambia joined the Organisation of African Unity. On September 21, 1965, the Gambia was admitted to the United Nations. An agreement establishing diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union was signed in July 1965.

PORTUGUESE GUINEA, CAPE VERDE, SAO TOMÉ, PRINCIPE ISLANDS

Portuguese Guinea is situated on the west coast of Africa; the Cape Verde, São Tomé and Principe Islands all lie in the Atlantic, not far from the coast. The territory of Guinea comprises numerous offshore islands, including Bolama, Como and Cafin.

The population of Guinea (571,000) and the São Tomé and Principe Islands (67,000) is predominantly African. Of the 199,000 people on Cape Verde, two-thirds are mulattos, and the rest Africans. Europeans, mostly Portuguese, make up a small minority.

In Guinea, unlike Angola and Mozambique, the Portuguese made no effort to introduce plantation-type economy. Their policy was to preserve small African holdings. The peasants were forced to cultivate groundnuts, which now account for 70 per cent of the value of exports. Palm oil and kernels are also exported.

There is no large-scale industry in Guinea, and the few small enterprises it has engage in the primary processing of groundnuts and valuable timber.

Small-scale farming also predominates on the Cape Verde Islands. The majority of the population there have no land and are compelled to work as labourers for Portuguese landowners, or lease land from them on fettering terms. This is why many sign up for work in other countries.

Before the First World War, most of the emigrants went to America. When the United States introduced immigration quotas, the flow of emigrants there fell off sharply, and the archipelago became a source of cheap manpower for plantation owners and mineowners in other African countries.

The main food crop on the Cape Verde Islands is maize. Coffee, castor-oil plant and mustard are grown in small quantities for export. Salt and canned fish are the other export commodities.

The economy of the São Tomé and Principe Islands is based on estates producing cacao, coffee and bananas for export.

Forms of Exploitation. The population of Portuguese colonies suffers especially from non-equivalent trade: local products are bought up by Portuguese firms on the cheap, while imported goods are sold at inordinately high prices.

Numerous taxes consume up to 25 per cent of the income of

African families. As a result, many people are short even of rice, which is their staple food.

In Guinea, the colonialists were unable to introduce compulsory labour on any large scale as many people simply left the country whenever such an attempt was made. The most the Portuguese could achieve was to introduce a system of "public works", mainly for highway construction.

The leading role in the exploitation of the Guinean people is played by the Portuguese Companhia uniao fabril (CUF), which usually operates through subsidiaries. One of them, Antonio da Silva Gouveia, controls the purchases and processing of oil-bearing plants and the production of oils. Another subsidiary, Sociedade jeral de comercia e transportes, has virtually monopolised sea carriage between Guinea's administrative centre, Bissau, and Lisbon. Other big companies are Sociedade comercial ultramarina and Barbosa e Costa. Several companies are controlled by Banco Nacional Ultramarino, which is the only commercial bank and bank of issue for the Portuguese colonies.

The largest Portuguese companies exploiting the population of São Tomé and Principe are Sociedade de agricultura colonial, Companhia da Ilha do Principe and Companhia agricola das Neves. Another company with considerable vested interests in the island is Antonio da Silva Gouveia.

The production and export of salt on the Cape Verde Islands is monopolised by two companies, the Portuguese Companhia do fomento de Cabo Verde and the French Société de Saline du Cape Vert. Colonial firms also control the supply of coal, oil and fresh water to visiting ships. The Companhia de São Vicente de Cabo Verde is the biggest among them.

Non-Portuguese capital plays a considerable part in the exploitation of all Portuguese colonies. This is one of the essential reasons why backward Portugal has been able to retain her colonies to our day. British capital has been predominant in Portuguese colonies for a long time. In the postwar period, other imperialist countries, too, have stepped up their inroads into these colonies.

U.S. Standard Oil has received exclusive prospecting rights on a vast territory in Guinea, and it has set up a subsidiary called Esso Exploration Guinea with the initial capital of $1,500,000.

British capital, represented by the United Africa Company, participates jointly with French capital in the Nouvelle société commerciale africaine, which buys farm produce from the local population.

The French Société commerciale de l'Ouest africain trades in agricultural products in Guinea. Swiss capital is also represented in it.

The processing of timber and the production of wood pulp in Guinea is carried on by the Sociedade comercial para o fomento agricola e industrial with predominantly Japanese capital.

Dutch N.B. Billiton Maats happei has a bauxite concession in Guinea, and one in Angola.

The interests of Portuguese and non-Portuguese capital are closely intertwined in various fields. In its colonial policy, Portugal leans for support on the financial, economic and military might and political influence of imperialist powers. These latter, in turn, use the Portuguese colonial administration, army and police to enable their monopolies to obtain high profits in Portuguese colonies. It also suits imperialist states that fascist Portugal stems the liberation movement in Africa.

A subcommittee of the U.N. Special Committee on the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (24-nation Committee) has stated that the policy of foreign monopolies in Portuguese colonies is the main obstacle to the attainment of genuine independence by their peoples.

The Cape Verde Islands, by virtue of their geographical position, have considerable strategic importance. The archipelago lies less than 500 kilometres off the African coast, at the crossing of the principal Atlantic routes. Its importance declined with the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, but even now the Cape Verde Islands are visited regularly by big ships sailing round Africa, especially warships, for which the Suez Canal is too shallow. The archipelago has special importance as a refuelling station on the way to Tropical Africa and South America. The islands have several convenient ports, the largest of which is Porto Grande on the São Vicente Island. An international airport capable of handling heavy planes has been built on the Sal Island. Eleven British and Italian submarine cables pass through the islands.

To Africans, the colonial rule has brought hunger and extinction. According to some sources, from 180 to 200 children in every thousand die in Guinea before reaching the age of 11 months. Guinea has one doctor per 28,000 people. The Cape Verde Islands have seven times less doctors per 10,000 of the population than Portugal.

After 500 years of Portuguese rule, 99 per cent of the native population remain illiterate. In these five centuries, only 14 Guineans were able to receive university education. There are few schools in the country, and most of these are missionary schools which, by agreement with the Vatican, have been financed by the Portuguese Government since 1940. The agreement recommends specifically that African children be educated "in the spirit of Portuguese patriotism".

U.N. Decisions and Manoeuvres of Portuguese Colonialists. In April 1961, under the pressure of progressive opinion, the Security Council adopted a decision, later confirmed by the General Assembly, demanding that Portugal comply with the U.N. declaration of December 14, 1960, on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. The Salazar Government, however, refuses to comply with the U.N. decision on the pretext that its overseas territories are not colonies but "parts of Portugal scattered throughout the world" and that in 1951 the colonies had been made overseas provinces.

Though the people in the colonies can nominally receive Portuguese citizenship, they are actually deprived of all rights. There are very few "assimilated" Africans, and they form a privileged group. In Guinea, there were only 2,190 of them in 1940, and 1,478 in 1950.

Africans are still barred from government. All power in a Portuguese colony is exercised by a Lisbon-appointed governor. An amendment to the Portuguese constitution of 1963 gives him the right to issue decrees with the power of law in his "overseas territory". The governor appoints district and regional chiefs accountable to him alone. The governor's "council" consists of functionaries and has only the trappings of power. The "assimilated" Africans do elect deputies to the Portuguese Parliament, but these are always Portuguese.

The economic condition of the population has even grown worse since the colonies were proclaimed "overseas provinces". The burden of taxation has increased. The "native tax" has been replaced with a higher capitation tax, which can be paid in cash or cleared, in part or in full, by working. One result of this substitution is that Africans have to participate even more often in "public works".

This political disfranchisement, colonial bondage and racial discrimination belie the claims of Salazar and other champions of colonialism that Portugal has no colonies, that the people in her "overseas provinces" and the people in the metropolitan country form a single nation. A report made at the First Congress of the Communist Party of Portugal said that "such a nation exists only in the imagination of Salazarites. There are no essential features in common between the Portuguese nation and the peoples of the colonies that could identify them as a single nation. They have no community of history, no community of territory, no community of economic interests, no community of language, of spiritual and cultural life. What really exists is an antagonism between them, steadily aggravated by racial discrimination and inequality in rights, including the most elementary. What really exists is a growing protest of the peoples in the colonies (which the Salazarites are trying to smother) against the brutal policy of the colonialists who exploit and oppress them, who plunder the wealth and natural resources of their countries."

Growth of People's Resistance. The people of the colonies have never reconciled themselves to Portuguese rule. In 1908, there was an uprising on the Island of Bolama. It spread to the continent and continued till 1916. There were further uprisings in Guinea in 1917, 1925 and 1936. All of them were savagely suppressed. The general upswing in the national-liberation movement after the Second World War and the emergence of independent African states encouraged the peoples in the Portuguese colonies to fight the colonialists.

The strike movement grew in Guinea. In 1956, there was a strike of river transport workers. In 1959 there was a strike of Bissau dockers, who called for higher wages. The strikers were fired on by the police, fifty people were killed and many more wounded. Public

indignation was so great that the government had to send troop reinforcements to Guinea, including airborne and naval units.

In 1952-1953, the people of the São Tomé and Principe Islands began to refuse to work for Europeans. They began to avoid "public works" and many hid in the forests. The colonialists burned down homes, arrested all "suspects". The greatest brutality was displayed in the village of Bato Pa, which was regarded as the centre of resistance.

The events of 1952-1953 were followed by an upswing in the strike movement on the São Tomé and Principe Islands. The struggle there reached its peak in 1963, when 90 per cent of all workers were involved. The strikers demanded higher wages and better living conditions. The strike was directed by a Committee for the Liberation of the São Tomé and Principe Islands, which was established in 1961. The Committee continues to head the liberation struggle on the island.

These isolated protests, uprisings, strikes and acts of disobedience gradually assumed organised forms. This was made possible by the establishment of a common front of struggle against Portuguese colonialism in Africa, which called upon the people of the colonies to rise up in arms.

This marked a turning point in the national-liberation movement. It came after the first conference of representatives of the liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies, held in Casablanca in April 1961. Following the example of Angola, the people of Guinea took up arms in January 1963 to form a second front, as it were, in the rear of Portuguese colonialists. In the middle of 1964, armed struggle began also in Mozambique.

The Guinean people's struggle was directed by the African Party for the Independence of Portuguese Guinea and the Cape Verde Island (PAIGC), formed in 1956.

In a memorandum of November 15, 1960, PAIGC demanded that the Portuguese Government recognise the right of the peoples of Guinea and Cape Verde to independence and sovereignty, withdraw Portuguese troops immediately, dismantle its military bases, release political prisoners, and grant equal rights to Africans. To these peaceful proposals Lisbon replied by punitive expeditions. PAIGC then started preparations for an armed uprising. Its aim was to extend resistance to the entire country, to make its call for a general uprising heard everywhere. A general uprising broke out at the beginning of 1963.

Armed Uprising in Guinea. Salazar sent large forces to quell the uprising. Punitive detachments mercilessly attacked the population, burning down homes and crops. Whole villages were razed to the ground. And yet the patriots have scored big successes. They have liberated over a half of the country's territory. A PAIGC communiqué issued in Algiers early in April 1966 said that "the attempts of

Portuguese colonialists to recapture the liberated areas have failed both in the south and in the north".

The African patriots are in effect fighting against an alliance of imperialist forces that supply Portuguese colonialists with money and arms. "In defending Angola, Guinea or Mozambique", Salazar claims, "we defend the entire Western world." In their war against the people of Guinea the Portuguese employ American napalm bombs, French gunboats and West German field guns. By the beginning of 1966, the number of Portuguese troops in Guinea had exceeded 40,000.

The biggest battle of the war, which showed the patriots' strength, was fought on the Como Island in 1964. The Portuguese decided at any cost to clear the island of PAIGC guerrillas, who had controlled it for a year. Concentrating large forces, they launched their offensive. After two and a half months of fighting, the colonialists still could not claim victory, even though they had destroyed most of the villages on the island, and also the crops and the cattle. The people refused to leave the island and fought alongside the guerrillas. The Portuguese suffered heavy losses. The patriots captured large quantities of weapons, ammunition and military equipment. In the end, the colonialists had to leave the island.

A gallant struggle was put up by the freedom fighters and the population of Cafin. This island, liberated in 1962, commands a considerable part of the Guinean coast, the country's rice basket. Rice is supplied both to freedom fighters and to people in other liberated regions. The Portuguese made several attempts to recapture the island, but all without success.

The guerrilla units, which operate throughout the country, are now backed up by regular units of the Guinea Liberation Army, set up by PAIGC. These units, commanded by trained officers, cooperate with guerrillas in daring raids on enemy positions. In 1965-1966 alone, the Portuguese lost 3,500 officers and men. The Portuguese military command no longer ventures to conduct large-scale operations. It prefers to keep the troops in fortified camps, limiting military operations to the bombing of liberated areas.

PAIGC says that the goal of the armed struggle is to win complete and unconditional independence for Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands. The party's programme proclaims "equal rights and duties, a stable alliance and fraternal cooperation of citizens", "abolition of all relations of colonial and imperialist type". It is envisaged to "revise or abrogate all agreements, treaties, alliances and concessions" concluded by Portuguese colonialists and concerning Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands. The PAIGC programme stresses that "the natural wealth, the principal means of production, the means of communication, radio and other information and cultural media shall be regarded as national property and used for the needs of rapid economic development".

The PAIGC programme is being vigorously implemented in the areas liberated from the colonialists. Guinea today consists, in effect, of two zones. The liberated zone embraces the entire south and extends in a wide belt to the north. The other zone consists of areas adjacent to the larger towns which are still controlled by the Portuguese.

In the liberated regions, the authorities are concentrating on the development of agriculture, which forms the backbone of national economy. The lands abandoned by colonialists are placed under the control of people's management committees. In an effort to change the structure of agriculture, PAIGC devotes particular attention to the production of rice. Despite frequent Portuguese air raids on peaceful villages, 300 hectares of virgin land has been sown to rice south of Geba River. In one year, the rice crop in the area increased by 20 per cent; in the liberated zone as a whole the agricultural output has risen by 5-15 per cent since the beginning of the armed struggle.

Agricultural cooperatives have been set up in several places on an experimental basis. Every encouragement is given to the collective cultivation of land. The guerrillas help peasants in their field work.

Portuguese currency is no longer in circulation in the liberated zone. A network of shops has been set up to buy agricultural products from the people and supply them with the goods they need. In these shops, directed by PAIGC through the local committees, agricultural products are directly exchanged for manufactured goods.

School construction has begun in the liberated areas. The first national textbook has been issued. A campaign to wipe out illiteracy is successfully carried on, and primary schooling is compulsory. In 1961-1964 alone, more people were taught to read and write than in the five centuries of the colonialists' "civilising" mission.

Medical centres have been set up in many villages. At guerrilla camps they dispense medical aid not only to freedom fighters but also to the population.

An effective form of struggle against the Portuguese on occupied territory is economic sabotage. In Guinea, for example, groundnut production has been cut by half. As a result, CUF has had to scale down its activities considerably, while the Sociedade comercial ultramarina has had to stop all trade in the south of the country.

PAIGC has to overcome serious difficulties in its work: there are several score nationalities and tribes in Guinea, each with its own language and culture. However, in the course of the struggle new socio-economic relations are developing, levelling out many local, ethnic and other differences. In an intricate and contradictory process, kindred tribes are gradually merging to form new ethnic groups.

In their arduous and justified struggle, the people of Guinea, the Cape Verde, São Tomé and Principe Islands, like the peoples of other Portuguese territories, have the steady support of progressive forces in the metropolitan country, the independent African states, and progressive world opinion. In his speech at the 23rd Congress of the

Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Alvaro Cunhal, General Secretary of the Portuguese Communist Party, said: "Fulfilling our internationalist duty, we are fighting and will fight tirelessly against the colonial policy of the Salazar Government, against the shameful colonial war. We support and will continue to support to the best of our ability the just struggle for the liberation of the fraternal peoples of Angola, Guinea, Mozambique and other Portuguese colonies."

The people of Guinea receive extensive support from the government of the Republic of Guinea. The authorities in neighbouring Senegal are also in sympathy with their struggle. They have given asylum to 25,000 refugees from Guinea, and do not maintain any relations with the Salazar regime. There are PAIGC bureaus in the capitals of both these African states.

Progressives all over the world regard solidarity with the Portuguese people's struggle against the Salazar regime and the struggle of Portuguese colonies for liberation as an important factor in speeding up the collapse of the fascist dictatorship in Portugal and the attainment of independence by the colonies.

Success of the peoples of Portuguese colonies in their struggle for liberation will depend to a large extent on their unity. This is why world opinion welcomed the convocation of a second conference of national organisations of Portuguese colonies, held in Dar es Salaam in October 1965. It was attended by representatives of the Angola People's Liberation Movement, the Mozambique Liberation Front, the African Party for the Independence of Portuguese Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands, and the Committee for the Liberation of the São Tomé and Principe Islands. At the conference in Dar es Salaam, the leaders of the Portuguese African colonies' liberation movements reached agreement on unity of action. They set up a joint leadership and worked out a common strategy.

ETHIOPIA

Economic and Political Situation by 1918. Ethiopia was the only African state which succeeded in upholding its independence in armed struggle in the period when the imperialists completed the territorial division of the world at the turn of the century. The north-eastern part of the country, however, was in colonial bondage. It had been seized by Italy and was named Eritrea in 1890.

The economic development of Ethiopia was impeded both by external factors (imperialist aggression and expansion) and internal factors. At the threshold of the present century Ethiopia was a feudal country; moreover, slavery and many survivals of the tribal system were preserved. This intricate skein of the old social relations was supplemented by the rudiments of capitalism.

The peasants were exploited by the feudal elements in many ways. Peasants who settled on lands of the secular landlords or church lands (peasant communal lands were preserved only here and there) had to work for the landlord from 90 to 120 days a year, deliver a considerable part of the crop or head of livestock (in stock-raising districts) and to perform other feudal duties. On top of this came state taxes and various levies. The latter, for example, included *dergo,* the duty of the peasant to feed travelling noblemen, government officials and passing troops and, by order of the governor, any other traveller.

The *gabar* [1] system was widely employed in the southern and south-western regions, which became part of Ethiopia in the 19th and early 20th century. Its essence was that the military garrisons quartered in new districts and the entire administrative staff were maintained by the local peasants. The number of peasants *(gabars)* assigned to an officer depended on his rank. The governors and high-ranking officers at times received several thousand *gabars.* A soldier was maintained by one peasant family.

The exploitation of slaves was also preserved. Their labour was utilised chiefly in the feudal households. A small number of slaves

[1] The term *gabar* in the broader sense means "a duty", "a tax". That is why feudal tenants in general, especially in the central and northern regions, are called "gabars".

were working the land and their status was close to that of *coloni.* It should be noted that bourgeois authors deliberately exaggerated the number of slaves and the role of slavery in Ethiopia. This was done to justify imperialist expansion and aggression. The Italian fascists, for example, sought to picture their piratical attack on Ethiopia in 1935 as a war against slavery and for "social progress".

Internal Political Struggle in 1918-1930. A keen struggle was under way in the feudal-landlord top group of Ethiopia. It became especially tense after the palace coup in 1916, when Emperor Lidj Iyasu (grandson of Menelik II) was overthrown and a kind of dual power arose. Zauditu, daughter of Menelik II, was proclaimed empress, but she shared power with regent Tafari Makonnen. [2] The Ethiopian landlords, whose estates gradually began to produce for the market and who were interested in the development of home and foreign trade, wanted a strong central government. The numerically small trading bourgeoisie and the emerging intellectuals sided with this group, which was named "Young Ethiopians". Tafari Makonnen was their leader.

Officers of the Ethiopian army who received plots of the so-called royal lands for use while they were in the service, made up another group. They, too, were in favour of a strong centralised government. But this group was inconsistent in its policy, inasmuch as it was led by big landlords and headed by War Minister Habta Giorgis, who strove for unlimited power and pursued a policy of manoeuvring between the Young Ethiopians and their opponents.

The programme of reforms planned by the Young Ethiopians in no way affected the feudal order and aimed at preserving the rule of the landlords. The Young Ethiopians merely wanted to eliminate the feudal political fragmentation, to centralise state power and to mitigate the sharpest forms of social oppression in order to accelerate the country's economic and cultural development.

The opposite group was made up of conservative circles of the big secular landlords and the clergy,[3] who relied on the subsistence economy. Advocating the preservation of the purely formal outward state unity established by Menelik, they vehemently denied the need for any change. In contrast to Tafari Makonnen and his group, the feudal reactionary forces supported Empress Zauditu. They held all the important ministerial posts and they also exercised power in many provinces, especially in the northern part of the country. Making use of their position in the central government and in the localities, the leaders of the reactionary forces bitterly resisted the reforms demanded by the regent and the Young Ethiopians.

[2] Tafari Makonnen was the son of the famous Ethiopian general Ras Makonnen, who took part in the Italo-Ethiopian War of 1895-1896. (*Ras* is the highest military feudal title in Ethiopia; rases were usually the rulers of provinces and army commanders.)

[3] The churches and monasteries owned big tracts of land all over the country.

Gradually the relationship of forces changed in favour of the Young Ethiopians. The economic shifts in the country made reforms all the more imperative. These shifts were reflected in foreign trade, which increased more than 18-fold between 1917 and 1928 (from £0.5 million to £9.2 million). This expansion was undermining the mainstays of the subsistence economy, promoting the development of commodity-money relations and the growth of the social forces which formed the backbone of the Young Ethiopian movement.

The development of the commodity economy and the penetration of foreign capital were accompanied by heavier oppression of the working people. The greater the feudal and imperialist exploitation, the deeper and keener was the dissatisfaction of the people with the existing system. In Ethiopia, as in other African countries, the new historical epoch ushered in by the October Revolution was marked by growing activity of the people. There was considerable unrest among soldiers in 1918: they demanded the dismissal and arrest of members of the government, which consisted mainly of representatives of the conservative elements. Unrest also spread among the peasantry. In this atmosphere, the demand for reforms voiced by the Young Ethiopians from "above" was to a certain extent supported by society's "lower" strata. At the same time, the ruling classes could utilise reforms as a means for preserving the feudal system. Partial reforms were expected to lessen the dissatisfaction of the masses and prevent a more serious social conflict.

Owing to the resistance of the Zauditu group, the reforms contemplated by the Young Ethiopians were effected very slowly and irresolutely. The only important reform was the restriction of slavery. As a matter of fact, the first steps along these lines were made as far back as the mid-19th century under Theodore II, when the slave trade was prohibited. In 1889, Menelik II issued a decree prohibiting the enslavement of anyone except war prisoners. Moreover, for the latter the term of slavery was limited to seven years.

In 1918 and 1923-1924, new decrees directed against the slave trade were issued. Of particular importance was the 1924 decree, laying down severe punishment for persons engaged in slave traffic. The local authorities, from the governor to the village elders, who failed to take measures to combat the slave trade, were to be fined, dismissed from office and all their property was to be confiscated.

The 1924 decree also restricted the institution of slavery as such. It enumerated the categories of slaves who were to be freed and laid down the conditions and procedure of their emancipation. But these were formulated in such a way that the emancipation of slaves could be dragged out for many years. [4] Yet even this law incensed conservative Ethiopian landlords and the church, which owned most of the slaves.

[4] Slaves whose owners were repeatedly convicted of ill treatment of slaves were freed by special courts; the right to emancipation was given to slaves who had received an education or had served in the army and fought in battles; slaves had to be freed seven years after the death of their master, etc.

The struggle between the supporters of Tafari Makonnen and those of Zauditu became especially acute in the second half of the 1920's when, following the death of War Minister Habta Giorgis (1926), the regent assumed control of the royal armed forces, which noticeably reinforced his positions.

In 1928, Tafari Makonnen, with the support of the army, crushed two rebellions organised by the Zauditu group. In September 1928, he was awarded the title of negus, the highest in the country (after the emperor). Empress Zauditu was actually shorn of all power, but the armed struggle between her supporters and the Young Ethiopians did not end. In 1930, another rebellion against the negus was staged by supporters of Zauditu headed by Gugsa Wallié, former husband of the empress. The rebel feudal elements succeeded in winning over a part of the peasantry, but this uprising too was crushed. In November 1930, after Zauditu's death, Tafari Makonnen became Emperor Haile Selassie I of Ethiopia.

Changes in the leadership of the Ethiopian church were also of great importance for the country. Formerly, all bishops, except one, were Egyptian, and they were appointed by the Patriarch of Alexandria, the supreme head of the Coptic Church. This enabled British imperialism, which dominated Egypt, to interfere in Ethiopia's domestic affairs. In 1929, an agreement was reached with Egypt under which the patriarch preserved the right to appoint only the Ethiopian archbishop, the Abuna, while all the bishops were elected from among the local clergy. [5]

Ethiopia in the First Half of the 1930's. Despite some changes in the country's economic life, Ethiopia remained a poorly developed agrarian country. On the eve of the Italo-Ethiopian War of 1935-1936, the manufacturing industry was represented chiefly by semi-handicraft enterprises (flour mills, oil mills, sawmills, soap factories, etc.). A factory for the manufacture of tropical helmets was built shortly before the war. There were also a small weaving mill, a rope factory and a brewery in Addis Ababa, and other minor establishments.

The extractive industry (production of platinum, gold, nitrates and mica) was a little more developed, but even in this sector the scale of production was small. Most of the mining concessions (9 out of 13) were held by foreign monopolies. In particular, the Italian Prasso Co. held the biggest concessions for mining platinum and gold in West Ethiopia. Subsequently, it sold part of the shares to the French.

There was almost no national industrial bourgeoisie. The bourgeois class was growing chiefly in the sphere of trade, even though

[5] Subsequently, the Ethiopian Church became fully autocephalous. Since 1950, the Abuna has been elected by the Ethiopian clergy.

foreign trade was almost fully controlled by foreign companies, and also Indians, Arabs, Armenians and Greeks living in Ethiopia. A small number of workers were employed at factories and the Addis Ababa-Jibuti Railway, owned by foreign (French) capital.

Ethiopia, as the other African countries, was affected by the world economic crisis of 1929-1933. It reduced the demand for many Ethiopian agricultural commodities. The export of livestock was cut to a mere fraction and the export of ivory and gum tragacanth was almost completely stopped. The drop in prices of farm produce on the world market with a simultaneous depreciation of Ethiopian currency, the silver thaler, struck heavy blows at the country's economy. Although the export of some agricultural commodities (hides, wax and especially coffee) even increased during the crisis years, the export receipts remained at the old level. On the other hand, the imports of manufactured goods and foodstuffs (textiles, sugar, rice, durra and others) dropped sharply, but the total value of imports did not change.

The burden of the crisis was shouldered by the people. To preserve their incomes, the landlords increased the feudal duties and corvée. The foreign monopolies, which dictated the prices of exports and imports, also robbed the people more intensively. All this greatly impoverished the mass of the peasantry and artisans. The condition of the workers was sharply worsened by the drop in real wages.

On the whole, the crisis retarded the country's economic growth, slow as it had been, and increased its dependence on foreign capital.

Reforms of the Government of Haile Selassie I. The new emperor undertook to carry out reforms. Although his economic and social changes did not substantially alter the condition of the working people, some of them could have stimulated economic activity were it not for the Italian intervention in 1935. Of greatest importance in the economic sphere was the conversion of the Bank of Abyssinia into a national bank by redeeming the banking concession granted to the British as far back as 1905.

A monetary reform was effected and measures were taken to put in order the taxation system and reduce internal excise duties. The building of highways was extended. The government tried to advance agriculture through the propaganda of modern cultivation methods, the organisation of model estates and farms, the payment of bonuses to the owners of the best farms, etc.

In the social sphere, the policy of restricting slavery was continued. The law of 1931 provided for the immediate freeing of slaves after the death of their master. The law of 1935 abolished slavery "in principle" (the actual abolition of slavery had to pass through a number of stages). Data relating to the first half of the 1930's shows a gradual increase in the number of freed slaves (in 1933, 1427 slaves were freed and in 1934, 3,647). On the whole, emancipation proceeded slowly; this was due both to the irresolution of the

government and the resistance of the slave owners—secular feudal elements, the church, merchants and government officials.

The reform of the feudal institutions was even less effective. In this sphere, the Young Ethiopians confined themselves to decreeing (again "in principle") the abolition of the *gabar* system (May 1935). In 1935, it was practically abolished only in Maji Province. Even before that (in 1932) the *dergo* system was annulled.

The most important reforms early in the 1930's were effected in the political and administrative spheres. A constitution was introduced in Ethiopia for the first time in 1931. It had a progressive feature: it was based on the principle of the unity of the state, and strove to put an end to feudal separatist tendencies and create a uniform system of administration. At the same time the constitution consolidated the power of the emperor as the absolute monarch who in effect was fully independent of Parliament.

The constitution deprived both chambers of Parliament (the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate) of legislative authority. In effect, the activity of Parliament was confined to approving the bills submitted by the emperor. Parliament actually was not a representative body. Senators were appointed by the emperor from among the highest government officials and army officers. The lower chamber was elected by the nobility and representatives of the local authorities and its composition, too, was practically determined by the emperor.

Steps were taken to build up a centralised modern army. The government invited a Belgian military mission to direct the army's reorganisation; the first Ethiopian fliers were trained, an airfield was built and a few military planes were bought.

The Young Ethiopian movement facilitated the country's cultural progress. Specifically, between 1918 and 1935 the monopoly position of the church in school education was to a certain extent undermined. At the beginning of the 1930's, there were 30 secular elementary and secondary schools in the country. The first printing-houses were established in the 1920's. Belles-lettres and scientific literature by Ethiopian authors were published in the Amharic language.

Aggression of Fascist Italy. Italo-Ethiopian War of 1935-1936. Ethiopia's development was interrupted by the piratical attack of fascist Italy. During the entire period after the First World War, Ethiopia was the object of bitter rivalry between France, which enjoyed preferential influence there (especially after building the Addis Ababa-Jibuti Railway), Italy and Britain. In November 1919, immediately after the Versailles Conference, Italy suggested to Britain to pool forces in order to paralyse France's resistance and bring joint diplomatic pressure to bear on Ethiopia with the object of wresting important concessions from her government. Italy wanted to gain decisive influence in western Ethiopia, intending to build there a railway linking Eritrea with Italian Somaliland. In her turn, Italy promised to help Britain get a concession for the building of a dam

on the Blue Nile (at Lake Tana) and a highway linking the dam area with the Sudan, which would give British imperialism greater control over the economy of the countries in the Nile basin. At that time Britain, not wishing to share the "Ethiopian pie" with Italy and fearing a conflict with France, turned down this offer.

But in 1925 Britain and Italy (this time on the initiative of Britain, which had failed to carry out her plans in Ethiopia) concluded an agreement on spheres of influence in Ethiopia, based on the Italian 1919 plan. This agreement was frustrated by the firm opposition of the Ethiopian Government and also by France's resistance.

Subsequently, Italian fascism began intensively to prepare for war on Ethiopia. Early in the 1930's, Italy concentrated large forces equipped with the latest armaments in Eritrea and Italian Somaliland.

In 1934 and 1935, the Italians provoked several border clashes with Ethiopia. A very peculiar incident occurred on December 5, 1934, in the Walwal oasis where a real battle was fought between an Italian detachment and a detachment of Ethiopian troops who were protecting a mixed Anglo-Ethiopian commission for the demarcation of pastures between Ogaden (Ethiopia) and British Somaliland. Ethiopia proposed that the conflict be settled through arbitration. Italy refused to submit the issue to arbitration, intending to utilise the Walwal incident and other border clashes as a pretext for attacking Ethiopia.

The Italian plans were facilitated by the stand of the Western powers, France above all. On January 7, 1935, French Foreign Minister Laval signed an agreement with Mussolini in Rome designed to ensure French imperialism Italy's support in face of the keener Franco-German contradictions. It also provided for Italy's renunciation of claims on Tunisia and other French colonies in Africa. Officially, France "compensated" Italy by ceding 20 per cent of the shares of the Addis Ababa-Jibuti Railway and small plots of the territory of French Somaliland and French Equatorial Africa (on the border with Libya). But simultaneously Laval made a secret pledge, not incorporated in the text of the agreement, namely, not to hinder Italian domination over Ethiopia. Britain was informed about the Italo-French compact against Ethiopia, but she merely insisted on preserving her right of control over Lake Tana. The neutrality act, adopted by the U.S. Congress in August 1935, likewise eased fascist aggression in Ethiopia. It prohibited the delivery of American weapons to the belligerent countries, irrespective of whether they were the aggressor or the victim of aggression. This deprived Ethiopia, badly in need of armaments, of the opportunity to buy them in the United States.

On the night of October 2, 1935, Italian troops stationed in Eritrea and Somaliland invaded Ethiopia. The government of Haile Selassie I immediately appealed for aid to the League of Nations. (Ethiopia had been a member of the League of Nations since 1923.) The Soviet Union took a firm stand in defence of Ethiopia's independence and it was supported by most members of the League of Nations. On October 7, 1935, the Council of the League adopted the report of the Committee of Six, which had concluded that the Italian Government had resorted to war contrary to its obligations under Article 12 of the League of Nations Covenant. This called for the application of Article 16 of the Covenant on sanctions against the aggressor.

But the imperialist powers, Britain included, sabotaged the application of sanctions against Italy. Moreover, on December 9, 1935, Britain and France concluded the Hoare-Laval plan on the division of Ethiopia. According to this plan, Ethiopia had to cede to Italy the eastern part of Ogaden Province and Tigre and also Danakil Region. In return, Ethiopia was promised the port of Assab for which she had to pay compensation. Britain intended to offer the Ethiopian Government the money needed for this purpose, expecting to establish financial control over Ethiopia. Central Ethiopia was to be placed under the control of the League of Nations advisers—representatives of Britain, France and Italy. The Hoare-Laval plan aroused the indignation of democratic opinion in many countries, Britain and France included. For its part, the Ethiopian Government categorically rejected this plan.

The working people of the world came out in defence of Ethiopia. Communists of South Africa, Algeria, Tunisia, Egypt, Syria, Palestine, Iraq and Italy published a declaration in defence of Ethiopia, in which they called upon "the broad masses of supporters of peace, without distinction of their party beliefs or the organisations to which they adhere, to develop and strengthen this rising movement against war and for the support of the independence of Abyssinia". Active struggle against fascist aggression in Ethiopia was launched by the International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers and progressive Negro organisations in the United States.

The war of the Ethiopian people profoundly affected the moulding of the political consciousness of the people in Africa and Asia. Ethiopia Defence Committees were set up in many countries, mass demonstrations were held; money, medicines and food were collected for Ethiopia. Detachments of volunteers to help Ethiopia were organised in South Africa, Egypt, Syria and a number of other countries. Dockers in Cape Town, Durban and Lüderitz refused to load Italian ships.

The people of the Soviet Union followed with warm sympathy the all-out struggle of Ethiopia against the Italian invaders and rendered the Ethiopian people considerable material aid through the Soviet Red Cross. The Soviet Government consistently worked for the application of effective sanctions against fascist Italy, exposed the colonial, predatory nature of the war and laid bare the essence of the appeasement policy pursued by the Western powers as a policy of encouraging fascist aggression. "The imperialist forces which were out to destroy our freedom were roundly condemned by the Soviet

Union," Emperor Haile Selassie I stated at a reception in the Kremlin on June 30, 1959.

The war of independence engendered a great patriotic upsurge in Ethiopia. Soldiers and guerrillas fought heroically. But the invader's tremendous superiority in armament made itself felt. The command of the Italian fascist forces employed the most inhuman methods of warfare, including poison gas. Although Italy did not succeed in carrying out the plan for the swift capture of Ethiopia, her troops kept advancing. In May 1936, they entered Addis Ababa. The Mussolini Government incorporated Ethiopia in the "Italian East African Empire". Haile Selassie I had to leave the country. In exile he informed the League of Nations that he had set up a Provisional Ethiopian Government in Gore, Western Ethiopia. This government, headed by Ras Imru, waged a defensive war up to the end of 1936. In southern Ethiopia, the troops headed by Ras Desta fought up to the beginning of 1937, when Desta was taken prisoner and executed.

Italy's seizure of Ethiopia was recognised by Germany, Albania, Austria and Hungary at the end of 1936, by Japan in 1937 and by Britain, France, Turkey and other countries in 1938. The U.S.S.R. was one of the few states which did not recognise the fascist conquest of Ethiopia. Moreover, it continued the struggle in defence of Ethiopia after her temporary occupation. In particular, at the 101st meeting of the Council of the League of Nations, the head of the Soviet delegation categorically objected to recognition of Ethiopia's seizure demanded by some Western powers.

Struggle Against Italian Occupation. Launching the Ethiopian war, Italy harboured extensive plans for the development of the future colony. The Italian imperialists wanted to seize the country's mineral wealth, confiscate the best lands and settle 500,000 Italian families there. The fascists expected to turn Ethiopia into a strategic base.

The Italian occupation inflicted immeasurable suffering on Ethiopia's population. According to incomplete official estimates, more than 400,000 people were killed, up to 300,000 died from starvation and 35,000 perished in concentration camps during occupation. But the atrocities of the colonialists could not crush the resistance of the people, and the armed struggle did not abate for a single day. Guerrillas operated in many parts of the country, attacking Italian detachments and destroying roads and telegraph lines. The rule of the invaders was confined to the bigger towns and the railway line. To settle 500,000 Italian families was out of the question because the first settlers, as a fascist newspaper admitted, had to work with a spade in one hand and a rifle in the other. Part of the settlers returned to Italy before long. Ethiopian peasants cut the sown area, refused to sell foodstuffs to the invaders and, instead of exporting food, the Italians had to import it to Ethiopia to feed their large army.

The Italian colonial authorities did everything to disunite the

peoples of Ethiopia: they set the Tigrais and the Galla against the Amhara, the Somalis against the Danakil and fomented religious strife between Muslims and Christians. But their attempts were futile. On the contrary, the struggle against the Italian invaders helped unite the peoples.

A new stage in the liberation struggle of the Ethiopian people began in the course of the Second World War when the Allied troops in East Africa took to the offensive. Guerrilla detachments in north Ethiopia stepped up their operations. In January 1941, a detachment of 2,000 men headed by Haile Selassie I entered the territory of Ethiopia from the Sudan. Its ranks were swiftly swelled, chiefly by guerrillas and former soldiers of the regular army. Simultaneously, the Allied forces, consisting mainly of African and Indian soldiers, were advancing from the north and the south-east. In April 1941, after the suburbs of Addis Ababa had been cleared of Italians by Ethiopian guerrillas, the capital was occupied by British forces. On May 5, 1941, Ethiopian units entered Addis Ababa. This date is now celebrated as Liberation Day in Ethiopia. The Italian invaders were completely driven out of the country towards the end of 1941.

Taking advantage of the presence of their troops, the British tried to entrench themselves in Ethiopia. British forces remained there after the end of the Second World War and it was only in 1954 that the Ethiopian Government, following repeated demands, succeeded in reaching an agreement with Britain on the withdrawal of all her forces from the country.

The question of uniting Ethiopia and Eritrea was raised as far back as the wartime. After the liberation of Ethiopia from Italian occupation, a Unionist Party was formed in Eritrea, advocating the reunion of both countries, which had been closely linked historically.

The 5th Session of the U.N. General Assembly in 1950 took a decision on the joining of Eritrea to Ethiopia along federal lines in 1952.

The federal status of Eritrea was preserved up to November 14, 1962, when the Eritrean Assembly passed a resolution on its abolition and complete integration with Ethiopia. The next day a similar resolution was passed by the Ethiopian Parliament.

Mention should be made of the fact that a separatist movement has arisen in Eritrea Province of Ethiopia. The separatists demand a referendum under international control.

The border question still remains unsettled between Ethiopia and her neighbour, the Somali Republic. Differences on this issue create a certain strain between these countries. In February 1964, they led to armed clashes on the Ethiopia-Somali border. Thanks to the active intervention of the Organisation of African Unity, a Somali-Ethiopian agreement was signed in Khartoum on March 30, 1964, on a cease-fire and the withdrawal of the troops for 10-15 km. on both sides of the border. Nevertheless, border incidents occurred from time to time. Relations between Ethiopia and the Somali Republic improv-

ed in the autumn of 1967. Following talks between government delegations, understanding was reached concerning measures to resolve differences between the two countries.

Socio-Economic and Cultural Development after the Country's Liberation. The expulsion of the Italian occupation forces was marked by greater political activity of the people and a number of important reforms. In 1942, the government issued new decrees on the freeing of slaves and the prohibition of slavery. As a result, slavery had been abolished by the 1950's. But part of the former slaves had to remain with their former owners as dependent peasants, agricultural labourers or domestic servants.

The reorganisation of the country's administrative structure and the army, effected simultaneously with the abolition of slavery, undermined the foundations of the *gabar* system. The decrees of 1942 and 1944 instituted fixed salaries for government officials and servicemen, payable from the state treasury.

The taxation system was reformed in 1944. A money tax was levied not only on cultivated but also on unused land. This affected the interests of the landlords, especially in the central and southern regions, where they held large tracts of uncultivated land. Some of them sold these lands to prosperous peasants who employed hired labour; others, finding no buyers, had to turn over part of their land to the state to avoid paying the tax. Lastly, in several instances, feudal landowners extended the cultivated area, resorting to hired labour, and gradually turned into agricultural entrepreneurs. This process of bourgeoisification is characteristic only of secular landowners. In regions where church landownership prevails, the clergy tenaciously cling to the feudal forms of exploiting the peasantry and offer every resistance to social reforms.

These reforms, which have promoted capitalist relations, have not essentially altered the position of the peasantry. The overwhelming majority of the peasants have little or no land at all, they suffer from feudal and semi-feudal oppression and the arbitrary actions of the landlords and the local authorities. Land rent is set by the landlord and, as a rule, ranges from one-fourth to three-fourths of the crop. The peasants perform various services free of charge for the landlord, tax collector and governor of the district. As a result, there are frequent cases when the peasants fall into bondage of a moneylender and, subsequently, are imprisoned for failing to pay their debts.

Hence, it was natural that the peasant movement gained momentum after the war. In 1950, peasants of Gojam Province rose up to fight against the feudal elements, and the government sent troops to crush them. In 1959, peasant disturbances flared up in southern Ethiopia.

To lessen the dissatisfaction of the peasantry, the Ethiopian Government made preparations for a land reform and set up a special committee for this purpose. Local committees were formed in the

provinces to allot plots of state land to land-hungry peasants and distribute the money loans assigned by the government. In 1961, the emperor issued a decree on the distribution of part of the state lands in Arussi Province among peasants tilling these lands, provided they pay a special fee for formalising their ownership of the plots. No information is available so far as to how this decree has been implemented.

A land reform bill was discussed in Parliament at the end of 1964 and early in 1965. The bill stipulated that maximum rent should not exceed 50 per cent of the crop. The maximum was to be paid only in cases when the tenant used the landowner's oxen for tilling the soil and received seed grain from him. The landowners were prohibited to pay their own taxes at the expense of the peasants. The people were in favour of the bill. Student demonstrations were held in Addis Ababa in February 1965. Although the Chamber of Deputies passed the bill, the Senate voted it down. In the spring of 1966, the land reform committee was reconstituted into a ministry, but so far there have been no essential changes in this sphere.

Two state farms have been organised in Ethiopia to provide land to ex-soldiers. Soldiers discharged from the army receive remuneration for work in these farms. It is planned that after the money spent for developing these farms has been recouped, the land will be distributed among the settlers. The government is also taking measures to improve the implements and methods of cultivation. Work along these lines is carried on by agricultural colleges in Ambo, Jimma and Alemaya near Harar. A plough with an iron share has been generally introduced, whereas formerly it was used mainly in the central and northern regions. But the hoe has been preserved as an auxiliary implement. As for agricultural machines, they are rare even on the estates of the bourgeoisified landlords and are used chiefly at state experimental farms.

Some changes in industry and trade occurred after the war. Several large manufacturing enterprises have been built—textile mills in Addis Ababa, Akaki, Bahr Dar, Asmara, Diredawa and sugar refineries in Wonji, Shoa and elsewhere. A big hydro-electric station on the Awash River near Addis Ababa was commissioned in the summer of 1960. It supplies electric power to the country's industrial enterprises. Two more stations are going up on the Awash. An oil refinery in Assab has been commissioned.

The country's foreign trade increased more than eight-fold from 1945 to 1966. (In 1945 it amounted to 74.3 million Ethiopian dollars [6] and in 1966, to 665.2 million.) But the share of industry in the national income remains insignificant, and only 3 per cent of the gainfully occupied population are engaged in industry, transport, crafts, construction and trade.

Efforts to plan economic development have been made in Ethio-

[6] A new currency, the Ethiopian dollar, was introduced in 1945.

pia in recent years. In 1957, a five-year economic development plan was launched, but it was carried out only in part. The accumulated experience, however, has made it possible to formulate a broader, 20-year programme of economic development. Its initial stage was the second five-year plan (1963-1967). It provided for a substantial growth in the productivity of agriculture (above all, by introducing modern machinery and encouraging cooperation), the building of a number of chemical factories, preparatory work for the development of the country's first iron and steel works, including iron ore mines, power stations, a steel mill, a foundry, etc. It was expected that 76 per cent of the investments would be provided by national capital and 24 per cent by foreign capital. In its economic policy the government is supporting private enterprise, promoting the growth of the national bourgeoisie in industry, agriculture and trade. By organising mixed (state-private) enterprises with the participation of foreign firms, the government attracts national capital. This was the case when building an Indo-Ethiopian textile mill in Akaki, a Dutch-Ethiopian sugar refinery in Wonji and a meat-packing plant in Akaki (where part of the invested capital belongs to a French firm and the rest to the Ethiopian state and Ethiopian entrepreneurs).

Penetration of Ethiopian industry by foreign capital, above all American, greatly increased after the war. In 1945, the Sinclair Oil Corporation, a U.S. monopoly, received a 50-year oil concession. In 1959, the operation of this concession was terminated and at the end of the same year West German firms received a 50-year concession for working the oil resources. Several American companies have received concessions for prospecting and extracting gold and other minerals. U.S. capital has captured important positions in the building of roads, communication lines and Ethiopia's air transport. In 1964, a French company won a contract for building two power stations on the Awash. French capital also participates in the construction of the Nazareth-Dilla Railway; Dutch capital is making inroads in the sugar industry, British and Belgian, in the textile industy, and Japanese capital, in the paper and chemical industries.

The growth of industry and the greater employment of hired labour in the countryside have somewhat increased the number of industrial and agricultural workers. The working class has also gained in strength organisationally. In 1947, Ethiopian railwaymen organised a union and staged big strikes in 1947, 1949 and 1954. In 1961, workers of the Wonji sugar refinery organised a union. In April 1962, workers of the Darmar shoe factory declared a strike.

Under the pressure of the working-class movement, the government in September 1962 promulgated laws on the employment of workers and on labour relations. The first law envisages measures to combat unemployment, in particular, the centralised provision of manpower to private industrial, trading, agricultural and other establishments. Employment offices were set up in the provinces and a Central Employment Office, in Addis Ababa. The law on labour relations

gave factory and office workers the right to organise trade unions and paved the way to the legal solution of labour conflicts. But the same law allows employers to unite in associations and to resort to lockouts. At the end of 1962, there were nine unions, while at the end of 1964 their number exceeded 50. They formed the National Trade Union Confederation, which has more than 20,000 members. Its leadership affiliated with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. The organisation of unions has promoted the growth of the class consciousness of the Ethiopian workers. The number of strikes has increased considerably in recent years.

The country's state structure has been democratised to some extent. Under the new constitution, adopted in November 1955, members of the Chamber of Deputies are elected by universal suffrage and secret ballot (the senators, as hitherto, are appointed by the emperor).

The first parliamentary elections in the country's history, held in September and October 1957, considerably enhanced the people's political consciousness. Questions agitating the masses, above all the land reform, were discussed during the election campaign. It is significant that the programme put forward by the leaders of the abortive uprising in Addis Ababa in December 1960 demanded an abolition of feudalism and a land reform.

The system of parliamentary interpellations was introduced in 1966. Steps are being taken to set up parliamentary groups. In March 1966, certain changes were introduced in the structure of the executive: the cabinet is now formed by the prime minister and not by the emperor. The granting of certain autonomy to the provinces is contemplated.

Ethiopia has made considerable progress in culture. Italian occupation inflicted as much damage on culture as on the economy. The secular schools were closed down and many teachers were killed or imprisoned. After liberation, the educational system had to be built up practically from scratch. Between 1942 and 1966, more than 1,000 state elementary and secondary schools were opened. They are attended by about 300,000 pupils, but this is not more than 5 per cent of all school-age children. Instruction in elementary schools is in Amharic, the country's official language. In elementary schools of Eritrea instruction is given in Tigrinya (spoken by the Tigrai nationality comprising the majority of the population here) and partly in Arabic.

Alongside general educational schools, vocational secondary schools have been set up. The opening of a University College in Addis Ababa in 1950 laid the foundation for higher education in Ethiopia. Several more colleges were subsequently organised—engineering, building, agriculture and mechanical arts, and medicine. In December 1961, all of them were combined in the university named after Haile Selassie I. In 1966, this university had a student body of more than 4,000. In 1967, a university was opened in Asmara. Some

1,000 Ethiopians study in other countries, including Soviet universities and institutes. An Institute of Ethiopian Studies has been organised at Addis Ababa University. The National Library in Addis Ababa has become a major cultural centre. An art school and five-year courses for training actors (at the local theatre) have been opened in the capital. Ethiopian writers have formed an association of their own. All these developments have contributed to the progress of national culture, which plays a big part in the crystallisation of the Ethiopian nation and national consciousness.

Foreign Policy. Britain, whose troops were stationed for a long time on Ethiopian territory, greatly increased her influence in the country during the Second World War. Ethiopia's difficulties were utilised by U.S. capital for making inroads in her economy. The Ethiopian Government, for its part, sought to employ American support to weaken the British positions. It expected U.S. capital to assist Ethiopia in developing her economy, but these hopes were not realised. The United States exploited "aid" to Ethiopia, just as to other countries, for directly opposite ends, namely, to entangle the country and subordinate it to its influence. In 1951, Washington concluded a treaty of friendship and economic cooperation with Ethiopia and in 1953, a mutual defence agreement. From 1946 to 1961, Ethiopia received from the United States about $125 million in the form of loans and donations and became largely dependent on the U.S. monopolies. This aroused considerable dissatisfaction among the country's progressive opinion and compelled the government, despite resistance by the reactionary elements of the ruling class, to extend contacts with the socialist countries (the U.S.S.R., Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and others).

Economic and trade relations between Ethiopia and the socialist countries, which unselfishly support Ethiopia in her effort to strengthen national independence and advance the economy and culture, are developing on a different basis than with the imperialist powers. A Soviet-Ethiopian trade and economic agreement was signed in July 1959 during the official visit of Emperor Haile Selassie I to the U.S.S.R. The Soviet Union gave Ethiopia long-term credits to the amount of 90 million roubles, at a low interest rate, for the development of industry and agriculture. Soviet organisations assisted Ethiopia in geological prospecting. In the summer of 1962, a contract was signed for designing and building an oil refinery in Assab with an annual throughput of 500,000 tons of crude oil. The refinery was commissioned in 1967. Czechoslovakia has also given Ethiopia credits of 24.5 million Ethiopian dollars for ten years and Bulgaria, 12.5 million Ethiopian dollars.

Soviet-Ethiopian cooperation in the health services and culture is growing. A big group of Soviet doctors had been working at the hospital in Ethiopia since 1947. A polytechnical institute for 1,000 students, a gift of the Soviet Union to the Ethiopian people, was opened in Bahr Dar in 1963. A regular exchange of scientists and art workers, books, etc., was organised under the 1960 cultural cooperation agreement between the two countries. A permanent exhibition was opened in the Ethiopian capital in 1945 by the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries. An exhibition of the works of Soviet artists was arranged in Addis Ababa in 1960. Ethiopian paintings were on show in Moscow in 1961, the works of Afewerk Tekle in 1964 and the works of Gebre Kristos Desta, in 1967.

The visit of Emperor Haile Selassie I to the Soviet Union in February 1967 was an important landmark in the development of Soviet-Ethiopian relations.

Cultural relations between Ethiopia and Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and other socialist countries are steadily being extended.

Ethiopia is taking an active part in international affairs, pursuing a policy of positive neutrality. Like many other African states, she is not associated with the European Common Market. The Ethiopian Government works for African unity and the complete abolition of colonialism. Ethiopian delegates participated in Afro-Asian solidarity conferences and African people's conferences. Ethiopia was one of the sponsors and active participants of the conference of heads of government of the independent African states held in Addis Ababa in 1963—an important stage in the struggle for the unity of the African peoples and the complete abolition of colonial regimes on the African continent. The U.N. Economic Commission for Africa set up its headquarters in Addis Ababa in 1958, and the Organisation of African Unity, in 1963.

SOMALILAND

The imperialist division of Africa at the turn of the century led to the partition of Somaliland. Three colonies were formed on its territory: British Somaliland, French Somaliland and Italian Somaliland. Part of the territory inhabited by Somalis was ceded to the British colony of Kenya.[1] But the Somali people did not submit to the colonialists. Despite the numerous punitive expeditions, the liberation movement headed by Muhammad Abdullah Hassan, far from subsiding, gained in strength. Different strata took part in it: nomad stock herders, peasants, part of the feudalised tribal top group, the Muslim theologians and the incipient trading bourgeoisie. A national Somali state began to emerge in the interior areas of Somaliland on the eve of the First World War. Muhammad Abdullah Hassan, Haji Sadi, Ibrahim Bogol and other leaders of the liberation movement succeeded in building up an integrated military and political organisation. Economic life on a countrywide scale began to take shape.

After the First World War, the normal development of the young Somali state was interrupted. Britain launched vigorous offensive operations in Somaliland, sending considerable land and air forces against the insurgents. The fortresses of the Somalis in Medishe and Taleh were subjected to fierce bombing. Haji Sadi, Ibrahim Bogol and other comrades-in-arms of Muhammad Abdullah Hassan perished in the battle of Fort Baran. Muhammad Abdullah Hassan, after the seizure of Taleh in February 1920, fled to the Ethiopian province of Ogaden and died shortly afterwards. But the struggle in Somaliland continued for a few more months, with Italian troops also taking part in crushing the rebellion. The punitive detachments employed tanks and planes. Between 1925 and 1927, there were large-scale anti-imperialist actions on the territory of Italian Somaliland; here, too, the insurgents fought stubbornly against the colonialists' land and naval forces.

Imperialist rule doomed the Somalis to economic and cultural backwardness. The three zones of Somaliland remained purely agricultural areas with predominant nomad stock-raising. Livestock, hides, skins and also bananas, cotton and salt were the main export items. Manufactured goods and even considerable quantities of foodstuffs were imported. Industry was in an embryonic state. It consisted chiefly of small manufacturing establishments: a sugar refinery, a cotton ginnery, a vegetable oil mill, a salt-works, etc.

The colonialists saddled the people with heavy taxes and introduced a system of forced labour in building ports and highways. In Italian Somaliland, the colonialists expropriated land from the local population on a large scale and set up big plantations (banana, sugar-cane, cotton, sesame seed and groundnuts), on which forced labour was employed. For the British and the French imperialists, Somaliland was important only for its strategic location on sea lanes from Europe to Asia and East Africa. That is why they invested money primarily in the building of ports. The slave trade was preserved in all the three colonies.

The Somalis were deprived of all rights. All business in government institutions was conducted in European languages incomprehensible to the majority of the population. Instruction in the few state and missionary schools was in Italian, English or French.

The Somali people preserved their original culture in bitter struggle against the colonialists. Uwais ibn Muhammad al-Barawi, outstanding Somali poet, wrote poems in the native language, using the Arabic alphabet. In the 1920's, Isman Yusuf Kenadid tried to create a Somali alphabet, Osmaniya. Another scholar, Abdurahman Sheikh Nur, subsequently invented the Gadabursi writing. But Somalis who used the national written language were persecuted and frequently even imprisoned.

In the Second World War, when Allied forces launched an offensive in East Africa in 1941, Somalis took an active part in fighting the Italian forces. But the expulsion of the Italian colonialists did not bring the people freedom. From 1941 to 1949, the entire territory, except the French colony, was administered by the British.

The future of the former Italian colonies, including Italian Somaliland, was to be decided after the end of the war. Britain harboured a plan for joining former Italian Somaliland to the British Somaliland protectorate. The firm stand taken by the Soviet Union in the Council of Foreign Ministers of the Four Powers and in the United Nations prevented London from realising its scheme. In November 1949, the 4th session of the U.N. General Assembly decided to place former Italian Somaliland under the trusteeship of Italy for a term of ten years and to grant it independence in 1960. The Soviet Union, upholding the interests of the Somali people, demanded the early political independence of the country. The Somalis, who for a long time had been oppressed by the Italian fascists, protested against Italy's trusteeship; nevertheless, Italian troops were sent into the country.

[1] Some districts where Somalis settled (chiefly Ogaden) were part of the Ethiopian feudal monarchy.

The crystallisation of new social forces in Somaliland was accelerated during and after the war. But even in postwar years, the emerging local bourgeois were mostly small businessmen. The number of workers in industry, transport and construction was limited. Agricultural workers and herdsmen made up the majority of persons working for hire.

The struggle against Italian occupation during the Second World War stirred the masses into action. Political parties were set up for the first time in the country's history. The liberation struggle of the people in the trust territory was headed by the Somali Youth League, founded in 1947. The League, organised on the basis of the Somali Youth Club, which was founded in 1943, united in its ranks tradesmen, artisans and the rising Somali intellectuals. Its programme called for a republic with an elective democratic government, social reforms and abolition of the tribal system. In a number of cases the Somali Youth League entered into a bloc with the Somali Democratic Party, which was close to it in composition and demands. Another party, Hizbia Digil-Mirifle, united Somalis belonging to the Digil and Mirifle tribes. Its membership included local peasants, but the leading part in it was played by the feudalised tribal upper crust. The party called for the establishment of a federal, not a centralised, republic and the preservation of tribal institutions. Subsequently, it was renamed the Independent Constitutional Party. In addition to these three main parties, there were a few more political organisations and groups in the trust territory.

The first trade unions, too, arose during the years of trusteeship. The authorities tried to place the trade union movement under their control. Specifically, it was under their pressure that the leadership of Somali trade unions established ties with the reformist International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

The activities of Somali political parties, the Somali Youth League above all, within the country, their repeated appeals to the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations, and the steady support of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries compelled the administering authority to set up in 1956 a representative body, Legislative Assembly, and a Somali government. In the last years of trusteeship, Italy's functions were gradually confined to matters of foreign policy and defence. The Somali Government took measures to develop farming and stock-raising: new wells and irrigation canals were dug, reservoirs set up and the veterinary service was somewhat improved.

In December 1959, the U.N. General Assembly adopted a resolution on granting the Trust Territory of Somalia independence as of July 1, 1960.

The successes of the national-liberation movement in the trust territory stimulated changes in British Somaliland too. In 1957, a Legislative Council, presided over by the British governor, was formed there. The members of the Council, however, were not elected but

appointed by the governor. Subsequently, the colonial authorities had to make further concessions. In December 1958, they decided that 13 out of the 34 members of the Legislative Council would be elected by the local population. But the Somalis boycotted the elections. Under their pressure, new elections were held in February 1960, at which 33 out of the 36 members were elected by the local population and only 3 were appointed by the governor.

The national-liberation movement in the British protectorate was headed by two of the largest parties, the Somaliland National League and the United Somali Party. Both of them demanded immediate independence and reunification with the trust territory. On April 6, 1960, the new Legislative Council adopted a resolution on the unification of British Somaliland with the Somalia Trust Territory after the latter received independence.

In French Somaliland, a referendum on the new constitution offered by the French Government was held on September 28, 1958. The constitution provided for keeping French Somaliland in the French Community with the status of an overseas territory. The colonial authorities succeeded in getting the new constitution adopted.

Subsequently, the internal political struggle in French Somaliland gained in intensity. Several parties were organised, including the Popular Movement, the Afar Democratic Union, the Afar Democratic Association and the Issa Democratic Union.

In the spring of 1967, the situation grew very tense in view of the forthcoming referendum on the future status of the territory, whether it was to remain part of the French Republic or to gain independence.

The struggle between the political parties which actually arose on an ethnic basis and represented the Afars and Somalis (the Issas are a subdivision of the Somalis) was exacerbated by the contradictions between the neighbouring states of Ethiopia and the Somali Republic, which showed a great interest in the outcome of the referendum.

The majority of the population voted to remain in the French Republic. French Somaliland is now known as the "French territory of the Afars and Issas".

THE SOMALI REPUBLIC

The British protectorate of Somaliland was proclaimed an independent state on June 20, 1960, and the Somalia Trust Territory gained independence on July 1, 1960. The two states then united and formed a new independent African state, the Somali Republic.

The first parliament of the republic, the National Assembly, consisted of members of the Legislative Assembly of the former trust territory and the Legislative Council of the former British protectorate. Adan Abdulle Osman, President of the Legislative Assembly of the trust territory, was elected acting president. The Government of the Somali Republic was made up of representatives of the largest

parties in the two merged territories (the Somali Youth League from the former trust territory and the Somaliland National League and the United Somali Party from the former protectorate).

A referendum on the draft constitution was held in the republic on June 20, 1961. The constitution, approved by an overwhelming majority vote, provides for universal, direct elections (with secret ballot) of the National Assembly which exercises all legislative authority. A government appointed by the president exercises executive authority. The National Assembly re-elected Adan Abdulle Osman president.

As soon as the Somali Republic was formed, its government declared that it would pursue a policy of non-alignment and work for peace.

The Somali Republic has established diplomatic and economic relations with a number of socialist countries and other African, Asian, European and American states. Diplomatic relations between the Somali Republic and the Soviet Union were established in September 1960. In April 1961, a Soviet good will mission visited the republic and in May and early June a Somali good will mission, headed by Prime Minister Abd ar-Rashid Ali Shirmarke, came to the U.S.S.R. Agreements on economic, technical and cultural cooperation and the development of trade between the two countries were concluded during the mission's stay in Moscow.

The Soviet Union, wishing to help the Somali people build up a national economy, gave the republic long-term credits of 40 million roubles on easy conditions and five-year credits of 7 million roubles for buying goods. The Soviet Government also decided to render the Somali Republic free assistance in building two hospitals, a secondary school, a printworks and a radio station, to send doctors and teachers to the country and train Somali personnel in the U.S.S.R. In 1964, the printworks in Mogadisho was commissioned and in 1965, the radio station. A creamery has been built with Soviet assistance and a meat-packing plant, cotton ginnery, tannery, fish cannery, a port and other projects are under construction. Economic and cultural ties of the Somali Republic with Czechoslovakia (in 1961 they concluded economic, trade and cultural agreements) and other socialist countries are growing stronger.

The republic's relations with the imperialist powers are of a different nature. On the pretext of rendering aid, the monopolies of the United States, Italy, West Germany, and other countries are penetrating the country's economy and seeking to place it under their control. Specifically, attempts are made to inveigle the republic into the orbit of the Western powers through the Common Market, of which it became an associate member in 1958.

One of the important problems of foreign policy confronting the republic is to settle in a peaceful way the border and territorial disputes with the neighbouring African countries—Ethiopia and Kenya. Since 1963, armed clashes have repeatedly flared up on the

Kenya-Somali border. In February 1964, an armed clash occurred on the Somali-Ethiopian border. The Soviet Government appealed to the governments of both countries to resolve the conflict in a peaceful way. The Organisation of African Unity played an important part in the effort to normalise relations between Ethiopia and the Somali Republic. A Somali-Ethiopian agreement on a cease-fire and withdrawal of the forces of both sides for 10-15 km. from the border was signed in Khartoum on March 30, 1964. At its session held in Kinshasa in September 1967 the Organisation of African Unity adopted a resolution urging Kenya and the Somali Republic to settle their border dispute in a peaceful way. Right there in Kinshasa, the heads of the delegations of these countries signed a declaration on cooperation in achieving agreement based on mutual respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the two states. Kenya and the Somali Republic reached agreement in Arusha, Tanzania, in October 1967 on the restoration of diplomatic relations. In the autumn of 1967 the governments of the Somali Republic and Ethiopia also held talks and reached understanding on measures for resolving the differences between the two countries.

The home policy of the Somali Government, in which the Somali Youth League is the leading party, is designed above all to eradicate the aftermath of the colonial regime in the economy. A five-year development plan (1963-1967) has been drawn up. The building up of a state sector in the economy and of a national industry are the prime components of the plan. The government is trying to make up for the shortage of capital needed for carrying out the plan by attracting foreign capital, both state and private.

In agriculture, the government is encouraging the production of cotton and various food crops and particularly bananas, inasmuch as the latter are the main export crop. The production of bananas had been a monopoly of Italian capital for a long time, but in recent years the influx of Somali national capital into this branch has noticeably increased. While in 1957 there were 12 banana plantations owned by Somalis, in 1962 their number rose to 196. In 1966, one-third of the banana plantations belonged to Somalis.

The government has restricted the activity of foreign capital in other branches of agriculture too. Prior to 1963, the production of sugar cane was controlled by the Italian SAIS Co. At the end of 1962, the government bought up the company's shares and handed them over to a new company, Società Nazionale Agricola Industriale, in which 50 per cent of the shares are held by the Somali Government and 50 per cent by Italians.

Grain, oil-seed and cotton state farms have been organised with Soviet assistance.

Geological prospecting is conducted in a number of regions. Plans have been drawn up for building textile mills, meat-packing plants, canneries, sugar refineries and chemical factories. The reconstruction of the Kisymayu, Berbera and other ports has been started. The

building of an electric power station is contemplated.

The government has instituted some degree of control over foreign trade and a state monopoly of the import of tobacco products and matches. A national foreign trade company was established in 1962.

Nevertheless, the country's economic situation remains difficult: the government runs short of funds and there is a chronic budget deficit.

Ways for the further development of the republic are being intensively explored. All the leading parties—Somali Youth League, National Socialist Congress (founded in 1963; its old name was the Somali National Congress) and the Somali Democratic Union (founded in 1962)—favour more active interference by the state in the economy. These parties have put forward the slogan of "democratic socialism" though each interprets it in its own way. In particular, the leaders of the Somali Youth League have declared that it means cooperation between the private and the public sectors of the economy. The Somali Democratic Union is one of the most radical organisations in the country. It advocates a land reform, confiscation of foreign property, the establishment of an eight-hour working-day and a swift improvement of the living standard. In foreign policy, it considers it advisable for the republic to orient itself chiefly on the Afro-Asian and socialist countries and insists on more vigorous struggle against neo-colonialism and on the withdrawal of the Somali Republic from the Common Market. A Workers' Revolutionary Socialist Party, founded in the spring of 1967, proclaimed its firm resolve to follow the socialist path.

A number of other parties and groups have also arisen in the republic, many of them representing separate tribes. Tribal tendencies which threaten the unity of the Somali people are voiced above all by the semi-feudal tribal upper crust, which seeks to preserve its privileged positions and prevent the consolidation of the central government. The country's progressive forces roundly denounce tribalism fomented by the imperialists, regarding it as a social ulcer of the Somali society.

At the parliamentary elections held on March 30, 1964, the Somali Youth League won 53 per cent of the votes. The other votes were divided between the National Socialist Congress (24 per cent), the Somali Democratic Union (14 per cent), the Independent Constitutional Party (8 per cent) and some of the smaller political groups. Abd ar-Razaq Haji Husseyn headed the new government formed from members of the Somali Youth League.

On June 10, 1967, Abd ar-Rashid Ali Shirmarke was elected president of the republic. The Husseyn Government resigned and a new government was formed, headed by Muhammad Hadji Ibrahim Egal.

The working-class movement has gained in strength. Somali's biggest trade union centres are the Somali General Confederation of Labour, the General Confederation of Trade Unions and the Confederation of Labour.

The almost total absence of medical aid during colonial rule left the Somali people a hard legacy: widespread tuberculosis, malaria, smallpox and other diseases. The Somali Republic has so far made the first steps in developing the health services. A large hospital (750 beds) was opened in Mogadisho in 1962. In 1964, a tuberculosis hospital in Sheikh and a hospital in Wojide, built by the Soviet Union, were presented as a gift to the Somali Republic. Free medical aid was introduced in the republic at the beginning of 1964.

When the country gained independence, almost the entire rural population was illiterate and the situation was not much better in the towns. The shortage of teachers hinders the development of the school system. The absence of a single national written language also presents serious difficulties. The committee for the development of the Somali language is now engaged in the elaboration of a national alphabet. In the meantime, the Ministry of Education has drawn up a plan for the gradual shifting of tuition in all elementary schools from Italian to English and Arabic.

The number of schools and pupils has risen considerably since independence. The country has its first higher educational establishment, the University College. Socialist countries are rendering big help in the training of teachers and other specialists. In 1966, more than 400 Somalis studied in the U.S.S.R. alone. The country's first higher technical school for 1,000 students will be built with the help of Czechoslovakia.

KENYA, UGANDA, TANZANIA

East African Countries in 1918-1939. Prior to the First World War, Eastern Tropical Africa was divided between the British and German imperialists. The territory of present-day Kenya, Uganda and Zanzibar belonged to Britain and of Tanganyika, to Germany.

In each of these countries the policy of the colonialists had its specific features. In Kenya, where the climate is suitable for the Europeans, the policy of the British Government was to encourage European settlement. Soldiers, administrators, and adventure-farmers obtained from the Crown large tracts of land in the highlands of Kenya. The land laws guaranteed the settlers' rights and the labour laws and regulations provided them with cheap labour. Racial discrimination infused all aspects of life—the administration, economy, education, health services, and so on.

Special areas, known as native reserves, were set aside for Africans. The shortage of arable land in the native reserves, high density of population and heavy taxes forced the Africans to leave the reserves and go to the European farms and large estates. The European settlers became the main producers of export crops—coffee, sisal, tea and pyrethrum. The Mombasa-Kisumu railway was built to handle agricultural exports and to link the Indian Ocean coast with the Kenya Highlands.

In Uganda, which had highly organised state formations (kingdoms) at the time the British arrived there, local feudal elements became the mainstay of the colonialists. The latter preserved the power of the rulers of the kingdoms and tribal chiefs and, moreover, adapted the existing political institutions to the needs of the colonial administration. The position of the feudal class was strengthened by law. Early in the 20th century laws were promulgated replacing state ownership of the land by private feudal ownership in Buganda ("freehold estates", or *mailo* lands) and partly in Ankole, Toro and Bunyoro. In Buganda, 3,700 chiefs and landowners received 46 per cent of the total area of the kingdom. In many cases community lands *(butaka)* were turned over to feudal elements. As a result, part of the peasants became tenants on the land which they formerly held and tilled. Feudal duties were not fixed up to 1927, which afforded large scope for abuses. The lands in the kingdoms which were not "freehold estate" and also the lands in other areas of Uganda were proclaimed Crown land. The peasants had to pay a money tax for the use of this land, which forced them to grow cash crops and to work for hire. There were not many large estates owned by European settlers in Uganda owing to a number of reasons.

In German East Africa, 840,000 hectares of land had been alienated from the local population by 1913 and turned over to some 900 German settlers who organised sisal, cotton and rubber plantations. A railway linked the Indian Ocean coast with Lake Tanganyika and the plantation area at the foot of Mount Kilimanjaro. But in contrast to the British, the German colonialists applied the policy of direct rule. The entire country was divided into districts ruled by German *Kommissars*.

In Zanzibar, the British colonialists preserved the rule of the sultan, subordinating him to a special emissary of the Colonial Office. (The Zanzibar Sultanate included the Island of Pemba and several islets). Most of the land was owned by Arab feudal elements. As for the Africans, they held small plots or worked on plantations owned by Arabs.

Foreign capital controlled all economic life in the East African countries and the local population was a source of cheap labour.

The First World War greatly strengthened the positions of Britain in East Africa. In 1922, most of the former German possessions (except Ruanda, Urundi and the Kionga district) were taken over by Britain on the basis of the League of Nations mandate and were named Tanganyika. Two years earlier, the British authorities changed the status of Kenya. It was proclaimed a colony, which subordinated it even more to Britain. The exception was a narrow coastal strip which, as before, was considered the domain of the Zanzibar sultan. Formally it was called a protectorate and Britain paid an annual rental to the sultan for its possession.

In the interwar period, no essential changes were made in the colonial administration of Kenya, Uganda and Zanzibar. In Tanganyika a system of indirect rule was introduced, similar to the one in the adjacent British territories. In all countries of British East Africa supreme power was exercised by the governors (on Zanzibar, by the resident) appointed by the British Government. To help the governors, Executive Councils from among the leading British officials were set up. To meet the wishes of the white settlers who wanted to participate in the administration Legislative Councils were formed, to which, alongside British officials, representatives of the settlers were appointed. The Legislative Councils protected the interests of the British companies and settlers in East Africa.

In the initial period after the First World War, the British monopolies began to develop their East African territories more intensively. The colonialists extended the infrastructure, building new railways and highways. The conversion of these territories into suppliers of agricultural raw material—cotton, coffee, sisal, pyrethrum,

clove, sugar cane, etc.—was stepped up. From 1914 to 1924, the area under cotton in Uganda increased from 44,000 to 228,300 hectares. Uganda became the second-biggest cotton producer (after India) in the British empire. In Tanganyika, the production of sisal doubled in 1928 as compared with the prewar level, and the production of coffee increased eight-fold. The production of coffee, sisal and other crops in Kenya and clove and coconuts on Zanzibar swiftly expanded.

In 1926, the authorities in Uganda by special order forbade Africans to engage in the primary processing and exporting of cotton. In 1932-1933, similar regulations were issued with regard to coffee and tobacco. The African peasant had to sell his crop at a definite time and a definite place, at a price fixed in advance, which was only one-fifth or one-sixth of the world price.

Forced labour was wide spread. In Kenya labour rent for African agricultural workers, who were given a plot, was raised from 60 to 180 days a year. A labour regulation issued in 1919 advised the local authorities to "encourage" Africans to hire out for work on farms and European estates. This instruction legalised forced labour. A system of special certificates, *kipande*, was introduced in Kenya in 1920 as a means of tying down the worker to his job. The certificate was kept by the employer and was issued to the worker after the end of the contract term. It was impossible to get work without this certificate. A labour law prohibiting workers from leaving a job on their own was issued in Tanganyika in 1924. For violating this law Africans were fined or imprisoned for a term up to six months.

The development of the plantations thus intensified the exploitation of the Africans. The poll-tax paid by Africans was greatly increased after the First World War. In Kenya, total taxes paid by the population quadrupled from 1913 to 1921. In Tanganyika, the poll-tax was raised from 6 to 12 shillings. Orders making it compulsory for male Africans to take part in public works were issued in Kenya and Tanganyika in 1920. In the same year, road conscription was introduced in Uganda: each adult African had to work annually 30 days free of charge building or repairing roads.

The introduction of the money economy was an important factor which changed, and continues to change, African society. African agriculture began to lose its purely subsistence character and money relations penetrated the countryside. The disintegration of the subsistence economy was especially pronounced in Uganda, where the peasants in some areas assigned about one-fourth of the land to cash crops. The extension of the capitalist sector of the economy led to social changes.

Big African landowners and rich peasants in Uganda set up cotton and coffee plantations worked by hired labour. Some Africans engaged in selling foreign goods. This is how groups of the African bourgeoisie associated with agriculture and trade slowly emerged. But the young African bourgeoisie ran up against strong competition of

foreign businessmen. The compradore bourgeoisie of Indian and Arab origin gained control of the buying up and processing of raw materials and also the sale of British manufactured goods on the markets of East Africa.

The number of Africans in paid employment notably increased. They were widely employed in agriculture—on European farms, in the coffee, tea, sisal and pyrethrum plantations, at construction sites and in road building. In 1938-1939, Uganda had 80,000 wage workers; Kenya, about 200,000 and Tanganyika, 310,000, most of whom were seasonal workers.

A stratum of African intellectuals came into being after the First World War. Children, mostly of rich parents, were sent abroad or studied at Makerere College in Uganda, founded in 1921. So-called government schools, financed by the authorities, were opened to train officials for the administration.

The traditional African society was thus being broken up. But the grip of foreign capital on the economy and the prevalence of pre-capitalist social and economic relations greatly hampered the development of the new productive forces and relations of production.

The national-liberation movement in Kenya, Tanganyika and Zanzibar grew in momentum after the First World War and the Great October Revolution. Intensified exploitation worsened the lot of the masses, especially during the 1929-1933 world economic crisis, and increased the resistance of the peoples in East Africa to imperialist rule.

Young intellectuals began to play an important part in the national-liberation movement. Years of study in Britain or India left a deep imprint on the minds of Africans. They assimilated progressive ideas, the forms and methods of anti-imperialist struggle waged by the peoples in the colonies and the workers in Britain. Many African students were imbued with the idea of wiping out colonial rule. On returning home, progressive intellectuals energetically worked to set up political organisations. A Young Uganda Association, the first organisation of African intellectuals, was founded in 1918. The Association demanded the democratic reconstruction of the local administration of Buganda. In contrast to the *Lukiko* (local State Council), which consisted of feudal elements, the Association called for a "peasant parliament" which would include representatives of the peasants and the intellectuals. Subsequently, this organisation merged with the Bataka Association founded in 1921.[1] Return of the confiscated land to the peasants was the chief slogan of the Bataka Association. It voiced the demands of the growing peasant movement in Buganda. The colonialists, fearing a social conflict, made the feudal top group of the kingdom adopt a land law in 1927, which par-

[1] The Batakas were tribal elders who on behalf of the peasant communities demanded the return of alienated lands. By assuming the name Bataka, the Association stressed its intention to fight for the interests of the peasants.

tially restricted the arbitrary rule of the feudal landlords over the peasants who cultivated their lands. Formerly, the peasants had no right to the land at all. According to the 1927 law, they received the heritable right to lease the land. The feudal duties imposed on the peasants were also fixed. Shortly after the adoption of the land law, the Bataka Association was dissolved.

In 1938, the anti-colonial movement in Buganda was headed by a political organisation named Sons of Kintu.[2] Ignatio Musazi, one of its leaders, subsequently became a notable figure in the liberation struggle of Uganda. The Sons of Kintu put forward the following demands: election of the Buganda Lukiko; admission of Africans to the Uganda Legislative Council and granting Africans the right to engage in the primary processing and exporting of agricultural commodities. These demands reflected the interests of bourgeois elements and the peasantry. The authorities persecuted the organisation and before long they proscribed its activity and imprisoned Musazi.

The first workers' organisation, Uganda Motor Drivers' Association, was set up in 1939. But it was only during the Second World War that the workers began vigorously to press their demands.

In Kenya, where large tracts of land were alienated and the policy of the British authorities was to safeguard the interests of the European settlers, colonial oppression was even more onerous than in Uganda. The attempt of European employers to cut the wages of African workers by one-third led to a mass movement against the authorities. The estate and factory owners refused to provide the workers with housing, food and medical service. A meeting of African workers held in the summer of 1921 in the suburbs of Nairobi adopted a resolution protesting against the wage reduction. The first anti-imperialist organisation in Kenya, the Young Kikuyu Association, consisting chiefly of African intellectuals, was set up at the same meeting. Members of the association launched wide propaganda among the African population, arranged meetings against land alienation and organised local branches in many regions. In March 1922, in response to the arrest of Harry Thuku, the association's president, a demonstration was held. It was the first political demonstration in Kenya. The authorities broke it up by force; it was estimated that as many as 150 people were killed. The Young Kikuyu Association was smashed.

A Kikuyu Central Association arose at the end of the 1920's. Its programme contained the following demands: an end to the expropriation of land, political rights for Africans, the immediate introduction of African representation in the Legislative Council, election of heads and members of local councils, equal rights for European and African workers. The Association confined its activity to meetings, petitions, etc. Neither its programme nor the peaceful means employed

[2] Kintu is the name of the legendary founder of the Buganda Kingdom.

to achieve them held out any danger for the colonial administration. Nevertheless, the authorities proscribed the Kikuyu Central Association in 1940.

The Young Kikuyu Association and the Kikuyu Central Association, as their names show, consisted mainly of Kikuyu, the largest ethnical group of Kenya. But in the 1930's some other peoples set up their own organisations—the Central Kipsigis Association, the Kavirondo Taxpayers Welfare Association formed by the Baluhya, and others.

Dissatisfaction with colonial exploitation was also on the increase in Tanganyika. At the end of the 1920's, peasants began to set up marketing cooperatives to combat the buyers-up of the export crops. The Chagga people set up the biggest marketing cooperatives. Despite the strictly economic purposes of these organisations, their activity was to some extent directed against the colonial authorities.

An organisation of national intellectuals, the Tanganyika African Association, was set up in 1929. It carried on cultural and educational work among the local population.

During the world economic crisis in 1929-1933, Tanganyika workers began to set up their own trade unions. A large strike was held in Tanganyika for the first time in 1932: 12,000 miners at the Lupa goldfields demanded higher wages and fought against the management for a week. The authorities crushed the strike and issued a law prohibiting workers' organisations.

In addition to local actions, a movement encompassing all the territories and sections of the African population arose during these years in East Africa. It was directed against the plan for a federation of British territories in East Africa. Fathered by the top groups of European settlers in Kenya in 1921, this scheme called for a "white man's country" after the pattern of the Union of South Africa. It was backed by the British Government, which, in 1925, sent a commission headed by Ormsby-Gore to East Africa to elaborate practical steps. The commission favoured a close union of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika and proposed the setting up of a supreme body consisting of the governors of these countries. Such a body, a Governors' conference, was set up in 1926 and it began to coordinate the policy of the colonialists in East Africa, above all in the interests of the European minority in Kenya.

But the federation plan, racialist in essence, ran up against resistance of the Africans; the colonialists had to abandon it temporarily. The struggle against the Federation showed that as early as the 1920's prerequisites existed for joint resistance to British colonial domination by the peoples of East Africa.

On the whole, the 1920's and the 1930's marked a new period in the national-liberation struggle of the East African peoples. Political organisations heading the struggle of Africans arose for the first time. But insufficient political maturity of the masses was characteristic of this stage of the national-liberation movement. The

ideological and political platforms of the African organisations were not fully crystallised as yet. Their leaders attached prime importance to appeals to the British authorities, to all kinds of petitions and memorandums, hoping to achieve certain reforms in this way. As a rule, the struggle was waged not against colonial rule in general, but only against its specific features. Tribalism and lack of organisation made it easier for the authorities to crush the sporadic actions. Nevertheless, the first organisations of Africans which sprang up during these years greatly helped to awaken the political consciousness of the people.

The Second World War Years. During the war, no less than 300,000 Africans from Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika and Zanzibar fought in Ethiopia, Somaliland, on Madagascar and in Burma. But most of the mobilised men were utilised on construction and other auxiliary jobs. The system of racial discrimination which also existed in the army, aroused the dissatisfaction of African soldiers.

Wartime isolation from Britain stimulated the development of some industries in the East African countries. There was an increase in the number of enterprises processing farm produce (canneries, cotton ginneries, creameries and other establishments), clothing and repair shops, etc. The production of agricultural commodities—wheat, coffee, tea, sisal, cotton, pyrethrum—also grew.

The war aggravated the contradictions between the colonialists and the peoples in Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika and Zanzibar. The economic condition of the local population sharply deteriorated. Taking advantage of the war situation, the colonialists bought up produce from the peasants at very low prices, and control over the production and marketing of export crops was tightened. Prices of foodstuffs and manufactured goods trebled and quadrupled, while the Africans' wages were kept at the prewar level.

Anti-colonial sentiments of the peasants, national bourgeoisie and even part of the feudal and tribal nobility mounted in wartime. But the growth of political consciousness of African workers was especially significant. Workers' strikes combined with peasant disturbances took place in all countries of British East Africa. The general strike in Uganda in January 1945 went down in history as the first mass political action of the proletariat in East Africa. The workers demanded not only an improvement of their economic condition (higher wages and a cost-of-living allowance) but also democratic reforms (election of members of the Lukiko and the Uganda Legislative Council). The 1945 general strike in Uganda was of a clearly expressed anti-imperialist nature. The authorities succeeded in crushing it only after sending in troops from Kenya.

Socio-Economic Development in Postwar Years. After the war, in face of the deepening general crisis of imperialism and the breaking up of the colonial system in Asia, the British Government tried to reinforce and extend its positions on the African continent, specifically in East Africa. In the political sphere, it introduced constitutional reforms and partial concessions to Africans (granting them suffrage, introducing self-government, etc.), hoping thereby to create favourable conditions for the preservation of colonial rule. In the economic sphere, the postwar period was marked by the wide use of state-monopoly methods of colonial exploitation (increase of state investments, measures for regulating the economy).

After the war, Britain's East African colonies gained in importance as suppliers of agricultural and mineral raw materials. By 1958, the production of export crops had considerably expanded (1939=100):

	Coffee	Cotton	Sisal
Kenya	130	130	200
Tanganyika	150	400	150
Uganda	800	120	—

The production of gold, diamonds, tungsten, copper, tin and lead continued to rise. Hydro-electric stations were built on the Nile (Uganda) and Pangani (Tanganyika); a copper smelter was erected in Jinja (Uganda) and an automobile assembly plant in Mombasa (Kenya). Aggravation of the marketing problem enhanced the importance of East African countries as an outlet for the sale of British manufactured goods. The imports of Kenya, for example, rose from £4 million in 1938 to £34 million in 1950 and £70 million in 1960.

The social structure in the East African countries underwent big changes. The positions of national capital in the production of export crops, industry and trade were substantially strengthened. To preserve their possessions and extend the social basis of their rule, the British adopted a policy of encouraging the growth of the African bourgeoisie. Africans were allowed to engage in the primary processing of farm produce. Foreign monopolies allowed them to buy shares in their companies and even put some national businessmen on the boards of directors of these companies.

The agricultural policy of the authorities pursued the same objectives. By abolishing communal land ownership and implanting private land ownership, they expected to increase production for export and, moreover, to build up a new social mainstay—the growing African rural bourgeoisie. The positions of the national bourgeoisie in agriculture were considerably extended. The stratum of merchants grew in strength. Alongside Indians and Arabs, they engaged in petty retail trade and acted as middlemen between the foreign companies and the population. The number of Africans who owned factories for the primary processing of agricultural raw materials, manufacturing enterprises, repair workshops, etc., increased.

The African entrepreneurs sought to make use of cooperatives in their own interests. The number of cooperative organisations was steadily growing. While in 1945 there were 220 cooperative societies

in British East Africa, in 1958 their number rose to 2,600 with a membership of about 600,000. The first national companies appeared in the sphere of trade and the production of agricultural raw materials. Young national capital inevitably clashed with foreign capital. The stranglehold of the foreign monopolies, the preservation of the disfranchisement of the Africans and racial discrimination aroused the dissatisfaction of most of the national bourgeoisie and impelled it to fight actively for independence.

The working class grew numerically after the war. From 1946 to 1960, the number of Africans in paid employment rose in Uganda from 180,000 to 300,000; in Kenya, from 377,000 to 620,000; and in Tanganyika, from 320,000 to 430,000. The share of permanent workers in the labour force rose from 4-5 per cent to 15-17 per cent. Most of the workers, however, were peasants who did seasonal work: the big labour turnover and the scattering of workers in small establishments remained.

Notwithstanding the obstacles raised by the authorities, the workers continued to organise in unions. The strike movement was on the increase and it assumed a wide scale at the end of the 1950's. In 1959 alone, there were 336 strikes in British East Africa, with 138,000 workers taking part in them. Alongside economic strikes, political strikes were staged.

The colonial authorities opposed the efforts of the African intellectuals to advance the people's culture. At the beginning of the 1950's most African schools (known as Kikuyu independent schools) were closed down in Kenya. In Uganda, the colonial authorities tried to close down the African schools in 1959 and abandoned this plan only after resolute protest by the people. How difficult it was for Africans to get even an elementary education is clearly seen from official statistics: at the end of the 1950's, from 80 to 85 per cent of the population were illiterate in Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika and Zanzibar.

Advance of the National-Liberation Movement. The struggle of the peoples of East Africa for independence was greatly intensified after the war. It became most acute in Kenya. The Kenya African Association was organised as early as 1944; in 1946, it was renamed the Kenya African Union (KAU). In contrast to the Kikuyu Central Association and other prewar political organisations, KAU consisted of several Kenya peoples—Kikuyu, Kamba, Luo and others. It included representatives of the national bourgeoisie, peasants, workers and intellectuals. The Kenya African Union saw its main task in rallying all the peoples of Kenya to fight for land and democratic reforms. It energetically opposed racial discrimination. KAU's main demands reflected the vital interests of the people and it enjoyed great popularity. In 1952, it had more than 100,000 members and 50 branches in different parts of the country, becoming a mass national organisation.

The trade union movement also spread in Kenya. The East Afri-

can Trade Union Congress was organised in 1949; African and Indian workers united in it for the first time in the country's history. The advance of the trade union and strike movement and the growing popularity of the Congress evoked repressions. A number of laws and regulations restricted the activity of progressive unions. In 1950, the authorities banned the East African Trade Union Congress and arrested its leaders—President Fred Kubai and General Secretary Makan Singh. After smashing up the Congress, the authorities attacked the Kenya African Union, which headed the struggle of the peasants for land and democratic rights.

In 1952, the peoples of Kenya rose up against the British colonialists. This came to be known as the Mau Mau rebellion.[3] It was directed against colonial oppression, land alienation above all. In a number of cases the rebels resorted to armed action, which was a reaction to the terror and racialism practised by the British colonialists and European settlers.

A state of emergency was declared on October 20, 1952. About 90 prominent leaders of the Kenya African Union, including Jomo Kenyatta, were arrested. In June 1953, the authorities outlawed KAU.

The war in Kenya lasted for almost four years. Modern artillery and bombers were brought into action against the peaceful population. Fleeing from the punitive expeditions, the Africans took refuge in the forests and mountains, and organised guerrilla detachments. But the forces were unequal, and the British colonialists succeeded in suppressing the main seats of the rebellion. According to the colonial authorities, more than 11,000 Africans had been killed and 62,000 confined to prisons and concentration camps by 1955. Though the rebellion was defeated, it exerted a great impact on the national-liberation movement in all of East Africa and seriously undermined the positions of British imperialism. It is significant that even in the period of the Mau Mau movement the British had to resort to the tactics of reforms.

A constitution was introduced in 1954, which somewhat extended African representation in the Legislative Council. But the Africans, as hitherto, were disfranchised (their representatives in the Legislative Council were appointed by the governor). Suffrage for Africans, restricted by various qualifications, was granted only in 1956.

The eight deputies of the African population, elected in 1957, demanded the further extension of African representation in the Legislative Council and the release of Kenyatta. The situation became especially tense after the killing of 11 prisoners in the Hola concentration camp in March 1959. The colonialists' atrocities sparked off

[3] This movement with its nationalistic and certain religious features is very complicated in character and requires serious study. Even the origin of the term *Mau Mau* is not clear.

another wave of demonstrations and strikes. The wide campaign in African and Asian countries compelled the British authorities to release Jomo Kenyatta. The state of emergency was lifted in January 1960.

Under the pressure of the people, the authorities allowed the establishment of country-wide political organisations. The Kenya African National Union (KANU) and the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) were founded in 1960. Although both organisations demanded independence, there were serious differences between them. KANU wanted immediate independence and a centralised state in Kenya. It vigorously denounced the efforts of the British authorities to split up the country into autonomous regions, which would aggravate tribalism. KADU leaders, reflecting separatist tendencies among part of the tribal authorities and bourgeois intellectuals from the small ethnic groups of Kenya, advocated a federal structure.

A constitutional conference was held in London from February 14 to April 6, 1962. The British Government had to make further concessions. Under the new constitution, a coalition government was set up, in which a majority of seats (14 out of 16) were held by Africans (seven from each KADU and KANU). But the British governor remained at the head of the government. Jomo Kenyatta, the leader of KANU, took the post of Minister for Constitutional Affairs and Economic Planning and Ronald Ngala, the leader of KADU, Minister for Constitutional Affairs and Administration. Britons held the posts of defence and justice ministers. The struggle for independence and the establishment of a national government continued.

The strike movement mounted in Kenya in 1962. In March, 5,000 Nairobi workers struck for two weeks; in June, 10,000 printers, public utility and shoe workers and Mombasa port workers laid down tools, demanding an improvement in working conditions; in July more than 4,000 municipal workers of Nairobi and workers on tea estates went on strike; a strike of 15,000 teachers lasting from September 18 to October 16, led to the closing of all elementary and most secondary schools. That was the 150th strike in six months (from March 1962). Alongside economic demands, the workers called for abolishing the colonial regime.

The struggle for the freedom of Kenya struck an echo throughout Africa. Young African states, specifically Tanganyika and Uganda, which had already won independence, [4] actively supported the demands of the Kenya patriots.

In May 1963, elections to central and local legislative bodies were held in Kenya. KANU scored a victory at the polls. The constitution, introducing self-government, entered into force on June 1, 1963, and Jomo Kenyatta became Kenya's first prime minister. Another constitutional conference was held in London from September 25 to October 19, 1963. The KADU delegation, supported by the British Government, insisted on a plan which stipulated the division of Kenya into seven regions. But the people of Kenya vigorously rejected this project. Relying on the support of the people, the KANU delegation succeeded in getting the conference to adopt a decision on the creation of a centralised unitary state in Kenya.

The bitter struggle waged by the peoples of Kenya for many years was consummated by the proclamation of the country's independence on December 12, 1963.

In Tanganyika, too, the liberation movement spread after the war. Although it was led by the national bourgeoisie and intellectuals, workers and peasants made up its principal militant force. The general strike of Dar es Salaam port workers, transport workers and sisal estate workers in 1947 sounded the signal for a resolute offensive on colonialism.

The Tanganyika African Association, formerly a small cultural organisation, after the war came out with the demand to convert the Legislative Council into a National Assembly with broad representation of Africans, to end racial discrimination and improve the educational system. The Association served as the basis for founding in 1954 a larger and more militant organisation, the Tanganyika African National Union. Independence became the chief demand of the Union, which had 800,000 members in 1960 and played a big part in the struggle for the country's independence.

As far back as December 1946, Tanganyika was proclaimed a trust territory by decision of the U.N. General Assembly. Like the other imperialist powers, Britain looked upon the replacement of the mandate system by the trusteeship system merely as a change of signboards. In effect, the trusteeship system was converted into a variety of colonialism.

When problems of trust territories were examined in the United Nations, the Soviet Union and other socialist states repeatedly pointed out that such a situation was intolerable. They energetically demanded the early granting of independence to the trust territories, including Tanganyika.

Under the pressure of the national-liberation movement in Tanganyika, which was supported by progressive forces throughout the world, the British authorities were forced to introduce certain changes in the administration system in the 1950's. At that time the Legislative Council consisted of administration officials ("ex-officio members") and "representatives" who, according to the idea of the authorities, were to represent all the racial groups in the country. But the number of European "representatives" was bigger than the combined number of African and Indian representatives. As a concession the colonial authorities introduced the principle of parity, giving Africans and Indians equal representation with Europeans in the Legislative Council. Actually, however, this principle enabled

[4] Tanganyika became independent in December 1961, and Uganda, in October 1962.

the authorities to preserve the decisive role of Europeans in the Legislative Council, inasmuch as only Europeans served as "ex-officio members". Moreover, 20,000 Europeans had in the Legislative Council as many representatives as the nine million Africans. Originally, the "representatives" were appointed by the governor. Their election was introduced in 1958.

The struggle for the abolition of colonial rule reached its apex at the beginning of the 1960's. The proletariat of Tanganyika marched in the front ranks of the freedom fighters. For the scale of the strike movement Tanganyika held one of the first places in Africa in 1959 and 1960. In 1959, 82,000 workers struck. The strike of 10,000 African railwaymen lasted for more than 11 weeks. Dar es Salaam dockers laid down tools in August and the workers of many sisal estates struck in April, September and October. The strike wave did not subside in 1960 (90,000 strikers). Everywhere the strikers, alongside economic demands, pressed for independence.

The Tanganyika Federation of Labour, which was founded in 1955 and was affiliated with the Tanganyika African National Union, became an imposing force. Reflecting the growing political activity of the working class, the Federation fought not only against the employers but also frequently opposed the authorities, in particular in cases of compulsory arbitration, arrests of strikers, etc. Leaders of the Tanganyika African National Union considered that the Federation of Labour was the backbone of the Union and the most organised force of the liberation movement.

Faced with the swift advance of the anti-imperialist struggle in Tanganyika and the entire African continent, the British Government was compelled to grant Tanganyika limited self-government as of October 1, 1960. A Council of Ministers with the participation of Africans was formed, but it was headed by the British governor-general, who appointed all the ministers.

The United Nations General Assembly, on the initiative of the Soviet Union, adopted a Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and this made it even harder for Britain to preserve the colonial regime in Tanganyika. The constitutional conference held in Dar es Salaam in March 1960, on the insistence of Tanganyika's delegates, took a decision on the granting of full internal self-government (as of May 1961) and independence (December 1961). J. Nyerere, leader of the Tanganyika African National Union, headed the new government formed on May 1. The Legislative Council was reconstituted into a National Assembly. British colonial rule in Tanganyika ended on December 9, 1961, and the country became a sovereign state.

Uganda won independence a year later. Here the liberation movement, like in the other East African countries, steadily grew after the war. In Buganda, it was headed by the Bataka Party, which arose in 1946 and was led by the national intellectuals and bourgeoisie. The party also rallied peasants, workers, and even some feudal landlords who were in opposition to the colonial regime. It demanded the admission of Africans to the processing and marketing of cash crops, an increase in the purchase prices of cotton and coffee, reduction of taxes and the conversion of the Lukiko into an elective body. The Bataka Party vigorously resisted the attempt made by Britain to set up an East African Federation in 1948. The authorities harassed the party—its meetings and rallies were prohibited, its publications were subjected to strict press censorship and preparations were made to outlaw it.

But the people reacted to the repressions of the colonialists and their unwillingness to satisfy the party's demands by a refusal to sell cotton to British export companies and to pay the taxes. At the end of April 1949, on the call of the Bataka Party, Africans gathered around the palace of Mutesa II, the ruler of Buganda, urging him to support their demands. The colonial authorities brutally attacked the demonstrators, killing many people. Manhunts and arrests followed, with the courts sentencing more than 1,500 people to hard labour, including many Bataka leaders. The party itself was outlawed.

But the people's actions in April 1949 compelled the colonialists to make concessions: African representation in the Legislative Council was increased and 60 out of the 89 seats in the Buganda Lukiko became elective.

The April events showed that the anti-colonial movement had reached a new stage: a political organisation with a definite programme directed the people's struggle. But the Bataka Party leadership did not advance the slogan of abolishing the colonial regime and did not break with the feudalised tribal aristocracy. Moreover, its activity was confined to Buganda.

A new anti-imperialist organisation, the Uganda National Congress, was set up in March 1952. In contrast to the Bataka Party, it operated almost on the territory of the country and its main aim was the winning of independence.

In 1953, when the British Government once again tried to set up an East African Federation, the Uganda National Congress headed the mass movement against this colonialist scheme. A united front encompassing the national bourgeoisie, workers, peasants and intellectuals came into being. The movement was joined by a considerable part of the feudal elements who were afraid of losing their privileges in the contemplated "white man's country". Mutesa II, Buganda's kabaka, voiced his solidarity with the stand of the patriotic forces headed by the Congress. He demanded independence for his kingdom and renunciation of the federation plan. The colonial authorities accused Mutesa of rebellion: in December 1953 he was deposed and deported to Britain.

The action of the colonialists aroused wide indignation, and the struggle against the federation merged with the movement for restoring Mutesa to the throne. The pressure of the national forces

compelled the colonialists to abandon the federation plans and to bring back Mutesa in 1955. In 1957, election of members of the Legislative Council representing the Africans was introduced (prior to that they were appointed by the governor). Even earlier, in 1952-1953, Africans were given the right to set up enterprises for the primary processing of export crops and in 1957 also the right to export coffee.

The struggle between moderate and radical elements in the Uganda National Congress led to its break-up. The Right-wing groups which split away from the Congress organised the Progressive Party in 1955 and the Democratic Party in 1956. The former represented feudal circles and part of the Buganda bourgeois nationalists, and the latter, the group of the bourgeoisie connected with the leaders of the Uganda Catholics. Lastly, in March 1960, the radical wing of the Congress, headed by Milton Obote, organised the Uganda People's Congress, which soon became the leading party in the country.

A wave of strikes swept Uganda in 1959 and 1960. The biggest of them was the railwaymen's strike in November and December 1959.

In 1961, the British Government was forced to agree to the establishment of Uganda's first African government. It was formed by leaders of the Democratic Party, which won the biggest number of seats in the Legislative Council at the elections held in March. The activity of this government was controlled by the British.

The pressure of the anti-colonial forces did not subside, however. The working class was particularly active, and every month five or six strikes were held. The workers, together with all the patriotic forces, vigorously clamoured for independence.

With the national-liberation movement advancing, a constitutional conference was convened in London in September 1961. The colonialists had to agree to grant Uganda complete internal autonomy as of March 1, 1962, and independence as of October 9, 1962.

The decisions of the London conference were a big victory for the people. They scored another success at the elections to the National Assembly, which was set up in place of the Legislative Council (April 1962). The ruling Democratic Party, which campaigned from pro-Western positions, was defeated. The Uganda People's Congress and the "Kabaka Yekka" ("kabaka only") Party, a bourgeois-landowner bloc in Buganda founded at the end of 1961, won a majority in the National Assembly. A coalition government of these two parties was formed and it was headed by Milton Obote, the leader of the Congress. It became the first government of independent Uganda.

A peculiar situation arose in Zanzibar, where social contradictions among the local population were intertwined with ethnic tensions. This affected the composition and tactics of the political parties which were founded in the 1950's. The Zanzibar Nationalist Party (1955) united primarily the Arab population. A leading part

in it was played by the landowners and merchants who, using tribalism as a political weapon, won the support of a considerable part of the Arab peasantry. The Nationalist Party did not link the struggle for independence with the abolition of the sultanate and the feudal system. Many of its leaders were inclined to reach a compromise with the colonialists.

The Afro-Shirazi Party (organised in 1957) took a much more consistent anti-imperialist stand. It represented the masses of the African population—workers, peasants and intellectuals—and was out to abolish colonial oppression and reconstruct the social system.

Two more parties, the Zanzibar and Pemba People's Party and the Umma Party, were organised in 1961 and 1962. The former included the moderates who split away from the Afro-Shirazi Party. The Umma Party consisted of Left-wing elements who had resigned from the Nationalist Party.

Under the pressure of the progressive forces the colonialists increased representation of the local population in the Legislative Council and introduced an electoral system in 1957. In July 1963, Zanzibar won self-government.

Making concessions to the people, the British authorities sought to split the ranks of the liberation movement and to set political parties and ethnic groups at loggerheads, for which purpose they utilised the Nationalist Party. Thanks to the support of the colonialists, the Nationalist Party and the Zanzibar and Pemba People's Party scored a victory at the British-controlled elections to the Legislative Council in June 1963.

These parties formed a coalition government. A conference of the leaders of all Zanzibar political parties and representatives of the British Government to consider the country's future was held in London in September and October 1963. It set the date for the proclamation of Zanzibar's independence—December 10, 1963. Zanzibar, like Tanganyika, Uganda and Kenya, remained within the British Commonwealth.

INDEPENDENT KENYA

Kenya was proclaimed a republic on December 12, 1964. Jomo Kenyatta, leader of the Kenya African National Union, became the country's first president who, under the constitution, is the head of the state. After the self-dissolution of the opposition party, the Kenya African Democratic Union, KANU became the only political party in the country. The supreme legislative body, the National Assembly, consisted of a Senate (41 members) and a House of Representatives (129 members, of whom 117 are elected by universal suffrage and 12 are elected by members of the House of Representatives). In December 1966 the Senate was abolished and a one-chamber National Assembly was established.

The country's economy remains predominantly agrarian. Economic growth rates noticeably increased in the first year after the pro-

clamation of independence. The export of coffee, sisal and some other commodities increased in 1964 by £4 million as compared with 1963, and total exports rose by 8 per cent. The share of Africans in production grew. In 1964, they sold 24 per cent more produce than in 1963. The production of coffee and pyrethrum is making rapid headway. But more than a half of the farm produce (67.5 per cent in 1966), as before, is grown on European estates of a capitalist type. For example, of the 57,900 tons of sisal grown in 1966, Europeans accounted for 55,900 tons; in the case of tea the figures were 25,400 and 23,800 tons respectively. European farmers also remained the main suppliers of maize and wheat. The decline in the maize harvest from 120,000 tons in 1963 to 69,000 tons in 1964, caused by the departure of some European settlers from Kenya, made it necessary to import maize.

African farms largely preserve their subsistence character. In 1964, only 16.8 per cent of the output (in value) was marketed.

After the economic recession in 1965, agricultural production registered a gain in 1966 and 1967. The wheat crop rose from 124,000 tons in 1966 to 170,000 tons in 1967 and the maize crop, from 180,000 tons to 221,000 tons. The production of pyrethrum increased 7.8 per cent, cotton 13.7 per cent and sugar cane 67 per cent. At the same time, the crop of tea declined by 8 per cent and coffee by 6.8 per cent. An epidemic hit many coffee plantations.

Some successes have been registered in industry. The largest oil refinery in East Africa has been commissioned in Mombasa. Textile mills have been built or are under construction in Nakuru, Thika, Mombasa, Nairobi and Kisumu, which should make it possible to end textile imports.

The building of a 300,000 kw. hydro-electric station has been started in Kindaruma, on the Tana River. The construction project at an estimated cost of £37,000 million is to take from 10 to 12 years. It will bring water to new lands and increase cement production. In 1968 the first section of the project was commissioned.

The government's programme for the further development of the country, the economy above all, was outlined in the document "African Socialism and Its Application to Planning in Kenya", adopted by Parliament on May 7, 1965. The programme attaches prime importance to economic planning. It aims at ensuring the swift growth of the state and cooperative sectors, which are to gain dominance in the economy.

Development of African farms is the primary task in agriculture. The reconstruction of agriculture will send up yields, increase employment and thereby help solve many problems, including that of unemployment. Producer cooperatives will be given priority in the buying of land. Non-citizens of Kenya will need government permission to buy land.

Wholesale trade is to be placed under government control. In

retail trade consumer cooperatives are to be organised alongside private firms.

The programme points to the need for foreign investments to carry out development plans, but it sets the aim of gradually reducing dependence on them.

Measures for building up a national economy are outlined in the six-year development plan (July 1964-June 1970), which envisages appropriations of £370 million for agriculture, industry and other sectors. State investments will total £129 million. The government declared that private capital was assigned the main part in fulfilling the six-year plan and that it would encourage private investments, both national and foreign.

The plan gives special attention to agriculture, calling for a 70 per cent increase in output.

Coffee, sisal and tea remain Kenya's main export crops. In 1966, coffee made up one-third of all exports, and the three crops combined accounted for 53 per cent of all export receipts. To change the composition of exports and thereby lessen the country's dependence on world prices of coffee and sisal, the government is seeking to increase the production of tea, cotton and rice. A plan for the development of animal husbandry in the north of the country has been drawn up.

Expansion of the cooperative movement is one of the main objectives. It is expected that the cooperative societies will contribute about 20 per cent of the gross national product in 1970. Kenya has now more than 1,500 cooperatives.

Shortly after the proclamation of independence, the government launched a land settlement programme which involves European farms and estates in the White Highlands. In 1963, there were 3,368 European farmers in Kenya with large-scale estates, ranging from 8,000 to 20,000 hectares. According to official figures, the government had redeemed from them about 800,000 hectares by the middle of 1967; 35,000 African families settled on these lands. Some of them have been turned over to state farms and cooperatives. Land holdings of African peasants range from 4 to 26 hectares, but some families own more than 70 hectares. The land of Europeans who have abandoned it or are not working their farms is being confiscated.

On what terms should the Africans be given land—this is the subject of acute debates. The government is charging redemption, whereas some statesmen and political leaders call for the free distribution of the lands which had belonged to European farmers and estate owners.

The government is attaching great importance to the self-help efforts; it regards self-help as an integral part of the country's planned development. The people are building with their own resources schools, hospitals, roads, and so on. A National Youth Service has been set up, in which about 7,000 young Kenyans are enrolled annu-

ally for participation in the self-help efforts and carrying out agricultural projects. In the course of one year, these young men learn a trade (bricklaying, plastering, carpentry) and modern methods of farming.

Measures are taken to train national personnel, eradicate illiteracy and improve the medical service. The following official figures show how acute the problem of training national personnel is. Of the 22 hydrogeologists who worked in Kenya in 1964-1965, only one was African; of the 811 physicians, approximately 50 were Africans; Africans made up one-fifth of the 1,569 secondary-school teachers.

Certain achievements have been registered in education since the winning of independence. From 1960 to 1967, the number of elementary-school pupils rose from 781,000 to 1,200,000. Special efforts are made to develop the secondary school system. While in 1960 there were 91 secondary schools, in 1967 their number increased to 450, and the number of pupils reached 80,000. Secondary-school graduates have the right to two-year free instruction in universities and colleges. Free medical service for all children has been introduced in state polyclinics and hospitals.

The political situation in Kenya is extremely involved. Sharp differences have emerged over the ways of further development and the concrete problems of the agrarian reforms, foreign investments, relations with socialist countries, and so on.

A keen struggle was fought in the trade union movement. A split of the Kenya Federation of Labour resulted in the establishment of a more Leftist organisation, the Kenya African Workers' Congress. In September 1965, by decision of the government, one trade union centre was formed instead of the two. Its leadership was appointed by the president, on the strength of a decree placing the trade unions under government control. All trade unions were ordered to withdraw from international organisations.

KANU, the ruling party, faced an internal struggle. The government's policy aroused sharp dissatisfaction of the party's Left wing headed by Vice-President Oginga Odinga. At the KANU conference in March 1966, the Right wing headed by General Secretary Tom Mboya succeeded in ousting Oginga Odinga from the post of vice-president. This led to the resignation of a group of KANU members who disagreed with the government's policy. The opposition formed a new party, the Kenya People's Union. In its programme, reflecting the views of the country's Left forces, the party put forward the most effective programme for achieving economic independence and improving the living standard of the people. It came out against the government's agrarian policy, under which lands redeemed from European settlers were sold at prices beyond the reach of the people, and it demanded that all landless peasants be given plots. The programme of the new party calls for reducing the economic dependence on foreign capital, universal free education and

medical service, the early solution of the unemployment problem, and so on.

Many unsolved problems, specifically the extremely acute unemployment, aroused mass dissatisfaction. In 1964, there were 291 strikes and in 1966, 40,000 workers took part in 155 strikes. The militancy of the workers was restrained by the government-controlled trade unions. The workers demanded higher wages and better working conditions. In March 1965, 16,000 railwaymen went on strike.

Kenya has extended her economic relations with the United States, West Germany and also the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Development Association and similar organisations. Between 1963 and 1966, Britain gave Kenya over £44 million in loans, donations and technical assistance (for financing the construction of a hydro-electric station in Kindaruma, redemption of lands of European settlers, reconstruction of the Mombasa-Nairobi highway, and so on). The United States gave £5.6 million during the same period. The main purpose of this "aid" is to extend the educational system and train administrative personnel. In contrast to the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany finances the building of industrial enterprises, development of tea growing and sugar cane production. Total West German investments in Kenya were estimated at £5.5 million in 1965. Kenya has lively economic ties with Japan and Israel.

Kenya also maintains relations with the socialist countries. Between 1963 and 1965, she concluded trade agreements and agreements on economic, scientific and technical cooperation with the Soviet Union (April-May 1964), Czechoslovakia (March 1964), Poland (April 1964), Yugoslavia (December 1963), the Chinese People's Republic (May 1964), and others.

In 1964, the Soviet Union agreed to assist Kenya in developing some agricultural projects, building a textile mill, fish cannery and sugar refinery, a radio station, etc. The Soviet side also agreed to grant the Kenya Government credits to pay Soviet organisations for technical assistance. The Soviet Government decided to build and present as a gift to the people of Kenya a hospital accommodating 200, a policlinic and a technical school for 1,000 students.

The Government of Kenya has repeatedly stated that in foreign affairs it adheres to a policy of neutrality, advocates peace and peaceful coexistence, general and complete disarmament and prohibition of nuclear weapons, the abolition of colonialism and opposes racial discrimination. Kenya is a member of the Organisation of African Unity. Opposing the apartheid policy pursued by the Government of the Republic of South Africa, the Government of Kenya broke off all trade relations with that country and announced it would prosecute merchants selling South African goods in Kenya. Speaking in Parliament, President Kenyatta stressed that Kenya supported the

decisions of the Organisation of African Unity aimed at abolishing the Smith racialist regime in Rhodesia.

INDEPENDENT UGANDA

During the first year of independence, Uganda's political system was determined by the constitution which came into force on October 9, 1962. Power was vested in the independent national government, but the British Queen, represented by the governor-general, was considered the head of the state.

On October 9, 1963, the National Assembly introduced important amendments to the constitution, which considerably strengthened Uganda's political independence and sovereignty: a president elected by the Assembly became the head of the state. Kabaka Mutesa II of Buganda was elected the country's first president.

After winning independence, the Government of Uganda at once proclaimed non-alignment to be its foreign policy line. Between 1962 and 1965, it established diplomatic and trade relations with many countries, including the Soviet Union and other socialist states. Uganda demanded sanctions against the racialists in the Republic of South Africa and Rhodesia and also against the Portuguese colonialists. She is a member of the Organisation of African Unity.

The Obote Government and the Uganda People's Congress have proclaimed that they will work for the early elimination of the country's economic and cultural backwardness.

Planning principles underlie the government's economic development programmes. The five-year plan for 1961/62-1965/66, revised by the National Assembly in June 1963, laid emphasis on strengthening the state sector. The second five-year plan, adopted in 1966, envisages further economic growth. It set important social aims, specifically raising the wages of low-paid workers.

Fifteen new factories were built in Uganda after gaining independence. The National Development Corporation became the co-owner of more than 30 enterprises. The production of the main crops—coffee, cotton and tea—was considerably increased, and the extraction of copper rose. Foreign trade grew correspondingly: in the first two years of independence, exports rose by 31 per cent and imports by 16 per cent.

In view of the acute need in capital, the government allowed foreign companies controlling key positions in Uganda's economy to continue their activities. Moreover, in mid-1964, a law protecting foreign investments was promulgated, giving foreign investors guarantees against nationalisation. At the same time the government raised the tax on corporate profits and demanded that the companies sell 25 per cent of their shares to the state. The government advised foreign companies to reinvest a big part of their profits in Uganda's economy and not to export them.

Cooperatives are greatly assisted by the government. They are given privileges in buying up and processing farm produce and are getting state credits on easy terms. Only cooperatives are allowed to build cotton ginneries.

The government has taken measures to improve the condition of the people. In March 1963, it raised the minimum wage by 45-50 per cent; in December 1965, it promulgated a new law on a minimum wage for urban workers. A corporation to build low-rent houses was set up in August 1963.

The network of secondary general and vocational schools is being extended. In the first three years after independence, the number of elementary schools doubled and the number of secondary schools rose from 2,000 to 6,000. In 1965, 50 per cent of all children of school age studied. Much attention is paid to training specialists and skilled workers to take the place of foreigners. A nationwide campaign for the eradication of illiteracy among adults has been launched. The 1963 reform placed missionary schools under state control. The University College in Makerere, the University in Dar es Salaam and the University College in Nairobi were incorporated in the University of East Africa, set up in 1963.

In the public health service, efforts have been concentrated on disease prevention. Specifically, a campaign of inoculation against smallpox, poliomyelitis and whooping-cough has been conducted. The activities of sanitary and hygienic institutions have been extended.

The development of the young state has proceeded in an intricate political situation. The Uganda Government has been subjected to strong pressure by reactionary feudal elements and pro-Western bourgeois groups which became more active. In their turn, the progressive forces sought to rebuff the activities of the reactionaries. The coalition of the Uganda People's Congress and the "Kabaka Yekka" Party broke up in August 1964. The pretext was the government's decision on the so-called "lost counties".

It will be recalled that in the early years of British colonisation two provinces of the Bunyoro Kingdom, Buyaga and Bugangazzi, were turned over to Buganda. The population of the provinces had not reconciled itself to the separation and immediately after the gaining of independence demanded the return of the regions to the Bunyoro Kingdom. The government decided to settle the question by a referendum, which was held in the summer of 1964. A majority voted for joining Bunyoro. Early in 1965, Parliament approved the results of the referendum. The Buganda feudal elements, however, were dissatisfied with the government's action and broke with the Uganda People's Congress.

The break of the coalition with the "Kabaka Yekka" somewhat weakened the positions of the People's Congress in Parliament, although it still had a majority (67 out of 92 seats).

The feudal elements and their henchmen next struck a blow within the Uganda People's Congress itself. In mid-1964, under the

pressure of Right-wing elements, the general secretary of the Congress who advocated consistent struggle against imperialism and reaction was ousted from office. Right-wingers also succeeded in capturing the leadership in the Buganda organisation of the Congress. These political leaders attacked the measures of the Obote Government aimed at consolidating the country's independence.

In the first half of 1966, the reactionary forces mounted an offensive against the government and its leaders. The "Kabaka Yekka" leadership levelled charges of corruption against the prime minister and some members of his cabinet. Simultaneously, Right-wingers in the Uganda People's Congress attacked Obote's consistent policy of strengthening the country's economy and abolishing regionalism.

Prime Minister Obote was compelled to take energetic and resolute measures. The constitution was annulled in February and the kabaka was ousted from the office of president. Simultaneously, six ministers who sabotaged measures for eliminating the country's disunity were arrested. On April 15, 1966, Parliament adopted a new constitution which established a republican form of rule and elected Milton Obote president. The Buganda feudal elements responded by getting the Lukiko adopt a resolution which denounced the new constitution and proclaimed the secession of the Kingdom of Buganda from Uganda. In May, feudal elements and their supporters launched an open insurrection against the government. The palace of the kabaka on Mengo hill in Kampala became the centre of the rebels who sought to capture the capital and overthrow the government. Milton Obote introduced a state of emergency in Buganda and sent government troops against the kabaka detachments. After a number of clashes the rebels were defeated and the kabaka and katikiro (prime minister of the Lukiko) fled. The rebels' leaders were arrested. Buganda was divided into four provinces and deprived of its autonomy. By mid-1966, order had been re-established in the country and the state of emergency was lifted.

Thus, the reactionary forces, supported by imperialism, suffered defeat, and the progressive policy of unity and the country's genuinely independent development won.

The Obote Government concentrated efforts on fulfilling the five-year economic and social development plan. At the same time, a new constitution was drawn up and finally approved in mid-1966.

Uganda became a united republic. All provinces and kingdoms were abolished and a division into 18 administrative units was introduced. The republic is headed by a president and a one-chamber National Assembly.

THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA

A new constitution was adopted in Tanganyika after the winning of political independence and the country was proclaimed a republic

on December 9, 1962. Julius Nyerere, chairman of the Tanganyika African National Union, was elected president; the president simultaneously heads the government.

A new administrative division was introduced in 1963: 17 regions were formed instead of 9 provinces. During the reorganisation of the local government agencies most administrative posts were given to Africans. In a number of instances the administrative and party apparatus merged. Secretaries of the Union's branches in regions, areas and districts became the commissioners of the corresponding administrative units. The central echelons of the state apparatus were also africanised. At the beginning of 1964, more than 88 per cent of all the civil servants were Africans.

Measures were taken to abolish tribalism and separatism and to unite people of different ethnic groups. In February 1963, tribal chiefs were deprived of all administrative and legal power.

The merger of Tanganyika with the People's Republic of Zanzibar and Pemba was a primary step in the strengthening of independence. It had been preceded by stormy events in Zanzibar immediately after the proclamation of independence. The government, formed under the British and consisting mainly of members of the Nationalist Party, supported Sultan Djamshid bin Abdalla and persecuted parties opposed to feudal exploitation. The Umma Party was outlawed. Preparations were made to crush the Afro-Shirazi Party.

Political independence brought no change at all in the condition of the Zanzibar people. Feudal oppression was preserved, and so were discrimination against the absolute majority of the population, the misrule of British officials and their henchmen in the central and local administration and the unrestricted domination of foreign capital. Before long the mounting dissatisfaction exploded in a popular anti-feudal and anti-imperialist uprising. The revolution of January 12, 1964, was headed by the Afro-Shirazi and Umma parties. The sultan and his supporters were overthrown, and the country was proclaimed a People's Republic. Abeid Karume, chairman of the Afro-Shirazi Party, became president and the head of the government. A Revolutionary Council was set up instead of Parliament. The British Government tried to crush the revolution. It sent warships to the shores of Zanzibar and Pemba and gave asylum to the Zanzibar sultan. But support of the Republic by the socialist states, the Soviet Union in the first place, foiled the imperialist plans. The Soviet Union recognised the republic on January 18, 1964. On January 29, the Soviet Foreign Ministry issued a statement calling for the prevention of the threat of intervention in the affairs of Zanzibar and energetically demanding that the imperialist powers stop their preparations for military action against the young republic.

The revolutionary forces were consolidated in the very first days of the revolution. The Umma Party joined the Afro-Shirazi Party,

and all the other parties were dissolved. The trade unions formed a single revolutionary federation. The staffs of all the local government agencies were replaced. A new state apparatus and army were set up and revolutionary reforms were launched: all the land was nationalised and the expropriation of feudal estates, enterprises and palaces began. These measures were resisted by the internal reactionary forces who counted on support of the imperialist powers. In this situation, leaders of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, after negotiations in April 1964, decided to unite the two states. On April 26, the Parliaments of both states ratified this agreement. Shortly afterwards, the new state was named the United Republic of Tanzania.

The formation of Tanzania was a logical action which consolidated the long-standing ties between the peoples of both countries and the alliance and friendship between the Tanganyika African National Union and the Afro-Shirazi Party.

In July 1965, the parliament of Tanzania adopted a provisional constitution which legislatively consolidated the federal state structure based on full equality and broad independence of the countries entering it.

One of the distinctions of the Tanzania federation is that in Tanganyika the federal organs of power exercise her rights as a member of the federation and on Zanzibar, this is effected by the organs of power set up in the course of the January 1964 revolution.

The state and the government of the United Republic are headed by a president elected for a term of five years by universal suffrage. In Tanganyika the functions of the chief executive are performed by the second vice-president of Tanzania. On Zanzibar executive authority is vested in the first vice-president of Tanzania, who heads the government and is simultaneously the president of Zanzibar.

According to the constitution, legislative authority in the federation is exercised by a parliament of 204 representatives of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, partly elected and partly appointed by the president for a term of five years. On Zanzibar legislative authority belongs to the Revolutionary Council and the president of Zanzibar.

Though the population of Zanzibar makes up only 3 per cent of the population of Tanzania, the former is broadly represented in the federal parliament and federal government. Of the 204 M.P.'s 55 represent Zanzibar; of the 22 ministers in the federal government, 6 are from Zanzibar, including the first vice-president.

The first elections of the federation's president were held in September 1965. Julius Nyerere, joint candidate of the Tanganyika African National Union and the Afro-Shirazi Party, was elected by an absolute majority. Elections to the National Assembly were held under a new system, with two candidates nominated in each constituency; 107 candidates were elected. The first Vice-President A. Karume and the second Vice-President R. Kawawa kept their posts.

Under the new constitution, Tanganyika was proclaimed a one-

party state and the Tanganyika African National Union, the only party. Moreover, the Rules of the Union were incorporated in the text of the new constitution. About the same time a one-party regime (the Afro-Shirazi Party) was proclaimed in Zanzibar and Pemba. Thus, there are two parties and two constitutions in one state with a one-party system. This explains the complex and peculiar situation in the united republic where alongside a central government and other government agencies, there exist autonomous bodies in Zanzibar and Pemba.

The creation of the united republic consolidated the external position of both Tanganyika and Zanzibar. The Government of Tanzania proclaimed the need for constant and unflagging struggle against three evils: poverty, disease and ignorance (meaning economic dependence, backwardness and illiteracy). The leaders of the Tanganyika African National Union have elaborated a theory of abolishing the three evils, naming it *Ujamaa*, or "African Socialism". In the opinion of Julius Nyerere, socialism is a world outlook inherent in the nature of African society, which is traditionally classless. Nyerere asserts that, to build socialism in Tanzania, it is necessary first of all to spread socialist consciousness among the country's citizens and to regulate the distribution of the public and personal product. In his opinion, the land belongs to the community and the government must go back to the traditional African custom of land holding.

In conformity with Nyerere's theory, all the land in Tanganyika has been declared the property of the state. Private ownership of the land has been abolished. As a result, planters have become lessees of the land that was formerly their property. In November 1965, the government confiscated from foreign planters 34,000 acres of land which had not been cultivated for a long time.

The Government of Zanzibar has pursued a more active policy in agriculture. In the first two years of independence more than 650 estates owned by Arabs and Indians were nationalised. In mid-1965, distribution of the expropriated land among the poorest peasants and agricultural workers began. Large families were the first to receive 3-acre plots. They were also given 500 shillings for organisational expenses. At the end of 1967, more than 2,100 families became owners of plots on former cocopalm, clove and banana estates.

Simultaneously, some measures to modernise agriculture were carried out in Tanzania. This is particularly important for the continental part of the republic, where farming and livestock-raising are poorly developed and there is much unused land (only 17 per cent of the territory is cultivated). New cultivation methods and the employment of ploughs, tractors and irrigation make it possible to increase the production of cash and food crops.

Much effort has been given to the development of marketing and producer cooperatives. A Cooperative Bank has been opened.

The people support the government's progressive measures. This has been demonstrated specifically by their wide participation in collective unpaid labour. Voluntary brigades have been organised everywhere. In 1962, they built 17,000 kilometres of roads, 368 schools, 400 irrigation schemes and many other projects. In the first 18 months of independence, the value of the work done by these brigades exceeded £2.5 million.

Important work is done by the camps of the National Service, where young men and women undergo military training and take part in public works for two years. One of the first voluntary people's armies in Africa has been formed from these young people. It replaced the mercenary units preserved from the days of colonialism.

The economic development of Tanzania has proceeded in accordance with plans drawn up separately for Tanganyika and Zanzibar. Tanzania's first three-year plan, adopted in 1961, somewhat improved the situation in transport, agriculture and industry. Specifically, the 180-km. Mnyusi-Ruru railway was commissioned in 1963; it links the country's two main railway lines, the northern and the central. In mid-1964, Tanganyika launched a new, five-year plan. The objective is to raise the living standard of the people, increasing per capita income 130 per cent by 1980.

Total investments under the plan are estimated at £246 million, of which more than half is to come from abroad. The Government encourages foreign state and private investments. Mixed companies in which the state holds the controlling block of shares is one of the forms of utilising foreign capital. A case in point is the Tanganyika Development Company, which is financing the building of roads and a number of industrial and agricultural projects. More than 60 industrial enterprises were built in the first three years of independence, including textile mills in Dar es Salaam, Mwanza and Arusha, an engine-works in Dar es Salaam and a radio factory in Arusha.

A five-year development plan of Zanzibar and Pemba was launched in 1964. It calls for investment of £23 million in building fruit and fish canneries, rice mills and sugar refineries. 13 per cent of all outlays under the five-year plan are to go for the public health and social security services, and 15 per cent, for education and culture.

Despite the difficulties resulting from the grave legacy of colonialism and especially from the one-sided agricultural development, the Government of Tanzania has scored definite economic achievements. The production of sisal, clove, cotton, coffee, rice and tea has increased. In 1963/64, the production of sisal rose by 126 per cent as compared with 1954/55, clove 148 per cent, coffee 159 per cent, rice 100 per cent, cotton 250 per cent and tea 400 per cent. The area sown to maize and legumes was extended. The production of diamonds, gold and salt is on the increase.

A reform of the educational system has been carried out in

Tanganyika. Integrated schools have been established instead of European, Indian, African, and others. In 1967, more than 800,000 children studied in primary schools. Courses for training national personnel (administrative, medical, pedagogical) have been opened. Many schools to teach the ABC to adults have been set up. The University College, the first in Tanganyika, was opened in Dar es Salaam in 1962; subsequently, it was incorporated in the University of East Africa. Free tuition in state urban elementary schools has been introduced on Zanzibar and Pemba. Here, too, the number of schools and pupils has considerably risen. The introduction of Swahili as the official language of Tanzania has been of great importance for the development of national culture.

The Government of Tanzania has taken measures to improve the condition of the working class. A law on a minimum wage, paid holidays and free days has been promulgated. Between 1962 and 1964, wages grew by 44 per cent.

These measures have been implemented by the government jointly with the trade unions, which have undergone definite changes during the years of independence. The Tanganyika African National Union and the Afro-Shirazi Party fully control the trade unions. In Tanganyika this was manifested in the establishment of a Tanganyika National Union of Workers, headed by the Minister of Labour. On Zanzibar, it was decided to reorganise the Federation of Revolutionary Trade Unions into a department of the Central Committee of the Afro-Shirazi Party.

The National Executive of the Tanganyika African National Union, at a session held on January 29, 1967, in Arusha, adopted a programme of building socialism, which came to be known as the Arusha Declaration. Approved by the annual conference of the Union and Parliament, the declaration proclaims the necessity of fully abolishing dependence on foreign capital, of developing the country's resources independently and building a democratic state of workers and peasants.

The declaration points to the need for placing all means of production under the control of the people. In pursuance of this demand, broad nationalisation was effected in February 1967. All the nine foreign banks, eight of the biggest flour mills, seven industrial enterprises, including a cement mill and a Bata shoe factory, and eight export and import companies became the property of the people. A state commercial bank and an insurance corporation were organised. At the end of 1967, up to 50 per cent of the country's industrial output was produced by state-owned enterprises.

An austerity policy was introduced and the salaries of the higher officials were cut. All persons who received an education have to work for two years at state enterprises, drawing lower salaries.

To avoid bourgeoisification of civil servants and Party officials, they are forbidden to engage in business. Only people coming from the ranks of the working class or peasantry can join the Tanganyika

African National Union. The Arusha Declaration and the first steps in implementing it show that the Tanzania Government is firmly resolved to bypass the capitalist stage of development and to build a democratic state of workers and peasants.

In world affairs, the Tanzania Government steadfastly follows an anti-imperialist and anti-colonial course. It consistently supports the principle of positive neutrality, peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems and non-interference in domestic affairs. Alongside the preservation of existing ties with capitalist countries, Tanzania has concluded trade and other agreements with a number of socialist countries. Industrial projects, a hospital and a college will be built under the agreement with the Soviet Union. Tanzania is maintaining extensive ties with the German Democratic Republic, with which it has concluded economic, trade and cultural agreements. Trade agreements have also been signed with Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and Poland.

The Government of Tanzania is working for the complete liberation of Africa from colonialism. Emigré centres of parties fighting for the liberation of Mozambique, the Republic of South Africa and Rhodesia are located in Dar es Salaam.

The Tanganyika African National Union has steadily advocated the establishment of an East African Federation as a united, free and strong state. The formation of Tanzania has been a manifestation of this tendency. Even prior to that Tanganyika took part in setting up the East African Common Services Organisation which in 1961 replaced the East African High Commission. It was formed after the Second World War and consisted of the governors of Uganda, Kenya and Tanganyika, who examined matters pertaining to rail and air transport, the post and telegraph services, issue of currency, customs duties, etc. All these functions were turned over to the East African Common Services Organisation, which consists of the heads of the three states. Between 1964 and 1966, the Organisation carried on its activities in rather intricate conditions, encountering the resistance of certain political forces in Kenya and Uganda.

At the initial stage, the main aim of the new Organisation was to coordinate industrial development. A single customs service, joint management of transport, coordination of research in agriculture and pest control, and a joint meteorological service have been preserved. On the basis of an agreement between the three states, Tanzania has received an exclusive right to build factories for the assembly of all-terrain motor-cars, lorries, automobile tyres and wireless sets. Kenya construction firms undertook to build in Tanzania a number of light industry factories and, together with Uganda, to increase the purchases of raw materials in Tanzania so as to reduce the chronic deficit in trade between these countries. Economic cooperation of the three East African countries resulted in the establishment on December 1, 1967, of an East African Economic Community and the formation of a Common Market of these countries.

RWANDA AND BURUNDI

Ruanda-Urundi[1] **under Belgian Rule.** Prior to the First World War, Ruanda and Urundi were colonies of Germany—part of German East Africa. In 1916, they were occupied by Belgian troops, and then were turned over to Belgium under the Treaty of Versailles. In 1923, the League of Nations gave Belgium a mandate over the territory of Ruanda-Urundi.

After the Second World War the mandate regime was replaced by international trusteeship: in December 1946, the U.N. General Assembly placed Ruanda-Urundi under Belgian trusteeship.

The administrative status of Ruanda-Urundi was fixed by the law of August 21, 1925: both countries, forming a separate area, were administratively united with the Belgian Congo. Supreme power was exercised by a vice-governor-general, subordinate to the governor-general of the Congo, and from 1959 by a resident-general. In addition, there were Belgian commissioners in each country.

The Belgian colonialists preserved the system of indirect rule introduced by the Germans. The territory was divided into two "states". Each was headed by a king (*mwami*) elected by the local nobility and approved by the vice-governor-general. Actually, all the activities of the king were controlled by the Belgian commissioner in the territory. After the Second World War, the Belgian authorities, seeking to reinforce their positions by small concessions to the local elite and by creating a semblance of "popular representation", formed a General Council of Ruanda-Urundi (1947) as an advisory body of the vice-governor-general. Of the 43 Council seats, 27 were held by Belgians and only 16 by Africans, in their majority representatives of the nobility, appointed by the commissioners.

Each country was divided into districts, headed by Belgian officials. The smaller administrative units were ruled by chiefs responsible for carrying out the instructions of the administration, maintaining "order", collecting taxes and recruiting migrant workers. In

[1] In Swahili, Burundi is called "Urundi" and in the period of colonial rule it was accepted as the country's official name. Rwanda was called "Ruanda".

addition to administrative power, the kings and the chiefs exercised judicial functions, likewise under the control of Belgian officials.

The chiefs received salaries from the Belgian authorities, the amount of which depended on the number of male taxpayers in the given district. A special school for chiefs, to which only children of the nobility were admitted, was opened in Astrida (Ruanda) in 1929.

In a word, the existing apparatus of the feudal state was largely preserved in both countries, the colonialists merely having adapted it to their needs. The feudal nobility, especially the top group, served as the primary social mainstay of the Belgian authorities.

The division into social-ethnic groups—Batutsi, Bahutu and Batwa—was preserved in Ruanda and Urundi, although in a considerably altered form. Some researchers called them castes and others regarded them as tribes. Their origin goes back to distant times and is connected with the settling on these territories, whose aborigines were pygmies, of Bantu peoples and subsequently (in the 15-16th centuries) of bellicose nomad cattle-raisers of the Ethiopoid anthropological type. It is held that the Bahutu (85 per cent of the population in both countries) are mainly descendants of the Bantu settlers; the Batutsi (10 per cent) are descendants of the 15-16th-century conquerors; and the Batwa (5 per cent), of the pygmies. A process of assimilation has been going on between these groups throughout the centuries. A single nationality has been crystallised in each country: Banyarwanda (in Ruanda) and Barundi (in Urundi) with a common language (Kinyarwanda and Kirundi respectively).

Even prior to the establishment of the colonial regime, the differences between the Batutsi, Bahutu and Batwa actually no longer coincided with the emerging class division of early feudal society. But they were preserved none the less. The feudal elements in both countries belonged to the Batutsi, although there also were poor Batutsi, whose way of life differed little from that of the peasants. At the same time, a top group of their own had developed among the Bahutu peasants. It consisted above all of village elders who, like the feudal elements, collected tribute from the peasants and exploited their labour. For their position they were close to the small feudal landowners. The Batwa stood on the lowest rung of the social hierarchy. Some of them lived in the forests, in separate villages, and engaged in hunting, fishing and the gathering of wild-growing fruit. They preserved the main features of the primitive-communal system. Other Batwa lived in the same villages with the Bahutu and Batutsi. Sometimes they were artisans, more often servants and less frequently, full-fledged members of the peasant communities.

Before European colonisation, the lands in both countries had largely passed from the peasant communities to the feudal owners. A peculiar feudal system of cattle-holding also existed. Most of the cattle was maintained in the peasant households, but was considered the property of the feudal elements. The peasants acted as the hol-

ders of the cattle; for the use of the animals they had to work for the feudal owner and pay him rent in kind. In Ruanda this system of holding cattle was called *ubuhake* and in Urundi, *ubugabire*.

Economically, Ruanda and Urundi were underdeveloped countries, even more backward than most African colonies. Industry was in a rudimentary state. Primitive agriculture, mainly of a subsistent character, did not provide for the minimal needs of the population. The colonial officials and bourgeois researchers declared that the grave economic situation in Ruanda and Urundi was a result of their "overpopulation", although the population density there was only one-third of that in Belgium. In reality, economic development was hampered by colonial oppression and backward social relations.

Up to the Second World War, both countries were of little economic significance for Belgium and even less so for the world capitalist market. Belgium, just as Germany before her, refrained from making any substantial investments in both countries; nevertheless, she obstinately clung to them as a strategic area and a source of raw materials. A key to understanding this policy should be sought in the general laws of imperialist development. Lenin wrote that colonial expansion of imperialism also embraced lands which being unsuitable today might become suitable tomorrow. "...Finance capital", Lenin wrote, "in general tries to seize the largest possible amount of land of all kinds in all places, and by every means." [2]

Only after the Second World War did the foreign monopolies begin to utilise Ruanda and Urundi more intensively as suppliers of agricultural and mineral raw materials. Early in the 1960's, from 20 to 25 per cent of the cultivated area was planted to cash crops (above all coffee and cotton, and also castor-oil beans, pyrethrum, tobacco, etc.). While in 1948-1953 the average annual production of coffee for the market amounted to 11,400 tons, in 1959-1960 it almost trebled (29,300 tons). The export of cotton from both territories increased from 351 tons in 1931 to 10,000 tons in 1961. Three small ginneries were built.

The introduction of coffee, cotton and other export crops in peasant farms proceeded with the active participation of foreign companies. For example, the buying up and export of coffee was monopolised by American-Belgian L'Office de cafés indigènes du Ruanda-Urundi.

But agricultural production remained at a very low level. The hoe was the main farming implement, and it was ousted by the plough only in some prosperous farms. In 1961, both countries had altogether ten tractors used on farms of European settlers. The plantations and farms of European settlers took up about 1,000 hectares in both territories. In general, Ruanda and Urundi were not consi-

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[2] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 22, 1964, p. 262.

dered promising for the development of plantations or capitalist-type farms. The European population in the rural areas played a political rather than an economic part.

The introduction of coffee, cotton and other export crops in the countryside stimulated the development of capitalist relations. Alongside the old exploiting feudal class, a stratum of rich peasants who largely specialised in production for the market and employed hired labour, gradually developed. Such farmers (as a rule they came from the ranks of the more prosperous Bahutu) were bound by economic dependence, and to a certain extent also by common interests, to the exporting companies, to the Belgian colonialists. The Belgians expected to find in them a new social mainstay.

It is this prosperous minority of the rural population that united in cooperatives which were first organised in 1949. In 1960, there were 28 cooperatives in both countries, of which 17 engaged in the production and marketing of coffee. For the colonial administration the cooperatives, the way they functioned in Ruanda and Urundi, offered a channel for contacts with the local social elite.

Livestock-raising holds an important place in the economy of the two countries, which have many good pastures in zones free of the tsetse fly. In 1959, Ruanda and Urundi had 1 million head of cattle and 1.4 million goats and sheep.

Local cattle is of inferior stock, however. Its productivity is low (the average daily milk yield is two litres), which is largely explained by the extensive nature of stock-raising and the overcrowded pasture-lands. What is most important, the distribution of livestock among the various groups of the population was extremely uneven. Most of the cattle was owned by the feudal nobility and the rural bourgeoisie.

Prior to the Second World War, Ruanda and Urundi had practically no industry (except handicraft production). It was only after the war that a few factories which engaged chiefly in primary processing of export crops were commissioned, and they were Belgian-owned. Neither country had a national industrial bourgeoisie. The extractive industry began to develop mainly in postwar years. Minerals were mined on a very small scale. In 1960, production included 1,750 tons of cassiterite, 2,332 tons of lithium ore, 422 tons of tungsten, 200 tons of beryllium and 49 kilogrammes of gold. Three Belgian companies—Minétain, Somuki, Georwanda—accounted for 90 per cent of this output. In 1959, the extractive industry employed 6,300 African workers and 67 Europeans, mostly engineers and technicians.

Neither the Germans nor the Belgians built any roads. Most export and import goods were sent via the port of Bujumbura (on the northern shore of Lake Tanganyika) and from there by waterways to Matadi (the Congo) and Kigoma (Tanganyika). External trade was fully controlled by foreign companies. The foreign-trade balance was frequently unfavourable and the deficit sharply increased

in the last years of colonial rule. While in 1950 export receipts covered the imports, in 1960 they were sufficient to pay for 83 per cent, and in 1962 only for 63 per cent, of the imports. American capital captured substantial positions in the foreign trade of Ruanda and Urundi. Up to 1962, the United States held first place in the exports and second place (after Belgium) in the imports of both countries.

The historic destinies of Ruanda and Urundi are inseparable from those of the entire African continent. For decades their peoples fought against colonial bondage. But their victory became possible only in the course of the general advance of the national-liberation movement after the Second World War, when imperialism's colonial system began to disintegrate. Great influence on developments in Ruanda and Urundi was exerted in particular by the anti-imperialist struggle in the Congo and the proclamation of the latter's independence, which signified the break-up of the Belgian colonial empire.

The anti-imperialist movement in the two countries assumed an organised nature at the end of the 1950's. Mass political organisations of the local peoples arose, but they were set up primarily on the social-ethnic principle. The Belgian colonialists tried to exploit this lack of unity and separatist tendencies which weakened the liberation movement.

In view of the enhanced economic importance of the Bahutu rural bourgeoisie and its influence among the peasants, the Belgian authorities started to cooperate with the Bahutu upper crust. In 1952, a pyramid of councils (councils in both countries, and in regions and districts) was set up. These councils were elective, which enabled the Bahutu top group to gain access to them inasmuch as its candidates were supported by the Bahutu peasants who comprised a majority of the population in both countries.

The *ubuhake* system was abolished in Ruanda in 1954 and the *ubugabire* system in Urundi in 1955. According to the laws issued in 1954 and 1955, a third of the "leased" cattle remained the property of the feudal elements and two-thirds became the property of the cattle-holders. This reform to a certain extent restricted the exploitation of the Bahutu peasants by the Batutsi feudal elements. But the biggest advantage was gained by the Bahutu rural bourgeoisie, that owned much more cattle than the small peasants. Moreover, abolition of the *ubuhake* and *ubugabire* system practically reduced to naught the economic dependence of the Bahutu upper crust on the Batutsi feudal group.

The colonialists thus undermined to some extent the positions of the Batutsi feudal elements in order to win over to their side the new, growing social force, the Bahutu rural bourgeoisie. As a result, the Belgian authorities alienated a rather substantial group of feudal Batutsi, who turned into opponents of the colonial regime. This was particularly the case in Ruanda where caste barriers and contradic-

tions between the Bahutu and Batutsi were preserved to a greater extent than in Urundi.

In 1959, small and middle feudal elements set up the Ruanda National Union, which demanded the immediate abolition of Belgian trusteeship and independence. This demand was backed by Kigeri V, the King of Ruanda, who ascended the throne the same year.

A more moderate position was taken by political organisations of the Bahutu—the Bahutu Emancipation Movement, founded in 1959, and the Association for the Social Progress of the Masses, which arose in 1957 and was formalised as a party in 1959. Although they relied on peasant support, they mainly expressed the interests of the rural bourgeoisie. The Bahutu Emancipation Movement demanded the abolition of Batutsi feudal privileges, democratisation and African administration.

A peculiar situation arose. Demanding independence, the Ruanda National Union at the same time defended the traditional Batutsi privileges and sought to preserve the feudal system in the country. The Movement and the Association were opposed to feudalism, but did not raise the question of immediate independence and were ready to strike a compromise with the colonial administration.

A bitter struggle broke out in November 1959. Armed clashes between Bahutu and Batutsi, provoked by the colonialists, flared up throughout the country. At the height of the struggle, on November 10, 1959, the Belgian Government reorganised the administration of the trust territory. The political union with the Congo was abolished. The Belgian vice-governor-general was replaced by a resident-general, who actually preserved the prerogatives of his predecessor. Power remained in the hands of the colonialists, but the two countries were given self-government; a legislative assembly and government consisting of Africans were set up in each of them.

The Bahutu Emancipation Movement won at the communal elections held in June and July 1960 under the control of the Belgian administration. In October 1960, King Kigeri V fled from Ruanda. A provisional government, headed by Gregoire Kayibanda, was formed from leaders of the Bahutu Emancipation Movement. On January 28, 1961, the provisional government proclaimed Ruanda a republic. Many leaders of the opposition party, the Ruanda National Union, were arrested or deported.

The state system of Ruanda was finally chosen at a referendum held on September 25, 1961. About 80 per cent of the electors voted in favour of abolishing the monarchy. Simultaneously elections were held to the Legislative Assembly, with the Bahutu Emancipation Movement winning 35 out of the 44 seats. Kayibanda again headed the government.

But the hopes of the Belgian colonialists that the advent of moderate elements to office would enable them to preserve the trusteeship regime proved unfounded. The people of Ruanda demanded the proclamation of independence. This demand was supported by the

democratic forces of the world. On June 27, 1962, the 16th Session of the U.N. General Assembly took a decision abolishing Belgian trusteeship over Ruanda-Urundi as of July 1, 1962. The independence of Ruanda was proclaimed on that day.

In Urundi, where relations between the Bahutu and Batutsi were not so acute, events took a different turn. Here the social differentiation of the Batutsi was deeper. Part of the Batutsi, just as of the Bahutu, were dependent on the *baganwa* princes (the Batutsi feudal aristocracy). Moreover, the bourgeois stratum of the Bahutu was much weaker than in Ruanda. The contradictions between the *baganwa*, on the one hand, and the Bahutu and the mass of the Batutsi, on the other, were the most acute.

In Urundi, the Belgian colonialists relied chiefly on the feudal nobility. But in the period of the liberation movement even feudal elements most intimately connected with the Belgian administration could not openly oppose the people's striving for independence. Formally supporting the demand for sovereignty, they insisted on independence being preceded by a period of self-government within the framework of the trusteeship regime. This programme was advocated by the Christian Democratic Party, founded in 1959.

Another part of the feudal nobility formed the Burundi Party of Unity and National Progress in 1959. It demanded self-government and the establishment of representative institutions elected by universal suffrage. But before long it put forward a slogan of abolishing the colonial regime; this slogan won the people's support.

Nevertheless, at the communal elections, held in November 1960 under the control of the colonial administration, a majority was gained by the Christian Democratic Party. This party, supported by the Belgians, formed a provisional government headed by Joseph Simpaic. But at the elections to the Legislative Assembly, held on September 18, 1961, the overwhelming majority of the people voted for the Party of Unity and National Progress. It gained 58 out of the 64 seats. Louis Rwagasore, the leader of this party, became the premier of the new government. On October 13, 1961, this noted progressive fighter for independence and friend of Patrice Lumumba was assassinated by foreign agents. The people revere the memory of their national hero, and the day of his death is observed as national mourning day in Urundi.

The Urundi Government set out to abolish the colonial regime as swiftly as possible. After the United Nations ended trusteeship over Ruanda-Urundi, Urundi became the independent state of Burundi on July 1, 1962.

Support of the socialist community, the Afro-Asian states and the democratic forces in other countries played a big part in the winning of political independence by Rwanda and Burundi. In the United Nations, the Soviet Government insisted on the abolition of Belgian trusteeship over Ruanda-Urundi and "immediately granting this territory independence in conformity with the long-standing pressing

demands of the population of this country." [3] The governments of Ethiopia, Mali, Libya, the United Arab Republic and other African states repeatedly exposed the policy of the Belgian colonialists and demanded independence for Ruanda and Urundi. In Belgium herself, progressive forces, first of all the Communist Party, supported the struggle of the peoples in the trust territory for freedom. Relying on the support of all freedom-loving mankind, the peoples of Ruanda and Urundi succeeded in throwing off the colonial yoke and establishing sovereign states.

RWANDA

The independence of Rwanda was declared on July 1, 1962. Five months later, the new constitution instituted a presidential regime. The president, elected for a term of four years by universal and direct suffrage with secret ballot, is head of state and government and also commander-in-chief of the armed forces. Legislative authority is exercised by the National Assembly elected for a term of four years. Gregoire Kayibanda became the first president of Rwanda. He is the leader of the Republican Democratic Movement, the only political party functioning in the country.

The government of the young republic was faced with intricate internal problems, arising from the unsettled conflict between the two main groups of the population, Bahutu and Batutsi. These contradictions led to open clashes.

The conflict, fanned by external and internal reactionary forces, began in 1959 and continued in 1963 and 1964. Entire Batutsi villages were destroyed and many of their inhabitants perished or fled the country; altogether about 150,000 Batutsi emigrated to Uganda, Tanzania, the Congo (Kinshasa) and Burundi between 1959 and 1964. Progressives throughout the world called for an end to the fratricidal war, which was of benefit only to the reactionaries.

The problem of Batutsi refugees has created serious difficulties in Rwanda's relations with her neighbours. The Kayibanda Government has announced that it will raise no obstacles to the return of the refugees, provided they pledge loyalty to the existing regime.

The government of the young republic has come up against serious economic difficulties aggravated by the country's separation from Burundi. Formerly the manufacturing establishments were built mainly in Bujumbura, the administrative centre of Ruanda-Urundi, which after independence became the capital of Burundi. The airfield and port on Lake Tanganyika through which the external ties of both countries were maintained are also located there.

[3] Statement of the Soviet Government on the Need to Abolish Belgian Trusteeship over Ruanda-Urundi and the Situation in the Congo, January 11, 1961.

Rwanda's economy is based on agriculture. Coffee, cotton, pyrethrum and tea are the main export crops. The mountainous terrain and climate are conducive to the terrace cultivation of tea. The principal tea estates are in the Shangugu district. Pyrethrum is cultivated in the Ruhengeri area; in Nyawarongo valley lands will be developed for the cultivation of coffee, cotton and various food crops.

The Rwanda Government expects to finance the country's economic development plans solely with foreign investments, primarily those from the Common Market countries. To attract foreign capital, a special law on foreign investments in Rwanda was promulgated in 1964, giving to foreign enterprises the same status as to the local ones. The owners of foreign enterprises have the right freely to export their profit.

Rwanda has signed economic and technical cooperation agreements with Belgium, France, West Germany and the U.S.A.

Rwanda's political life is dominated by the Republican Democratic Movement. At the second elections to the National Assembly, held on October 30, 1965, the party again won a majority. Kayibanda was re-elected president for another term.

The Catholic church and missionaries exert considerable influence on Rwanda's political life. Catholic missions are in charge of elementary and secondary education. Up to now over 60 per cent of school-age children fail to attend school.

In recent years, the government, too, has begun to pay attention to the problem of education. Several vocational and technical schools have been set up. Women's medical schools have been opened in Kabgayi and Birambo. A university, the first higher educational establishment in the country, was founded in Butaré in 1963. In 1967 it had four departments—of medicine, literature, economic-social and natural sciences.

In foreign policy, the government orients itself on the Western states, particularly the Common Market countries. Rwanda joined the International Development Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. It is a member of the Afro-Malagasy Organisation.

Rwanda established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union on October 17, 1963.

Rwanda and Burundi formed a financial and customs union (a common bank of issue, common currency, customs union, etc.), but owing to differences over the distribution of the customs duty receipts the union was abrogated on December 16, 1963. Rwanda accused Burundi of encouraging armed clashes between Bahutu and Batutsi in border districts. But there has been a certain rapprochement since 1965. Delegates of Burundi and Rwanda met in Brussels on October 16, 1965, in Kisenyi, Rwanda, on April 18, 1966, and in Goma, the Congo (Kinshasa), on March 18, 1967, to discuss the normalisation of diplomatic relations between the two countries.

BURUNDI

The monarchy was preserved in Burundi after the proclamation of independence. The king possessed broad powers: approved the laws, was commander-in-chief, appointed ambassadors, etc. Legislative authority was vested in the National Assembly, and executive powers, in the Council of Ministers headed by a prime minister.

Political struggle in the country became more acute in the years of independence. The Party of Unity and National Progress and the People's Party were the main political rivals. The former—the ruling party—consisted mainly of representatives of the feudal aristocracy. Ethnically it was a Batutsi party. The People's Party, which was founded in 1964 and represented the interests of the rural bourgeoisie and the urban intellectuals, was in opposition. Ethnically it was a Bahutu party. At the polls in May 1965 the People's Party won 22 out of the 33 seats; and the Party of Unity, 11 seats. The elections showed that the Party of Unity was no longer supported by the majority of the people. The king, however, chose to ignore the results of the elections. For five months the country had no government, and then, contrary to the will of the people, the king entrusted its formation to the Party of Unity.

The opposition decided to resolve the conflict by force. On the night of October 18, 1965, army units surrounded the royal palace and tried to take it. Shots were exchanged, and there were some killed and wounded.

The rebellion was brutally crushed and its leaders were shot, but the internal situation was not stabilised.

On March 24, 1966, King Mwambutsa IV, who had been abroad since October 1965, handed over his powers to his son, Crown Prince Charles. On July 28, 1966, Prince Charles, relying on the army, officially deposed the king, dissolved the government and proclaimed himself king of Burundi.

The political situation was further complicated by economic difficulties. The programme for the development of agriculture was not being fulfilled. The production of coffee, the main export crop, dropped from 18,000 tons to 12,000 tons. In 1962-1966 years the cotton crop was below 8,000 tons annually. A number of projects—development of the Ruzizi valley, extension of Bujumbura airport, construction of a dam on Lake Tanganyika—were not carried out.

Popular discontent with the conditions in the country became so great that it led to a coup on November 28, 1966. The king was deposed and Burundi was proclaimed a republic. Michel Michombero assumed the post of president.

The new government announced its intention to cope with the economic difficulties by expanding the production of export crops—coffee, cotton and tea. The Party of Unity and National Progress and mass organisations (youth, women's and the Burundi Workers Federation) resumed their activities. The government proclaimed a policy of encouraging private foreign investments and the development of national capital.

The young state has much work ahead in education and culture, though some progress has been made. Vocational schools have been opened, and the network of elementary and secondary schools has been extended. Free tuition was introduced in elementary schools in 1966 and in secondary schools in 1967. Medical services (except medicines) are also rendered free of charge.

A university with departments of literature, philosophy and the socio-economic sciences was opened in 1960. The Burundi Academy of Language and Literature was founded in 1963 and a pedagogical institute was established in 1965.

The public health services are still inadequate. At the beginning of 1967, Burundi (population, 3 million) had altogether 16 hospitals and 30 doctors (of whom 16 were Africans).

Burundi maintains close contacts with the countries of the Common Market, of which she became an associate member in December 1962. In 1966, Burundi signed technical and financial aid agreements with Belgium, France and the Federal Republic of Germany.

The Michombero Government maintains friendly relations with Tanzania, the United Arab Republic and the Congo (Brazzaville). In March 1968 it applied for admission to the East Africa Economic Community. Rapprochement with the Congo (Kinshasa) was in the making in 1966 and 1967.

The republican government is also striving to extend relations with socialist countries.

In foreign affairs, it adheres to the principle of neutrality and non-interference in the internal affairs of other states. Burundi has denounced the war of the United States in Vietnam, Israeli aggression and the apartheid policy of Southern Rhodesia and the Republic of South Africa.

THE CONGO (Kinshasa)

The Interwar Period (1917-1939). The initial period of the Congo's colonisation ended in the main towards the close of the First World War. Imperialist rule substantially altered social relations and the economy. It speeded the disintegration of the peasant community and tribal organisation, and stimulated the development of capitalist relations in the countryside, in the course of which the peasants moved to the town *en masse*. The colonialists, who were after easily accessible natural wealth (primarily wild-growing rubber trees and ivory), built means of transport which linked the interior with the sea ports. This created the prerequisites for more intensive capitalist exploitation of the Congo.

After the First World War, the Belgian Congo was converted into an important source of mineral and agricultural raw materials, a market for the sale of manufactured goods and an investment sphere for the Belgian monopolies. Five monopoly groups, controlling up to 90 per cent of all the investments in the Congo, captured dominating positions. Société Générale de Belgique was the most influential among them. Specifically, it controlled the Union Minière du Haut-Katanga, the industrial mining trust which dominated Katanga Province, and the Forminière Company which monopolised the mining of diamonds in Kasai Province.

The flow of capital into the Congo increased after the First World War. Many private and semi-state companies arose which developed mines, plantations, factories for the primary processing of raw materials, and built railways and electric stations.

The extractive industry grew at an especially rapid pace. Prior to the First World War, only gold and diamonds were produced in considerable quantities. Subsequently, the Union Minière undertook the extensive working of the rich Katanga mineral resources. Large concentration factories and metallurgical works were built in this province. The export of Congo copper, tin, cobalt, zinc, industrial diamonds and gold steadily increased. Some industrial enterprises were built for the primary processing of raw materials, the repair of transport vehicles, production of building materials, textiles, etc.

Agriculture, too, underwent considerable changes. Formerly the Congolese were forced to engage in the gathering of forest products (rubber, oil palm, fruits, etc). To increase the production of agricultural raw materials, the colonial authorities began to compel the Congolese peasants to cultivate certain crops—cotton, oil palm, coffee, etc. Colonial companies bought up these export commodities from the peasants at very low prices. Nevertheless, Congolese agriculture was mainly of a semi-subsistence character and was based on communal land tenure.

Tribal chiefs and feudal elements dominated the countryside. In their turn, they were obedient puppets of the colonial authorities and companies. The chiefs collected taxes (a definite part of the receipts was designated for them personally), provided recruits for the army and drafted people for forced labour jobs. Disobedient chiefs were dismissed by the colonialists, who put their own placemen instead. The spread of commodity-money relations, the alienation of land by the colonialists and the mass exodus of the peasants from the villages to the towns speeded the disintegration of the community and undermined the tribal order.

The best lands confiscated from the Congolese peasants were turned over, as a concession or in full ownership, to companies and individual settlers. Large plantations (cotton, oil palm, coffee, cacao, etc.), factories for processing raw materials and livestock farms were set up on these lands. Anglo-Dutch Unilever, which had large oil-palm plantations and vegetable oil mills in different parts of the country, was particularly active in rural areas.

A transport network was needed for exploiting the country's natural and manpower resources. The Congo River and its many tributaries were extensively utilised to transport raw materials from the interior. Districts producing mineral and plant raw materials were linked by railways and highways with river and sea ports. To supply power to industry, electric power stations were built, chiefly in the south-eastern Congo.

Production of the extractive industry and the output of agriculture for the market increased steadily in the interwar years. From 1918 to 1939, the production of copper rose from 20,000 tons to 123,000 tons and tin ore, from 1,300 tons to 8,300 tons; between 1920 and 1940, the production of palm oil grew from 7,600 tons to 65,300 tons; palm kernels, from 39,400 to 44,900 tons; and rubber, from 556 to 697 tons. The years of the world economic crisis, which struck a painful blow at the Congo's economy, were the exception. During that period many enterprises were closed down, production in all sectors was cut, and the number of unemployed steeply rose. Although prior to the Second World War the economic situation was stabilised, the grave consequences of the crisis were felt for a long time.

The rapid growth of the extractive industry after the First World War stimulated the shaping of the working class. The

number of Congolese in paid employment swiftly rose. In 1915 there were 37,000 wage workers; in 1920, 125,000; and in 1930, 388,000.

At first these industries employed primarily peasants who sought seasonal work. After working for a short period, the peasants returned to their villages. Subsequently, the employers, finding this system unprofitable, switched over to the regular employment of workers who had acquired certain skills. The share of regular workers increased among persons working for hire. In 1921-1925, 96 of each 100 workers had to be recruited annually; in 1926-1930, 63; and in 1936-1940, only 11. The percentage of regular workers was highest in the extractive, manufacturing and building industries and also on transport; moreover, a part of the regular workers mastered a definite trade.

The colonialists exploited woman and child labour on a large scale, mainly in agriculture and on various forced labour projects—the construction of roads, public buildings, etc. Mine, factory, plantation, building and transport workers made up a big part of the hired labour force.

The Law on the Administration of the Belgian Congo of October 18, 1908, known as the Colonial Charter, served as the basis for colonial legislation in the Congo. The local population suffered racial discrimination in all spheres: it was completely barred from administrative affairs, deprived of civil rights and subjected to brutal oppression. Legislative power in the colony was exercised by the king and parliament of Belgium, and the governor-general. The executive authority was officially vested in the Belgian king, represented in the colony by the governor-general; the entire administration and the colonial armed forces were subordinated to the latter. Purely advisory bodies were also set up, consisting mainly of officials appointed by the authorities: a Colonial Council under the king of Belgium; a Government Council under the governor-general; Provincial Councils under the governors of the provinces and municipal councils under the administration of the bigger towns. These bodies, vested with no powers, carried little weight. It was only in the last years of the colonial regime that a small number of Congolese were admitted to some of these councils.

The policy of the Belgian colonialists towards the local population was based on the fraudulent theory of "paternalism". The ideological servitors of colonialism claimed that the Congolese were "children who needed to be looked after and guided and educated". The colonialists hypocritically proclaimed that their aim was to offer this "paternal guardianship" to the peoples of the Congo. This pretext justified the disfranchisement of the Congolese, their brutal oppression and exploitation. The paternalistic system assumed a particularly sinister, all-embracing character in labour camps of the large mining companies, the Union Minière

du Haut-Katanga in the first place. In these camps, the workers and their families were kept under the constant control of company agents, the colonial administration and religious missions. The colonialists elaborated a whole range of measures for keeping the workers in spiritual bondage, cutting short attempts at organisation and stifling the slightest protest. The paternalistic system enabled the employers to rob the workers with impunity, to pay a large part of the wages in goods and to resort to all kinds of abuses.

To provide the growing industry with manpower, the colonialists introduced the contract system. The labour contract law provided the legal basis for regulating relations between the monopolies and the Congolese workers. Promulgated on March 16, 1922, it was widely advertised by the colonial press as a model labour law. Actually, however, this law made the Congolese workers the bonded slaves of the European employer. For stopping work before the expiration of the contract term or departing without the employers' permission for as far as 25 km. from the place of work, a Congolese was fined or imprisoned. The contracts were concluded for terms ranging from four to seven years, but frequently the worker became the company's slave for life, inasmuch as after the expiration of the contract he, as a result of various swindling tricks, was in debt to the company.

The urban population was swiftly growing in the Congo. Peasants, fleeing from burdensome taxation and the misrule of the local authorities, left their villages and moved to towns and industrial communities. All the bigger towns were divided into well-developed "white" quarters and "native" quarters deprived of the most elementary amenities. Congolese living in towns were subjected to particularly elaborate and degrading racial discrimination.

Intensified colonial exploitation after the First World War spurred on the struggle of the people against the colonialists. Anti-imperialist actions of the peasantry were still of a spontaneous nature and in most cases were led by representatives of the tribal and feudal nobility. Political-religious movements sprang up and became wide spread during this period. Religious sects, which appeared in different parts of the Congo, were above all opposed to the official church, expressing thereby the dissatisfaction of the Congolese with the persecution of local cults and the implanting of Christianity that was alien to them. But at the same time these sects urged the people to fight not only against "colonialists in cassocks" but also against the authorities, against the inhuman colonial order. Their demands, vested in religious form, were of a distinctly pronounced anti-imperialist character. The most powerful political-religious movements, which gained tens of thousands of supporters, created a ramified centralised network of organisations. Kibangism and the Negro Mission in the Lower Congo and

Kitawala in the eastern part of the country were the most outstanding.

Kibangism arose in 1921 and was led by Simone Kibangu, a former Congolese Protestant clergyman. His supporters proclaimed him a messiah destined to save the Africans. He had 12 "apostles" who, in their turn, appointed and controlled local "prophets" in each district. The anti-imperialist trend of Kibangism was most vividly expressed in the political slogan "Congo for the Congolese". The leadership of the movement forbade peasants to pay the poll-tax and to extend the cultivated area. They called not only for passive resistance but also led a number of rebellions and mass actions against the colonialists.

The colonial authorities brutally persecuted the followers of this movement. In 1921, Kibangu was arrested and sentenced to death; this sentence was commuted to life imprisonment (he died in prison after spending 30 years in confinement). His most active followers were imprisoned or deported. But the soil for Kibangism was so favourable and the roots it struck were so deep that the colonial administration could not wipe it out: this movement existed clandestinely and at some periods became active on a wide scale.

Other political-religious movements directed against the colonial regime also sprang up in different parts of the country. Congolese frequently rose up in arms to fight their oppressors.

The rebellion which broke out in 1919 in the contiguous Sankuru, Equatorial and Lake Leopold districts lasted for almost two years. For many years, the population in a number of districts of Kivu Province refused to obey the colonial authorities, and several drawn-out large-scale military operations were needed to crush the resistance of the people in 1923. Rebels in the Mitumba Mountains set up roadblocks and impeded the activity of the colonialists on a sizable territory. The authorities considered the "pacification" of the rebel districts in 1923 an "outstanding event".

Unrest became especially strong and massive between 1931 and 1936, when the world economic crisis worsened the lot of the people. The disturbances led to clashes with the police and troops. An uprising of such a nature broke out in 1931 in the Kwango district, where monopoly companies, including a Unilever branch, were the lords and masters.

Infuriated by the deterioration of their conditions, unbearable forced labour and brutal oppression of soldiers, administration officials and company agents, the plantation workers stopped work and hid in the forest. The atmosphere was so tense that an official sent to the spot to punish the workers was killed. The uprising swiftly spread to the entire Kwango district. The authorities then summoned troops from Leopoldville to assist the local garrison. The struggle was unequal: army units equipped with machine-guns and cannons attacked the rebels whose sole weapons were spears.

The suppression of the uprising turned into a massacre. Hundreds of Congolese were slaughtered by the soldiers. Prisoners were shot without trial and investigation, in the presence of women and children. In the same year, a big battle between rebels and government units was fought in Kasai Province. Some 4,000 Congolese, armed, besides spears, with rifles smuggled into the Congo, staunchly fought against the troops.

Since there were no social forces capable of uniting the masses and heading the anti-imperialist struggle, anti-colonialist actions in the 1930's were doomed to failure. But these actions with their tragic mistakes and grave losses paved the way to a more powerful and organised anti-imperialist movement of the Congolese people.

1939-1945. The Second World War exerted a strong impact on the Congo's economic and socio-political development. The demand for strategic raw materials steeply climbed and to satisfy it factories had to be enlarged and the area under industrial crops extended. More workers were needed. In view of a sharp drop in imports the production of many goods had to be organised in the country.

During the war, the Congo was the chief supplier of uranium for the U.S. war industry and also an important source of tin, copper, rubber and many other raw materials for the anti-Hitler coalition. The American monopolies took advantage of the derangement of ties between the Congo and Belgium to capture key economic and political positions in the colony. U.S. investments in the main sectors increased substantially. Military bases, airfields and strategic means of communication were built under the guidance of American experts.

In wartime, the colonial administration made particularly wide use of forced labour for the building and repair of roads, the hauling of freight, laying out of plantations, etc. The number of Congolese working for hire greatly increased: from 536,000 in 1940 to 700,000 in 1945. The share of regular workers rose. The shortage of European workers compelled employers to let Congolese do skilled jobs. While formerly Congolese were barred from skilled and higher-paid jobs, now a stratum of specialists—mechanics, machine operators, doctors' assistants, office employees, etc.—arose. Moreover, a local bourgeoisie emerged, primarily in trade.

Exploitation of the working people was stepped up in wartime and their living conditions deteriorated. This promoted the anti-imperialist national-liberation movement. Mass unrest and armed uprisings of peasants and soldiers occurred in the Congo during the war. Kibangism, Kitawala, Negro Mission and other political-religious movements became more active and spread their influence. The colonial authorities resorted to various repressions, conducted extensive punitive operations, instituted martial law in some districts and confined "trouble-makers" to hard-labour

camps. According to official (greatly underestimated) figures, about 3,000 Congolese were confined to camps for political reasons during the war.

In Coquilhatville Province, for example, police operations were conducted and martial law was introduced three times in 1940 and 1941. In 1944, military operations were launched in some districts in the eastern provinces and they were occupied by troops. On February 20, 1944, a mutiny broke out among Congolese soldiers in the garrison at Luluabourg in Kasai Province. With the help of military units dispatched from other areas, the colonial authorities disarmed the rebels, executing 100 of them. To intimidate the population, a public execution of soldiers was staged and thousands of Congolese were driven to witness it.

The young Congolese proletariat began to fight for its rights during the war. Workers' actions against the unbearable living and labour conditions were spontaneous and unorganised. Congolese were not allowed to set up trade unions. There were only small unions of European factory and office workers, which defended the narrow professional interests of their members, were infected with racialist prejudices and regarded inimically the attempts of Congolese workers to organise. But in wartime European workers staged numerous strikes in defence of their interests. Their example exerted a certain influence on the Congolese workers.

The first organised strike of Congolese workers broke out at the end of 1941 at enterprises of the Union Minière du Haut-Katanga in Lubumbashi (a suburb of Elisabethville). On December 4, the workers struck, demanding an increase of 0.5 francs per day in view of the continuing rise of prices. The governor of Katanga at once dispatched troops to Lubumbashi. Without any provocation on the part of the strikers, the soldiers opened fire, killing 60 and wounding many others. After the strike was crushed, the management of the Union Minière raised wages by 1.5 francs daily at the beginning of 1942. But while the conflict was going on, the colonialists refused to consider a peaceful settlement because the very presentation of demands by Congolese workers was something they would not stand.

The first big strike of the Congolese proletariat was crushed, but it had wide repercussions in the country and exerted a considerable revolutionising influence on the workers.

1945-1960. After the Second World War, the economy of the Congo developed under the impact of the growing demand for raw materials on the world capitalist market. The keener competitive struggle prompted the monopolies to build in the Congo factories for processing raw materials and producing goods for the local market. The number of persons working for hire greatly increased, reaching 1.2 million at the end of 1959, that is, about 10 per cent of the country's population.

To step up the exploitation of the colony, the Belgian Government drew up a ten-year economic development plan for the Belgian Congo (1950-1959). This programme helped intensify the looting of the country's natural resources and subordinate the Congo to the strategic plans of the Western powers. A considerable part of the investments under the ten-year programme was utilised for building strategic roads, airfields, military bases, etc. The programme was financed chiefly by foreign loans, which increased the Congo's dependence on financial groups of other imperialist powers, the United States above all. As a result, the United States took second place (after Belgium) in the colony's foreign trade, having outstripped Britain. U.S. monopolies established control over some of the companies operating in the Congo. The Belgian ruling circles had to retreat in face of the expansion by the U.S. monopolies and grant them all kinds of privileges in their colony.

One of the main aims of the ten-year programme was to increase the production of agricultural raw materials. The colonial authorities undertook to convert some of the communal semi-subsistence farms into *paysannats*—individual peasant farms. Each peasant was given a plot which he had to till and sow on the orders and under the control of the local authorities. Cooperatives and capitalist farms which began to employ machinery and fertilisers were organised in the African sector of agriculture. Under the new conditions, the dependence of the peasants on trading and agricultural companies and the colonial officials had increased.

The national-liberation movement steeply advanced in post-war years. The rising new classes and sections of Congolese society—the proletariat, national bourgeoisie and intellectuals—began to play an active part in the movement during this period.

Prior to the Second World War, the Congolese proletariat developed primarily in workers' settlements and camps established by the colonial companies. This, more stable and skilled, part of the working class was kept under the constant control of the colonialists and the chiefs; it was subjected to thorough ideological conditioning and attempts were made to corrupt it by various handouts. Tribal and ethnic differences were artificially maintained among the workers. All this impeded the development of class consciousness and weakened the militancy of this section of the Congolese proletariat, even of miners and metal workers, who usually march in the front ranks of the working-class movement.

After the war, the towns in the Congo began to grow rapidly. Large masses of workers were concentrated there and the ranks of the unemployed were swiftly swelled by peasants fleeing from villages and workers discharged by companies and ousted from their settlements and camps. The urban proletariat, on the whole much younger and more heterogeneous in composition, was schooled in the class struggle faster than the older groups of the

proletariat in company camps and settlements. It was the urban proletariat that became the mainstay of the leading political parties and trade unions and acted as the shock force in the struggle for political independence.

A general strike of port workers flared up in Matadi at the end of 1945 and it grew into an armed uprising. The workers demanded higher wages and recognition of their unions. The insurgents captured the town. The strike was crushed by troops only after fierce fighting for several days. Subsequently, the Congo repeatedly witnessed powerful actions by the people, with the workers always in the van.

The growth of the working-class movement compelled the colonialists to make some concessions. In 1946, Congolese factory and office workers were allowed to set up trade unions in some industries and at certain enterprises. The activity of these unions was fully regulated and controlled by the administration. In 1957, the authorities officially recognised—true, with certain reservations—the freedom of trade union activity and allowed the establishment of joint trade unions for Congolese and Europeans. At the beginning of 1959, there were about 70,000 union members in the Congo. But the weak unions, subjected to powerful pressure of the monopolies, missions, colonial administration and Belgian reformist trade union centres, were unable consistently and resolutely to defend the interests of the workers. They frequently kept away from the political struggle and took to the path of reformism.

Brutally suppressing the least display of dissatisfaction by the Congolese, the colonialists tried to split their ranks by bribing the small stratum of skilled workers. The social measures (pensions, family allowances, etc.) introduced after the war applied mainly to this stratum and placed it in a relatively privileged position.

Flirting with the upper crust of the rural and urban African population, the colonial administration resorted to partial political reforms: advisory bodies to the governor-general and the governors of provinces, with the participation of a small number of Congolese, were set up. Local self-government agencies were also organised in the towns. Elections of municipal councils were even held in December 1957 in the three largest towns of the Congo—Leopoldville, Elisabethville and Jadotville. But only some 15 per cent of the Congolese were allowed to take part in them.

After the Second World War, the stratum of Congolese intellectuals increased somewhat. Consisting in the main of employees of the colonial administration and private companies, teachers, doctors' assistants, and so on, it began to play an important part in socio-political and cultural life and gained a big influence among the people, especially in the towns. The leaders of the main national parties came from its ranks. At the same time, part of the Congolese intellectuals were under the influence of religi-

ous missions, which did everything to bring them up in the spirit of submission to the colonialists, to suppress their striving for progressive ideas and separate them from the people.

In general, the influence of religious missions, especially Catholic, on political, economic and social life was much stronger in the Congo than in other African countries. The missionaries actively helped in the colonial subjugation of the people. Prior to 1946, they had a monopoly of the education system. Later on, too, they controlled most of the educational establishments. The results of their activity in this sphere can be judged from the fact that at the time the Congo gained independence more than 90 per cent of the population were illiterate, and none of the Congolese had a higher education. It was only in 1954 that the Congo's first university was opened in Leopoldville; it was a branch of the Catholic University in Louvain, Belgium. In 1956, a state university was set up in Elisabethville.

The advance of the national-liberation movement after the Second World War prompted the churchmen partly to dissociate themselves from the actions of the colonial monopolies and authorities. To secure their positions under any circumstances, the missions began the large-scale training of clergymen from among the Congolese and established contacts with some Congolese public leaders.

The manifesto published in mid-1956 by a group of Africans associated with Catholic missions and united round the *Conscience Africaine* magazine was a landmark in the Congo's political life. This manifesto proclaimed the aim of creating a great Congolese nation and protested against racial discrimination. Its authors even raised the question of the Congo's independence, although they meant independence in the indefinite future, as a result of long evolution. That was the first document addressed to the entire Congolese people. In the "silent empire" which the Congo was for many years, the manifesto of the *Conscience Africaine*, for all its limitations, made a tremendous impression and struck a wide echo in the country.

R. and P. Gosset, Belgian journalists who visited the colony in December 1957, wrote: "The Congo is developing at a terrific pace. Opinions which yesterday seemed subversive are now professed by the majority. The state authorities and administration are impotently watching this evolution with which they cannot keep up. Their routine is little adapted to such a dynamic process." Various social groups came into motion, the more active elements began to unite and prerequisites were created for the organisation of political parties and groups.

The colonial authorities strictly banned political organisations, but they encouraged the activity of various local social organisations, including cultural associations which united members of one tribe or people from a definite district, and the "educated citizens' "

circles and centres. The latter united Congolese intellectuals, irrespective of ethnic origin.

Abako, a cultural association of the Bakongo, which enjoyed great prestige, was the most influential ethnic association. It was founded in 1950. Prominent among the "educated citizens'" centres was the "Conscience Africaine", founded in Leopoldville in 1951 by employees of the colonial administration and companies, teachers and clergymen.

Such associations and circles appeared in many towns. The colonialists sought to exploit them to divide the working people, counterpose various ethnic groups and sever the links between the national intellectuals and the masses. But after 1955, many of these organisations became active in the political sphere, formulated their demands and issued declarations. In the main, these were demands for democratic reforms, abolition of racial discrimination and improvement of the people's unbearable condition. Particularly popular were the 1956 manifestos of "Conscience Africaine" and Abako, which for the first time formulated and proclaimed the demand of political independence.

Since then Abako actually turned into a political party. Notwithstanding the official ban, political parties were set up in the Congo. Most of them arose on a tribal basis, uniting representatives of one people or tribe, and confining their activity to a definite district. In addition to Abako, there were the African Solidarity Party (of peoples in the Kwango and Kwilu districts), Balubakat (Balubas of Katanga) and other organisations of a similar nature. Some parties were set up on a countrywide scale and not on a regional basis. The Congo National Movement, founded in September 1958, began to play a leading part among them. It was headed by the fervent patriot and fighter against colonialism Patrice Eméry Lumumba.

At the end of 1958, the national-liberation movement in the Congo for the first time in the country's history made its demands known to the world. Patrice Lumumba, chairman of the Provisional Committee of the Congo National Movement, addressing the African People's Conference in Accra, stressed: "The main aim of our movement is to free the Congolese people from the colonial regime and to win independence." Lumumba ended his speech as follows: "Down with colonialism and imperialism, down with racialism and tribalism! Long live the Congolese nation, long live independent Africa!"

The situation in the Congo became tense; the pent-up indignation of the Congolese could explode at the least provocation. This happened on January 4, 1959, when the Leopoldville police opened fire on a peaceful demonstration organised in protest against a ban imposed on an Abako meeting, which was to have discussed the results of the African People's Conference. Tens of thousands of Congolese clashed with the soldiers and the police. The latter

killed hundreds, and wounded and maimed many more people. The events of January 4 were followed by arrests and the establishment of a reign of terror throughout the country. But it was impossible to intimidate the people: following Leopoldville, spontaneous disturbances flared up in Thysville, Stanleyville, Matadi and elsewhere. Mass strikes were staged by workers, who put forward both economic and political demands.

The trade unions stepped up their activity. The first independent Congolese trade union centre, the Congolese Workers' National Union, was set up in April 1959. The General Federation of Congo Workers and the Congolese Workers' Union, which had been branches of Belgian trade union centres, officially announced their independence a year later.

The year 1959, ushered in by the massacre in Leopoldville, became a year of tense and bitter struggle for freedom. Events broke up the "conspiracy of silence" organised by the colonialists around the Congo, exposed the falsity of imperialist propaganda about the "idyllic" relations between the Congolese population and their European "fathers" and lifted the curtain over the true state of affairs in this "model" colony. While resorting to cruel terror, the colonial administration made a number of manoeuvres to split and weaken the national-liberation movement.

The Belgian Government published a declaration on January 13, 1959, promising to establish elective organs of power in the colony, abolish racial discrimination and even grant independence. But all these promises were of a hazy nature and no definite time for carrying them out was set.

The colonial authorities, monopolies and missions, afraid of losing all control over the masses, organised, with the help of their agents, pro-colonialist parties, designed to undermine the unity of the patriotic forces. The largest of them were the National Progress Party, which operated in Leopoldville and the western districts, and the Conakat Party in Katanga. Conakat, headed by the Congolese businessman Moise Tshombe, was lavishly financed by the Union Minière du Haut-Katanga. But the attempts to stem the revolutionary movement in the Congo were futile.

A round table conference of Congolese and Belgian delegates, held in Brussels in January and February 1960, discussed the terms for the Congo's transition to political independence. Patrice Lumumba, who came to Brussels straight from prison, took part in the conference. (The colonialists, who had twice arrested the leader of the patriotic party had to release him under the pressure of the masses.) The conference, marked by bitter struggle, ended in victory for the Congolese progressive forces. It set the date for the proclamation of the country's independence—June 30, 1960.

After the Brussels round table conference, the colonialists tried hard to reduce the Congo's future independence to a fiction and

preserve their economic and political control over the country. To this end, the Belgian Government at the economic round table conference, convened in April 1960, sought to impose fettering terms on the Congolese leaders, but the latter refused to recognise the decisions of that conference. As a result of machinations by the Belgian imperialists, the economic situation in the Congo sharply deteriorated in the first half of 1960. Unemployment mounted, finances were deranged, inflation was swiftly spreading, capital was flowing out of the country and in a number of districts clashes between different tribes and ethnic groups were provoked by the colonialists and their henchmen.

In May 1960, the Belgian Parliament approved a provisional constitution for the Republic of the Congo, elaborated largely on the basis of the recommendations of the political round table conference.

At the general elections to the central and provincial organs of power, held in the same month, the patriotic parties, and especially the Congo National Movement, scored an impressive victory. Yet the elections showed the strength of regionalist tendencies: 80 of the 137 deputies were elected in their tribal districts.

Patrice Lumumba became the head of the central government, which was made up of representatives of the main political parties. Joseph Kasavubu, leader of Abako, was elected president of the Republic of the Congo.

Patrice Lumumba called for complete and immediate political sovereignty and for vigorous measures to ensure the country's economic independence. He also called for curbing the rapacious activities of foreign capital in the Congo.

The Lumumba Government's consistent defence of the country's national interests was vividly manifested during the discussion of an "agreement on friendship, aid and cooperation" between Belgium and the Congo. The draft of this document, prepared by Belgian experts, unequivocally reflected the neo-colonialist claims of Belgian imperialism. On the insistence of the Congo, this draft was modified considerably.

At the first stage of the national-liberation revolution, the people of the Congo inflicted a crushing defeat on Belgian imperialism, they succeeded in abolishing the colonial regime. This victory was scored thanks to the unity of the democratic forces. The working class which was not sufficiently mature and organised and was weakened by the colonialists' paternalistic policy, was unable to take the leading position in the anti-imperialist revolution. Together with the peasantry, it played the role of the shock force which demolished the political rule of Belgian colonialism. Leadership was assumed by the revolutionary democratic intellectuals and petty bourgeois who subordinated to their influence the main political parties, trade unions and other mass organisations. The working people of town and country supported the general national slogans they put forward. This was the basis on which a united front of the anti-colonial parties and organisations arose.

Already during the struggle for political independence the unity of anti-colonialist forces was undermined both by the intrigues of the leaders of Conakat, the National Progress Party and other pro-colonialist groups, and by differences among the patriotic parties, which became especially acute when the question of the state system of independent Congo came up for discussion. By the beginning of 1960, the arguments between the federalists and the unitarians had developed into fundamental contradictions. Lumumba and his followers wanted a unitary republic. They argued that in the existing conditions a federal system would be a step toward separatism and that a weakened Congo would be easy prey for imperialist powers.

True enough, parochial sentiments and separatist tendencies, fanned by Europeans, increased sharply in the country on the eve of independence. Katanga separatists had tried to secede even before June 30, though nothing came of their attempt at that time.

THE REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO

The independence of the Congo was solemnly proclaimed on June 30, 1960. King Baudouin and his ministers flew to Leopoldville for the independence celebrations. In his speech, the king tried to picture the attainment of independence as a result of Belgium's magnanimity. President Kasavubu thanked God and Belgium for independence, but mentioned neither the tragic colonial past nor the struggle of the people, nor the republic's future. It was Patrice Lumumba's wrathful speech that put everything in its proper place. "No inhabitant of the Congo", Lumumba said, "will ever forget that we won independence in struggle, in persistent and hard daily struggle, in which we were daunted neither by suffering nor tremendous sacrifices, nor the blood shed by our peoples." The prime minister of the young republic urged the people not to forget the untold suffering and calamities brought by the colonialists: slave labour, poverty and starvation, indignities and club law, racial discrimination in all its manifestations, the torture and massacre of Congolese patriots. The diametrically opposed speeches of the two Congolese leaders reflected the two sharply hostile tendencies in the republic's future development.

Lumumba's supporters spoke on behalf of the democratic forces who resolutely strove for eliminating colonialism, achieving genuine independence, strong unity and solidarity with other African peoples. The opposite camp was made up of the tribal and feudal elite and other reactionary elements associated with the foreign monopolies and Catholic missions. They placed their own advantages and privileges above the common national interests. To preserve them, they were ready to strike a compromise

with the colonialists and actually renounce the newly-won independence.

The Belgian imperialists expected to place these men in office and thus preserve their grip on the Congo. But it was not so easy to effect this plan. A coalition government, headed by Patrice Lumumba, was brought into office by the anti-imperialist revolution. It declared its resolve to uphold the vital interests of the people and was not willing to submit to the dictation of the colonialist circles. The imperialists tried to control the government and sabotage its progressive measures with the help of the old administrative machine, in which Belgian officials played the main part, and the colonial army which remained under the command of Belgian officers. But resolute action by Congolese soldiers and working people in the first days of July 1960 ousted Belgian officials and officers everywhere except Katanga.

A few days after the proclamation of the Congo's independence the Belgian imperialists, using as a pretext unrest in the Congolese army, launched intervention against the republic. Making use of their placemen, they engineered the country's division. The government of Katanga proclaimed the "independence" of this richest province in the country. The reactionary forces of Katanga headed by Moise Tshombe openly came out against the Lumumba Government. In the diamond-rich Kasai Province, A. Kalonji also set up his own "state" and began to persecute Lumumba's supporters.

At the request of the Lumumba Government, the Security Council decided on July 14 to send a U.N. force to the republic to help its lawful government introduce order in the country. But the U.N. officials actually acted against the Lumumba Government and actively supported the elements who were out to split the country.

Even in these extremely difficult conditions the Lumumba Government succeeded in effecting important measures to overcome the split, normalise economic life and launch democratic development. It sent a military expedition to Katanga, which scored certain successes in the struggle against the splitters. Notable results were registered in education. Though a considerable number of European teachers had left the country, conditions were provided for normal studies in the schools.

The Lumumba Government reinforced the position of the republic in foreign affairs. Cooperation with other African states was arranged. Having become convinced that the U.N. officials were pursuing a hostile policy, the Congolese Government appealed for aid to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries which rendered the republic disinterested assistance, primarily in supplying badly needed goods (food, medicines, etc.), arranging communication and transport facilities.

Having failed to strangle the republic through economic sabotage, the reactionary forces organised a conspiracy to overthrow the Lumumba Government. The success of the plot was facilitated by the absence of unity in the democratic camp and the government's inadequate ties with the people. Religious missions and the Catholic press, which enjoyed considerable influence among the people, were particularly active. Under the impact of mounting difficulties, "moderate" leaders of some parties struck a deal with the reactionary forces.

Early in September 1960, President Kasavubu announced over the radio that the Lumumba Government had been deposed. But the attempt at a coup was energetically repulsed by the government and Parliament. The military, headed by Colonel Mobutu, then organised a putsch in Leopoldville and overthrew the Lumumba Government.

With the connivance of the U.N. command, Lumumba and his colleagues J. Okito, President of the Senate, and Minister M. Mpolo were handed over to the placeman of the monopolies, the Katanga dictator Tshombe. They were killed in January 1961.

This monstrous crime aroused the wrath of progressives the world over. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries, which consistently defended the interests of the Congolese people in the United Nations and outside it, roundly denounced the plot against the Congo.

In the Congo, the democratic forces continued the struggle. Antoine Gizenga, leader of the African Solidarity Party and Lumumba's colleague, headed the lawful government of the republic, which moved to Stanleyville. The country's eastern areas became the Congolese patriots' stronghold. In June 1961, under pressure of the patriotic forces, the republic's Parliament was convened. But the new government which was appointed by Parliament and headed by Cyrille Adoula included reactionaries, alongside progressive leaders and supporters of Lumumba's policy.

The Adoula Government proclaimed its resolve to restore the unity of the Congo and pursue an independent democratic policy. But actually it took no effective measures to cope with the problems facing the country. The unlawful arrest of Deputy Prime Minister Gizenga in January 1962 was a hard blow at the patriotic forces. He was kept in confinement for more than two years, up to July 1964. Gizenga's arrest was a result of another plot aimed at ousting from the central government representatives of the democratic forces and at strengthening the influence of pro-imperialist elements.

The "Congolese crisis" in 1960-1961 enabled the imperialists to strike a heavy blow at the national-liberation movement and establish a neo-colonialist regime which relied on internal reactionary forces. While acting jointly in suppressing the patriotic forces, the foreign monopolies bitterly fought among themselves for control over the country's wealth, particularly Katanga's miner-

al resources. In the course of this struggle, the United States succeeded in capturing some of the positions formerly held by Belgium, Britain and France.

The economic situation in the country became exceedingly grave. Trade and industry declined and inflation spiralled upward. Prices of prime necessities rose 600 per cent as compared with 1961, whereas wages increased only by 150 per cent. The foreign monopolies, as before, extracted huge profits from the Congo. The embezzlement of state funds by the ruling elite assumed staggering proportions. At the same time, the working people suffered from poverty and unemployment.

Despite the liquidation of separatist regimes in South Kasai (in 1962) and Katanga (early in 1963), the country was gripped by a deep political crisis. Internal reactionary forces who had betrayed the country's national interests launched repressions against democratic organisations.

In 1963, the government adopted a plan for training and reequipping the Congolese army. The United States undertook to finance these measures and direct them. It supplied planes, helicopters, armoured cars and other materiel for the Congolese army. Instructors and military advisers arrived from Belgium. Italy undertook to organise air units, and Israel, to train paratroopers. Foreign control was thus established over the Congo's armed forces.

The reactionaries instituted a military and police regime in the country. Parliament was dissolved and a state of emergency proclaimed in October 1963. The four main national patriotic parties—the Congo National Movement, the African Solidarity Party, the Convention People's National Party and the African Democratic Union—were proscribed.

But repressions could not impede the new advance of the national-liberation movement which began in mid-1963. The struggle was headed by the National Liberation Council, set up by leaders of progressive parties in October 1963. Insurgent detachments liberated large areas and many towns. Democratic self-government bodies were set up on the liberated territory and they reestablished order and normal economic activity.

In July 1964, Moise Tshombe was placed at the head of the pro-imperialist government. He organised the mass recruiting of European mercenaries, and with their help launched extensive operations against the insurgents. At the end of 1964, Belgium and the United States launched open armed intervention against Stanleyville, the centre of the patriotic forces. As a result of this act of aggression and sharp differences among the leaders of the National Liberation Council, the armed struggle subsided.

During this period, two large political groups uniting many Right-wing parties were formed in the country. Conaco (the Congolese National Convent) was set up under the leadership of Tshombe. It included 49 parties, specifically Conakat. Conaco won

the parliamentary elections in March-April 1965. To counteract it, Kasavubu's supporters formed the Congolese Democratic Front. By mid-1965, the Front had strengthened its positions at the expense of Conaco.

Sharp contradictions and struggle in the ruling circles on the main issues of home and foreign policy brought about the fall of the Tshombe regime in September 1965. In November a coup ousted President Kasavubu. His place was taken by the commander-in-chief of the Congolese army Mobutu. The new leadership proscribed the activity of all political parties, dissolved women's and youth organisations and curtailed the rights of trade unions.

To achieve a maximum concentration of power the president became the head of the government, gaining virtually unlimited authority. The rights of parliament were limited to the functions of an advisory body. Under the new administrative structure the country is divided into eight provinces headed by governors, who are appointed by the president and are accountable to him alone. The biggest towns of the Congo which had been named after Belgian statesmen were renamed: Leopoldville into Kinshasa, Elisabethville into Lubumbashi, Stanleyville into Kisangani, and so on. These innovations were legislatively consolidated by the new constitution which came into force in mid-1966.

To extend the mainstay of his government, Mobutu organised the National Movement of the Revolution party, united all the trade unions in one organisation and is trying to carry out some social reforms aimed at improving the living conditions of the working people.

The main proclaimed aim of the government and the party is economic independence and genuine political sovereignty. "The National Movement of the Revolution", it is stated in the party's platform, "has taken the road of implacable struggle in order that our country should no longer be an economic colony of the international financial oligarchy."

In September 1966 the government passed a decree concerning the right of the Congolese state to the land and mineral wealth ceded to foreigners prior to June 30, 1960, thereby acquiring a legal basis for controlling more effectively the activity of foreign capital. In January 1967, the government liquidated the biggest foreign mining company in the country, Union minière du Haut Katanga for refusal to submit to the new regulations governing the activity of foreign companies in the Congo.

A national company, Société générale Congolaise de minière, was set up to operate the mines and works which had belonged to Union minière. A monetary reform was carried out to strengthen the national currency. A five-year economic development plan for 1968-1972 is under consideration.

ANGOLA AND MOZAMBIQUE

Interwar Period (1918-1939). Portugal began to conquer African territories as far back as the 15th-16th centuries, but up to the end of the 19th century she controlled only small coastal strips and the valleys of some rivers, where fortified outposts and trading stations were built. For a long time the Portuguese were unable to penetrate the hinterland. Practically it was only at the beginning of the 1920's that Portugal completed the occupation of her colonies' interior areas.

The imperialist powers waged a bitter struggle for the division and redivision of Africa, and it was not easy for Portugal, who was weak economically and militarily, to preserve her possessions. It was only owing to the rivalry among the major colonial powers—Britain, France and Germany—that she was able to cling to them, and, moreover, to share in the division of Germany's colonies after the First World War. Under the Treaty of Versailles, Kionga, a small territory in former German East Africa, was added to Mozambique.

Portuguese rule adversely affected the social development of the African population. The colonialists destroyed the incipient state formations and retarded the natural process of national consolidation. Tribal isolation, fanned by the colonialists, grew stronger.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the African population of Angola and Mozambique lived in clans and tribes in small villages and engaged primarily in primitive farming based on slash-and-burn field preparation. Stock-raising was developed in southern Angola and Mozambique in areas free from the tsetse fly. Fishing was important on the ocean coastline and in river valleys. Hunting was an important means of subsistence among Angola's Balunda and Wachokwe peoples.

Economic development in Angola and Mozambique under colonial rule proceeded at an even slower pace than in other African countries. Backward Portugal had neither sufficient capital nor the technical facilities, nor specialists for the development of industry and agriculture in her colonies. Portuguese companies engaged chiefly in trade. They sold low-grade wine and coarse textiles,

two items which made up the bulk of Portuguese exports to Angola and Mozambique. Portuguese settlers had small plantations on which forced labour was employed.

Almost all large agricultural and industrial enterprises in Angola and Mozambique were directly or indirectly controlled by Portuguese capital. British capital held a leading position in the economy of these colonies. After the First World War, Portugal, which even earlier, as Lenin put it, had been under the protectorate of Britain,[1] became still more dependent on the latter. In 1924, Portugal's total foreign debt amounted to £63 million, of which £60 million (more than 95 per cent) she owed to Britain. A colonial power, Portugal was herself in semi-colonial dependence on foreign capital. This is a specific feature of Portuguese colonialism.

In Angola, British companies controlled foreign trade, the production of sugar, sisal and other export commodities. Jointly with Americans and Belgians, the British founded the Companhia de Diamantes de Angola in 1917. It received from the Portuguese government the monopoly right to prospect and work the diamond fields throughout the colony's territory. British capital financed in 1902-1931 the building of the Benguela Railway, which linked Lobito, Angola's main port, with the mining areas of Katanga. The British monopolists controlled 90 per cent of the shares of the Companhia des Caminhos de Ferro de Bengela, which owns this major strategic railway.

Portugal handed over more than half of Mozambique's territory to several large companies in which British capital dominated. The Companhia de Nyassa received a concession for a territory of 190,000 sq. km.; Companhia de Zambezi, 103,000 sq. km.; and Companhia de Moçambique, 135,000 sq. km. Up to 1930, the management of these companies exercised almost unlimited jurisdiction in the concession areas. Companhia de Moçambique even had the right to issue money. This company exported more than the rest of the colony. British companies owned in Mozambique most of the big plantations of sugar cane, cotton, sisal and groundnuts. They controlled the merchant marine (at the beginning of the 1930's, of the 26 shipping companies serving Mozambique ports only two were Portuguese) and the railways.

Belgian capital, too, had strong positions in Angola and Mozambique. Besides participating in the Companhia de Diamantes de Angola, it controlled a considerable part of the production of coffee (a major export crop) in Angola and of cotton in Mozambique.

Most of the capital was invested in building ports and railways for exporting mineral and agricultural raw materials; these ports and railways also handled the foreign trade of the Union of

[1] See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 22, 1964, p. 263.

South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, Nyasaland and the Congo. More than 80 per cent of the goods delivered to Mozambique ports were for transit shipment to British colonies. The transport system of Angola similarly served the mining districts of the Congo.

At the beginning of the 1930's, Angola's manufacturing industry consisted of four sugar refineries, three tobacco factories, 33 flour mills and some small food factories. Mozambique had 13 factories for the processing of sugar-cane, sisal and tobacco. Notwithstanding their large potentialities, the Portuguese colonies contributed only 0.5 per cent of the world production of tropical crops. The extractive industry was confined to the mining of diamonds in Angola and of a small quantity of gold in Mozambique. Mineral raw materials comprised less than 10 per cent of the Portuguese colonies' exports. They had a large unfavourable balance of trade over many years.

Portugal, which was on the verge of complete bankruptcy during the world economic crisis in 1929-1933, sought a way out in stepping up the exploitation of the colonies. It was during the crisis that Portuguese reactionary circles placed Salazar, who had previously held the post of finance minister and minister for the colonies, at the head of the state. His mission was to organise the effective exploitation of the colonies.

Salazar began by introducing a new taxation system in the colonies. The entire male population, from 16 to 60 years of age, had to pay a "native tax", amounting to more than one-third of the annual earnings of an African worker. Indirect taxes were sharply raised. Beginning with the early 1930's, tax receipts made up more than half of all budget revenue.

Laws adopted between 1928 and 1933 legalised the use of forced labour, which was officially declared a means of drawing Africans into "Portuguese civilisation".

The colonial authorities were empowered to make any "idle" African work for the state or a private employer from three months to one year. Those who refused to comply with this duty could be sentenced to hard labour. Peasants who failed to pay the poll-tax were also conscripted for forced labour. Forced labour was employed on a particularly large scale in the building of railways and highways, and on plantations of big companies.

Unable to utilise all the manpower reserves in the colonies, the Portuguese administration began to export manpower to neighbouring countries. In 1928, the Mozambique colonial authorities concluded a convention with the Union of South Africa, undertaking to provide from 80,000 to 100,000 workers for the Transvaal mines annually. The contract with the recruited workers was concluded for one year but it could be prolonged for another six months. A similar agreement was concluded with Southern Rhodesia. The colonial administration received 35 shillings for each contracted African, which totalled up to a sizable sum. But Portugal's main advantage was that the South African companies undertook to send 47.5 per cent of all their exports through Mozambique ports. Payment for transit shipments reached several hundred million escudos.

The system of exploitation based on sheer coercion was maintained by military fascist methods of administration and control. A powerful, ramified punitive machine, without equal in Africa, was built up in the Portuguese colonies. This largely explains why the Portuguese possessions had for a long time remained the "most quiet" colonies in Africa. That was the quiet of the dungeon.

The administrative system, formalised by the Colonial Act of 1930 and preserved with small alterations in the postwar period, was a system of direct rule. The minister for the colonies appointed governors-general of the colonies; subordinate to them were the governors of districts who, in turn, had under their jurisdiction the "administrators" of districts and the "chiefs of outposts".

The vertical bureaucratic hierarchy of colonial authority was supplemented by a horizontal organisation of fascist corporations of settlers, set up according to the professional principle. In addition to the ramified police network, there was a system of secret informers. Lastly, troops were quartered in all the larger communities.

The Salazar Government opened the doors of its colonies to German capital. An agreement signed in 1936 gave Hitler Germany the right to prospect for, and work, the natural wealth of Angola for 99 years. Under this agreement, Krupp sent to Angola about 200 engineers and technicians for exploratory work. But Britain's efforts, especially after the outbreak of the Second World War, stopped the penetration of German capital.

The system of oppression and terror introduced by Salazar in the colonies was ideologically based on the concept that the population of Portugal and her colonies constituted a "great multiracial community" developing into a single nation. In practice this concept resolved into forcible assimilation.

The people in the colonies were divided into "civilised", to which the Portuguese belonged by birthright, and "uncivilised", to which, with very few exceptions, the entire African population belonged. To be admitted to the category of "civilised", an African had to master the Portuguese language to perfection, embrace Christianity, receive an adequate income, have a "good character", pay taxes punctually, serve in the Portuguese army and lead a "Portuguese way of life". By 1940, the colonialists had "assimilated" 24,000 Africans in Angola (0.6 per cent of the population) and 1,800 in Mozambique (0.03 per cent of the population).

The assimilation theory was aimed at crystallising a small privileged group from among the millions of the local population to serve as agents of the colonial administration.

But the hopes of the colonialists did not come true. Most Africans who received citizenship rights remained loyal to their people and took an active part in the anti-colonial struggle. It was they who set up in 1929 the first national organisations: the National African League of Angola and the Angola Inhabitants' Regional Association. The activity of these legal ogranisations was mainly of an educational and reformist nature. But in the National African League a large group favoured active struggle against colonialism. They wanted to convert the League into a mass political organisation. At that time, however, Angola lacked the conditions for a militant anti-colonial party. Moreover, the colonialists closely watched the activity of these organisations so that they should not trespass the permitted bounds. Although the League and the Association did not succeed in drawing the people into political activity, they played a considerable part in paving the way for the future development of the national-liberation movement.

Prior to the Second World War the actions of Africans against the Portuguese colonialists, as a rule, were spontaneous and unorganised. Owing to extremely low economic growth rates, even as compared with other African territories, the driving forces of the anti-colonial revolution in Angola and Mozambique matured much slower than in the other colonies.

Despite the general backwardness, definite social shifts in Angola and Mozambique could be discerned even in the prewar period. A considerable stratum of Africans working regularly for hire arose.

The young proletariat displayed its militancy in strikes of transport workers and dockers in Mozambique in 1925, and in the uprisings of Angola plantation workers in Port Amboin in 1924 and in Ambriz in 1925. In 1930, a big anti-colonial movement swept Angola's western districts. Luanda dockers started the rebellion and then it spread to the plantations. The colonialists were able to crush it only with the help of troops rushed from Portugal. At that time, the peasant movement was not developed as yet. Mention should be made only of the uprising of the Angolese Mukuba tribe in 1939 and a few small-scale peasant disturbances. The fascist gendarmes brutally dealt with the rebels.

The War Years (1939-1945). During the war, Portugal, having proclaimed her "neutrality", carried on a lively trade in food and strategic raw materials both with countries in the anti-Hitler coalition and with the fascist bloc. Britain, the United States and Germany were the biggest buyers of her colonial goods. From 1938 to 1945, exports of Angola doubled and of Mozambique, almost trebled. Moreover, foreign-exchange receipts from transit shipments through ports and railways of Angola and Mozambique steeply rose. The steady influx of revenue noticeably improved the financial position of Portugal. Her gold and foreign-exchange reserves increased six times between 1938 and 1946. From a debtor

of Britain, Portugal turned into a creditor, lending the former £80 million in wartime.

During the first stage of the war, when Germany had the upper hand, Salazar was flirting with the nazis. At that time Lourenço Marques (Mozambique) was utilised as a German espionage centre. A host of German businessmen, all kinds of advisers and specialists operated in the Portuguese colonies. But when the course of the war sharply turned, Portugal hastened to win the good graces of the Allies. In 1944, she complied with the request of Britain and the United States to stop the delivery of goods to Germany and allowed the Allies to set up naval and air bases on the Azores. True, Salazar did not go any farther and even prohibited by special law the sequester of German property in Portugal and her colonies.

Exploiting the contradictions among the Great Powers and enjoying the support of the imperialist circles, Portugal succeeded in preserving her colonial empire in Africa. A certain improvement of the country's economic position through colonial plunder enabled the Salazar Government to allot money for reinforcing the colonial machine.

The Postwar Period. The general advance of the liberation movement in Africa and the change in the balance of world forces compelled Portugal to introduce some political reforms in the colonies after the war. The colonial regime was to be strengthened through the intergration of the colonies and Portugal. A law, promulgated in 1951, proclaimed the colonies to be "overseas provinces", forming a single state entity with Portugal. This legal trick, performed on the very eve of Portugal's admission to the United Nations, gave the Salazar Government a pretext for claiming that Portugal was no longer a colonial power and therefore did not have to submit information to the United Nations on the situation in her overseas possessions.

Soon after the war, the Salazar Government took measures to encourage the activity of Portuguese capital in the colonies and protect it from foreign competition. The tax on corporate profits was reduced and preferential duties for Portuguese goods were introduced. New companies were obliged to have at least half of Portuguese capital. The results made themselves felt before long: the capital of the ten biggest Portuguese colonial companies more than doubled in the first 15 postwar years.

State-capitalist organisations in the colonies appeared after the war. In 1948, the contract with Beira Works, an English company, was denounced, although the contract officially expired only in 2022; with the help of American loans Portugal redeemed for £25 million the right to use the port of Beira (Mozambique). Subsequently, the Portuguese Government redeemed the railway from Beira to Umtali, Southern Rhodesia, owned by the Beira Railway Co.

The "development plans" of 1953-1958 and 1959-1964 consolidated the state-capitalist sector in Angola and Mozambique. Half of all the funds (51 per cent under the first plan and 46 per cent under the second plan) was allocated for road construction. The roads were built to serve the extractive industry, which swiftly grew in the postwar period, and to tighten military control.

The "development plans" were financed mainly by income received in the colonies themselves. At the beginning of the 1960's, the overseas possessions contributed one-third of the entire budget revenue of Portugal.

After the war, Angola turned into a big supplier of coffee for the world market. Coffee comprised more than one-third of the value of all exports. Coffee plantations now take up several hundred thousand hectares, with more than four-fifths of the area belonging to foreign companies and settlers. The production of diamonds rose substantially, exceeding 1,000,000 carats annually. At the end of the 1940's, diamonds became the second-largest export item (after coffee). New branches of the extractive industry, the mining of iron and manganese ore and oil, arose in Angola.

Cotton, fully exported to Portugal, assumed a leading place in Mozambique. It contributes about 10 per cent of the world output of sisal, 2 to 3 per cent of copra and 0.5 per cent of cotton. As for mineral raw materials, their production has not been appreciably developed. Coal, bauxites, tantalum, gold and other metals and minerals are extracted in small quantities. The manufacturing industry has several enterprises for the processing of cotton, sisal and sugar-cane.

American capital stepped up penetration of the Portuguese African colonies in the postwar period. In 1950, the United States invested $16 million in Portuguese colonies and in 1955, $26 million. In 1953, the U.S. Export-Import Bank gave Portugal a loan of $17 million for building a railway from Lourenço Marques to Southern Rhodesia. Altogether, by 1962 the United States had given Portugal military supplies for $300 million and economic aid estimated at $90 million.

West German capital began to make inroads in the Portuguese colonies after the war. Krupp became the main shareholder in an international consortium which monopolised the mining of iron ore in Angola. The consortium included also Danish and Portuguese capital. In 1958, a German-Portuguese company received a concession for the working of lignite deposits in Luso, Angola. German investments in Portuguese colonies exceeded 1,000 million escudos at the end of 1962.

The share of foreign states other than Portugal in Angola's exports rose considerably. While in 1925 Portugal received 69 per cent of the colony's exports (in value) and other states only 26 per cent, in 1954 Portugal's share dropped to 21 per cent and the share of other states rose to 77 per cent. This demonstrates the enhanced

interest of the capitalist world in exploiting the Portuguese colonies.

Portuguese and other foreign companies make huge profits in Angola and Mozambique. For example, the net profits of Companhia de Diamantes de Angola increased by 150 per cent from 1946 to 1956. They have exceeded 100 million escudos annually since 1959. Leading companies in Angola make profits of up to 50 per cent on their basic capital.

These fabulous profits are produced by the forced labour of the African population. The actual number of Africans conscripted for forced labour is carefully concealed by the Portuguese authorities. Basil Davidson, an English publicist, estimated that 379,000 Angolese were conscripted for forced labour in 1954—approximately half of all persons working for hire.

In Mozambique about 400,000 people are conscripted for forced labour annually. Only about 5 per cent of the working male population in southern Mozambique remain in their villages. The others either find employment in the towns, or become prey to local or foreign recruiting agents. At the beginning of the 1960's, 300,000 people from Mozambique worked in the Republic of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia.

To solve the problem of the agrarian surplus population in Portugal, the Salazar Government is encouraging immigration to the colonies. In Angola, the number of Europeans rose from 78,000 in 1950 to about 300,000 in 1965. Under the six-year development plan of Angola (1959-1964), the Salazar Government appropriated $38 million for the development of the Kunene Valley, the expansion of the settlers' colony in Cela and the settling of immigrants in the Cuanza and Benguela districts. The expropriated lands naturally are the most fertile and most conveniently situated. In 1963, Europeans in Angola owned more than 1.5 million hectares of cultivated lands, whereas Africans, of whom there are almost 20 times as many, held only about 2 million hectares. In Mozambique, Africans hold approximately 500,000 hectares of cultivated land as against 1,500,000 hectares which belong to European concessionaires.

The colonial administration systematically promotes the development of the European sector in agriculture: it recruits agricultural labourers for the settlers, supplies the latter with seed, organises the marketing of their produce, etc. At the same time, the local peasants are impoverished and ruined. Irrespective of their income, African peasants pay a single poll-tax which is steadily raised. At the beginning of 1961, the colonial authorities in Angola increased the poll-tax from 250 to 500 escudos annually; in Mozambique it equals 300 escudos. The subsistence farming of the peasants provides no money income, and in search of earnings they go to work on farms owned by Europeans. All this dooms the peasants to semi-starvation. In Mozambique, the annual per capita

consumption of an African in 1951-1955 was one kilogramme of meat and less than one litre of milk, whereas for a European it was 58 kilogrammes of meat and 63 litres of milk. Thousands of people die annually from undernourishment, unbearable toil and diseases; the average longevity of an African in the Portuguese colonies is 28 or 30 years. In the 1950's, infant mortality reached 60 per cent in Angola.

The colonial administration has practically relieved itself of all responsibility for education. On the basis of an agreement signed between Portugal and the Vatican on May 7, 1940, the education of Africans in Angola and Mozambique was turned over to Catholic missions. Instruction in schools is only in Portuguese and according to Portuguese textbooks and curricula. The results of such an educational system are quite telling: 99 per cent of the Africans are illiterate.

The vaunted assimilation doctrine thus has fully discredited itself.

Patriarchal-feudal and tribal relations prevail in the African village. Though hundreds of thousands of seasonal workers and agricultural labourers leave the countryside every year, only a small number settles down in the towns. The growth of the class consciousness of African workers is artificially restrained by laws which prohibit any workers' organisations. Only fascist corporative trade unions for Portuguese citizens are allowed.

The slowed-down process of national consolidation in the Portuguese colonies is also a consequence of the assimilation policy. According to the "native status of 1954", separate ethnic groups (with their territories, tribal dialects and specific social organisation) may be consolidated only by assimilating the "Portuguese way of life and thinking". An exchange of cultural treasures, the drawing together of kindred dialects, abolition of tribal separatism among the population of Angola and Mozambique are not favoured by the colonialists. And this is understandable, since the moulding of a national consciousness is dangerous for a foreign administration.

However, Portuguese colonialism has failed to stem the social development of the Africans. As exploitation of the colonies is intensified and the extractive industries and plantations are extended, an increasing number of Africans are drawn into large-scale production and they are concentrated in towns, on plantations and industrial settlements. While early in the 1950's "detribalised" Africans made up only about 5 per cent of the indigenous population, early in the 1960's about 20 per cent of the Africans lived in towns and industrial settlements. Hundreds of thousands of Africans from Angola and Mozambique, who annually went to work in the Republic of South Africa, Rhodesia and the Congo, gained there initial experience in struggle against the colonialists.

Advance of the National-Liberation Movement. Prior to the 1950's semi-legal cultural and educational associations of intellectuals in the towns and secret religious sects in the countryside tried to organise resistance to the colonialists in Angola.

In 1948, Angola intellectuals founded a cultural and educational society named "Let Us Discover Angola"; two years later, the Movement of New Angola Poets arose, many of whose members joined in 1952-1955 the semi-legal Cultural Society of Angola. These organisations sent their members to villages and suburban settlements to teach Africans how to read and write; they arranged clandestine celebrations of national holidays. Later on, they set up underground circles to study political literature. The activity of these organisations, though not so large in scale, was of considerable benefit. It initiated the revival of national culture and helped spread liberation ideas.

Tocoism was the most influential of the secret religious movements in Angola. It was named after its founder, the "prophet" Simao Toco. Tocoism is a syncretic doctrine, a conglomerate of Christian dogmas and traditional African religions. The sect was strictly centralised and its members obeyed stern discipline. Its main purpose was to oust the European invaders from Angola.

For a long time religious sects were the only mass anti-colonial organisations in Angola, where monstrous colonial exploitation and fascist terror held sway. As compared with other forms of the liberation struggle, the activity of religious sects undoubtedly seems backward and ineffective, but it played its part in preparing the peasant masses for the decisive onslaught on Portuguese colonialism.

In the mid-1950's, when the flames of struggle for national independence spread throughout Africa, the liberation movement in Angola and Mozambique reached a higher stage. It was at that time that the first national political parties, which set out to liberate the country from the Portuguese colonialists, appeared in Angola.

Early in 1956, a group of revolutionary intellectuals in Luanda founded the Angola Africans' United Struggle Party, which, together with a number of other underground organisations, formed the Angola People's Liberation Movement.

At first the People's Movement consisted mostly of patriotic-minded intellectuals. But energetic propaganda among the population rapidly swelled its ranks, especially in the towns. Workers, office employees and tradesmen joined the party. At the end of the 1950's, the People's Movement gained influence among agricultural labourers, plantation workers and peasants in the western and central areas. It became a united national front, which the Angolese joined irrespective of their social, racial, ethnic or religious affiliation. According to statements of the People's Movement, at the beginning of the 1960's the party had more than 50,000

members. Agostinho Neto, a representative of the revolutionary democratic intellectuals, became its leader.

In 1960, the People's Movement formulated its programme and rules. The programme, reflecting the demands of different social strata, called for the immediate proclamation of Angola's independence, the establishment of a republican system, full equality of all citizens, the building up of an independent national economy, the introduction of an eight-hour working-day, the development of national culture.

Another large nationalist organisation, the Angola People's Union, was founded in 1954 as a tribal association of the Mouchikongo and Bazombo Protestants, who had emigrated to the Congo; in 1958, it was converted into a political party with headquarters in Leopoldville, the Congo. H. Roberto, from the Bakongo tribal nobility, became the leader of the People's Union. It enjoyed greatest influence in rural areas of north Angola. According to leaders of the Union, the organisation had 40,000 registered members at the beginning of the 1960.

The People's Union is a political organisation relying on some Bakongo tribes. Its leadership has no clear-cut programme as to the ways for the development of the national-liberation movement in Angola.

At the end of the 1950's, an Alliance of the Bazombo People was organised in Leopoldville. At first it acted as a mutual aid society and then put forward a political programme of struggle for an independent Angola with a federal structure and decentralised power. Subsequently, the Alliance was renamed the Democratic Party of Angola and it admitted both Bazombo and other peoples.

After the proclamation of the Congo's independence, several smaller Angolese national organisations arose there. Frequently they had no clear-cut programme and did not represent any considerable forces.

The trade unions of Angola are disunited. Secretariats of the Angola National Labour Union, General Workers' League of Angola and Union of Angola Catholic Workers are functioning in Leopoldville.

Even this brief review shows that at the beginning of the 1960's the Angolese national-liberation movement was scattered organisationally and disunited politically.

The Angolese liberation movement developed in an intricate way. Unions and blocs of patriotic organisations were formed only to break up soon. Parties were split and frequently differences in views between their leaders caused open rivalry, which at times resulted in clashes. The absence of political experience made itself strongly felt.

As the national revolution developed, the inevitable polarisation of political forces took place. At the beginning of the 1960's,

two trends differing in their socio-political aims clearly took shape in the Angolese liberation movement: the revolutionary democratic trend represented by the Angola People's Liberation Movement and the narrow nationalistic trend represented by the tribalist Angola People's Union.

The People's Movement proposed the establishment of a broad democratic alliance, proceeding from the concrete conditions in Angola. The minimum programme of the People's Movement called for the "immediate creation of a united liberation front of Angola encompassing all political parties, people's organisations, armed forces, religious organisations, all nationalities and ethnic groups of Angola, all social classes, all Angolese living abroad irrespective of political convictions, social status, sex and age."

The People's Movement repeatedly proposed to the leadership of the Peoples' Union that a united front of all the patriotic forces be set up, but its offer was invariably rejected. Tribal limitations and the pursuit of narrow group aims prevented the Union leaders from agreeing to a united front. This was to a considerable extent facilitated by the ruling circles of the Congo (Leopoldville), where Angolese parties set up their centres at the time when Patrice Lumumba headed the government. The governments of Adoula and, later, Tshombe supported the People's Union and did everything to block the People's Movement. Enjoying their patronage, the Union launched a struggle for leadership in the Angolese liberation movement.

In the spring of 1962, the Peoples' Union and the Democratic Party agreed to set up in Leopoldville a National Liberation Front and then a revolutionary government of Angola in exile, headed by the Union leaders.

The People's Movement was not invited to participate in these organisations. The split between the two principal national organisations, for which the Peoples' Union is to blame, naturally hindered the spread of the national-liberation movement in Angola.

As for the situation in Angola proper, the Angolese national organisations had more than once offered to negotiate with the colonial administration. But each time the Portuguese authorities responded by intensifying their terror. The repressions in 1959 were particularly brutal. The police arrested hundreds of Angolese patriots. Fifty-seven of them (including seven Europeans) were tried on a charge of "subversive activity".

The cruel terror did not daunt the fighters but merely incensed the people. A revolutionary explosion was maturing. News of victories by other African peoples penetrated even the tightly sealed borders. The general situation in the country changed and Angola patriots took to arms early in the 1960's.

Hostilities began on the night of February 3, 1961. The insurgents, led by the People's Movement, attacked the prison, police headquarters and government radio station in Luanda. The attack

was repeated on February 10. Both were repulsed, some of the insurgents were killed or captured and thrown into prison. But these events served as a signal for action throughout the country. The patriots who managed to escape from Luanda organised an uprising of plantation workers in the north.

The People's Movement was energetically working to spread the armed struggle. A special military organisation was set up. It consisted of a revolutionary committee, which directed all military operations, and a central headquarters of the insurrection, to which the insurgent detachments were subordinated. The areas of armed struggle—Cuanza Norte, Luanda, Congo and Malanje—were divided into "military zones". Fourteen detachments of the People's Movement, supported by the local population, operated there.

The uprising greatly influenced other Angolese national parties. In March 1961, the Angola Peoples' Union joined the armed struggle. Detachments set up by the Union began to operate in districts populated by the Bakongo (located in the São Salvador-Bessa Monteiro-Bembe triangle). In the first months of the uprising, the Angolese guerrillas struck a number of telling blows at the Portuguese colonial army units. In the summer of 1961, 200 out of 500 coffee plantations in the north were wrecked, the roads cut and a considerable part of the coffee destroyed. The colonial economy suffered considerable losses.

The Salazar Government hastily transferred large army contingents and a big quantity of modern weapons to Angola. Prior to the hostilities, there were 9,000 soldiers in the colony; by mid-1967 their number had risen to 80,000. Following their favourite tactic of intimidation, the fascist colonialists indulged in the massacre of the population. By the beginning of 1962, more than 50,000 Angolese had been killed and over 60 villages had been destroyed by napalm bombs. Fleeing from the punitive detachments, the people migrated to neighbouring countries. From the beginning of the uprising to the end of 1963 more than 200,000 Angolese fled to the Congo alone.

Portugal's NATO allies became accomplices in the colonialist atrocities. Britain handed over warships and a big quantity of armaments to Salazar. West Germany supplied submachine-guns of latest design. Lastly, the United States delivered napalm bombs. From the beginning of the war in Angola and up to 1965, the Portuguese Government received from the Western monopolies and governments a total exceeding 10,000 million escudos. With the help of NATO arms Portuguese troops succeeded in recapturing the bigger towns and driving the poorly armed insurgents to the forests and mountains.

Lack of unity among the patriotic forces hampered the development of armed struggle by the Angolese. The leadership of the Peoples' Union, which strove for hegemony in the liberation move-

ment, refused to set up a united command. Moreover, it repeatedly attacked detachments of the People's Movement.

In the summer of 1963, Congolese Prime Minister Adoula recognised the "government" headed by Roberto. In 1963 and 1964, some African governments followed suit. At the end of 1963, the Congolese Government confiscated arms belonging to the People's Movement, arrested many members of this organisation and banned its activity in the Congo. The People's Movement had to shift its headquarters to the Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville).

The colonialists, however, did not succeed in crushing the uprising in Angola. The People's Movement managed to reconsolidate its ranks. In 1964, the Organisation of African Unity gave the People's Movement material help. In 1964 and 1965, a number of prominent members of the People's Union broke with that party and made statements accusing its leaders of fomenting intertribal hostility, utilising party funds for personal ends and engaging in intrigues. By the beginning of 1966, the Union had actually discontinued military operations in Angola. It turned into a splitting organisation, the activities of which are inspired by American imperialism.

The armed struggle against the colonialists was then headed by the People's Movement. At the end of 1967, guerrilla detachments led by this party controlled large districts in the country's northern and eastern areas. In the north they set up a ramified network of operational bases, hardly vulnerable even to enemy aircraft. The Angolese patriots accumulated considerable experience in guerrilla warfare. Instead of massive attacks they started to employ sudden, lightning thrusts by small groups of well-armed and trained guerrillas. In 1966, fighters of the People's Movement conducted over 2,000 operations, killing more than 1,600 Portuguese soldiers.

A new life is being organised in Angola's liberated territories. Democratic laws are introduced. The population is building schools and medical centres. Small establishments are set up to supply goods to the population and the army. The People's Movement has concluded trade agreements with a number of independent African countries. Work on new school textbooks has been started.

Considerable working-class activity is a characteristic feature of the national-liberation structure in Mozambique. Here big strikes are held more frequently than in Angola. This is understandable. The towns and industrial centres of Mozambique are near such centres of the African working-class movement as Rhodesia and the Republic of South Africa. The peasantry, however, is the chief social mainstay of the movement for independence.

Dockers of Lourenço Marques struck in 1949 and 1951. They were followed by Tete railwaymen. In the summer of 1960, there were big disturbances of plantation workers in Moesdash Makondesh. The local authorities, who could not cope with the strike, summoned troops and the punitive detachments executed several

hundred people. Leaders of local workers' organisations were arrested and imprisoned.

The first Mozambique political organisations arose outside the country in the mid-1950's. At first these were small groups of intellectuals without any clear-cut programme. Only secret associations which grew up on a religious and tribal basis functioned in Mozambique rural localities.

Mass parties—the Mozambique African National Union and the Mozambique National Democratic Union—were formed early in the 1960's. In the summer of 1962, both parties united in the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO), with headquarters in Dar es Salaam (Tanzania). Eduardo Mondlane was elected president of the Front. Its programme notes that the main task of FRELIMO is to unite the patriotic forces of Mozambique for the achievement of independence "in the immediate future". The Front established contacts with national-liberation organisations of Angola, the Republic of South Africa, Rhodesia and Nyasaland, arranged the training of personnel and launched active propaganda among the people of Mozambique.

But the ranks of the Front split as early as the middle of 1963. The leaders headed by Mondlane formed a political party which preserved the old name, Mozambique Liberation Front. The Organisation of African Unity has recognised FRELIMO the main party of Mozambique and is giving it every assistance. In 1964, FRELIMO issued a call for a general insurrection. Armed struggle began in September 1964. Insurgent detachments set up by FRELIMO are operating in northern and north-western regions.

By the end of 1967, the patriots had liberated one-fifth of the country's territory with a population of 800,000. They actually control two provinces—Nyasa and Cabo-Delgado. The colonialists hold here only the main towns and fortified outposts. While in 1964 some 200 or 300 people launched the armed struggle, at the end of 1967 the Liberation Army of Mozambique counted over 8,000 men. It went over from ambushes, diversions and attacks on military outposts to bigger operations: attacks on administrative centres and the liberation of entire districts.

Struggle against the mounting national-liberation movement is a heavy burden for Portugal's economy. In 1967, as much as 42 per cent of the national budget was spent on military operations in the African colonies. From 1961 to 1967, Portugal spent 100,000 million escudos on the war against the patriots of Angola and Mozambique. During this period the war budget of Portugal nearly doubled.

In recent years the forces of militant organisations in all the Portuguese colonies have tended to unite. A joint centre, Conference of National Organisations of the Portuguese Colonies, was set up in Casablanca in April 1961. Represented in it are the patriotic forces of Angola, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea, the

Cape Verde and São Tomé Islands. The conference elected a Consultative Council and a Secretariat and chose Rabat, Morocco, as its headquarters.

The Second Conference of National Organisations of the Portuguese Colonies was held in October 1965 in Dar es Salaam. It changed the structure of the organisation. Its steering council consists of all the leaders of the parties fighting for liberation. Current activities are guided by an executive secretariat, which comprises two representatives of each party. The Second Conference decided "to coordinate political activity and military operations; to establish a common military strategy through specialised bodies; to coordinate measures in education, culture and the training of personnel."

The leadership of the Angola Peoples' Union refused to attend both conferences. Nevertheless, their decisions are of great importance as a step towards organising a united front of the peoples in all the Portuguese colonies.

The advance of the liberation struggle of the African peoples has compelled the Salazar Government to resort to political manoeuvres. The colonial authorities have proposed a string of internal reforms designed to divert the population from the national-liberation struggle.

Laws adopted in 1961 abolished the division of Africans into "civilised" and "uncivilised". All inhabitants of the colonies were proclaimed "citizens of Portugal". But a law is still in force which grants suffrage only to Africans who are able to read and write Portuguese and pay not less than 200 escudos in taxes annually. Simultaneously, new measures were taken to encourage the immigration of Portuguese to Africa, with special privileges promised to soldiers. The Portuguese fascists expect that an increase in the European population in the colonies will make it harder for the latter to gain independence.

But the irreversible disintegration of imperialism's colonial system cannot be halted either by bayonets or paltry reforms. Together with the peoples of the Portuguese colonies, all of independent Africa is fighting the colonialists. The fraternal African states have expressed readiness to assist the patriots in the Portuguese colonies.

Camps for the military training of Africans from Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea have been set up in the Algerian Republic and other African countries. Many of the African states render increasing military and material aid to the fighters for the freedom of the Portuguese colonies. Embattled Mozambique, for example, is getting effective support from neighbouring Tanzania.

The 1963 conference of heads of independent African states in Addis Ababa opened a new stage in the all-African struggle against Portuguese colonialism. It openly declared that African states would take all the necessary measures to abolish Portuguese

colonialism. The Coordination Committee for aid to freedom fighters was instructed to arrange the supply of weapons and money to patriots of Angola and Mozambique, and to organise the training of insurgents.

African states are rendering political support to the embattled peoples of the Portuguese colonies. Algeria, Guinea, Senegal, Tanzania and other countries broke diplomatic relations with Portugal, declared a boycott of Portuguese goods and forbade Portugal to use their ports, airfields and air space. The Portuguese colonialists are becoming increasingly isolated on the African continent.

Portuguese Communists and democrats are energetically supporting the peoples of Angola and Mozambique. A congress of Portugal's antifascist forces, held at the end of 1962, decided "to establish regular contacts with national organisations of the Portuguese colonies in the common struggle against Salazar's fascist and colonial dictatorship". The struggle of patriots in the colonies and in Portugal herself is closely interconnected.

The Portuguese Communist Party held its 6th Congress in the autumn of 1965. It adopted a message of greetings to the peoples of the Portuguese colonies, stating: "We solemnly declare that the Portuguese Communists fully support you, support your struggle for independence. Notwithstanding brutal persecution by the fascists, we will tirelessly continue our struggle for the general, historically inevitable victory over fascism and colonialism".

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries are regularly rendering active help, including economic and military aid, to the peoples of Angola and Mozambique.

ZAMBIA, MALAWI, SOUTHERN RHODESIA*

Geographers do not always group these three countries together. As a rule, Rhodesia is bracketed with South Africa, whereas Malawi and Zambia are regarded as part of Eastern Tropical Africa. Nor do local nationalities constitute a single whole, though they all speak Bantu languages. In fact, there are several distinct ethnic centres here.

However, the history of the three countries in the 20th century has many points of similarity. All of them used to be British colonies. Zambia and Malawi were known as Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland until 1964, when they proclaimed independence; present-day "Rhodesia" was known as Southern Rhodesia. In the press, and not infrequently in official publications, the three countries went under the name of British Central Africa. London sought to turn them into a single economic unit, and for many years they had common administrative services.

In the period between 1953 and 1963, all three, despite protests of the African population, found themselves merged in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

Another feature that these territories near the great African lakes and along the middle reaches of the Zambezi had in common was that they were occupied at the end of the 19th century by the same forces, grouped around the British South Africa Chartered Company. Indeed, the two Rhodesias were named after the Company's head, Cecil Rhodes.

Nyasaland, after its seizure in the 1890's, was made a British protectorate, while both Rhodesias were administered directly by the Company under a 25-year charter granted by Queen Victoria in 1889. When the world war broke out in 1914, the question of Rhodesia's future was put off, and the charter was prolonged for another ten years.

By the end of the First World War, the three territories, for all the similarities stemming from their colonial status, also had some specific features, both economic and political.

* The list of countries follows the order of the Russian edition.

Colonialism made its deepest imprint on Southern Rhodesia. The gold rush which began there at the end of the 19th century attracted big investments and also adventurers of all stripes. Seizure of gold-bearing plots on the lands belonging to the local population, was practised on a large scale. Though the hopes for big gold strikes were disappointed, a considerable part of the gold diggers, attracted by the fertile land and good climate, settled in the country as farmers, prospectors or officials. By the end of the First World War, the number of Europeans in Southern Rhodesia was around 30,000, while the entire population was estimated at 850,000.

From the very start, the British South Africa Company forced Africans off the best lands into areas unsuitable for agriculture, where native reserves were subsequently set up. In the country's highest-lying part, within the triangle formed by Salisbury, Bulawayo and Umtali, there were big farms specialising mainly in the production of tobacco and maize. Mining companies too were numerous on expropriated lands. Development of the "European", capitalist sector of the economy was spurred by railway construction. A railway to the southern tip of Africa was built as far back as the end of the 19th century.

The influence of colonialism on Northern Rhodesia was less marked at that period, but it was nevertheless considerable. In 1906, commercial exploitation began of lead and zinc deposits at Broken Hill. At the end of the 19th century, work began on a small scale at copper deposits on the border with the Belgian Congo. In 1903-1910, a railway was built linking the mining areas with Indian Ocean ports and the railways of Southern Rhodesia. It was along this railway that the principal European settlements and the main agricultural centres in the "European" sector were located.

In Northern Rhodesia, as in Southern, the British South Africa Company seized the best lands for distribution among the colonists. The first reserves were set up on the land of the Angoni people, in the south-east of the country, as early as 1907-1910. Several years later, reserves appeared in the central and north-eastern regions. A greater part of the expropriated land was actually unused: it was held in reserve for future development. The Company, however, could not secure a big influx of colonists; when the war ended, their number was only 3,000, as against 950,000 Africans.[1] As in Southern Rhodesia, most of them had come from Britain and the Union of South Africa.

Nyasaland attracted even fewer colonists than Northern Rhodesia. No big mineral finds had been made there, the climate was not very suitable for Europeans, and, moreover, the country lay

[1] These figures are, of course, approximate: population censuses in both Rhodesias and Nyasaland covered only the whites.

off the main communication lines. It had only about a thousand European settlers in the first postwar years, as compared with 1.2 million Africans. There were no special native reserves, but from the very start the British authorities began to set up a fund for future colonisation by alienating the best lands, mainly in the Shire Highlands. This land fell into the hands of companies, and especially the British South Africa Co., the African Lakes Co., which was closely linked with it, and associated firms.

New Status of Southern and Northern Rhodesia. Immediately after the end of the First World War, the British Government was confronted with the problem of Rhodesia's future administration. The term of the charter of the British South Africa Co. was expiring. Influential British financial circles, which wanted a share in the exploitation of the territory's natural wealth, were against the Company's monopoly.

The local bourgeoisie, an offspring of Southern Rhodesian colonists, also resented the undivided rule of the Company, which regarded itself as the master of all land and mineral wealth and skimmed 50 per cent of the profits of all mining companies operating in Rhodesia.

The Union of South Africa, which was thinking of conquests in the south of the continent, clamoured for Southern Rhodesia to be joined to it. However, the Boer uprising at the start of the world war showed the British Government that anti-British sentiments in this dominion were too strong to make it worth while for Britain to encourage this plan.

In August 1922, a referendum on the country's future status was held among the Southern Rhodesian colonists (the Africans, naturally, were not consulted). 8,900 people voted for self-government, and 6,000 for joining the Union of South Africa. On October 1, 1923, Southern Rhodesia was declared a self-governing "white" colony with its own Parliament elected by the colonists.

The constitution contained a reservation concerning the procedure of passing such bills as the Africans might find discriminatory. These bills were subject to approval by the British Government. The Africans were thus given official guarantees; but this constitutional provision was never applied though all Southern Rhodesian legislation was shot through with racialism.

The question of Northern Rhodesia was settled six months later through talks between the British Government and the board of directors of the British South Africa Co. The country was declared a protectorate.

In exchange for surrendering to the British Government the administration of both Rhodesias and the title to land, the Company received a compensation of £3,750,000. Ten years later, in 1933, the Government of Southern Rhodesia paid the Company £2,000,000 for mining rights. The Company, however, retained the right to the exploitation of mineral wealth throughout Northern

Rhodesia and a considerable part of Nyasaland, and continued to draw a half of the profits of all mining companies.

Southern Rhodesia's conversion into a self-governing colony and the change in the status of Northern Rhodesia gave the British firms and the colonists greater opportunities than they had enjoyed during the rule of the British South Africa Co. The Africans gained nothing. On the contrary, it was at that time that intensive colonial "development" of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland began.

Economy of Nyasaland, Northern and Southern Rhodesia in the Interwar Period. Under the British South Africa Co., alienation of land was conducted rather haphazardly. When Southern Rhodesia became a self-governing colony, the British Government appointed a special Land Commission (1926). In 1930, its findings were incorporated into a Land Apportionment Act, which set up areas for European occupation where Africans could not own land. These areas accounted for nearly a half of the terriory of Southern Rhodesia. Ninety-four reserves were set up for the Africans. Together with the lands set aside for sale as farms to rich Africans, these reserves made up only a third of the country's entire territory. The rest of the country consisted of undistributed land, game reserves, etc.

Large-scale alienation of land led to a sharp impoverishment of the peasants. Because of low farming standards large areas had to be put under cultivation and a shortage of land was felt in the reserves. This shortage became more acute with the natural growth of the population. The yields dropped. Soil erosion spread to ever new areas.

In Northern Rhodesia, land alienation was legalised by ordinances passed in 1928-1929 in the expectation of large-scale European settlement. Under these decrees, about a third of the country's territory was declared "areas for European occupation". In the first half of the 1930's, these areas were cleared of Africans, who were moved to the reserves. The rest of the protectorate's territory (nearly 50 per cent of the total) became "crown land", or, in other words, a fund for future colonisation. True, the Africans were not evicted; they were permitted to stay on the crown land—actually their own land—on a provisional basis. Less than 20 per cent of the territory was left for the reserves.

The allotment of land in Nyasaland was formalised by the Native Trust Land Order in Council, 1936. Over four-fifths of the entire territory was declared "trust land" and put under the control of the governor. Africans were permitted to settle on this land. There were no reserves in the country, but land shortage in Nyasaland was no less acute than in Rhodesia. The country was much more densely populated and the best land had been taken over by Europeans. A considerable part of the peasants turned into dependent tenants—actually, farm labourers renting plots of European-owned land.

European-owned land fell into large estates. African tenants received small plots on "European" territories. There were two types of land rent—"visiting" and "tangata".

Under the "visiting" system, an African family, frequently from a nearby village, settled on land owned by a European (or leased by him from the state). He supplied the family with tools, seeds and fertilisers, and the tenants, for their part, undertook to turn the entire marketable crop over to him. Under this system, the term of the lease generally did not exceed three years, after which the African returned to his community. This type of land rent was typical of Nyasaland's Central Province.

The "tangata" system developed in the Southern Province, on the Shire Highlands. The African tenant had to pay rent. He worked for wages in abatement of this rent; or else he received facilities for growing cash crops (tobacco, cotton) specified by the European estate-holder and turned the entire crop over to him or "sold" it to him at a very low price. The tenants were usually settlers from Mozambique who did not have the right to communal land enjoyed by the local population. Their status and duties were formalised in the Natives on Private Estates Ordinance of 1928. This law also defined the landowner's the right to evict tenants. Officially, each landowner was allowed to evict ten per cent of tenants every five years. Nevertheless, the number of Africans on European-owned land continued to grow in the 1930's and 1940's. Large-scale evictions began only after 1950, when the law was abrogated.

In both Rhodesias and in Nyasaland, agriculture, similarly to the entire economy, had two distinct sectors: the "European", i.e. capitalist, and the African, in which subsistence farming prevailed.

In Southern Rhodesia, a European settler owned on the average 20 times as much land as an African. Since most of the colonists lived in the towns and the number of farmers was relatively small, each "white" farm averaged about 2,000 hectares, while an African family had 3.3 hectares.

Poverty, land shortage, taxation imposed by the colonial authorities—all this forced Africans to seek employment in the "European" sector of the economy as seasonal farmhands and agricultural labourers living with their families on European-owned maize and potato farms, tobacco and other estates. Thousands of men had to take employment in the mines. Nyasaland provided labour for the Rhodesias, Katanga and especially the Union of South Africa. Trainloads of contracted workers left regularly for the Witwatersrand mines in the Transvaal.

African peasants were gradually drawn into the money economy. A stratum of rich farmers came into being in areas where the commodity and money relations were best developed. This process was very intense in Nyasaland, where African peasants were urged to produce certain export crops: cotton and low-grade tobacco,

and also food for local consumption. The more valuable export crops—tea, tobacco and tung oil—were produced on estates owned by British companies and the white settlers' farms, of which there were but few in Nyasaland. In the Rhodesias, the monopoly position of the Europeans on both the domestic and foreign markets hampered the development of African production for the market to a far greater extent than in Nyasaland. Europeans had monopolised the production of the main export crops: tobacco and tea in Southern Rhodesia, and tobacco in Northern Rhodesia. In these countries, British colonialism sought to use the countryside mainly as a source of cheap labour, with the bulk of agricultural crops for export produced in the "European" sector.

In the Rhodesias, in distinction to predominantly agricultural Nyasaland, industry (mining) held an important place in the interwar period.

Though the hopes for the discovery of fabulously rich gold deposits in Southern Rhodesia were not realised, gold accounted for over a half of the output of its mining industry (25 tons in 1937 alone). Asbestos and chromium ore production began in the 1920's and made headway in the 1930's. Production of lithium ores, tin, tungsten and antimony gradually increased. Coal production was also on the rise (it was over a million tons per annum on the eve of the Second World War). There were nearly 90,000 African mine workers in Southern Rhodesia in 1937.

A turning-point in the economic development of Northern Rhodesia came with the intensive working of the huge copper deposits in the so-called Copper Belt, which began in 1927. In the years before the Second World War, 15,000 Africans were employed there. In 1938, the Copper Belt yielded 216,000 tons of copper. At the end of the 1930's, Northern Rhodesia was one of the biggest producers of copper and its concomitant, cobalt, in the capitalist world. The country's entire economy was attuned to mining.

The mineral and agricultural raw materials of the Rhodesias and of Nyasaland were exported mainly to Great Britain (copper, gold, cobalt, asbestos, tobacco, tea, cotton), the U.S. (chromites) and the Union of South Africa (zinc and lead). The mining industry was controlled by British-South African and partly American capital.

The world economic crisis of 1929-1933 struck a hard blow at the mining industry and the entire economy of the Rhodesias and of Nyasaland. Especially difficult was the period of depression (1933-1935). Mining output dropped, construction of new enterprises was arrested, and enrolment of labour was curtailed. Because of the drop in demand, agricultural production for the market declined. The crisis hit hard at the African population.

In the interwar period, there was established and formalised in the three countries a system of exploiting the population based

on racial discrimination. In Southern Rhodesia, it approximated for brutality the regime that had long existed in the Union of South Africa. As they were drawn into the "European" sector of the economy, the Africans increasingly came up against racial restrictions.

New Social Forces and New Forms of Organisations of Africans. Of the three countries, Southern Rhodesia had the biggest African urban population before the Second World War; but even there it numbered only a few score thousand—mainly house servants and also industrial, construction and transport workers.

The vast majority of African miners were migrant workers recruited in the villages for a definite term. During this time they lived near the mines in so-called mining compounds, which were frequently surrounded with barbed wire and guarded by police.

It was in the period between the two wars that the strike movement began. The first big strike was held in 1935 in the Copper Belt in protest against low pay and a sharp disparity in wages, and the immediate pretext was a rise in the poll-tax in the mining districts. The authorities sent troops to the mines and staged a massacre, killing six people and wounding 22.

The democratic movement in the Union of South Africa was a big spur to the development of the national and political awareness of the local population in the three countries. The hundreds of thousands of contracted workers employed at South African mines in the interwar period learned about the more advanced forms of class struggle. Many of them participated actively in strikes and in the work of political organisations. Clements Kadalie, a native of Nyasaland, was the organiser and head of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of South Africa, which was the Africans' biggest organisation in the Union in the first decade after the First World War. In 1920, a National Union of Nyasalanders was set up in the Union of South Africa to protect the interests of workers from Nyasaland.

The Native National Congress of South Africa, which was established in the Union in 1912 and later changed its name to African National Congress, was of special importance for the development of the first national organisations in Nyasaland and the Rhodesias: they were all largely patterned on the A.N.C. Hastings Kamuzu Banda, who in 1963 became prime minister of Nyasaland and has been president of the Republic of Malawi since 1966, said that the establishment of the A.N.C. provided the original impetus to the emergence of political parties and organisations in Nyasaland. Already in the early 1920's, Southern Rhodesian settlers complained of its "corrupting" influence on the native population of Southern Rhodesia.

For all this, there was not a single mass political organisation of Africans in any of the three countries in the interwar period.

An organisation similar to South Africa's Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union was set up in Southern Rhodesia. There also appeared a Native Association of Southern Rhodesia. It was largely on the basis of these organisations that the African National Congress of Southern Rhodesia sprang up in 1939. Though the Congress was weak and numerically small and its policy inconsistent, it became the first political organisation that spoke not for some one tribe or social group but for the country's entire African population.

From 1930 on, "welfare societies" uniting members of the emergent African intellectuals and other sections of the African urban population began to appear in many towns in both Northern and Southern Rhodesia. Officially, their competence was limited to matters pertaining to the Africans' living conditions; they conveyed their recommendations to the authorities through representatives on consultative municipal organs. The societies did not set national-liberation struggle as their goal and went out of their way to stress their loyalty to, and their desire to cooperate with, the authorities. Nevertheless, they played an important role in uniting the Africans in the towns.

The religious sect "Watch Tower", founded in the United States in 1874, wielded a great influence among the Africans in Nyasaland. It had branches in various African countries. This religious movement, with its emphasis on the coming day of reckoning, gained strength with the growth of national sentiments. In the 1930's, however, "native associations", similar in many respects to the Rhodesian "welfare societies", appeared in Blantyre, Zomba, Lilongwe, Fort Johnston and some other towns.

The Second World War. In view of the proximity of large Italian armed forces stationed in Ethiopia, Somaliland and Eritrea, the British Government, from 1939 on, sharply stepped up military preparations in the three British territories. A law on compulsory military service for all persons of European origin was passed in February and special units were set up for service abroad. The British Government could send them, if necessary, to any theatre of military operations. In May and June, the entire defence system was reorganised. The authorities strengthened the air force, studied the military potential of industrial enterprises, streamlined the system of training reservists, and introduced military registration for women. In September 1939, in the first weeks of war, volunteer units made up of white settlers were set up.

During the preparations for war, especially during the war itself, the authorities sought to enlist the support of the Africans, and especially the tribal upper crust. They even instituted a special medal for native chiefs.

With the start of the war, native military corps were formed in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. They fought on various battle fronts. Nyasa soldiers, for example, even fought in Malaya.

In Southern Rhodesia, as in the Union of South Africa, the whites protested sharply against issuing firearms to Africans, and they were employed mainly for auxiliary work—as policemen, medical orderlies, porters, etc. Toward the end of the war, the first African military unit was set up in Southern Rhodesia, but it never saw frontline service.

Southern Rhodesia and the Union of South Africa set up a joint South African command headed by the South African Prime Minister Jan Smuts. During the war, and especially its first years, South Africa played a key role in the system of British defences in the south of Africa and in a considerable part of Tropical Africa. The Smuts Government capitalised on this to campaign vigorously for a merger of these British territories under the Union of South Africa and within the British empire. South Africa's claims extended to Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and especially to Southern Rhodesia. References were made to Cecil Rhodes, the father of the British colonial empire in the south of Africa, who had held that all territories south of the Zambezi should be united within one dominion.

In the first years of war, when the Axis powers were scoring one victory after another and the Battle of Britain was at its height, the British Government greatly needed South Africa's military support and deliberately shut its eyes to the aspirations of its leaders. But when the tide turned, when the direct threat to Britain was eliminated, the British Government intimated that it would not countenance such plans. In 1944, Smuts had to give assurances to Southern Rhodesia and other British territories in Africa that he did not seek their incorporation but was merely strengthening contacts with them for the sake of joint war efforts.

The Rhodesias' main role in the war years was to supply strategic raw materials to Great Britain, the dominions and the United States. (Chromites, asbestos, tungsten and mica came from Southern Rhodesia, copper and cobalt from Northern Rhodesia.) The gold industry of Southern Rhodesia was completely relegated to the background, partly because of the depletion of the old mines and partly because of the growth of strategic raw material production.

Production of certain types of armaments (mine casings, armour-plating, etc.) was organised in both Rhodesias. Southern Rhodesia provided food for the Allied troops in Africa, and sent foodstuffs (meat, maize, etc.) to Britain.

The sharp drop in the imports of manufactured goods from Europe during the war stimulated the growth of several manufacturing industries. Southern Rhodesia developed metal-working and chemistry and set up a cotton textiles industry and an iron and steel industry, based on local ore (at Que Que). The output of the light and building materials industries increased noticeably. In the prewar and especially the war years there appeared several

state monopoly organisations which began to play a considerable role in the country's economy (Electricity Supply Commission, Grain Marketing Board, Rhodesian Iron and Steel Commission, etc.).

The war, the participation of thousands of Africans in military operations far beyond the confines of their own countries, the influx of workers into developing industry—all this spurred the growth of national and political awareness. Many Africans saw the contradictions between the liberatory nature of the war against nazi racialism and the strengthening of colonial exploitation in connection with this war. Many learned of the heroic struggle of the Soviet people.

Resistance to colonialism on the part of the local population increased in the war years. It assumed various forms, from occupation of vacant lands by peasants and strikes in industry to establishment of trade unions and political organisations, which, however, were still few and weak.

The migration of peasants was especially big in Northern Rhodesia. Africans were leaving the reserves, where erosion quickly destroyed the soil, moving to vacant "crown lands" and "areas for European occupation". Fearful of serious peasant disturbances and realising that the hopes for a big influx of colonists into Northern Rhodesia had not materialised, the colonial authorities declared a big part of "European occupation" areas and "crown lands" to be "native trust lands" officially open for settlement.

A strike of 15,000 African mineworkers in the Copper Belt in 1940 was a landmark in the working-class movement during the war. They demanded a minimum wage of five shillings a day, better sanitary conditions and abolition of compulsory food rations for which the mineowners exacted exorbitant prices. Strike-breakers were sent to the mines. The police intervened in their clashes with the workers. Eighty miners were killed or wounded.

During the war, Southern Rhodesia, too, had its first strikes, short-lived and small-scale though they were. Workers of asbestos mines downed tools in protest against a cut in their maize rations. A strike was held by the Bulawayo railwaymen; it was directed by the African Railwaymen's Union, the country's first trade union.

The nature of the numerous "welfare societies" and "native associations" changed considerably during the war. Contacts were established between them, and a striving appeared for unity of action. Political matters increasingly came to the fore in the work of the associations. In Nyasaland, this process led to the establishment of a committee of all "native associations" early in 1944, and of the Nyasaland African National Congress in May.

Postwar Years. The war and the postwar rehabilitation of Europe's ravaged economy created a big demand for copper and other raw materials. The mining industry of Northern Rhodesia developed rapidly.

Copper production in the Copper Belt trebled in the 1960's compared with prewar and reached 600,000 tons a year. The word "Rhodesia" was now associated primarily with the copper of Northern Rhodesia, just as at the end of the 1920's and the beginning of the 1930's it was mainly associated with the vast and well-organised tobacco industry of Southern Rhodesia. Still the tobacco auction in Salisbury remained the largest in the world. Tobacco production in Southern Rhodesia's "European" sector alone was eight times bigger than before the war and totalled 80,000-90,000 tons a year. In the foreign markets, however, Rhodesian copper was now far more important than Rhodesian tobacco.

In the interwar period, the flow of manpower was from Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland to Southern Rhodesia. After the war, the industry of Northern Rhodesia began to employ more and more workers, not only local, but also from neighbouring countries.

A big contingent of the working class was gradually developing in the Copper Belt mines. More and more seasonal workers turned permanent and settled in mining compounds and in the towns. The first strikes (in 1935 and 1940) were spontaneous: the African workers did not have a trade union of their own. Throughout the 1940's, the mineworkers fought hard for the right to set up a union. Finally, in May 1949, the Northern Rhodesia African Mineworkers' Union was established, which united workers of the four largest mines. In August 1949, the mining companies recognised this organisation.

In September 1952, the Union demanded higher wages. On October 19, it called a general strike. The strike involved 39,000 miners (including nearly 10,000 men who were not members of the Union), or nearly all Copper Belt workers.

This strike, unlike those of 1935 and 1940, was well organised. The Union had stocked up food supplies and reached agreement with peasants on a free supply of food should the strike drag out. Close contacts were established with the workers of lead and zinc mines at Broken Hill. Support came even from some tribal chiefs. The strike lasted three weeks. The employers had to agree to a small wage increase.

1952 saw the establishment of the African Trade Union Congress of Northern Rhodesia. It united the major workers' organisations with an aggregate membership of 50,000.

The working-class movement played an extremely important part in the entire struggle for liberation in Northern Rhodesia. In 1946, there was established a Federation of African Welfare Societies. In 1948, it was reorganised into a Congress of Northern Rhodesia (called African National Congress of Northern Rhodesia since 1951). The Congress was built around trade unions. At first, it was headed by votaries of non-resistance methods. In July 1952, at a regular convention, the Congress elected a new, more radical leadership, which decided to step up the struggle against racial

discrimination, for proportional representation in elective organs and, in the final analysis, for African self-government.

In Southern Rhodesia, too, the postwar years were marked by the development of the working-class movement. The first big strike was in 1945. It was held by railwaymen, who won a wage increase and official recognition of their union. In April 1948, a general strike of workers, sales personnel and house servants was held in all large towns. Despite brutal repressions, the strike lasted eight days. In April 1953, the Railwaymen's Union, the only officially recognised trade union, and eleven other unions set up a single trade union centre, the African Trade Union Congress. Its first secretary was Joshua Nkomo, leader of the Railwaymen's Union.

In Nyasaland, the anti-colonial movement was strongly affected by the migration of workers to the Union of South Africa and also the growing outflow of workers to the mines in both Rhodesias. These seasonal workers brought home the experience of struggle in those countries.

In 1944-1946, under the pressure of the African National Congress, the authorities in Nyasaland set up consultative organs composed of Africans—the provincial councils and the African Protectorate Council. These councils, rigorously controlled by British functionaries, did not have any real powers, but their meetings were used to voice sharp criticism of the regime. In 1949, Africans were included in the Legislative Council of Nyasaland for the first time.

Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and the Africans' Struggle Against It. The growth of the liberation movement in all three countries led the British Government to reconsider its attitude to the project of the merger of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland. The upper crust of white settlers had long harboured plans of setting up a new dominion, but on the eve of the war, in 1938, it seemed that their plans had been frustrated once and for all. A British Government Commission headed by Lord Bledisloe arrived at the conclusion that such a merger was undesirable because the local white bourgeoisie, on winning political power, would certainly attempt to deprive British firms of their privileged positions.

After the Second World War, the white settlers raised the merger issue again. Economically, they were attracted by the possibility of welding the relatively developed industry of Southern Rhodesia with the mineral wealth of Northern Rhodesia and the vast manpower resources of Nyasaland. Politically, the bourgeoisie and big landowners of Southern Rhodesia were tempted to extend their power to the northern protectorates. For their part, the handful of settlers living in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland amidst millions of Africans hoped to secure the support of the numerous and better organised settlers in Southern Rhodesia. Both

the former and the latter believed that if they joined forces it would be easier for them to keep the Africans in check and stabilise the situation in the three countries, and this, in turn, would attract investments and settlers from Europe and America.

The merger idea was zealously advocated by Godfrey Huggins, the prime minister of Southern Rhodesia, and Roy Welensky, the recognised leader of the more reactionary part of the settlers in Northern Rhodesia. On their initiative, the leaders of settlers in the three countries met to discuss this question at Victoria Falls, on the border between Southern and Northern Rhodesia, in 1949, and decided that it would be expedient to set up a federation. No African had been invited to attend the conference, of course.

At the turn of the 1940's, the British Government, too, began to push through the idea of a federation. The British empire was growing weaker, and new methods were needed to arrest, or at least slow down its disintegration. The British Government regarded the federation as a more efficient means of exploiting the manpower and natural resources of its three extremely valuable territories. It wanted to strengthen its rule there by enlisting the support of the white settlers to the utmost in the struggle against the growing liberation movement. The merger of the northern territories with Southern Rhodesia would make it possible to use the settlers in Southern Rhodesia as a prop throughout the entire federation. Simultaneously, Britain would be able to act as an arbiter in the relations between the Africans and the government of the white settlers.

The British ruling circles were also aware that refusal to make concesisons could spur the whites in "self-governing" Southern Rhodesia to a closer rapprochement with the Union of South Africa. There had always been a striving for this. As noted earlier, about 40 per cent of the white voters in the referendum of 1922 cast their ballots for joining the Union of South Africa. In the late 1940's, settlers from the Union of South Africa made up one-third of the "European" population of Southern Rhodesia. The prospect of such a merger became particularly dangerous for the British Government after 1948, when power in the Union of South Africa passed into the hands of the Afrikaner (Boer) Nationalist Party with anti-British sentiments and calls for withdrawal from the Commonwealth.

The Africans rightly regarded the plans for a federation of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland as an infringement of their meagre rights. The people of the protectorates feared the regime in Southern Rhodesia, where racial discrimination assumed particularly odious forms, would be extended to the entire federation.

The first reaction to the Victoria Falls Conference was a resolution of protest adopted in February 1949 by the Africans from the Rhodesias and Nyasaland living in London. In April 1949, the African National Congress of Northern Rhodesia sent a delegation

to the British Secretary for the Colonies to protest against the federation plan.

Subsequently, all sections of the population in the three countries, from industrial workers and tribesmen to chiefs and headmen, and all African organisations of any importance (national congresses, trade unions) demanded renunciation of the federation plans. It was against these plans that the first political strike in the history of Northern Rhodesia was held on April 1-2, 1953. It involved 30,000 people. Struggle against the federation stimulated noticeably the political activity of the masses.

But the British ruling circles ignored the will of the Africans. In 1953, following a series of conferences to draft the federation project, the idea was approved by a referendum of the white population of Southern Rhodesia, by the Legislative Councils of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, which consisted mainly of whites, and finally by the British Parliament.

The constitution of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland came into effect on September 3, 1953. The Federation did not receive dominion status, but its legal position differed from that of a colony or a protectorate. It became a member of the Commonwealth, and its prime minister attended Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conferences. Unlike the dominions, however, the Federation was not regarded as a sovereign state.

Though the Constitution proclaimed the principle of "multiracial cooperation" and "partnership", not one of the previously existing racialist laws and discriminatory measures was abolished. The very composition of the Federal Assembly spoke eloquently of the nature of this "partnership": the 7,000,000 Africans held less than 20 per cent of the seats, while the 300,000 whites held 80 per cent.

Cecil Rhodes' catch phrase, equal rights for all civilised people, became the motto of the Federation leaders. It was a piece of demagoguery when used by Rhodes, and it was blatantly cynical when written into the Federation's laws. To be included in the voting rolls and thus join the ranks of "civilised people", one had to meet one of the three following qualifications: have an income of £300 a year and eight-year education; £480 a year and primary education; or simply £720 a year (no educational qualification was required of people in this income bracket). At the first elections to the Federal Assembly in December 1953, there were 420 African voters in Southern Rhodesia, three in Northern Rhodesia and none in Nyasaland; and yet the total African population was seven million.

The anti-African nature of the Federation was so obvious that a special body, the Advisory African Affairs Board, had to be set up to give some semblance of protection of the rights of the native population. The Council was to protest laws which it believed to be discriminatory in respect of the Africans. The Council consisted

of three Africans and three whites. The vote of one of the whites—the chairman—was the casting vote. The Council thus could not become a serious obstacle in the way of the Federal Assembly. Moreover, it had only consultative powers, and when it did once, in 1955, protest as discriminatory the laws on military training and service, its voice was simply ignored.

Numerous steps taken after the establishment of the Federation and the proclamation of "partnership" increased discrimination. Thus, the Federal Government embarked on a policy of "europeanisation" of the government services. Since 1957, Africans were barred even from such jobs as railway conductors.

Establishment of the Federation, as was expected by its authors, did attract new investments and a flow of immigrants from Europe and South Africa.

Copper became the leading industry in the Federation, which ranked third in the capitalist world for the production of this metal, after the U.S. and Chile. The Copper Belt accounted for a third of the value of the Federation's gross output, and for 50 to 60 per cent of the volume of its exports.

The Copper Belt was controlled by two concerns, the Rhodesian Anglo-American Corporation, dominated by British and South African capital, and the Rhodesian Selection Trust, controlled by the American Metal Co. Of the Belt's four largest firms—Nchanga, Rhokana, Mufulira and Roan-Antelope; the two former belonged to the Rhodesian Anglo-American Corporation, and the two latter to the Rhodesian Selection Trust. Overall, about a half of the shares of mining companies were held by American investors. It was primarily in the interest of these firms that construction of a big hydro-electric station was started on the Zambezi, in the Kariba Gorge, at the end of the 1950's.

The profits of copper-mining companies may be gauged from the example of Rhokana, whose dividends in 1957 totaled 350 per cent. These fantastic profits came mainly from the exploitation of African mineworkers. As estimated by a Western expert, the surplus value rate here sometimes exceeded 1,200 per cent.

The Federation authorities speculated skilfully on the interests of international monopoly capital to demand regular support from the most reactionary Western circles. Prime Minister Welensky said in January 1959 that if the Western world wanted to be sure of free access to the mineral and other wealth of Africa, the stabilising influence of the white man had to be preserved.

With the growth of the liberation movement on the African continent, the Government ot the Federation drew closer and closer to the Union of South Africa (Republic of South Africa since May 31, 1961) and Portugal in an effort to establish a colonialist stronghold in the south of Africa. These countries helped each other in suppressing the national-liberation movement and gave all-round support to the most reactionary forces in this part of

the continent. In 1960-1961, Welensky rendered considerable assistance to Moise Tshombe, then prime minister of Katanga. The bloc of Welensky, Salazar and Verwoerd came to be known as the "unholy alliance".

Growth of Liberation Struggle at the Turn of the 1950's. Disintegration of the Federation. Disbandment of the Federation became the principal demand of the liberation movement in the three countries. The democratic forces gradually rallied around this slogan. At the end of the 1950's, the struggle became more active, largely owing to the general upswing on the continent. The African National Congresses which existed in all three countries had by that time become mass organisations. At the turn of 1958, mass meetings were held in many parts of Nyasaland to demand the country's withdrawal from the Federation and establishment of organs of state power led by Africans. These meetings met with a response among the African population of both Rhodesias.

The Federation Government decided to carry out large-scale punitive operations, clearly with a view to cowing the Africans. Early in 1959, it banned political meetings of Africans in Nyasaland. The police used clubs and tear gas to disperse meetings and demonstrations. But this only sparked off mass disturbances. To prevent the bringing in of troops from other colonies, Nyasalanders set up roadblocks, disrupted the telegraph service and at the end of February occupied an airfield at Fort Hill, on the border with Tanganyika.

On March 3, the authorities imposed a state of emergency in Nyasaland and carried out a punitive expedition. About 120 persons were killed and wounded and about 1,400, including the leader of the African National Congress H. K. Banda, were arrested. The African National Congress was banned. These reprisals were denounced in many countries, including Britain.

At that time a strike was held by the builders of the Kariba power station. The authorities carried out an operation against them, in which all white reservists of Southern Rhodesia took part. In Southern Rhodesia the reprisals were directed primarily against the African National Congress (which was revived in 1957 after several years of inaction). Four hundred Congress members were arrested, and the Congress itself was banned.

In Northern Rhodesia, the government outlawed the Zambia African National Congress, which had appeared a year earlier on the basis of an A.N.C. group to become the most influential African organisation in the country.

However, this new wave of repression and the rallying of the forces of reaction did not produce the desired results. In 1959, a Malawi Congress Party, headed by H. K. Banda, came into being in place of the African National Congress of Nyasaland, and the authorities had to start talks with it. In Northern Rhodesia, the Zambia National Congress was replaced with the United

National Independence Party (1960), headed by the same leader, Kenneth Kaunda. In Southern Rhodesia, the place of the outlawed African National Congress was taken by the National Democratic Party. In the middle of 1960, its leaders were arraigned for trial. This led to mass demonstrations, meetings of protest and clashes with the police.

A conference to revise the Federation's constitution was held in London in December 1960. Long before it began, Welensky had claimed that the British Government would have to make concessions to the white settlers and give the Federation dominion status.

But in the conditions which existed in 1960—Africa Year—the Macmillan Cabinet decided against measures that might alienate not only the people of Rhodesia and Nyasaland but also the governments of the newly independent countries. A special commission was dispatched to the Federation to study the people's attitude to the merger of the three countries. In October 1960, after three months of work, the Commission presented a report which admitted that both in Nyasaland and the Rhodesias the Africans were against the Federation. The African delegates who had come to the conference from all three countries demanded annulment of the Federation. When their demand was rejected, they walked out and thus hamstringed the conference.

Throughout 1961-1962, the British Government conducted talks on constitutional changes in the three countries. The pressure of public opinion, the changes in Africa and in the international situation in general gradually forced the Macmillan Cabinet to make concessions to African political parties.

In Nyasaland, a constitution giving franchise to the Africans was introduced in July 1961. At the elections in August 1961, the Malawi Congress Party received a majority of seats in the Legislative Council. On February 1, 1963, self-government was proclaimed. H. K. Banda became head of the government.

The discussion of Northern Rhodesia's constitution was accompanied by a powerful upswing of the popular movement in the country which demanded universal suffrage and withdrawal from the Federation. The government clamped on a state of emergency.

In June 1961, a constitution was promulgated providing for a lengthy, three-stage plan of introducing further reforms. The Africans countered with a passive resistance campaign. Peasant disturbances began in Northern Province and in Luapula Province. The upswing in the liberation movement continued despite mass reprisals, the dispatch of federal troops to the country and the banning of the United Party in several regions.

The sharply intensified struggle of the workers of Northern Rhodesia for their rights played an important part in the liberation movement. In May 1962, 30,000 African mineworkers held a three-week strike for higher wages and paid leaves. For the first time in the history of the country, the strike was supported by

the white workers. In the second half of 1962 and in 1963, strikes were held at copper mines, metallurgical plants, tobacco factories and textile mills.

In the elections to the Legislative Council of Northern Rhodesia at the end of 1962, the United Party won 14 seats, the A.N.C. seven. It was decided to set up a coalition government comprising representatives of both leading African parties which the colonialists had tried to set at loggerheads. Early in 1963, the coalition government demanded withdrawal from the Federation, adoption of a new constitution and convocation of a National Assembly elected by a nationwide vote. In April 1963, in Ndola, a demonstration of 20,000 lowered into the grave a black coffin symbolising the Federation.

Britain's ruling circles could no longer sustain the Federation Government, which had become odious in the eyes of Africa and the entire world, and officially acknowledged the failure of the forcible merger that had been effected with such travail. In December 1962, the Macmillan Cabinet announced that it recognised Nyasaland's right to secede. Early in 1963, the same assurances were given to Northern Rhodesia.

A conference of representatives of the governments of Great Britain, the Federation and both Rhodesias (Nyasaland was represented by observers) was held at Victoria Falls, June 28-July 3. It adopted a decision on the dissolution of the Federation as of December 31, 1963. Thus the history of the Federation ended in the same place where it was established 15 years earlier. The British Parliament's decision confirming the resolution was a mere formality. It was adopted on December 17, a week after the dissolution of the Federal Parliament and two weeks before the official demise of the Federation.

ZAMBIA

On January 20 and 21, 1964, Northern Rhodesia held the first general elections in her history. The United National Independence Party won 55 out of the 75 seats in the Legislative Assembly, and its leader, Kenneth Kaunda, formed a government. After the election, Northern Rhodesia, like Nyasaland a year earlier, was granted internal self-government. Pending the proclamation of independence, the British governor remained in charge of foreign policy, defence and public order and retained control over the police.

On October 24, 1964, the country was proclaimed an independent republic within the British Commonwealth, and was renamed Zambia, after the Zambezi River forming its border in the south. Kenneth Kaunda, thirty-nine, became president, combining the functions of head of state and government. A clergyman's son and a former teacher, he took up politics in 1950, in the African National Congress Party, and was repeatedly imprisoned.

When Zambia received independence, it had only one African engineer, four African doctors and five African lawyers. In 1963, only 341,000 of its 4,000,000 people went to primary schools, and another 7,000 to secondary schools. In the same year, there were recorded 1,881 cases of smallpox, 271 of them lethal.

About 70 per cent of the population were living in the countryside, but only 40,000 were employed on farms producing for the market. The country had to import a quarter of its meat and several hundred thousand pounds' worth of vegetables and fruit annually.

The living standards of 40,000 Copper Belt miners were somewhat higher than those of the peasants; in 1962 they earned £5.10s. a week or £289 a year. But this pay was miserly compared with the average per family earnings of the country's 72,000 whites: £30 a week, or £1,563 a year.

The country's economy, especially under the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, was closely geared to Southern Rhodesia. Almost all its foreign trade passed through Southern Rhodesia or Mozambique. The country had to import manufactured goods, machinery, fuel for transport and food. All the coal consumed in Zambia, 120,000 tons a month, came from the Wankie mines of Southern Rhodesia. The copper mined in Zambia also passed through Southern Rhodesia.

The country's electric power comes from the Kariba Power Plant on the Zambezi, which is under the joint administration of Southern Rhodesia and Zambia. The station itself, however, stands on Rhodesian territory, and this enabled the Rhodesian Government to blackmail Zambia by threatening to cut off the power supply.

This dependence on its southern neighbour was sharply felt by Zambian economy when the Government of Ian Smith declared Southern Rhodesia's independence in November 1965, and, as a result, incurred U.N. sanctions which were backed up by almost all African states. Support for the U.N. resolution and the decisions of African states on sanctions against Southern Rhodesia placed Zambia in an extremely difficult position. Some observers even predicted that her economy would not stand up to this heavy test which befell it at the beginning of the second year of independence, that Zambia would have to recognise the Smith regime.

The Zambian Government, however, took vigorous measures and gradually began to free the country of its dependence on Southern Rhodesia, established over decades. Zambia's neighbour, Tanzania, was of great assistance in this.

Fuel to Zambia was sent by a 1,200 mile highway from the Copper Belt to Dar es Salaam. Hundreds of huge Fiat vehicles plied this road day and night, carrying petrol and lubricants. A mixed Zambia-Tanzania Road Service Co. Ltd., was set up to organise the service on this "Great Northern Road". The govern-

ments of Zambia and Tanzania both hold 35 per cent interest in the company, while the remaining 30 per cent are in the hands of an Italian road haulage company.

To reduce Zambia's dependence on Southern Rhodesia, it is planned to build a network of highways and establish direct transport links with Kenya, the Congo, Malawi, and also to extend foreign trade through Tanzania's ocean ports. The project of a railway across Tanzania to the Indian Ocean was worked out in 1917. Development has begun of local coal deposits, and in February 1966 the copper mines received the first local coal. An oil pipeline between Ndola, the centre of the Copper Belt, and Dar es Salaam was completed in 1968. It has enabled the country to dispense with the cumbersome oil lift.

A big electric power station is scheduled to be built on the Kafue, a left tributary of the Zambezi. It is to start producing in 1971. Another power station is under construction at Victoria Falls on the Zambezi.

To make up for the shortage of goods, which previously used to come from Southern Rhodesia or the Republic of South Africa, Zambia is trying to extend trade with the neighbouring states. Coal is to come from Tanzania, and cement from Kenya. The Kaunda Government also looks forward to the East African Economic Community. A provisional agreement on its establishment was signed in 1966 by the governments of Burundi, Ethiopia Kenya, Malawi, the Somali Republic, Tanzania and Zambia.

All this, of course, is but the first step towards economic independence. Coal production is only beginning to develop in the country. The trucking of petrol and lubricants from Dar es Salaam was extremely costly, for the heavy petrol vehicles used up en route nearly half of the fuel they carried.

In 1966 and 1967, as a result of its support for the sanctions against Southern Rhodesia, Zambia had to increase her trade with the Republic of South Africa, which the African states had agreed to boycott as early as the end of the 1950's. As it was impossible to take copper out by road, the Zambian government, in the middle of 1966, had to permit its export through Southern Rhodesia.

And yet the country has achieved much. It has stood up to the pressure of Southern Rhodesia. It has begun to reorganise its transport system, change the orientation of its foreign trade and develop such branches of economy as will give it a greater measure of economic independence in the future.

The very first laws passed by the government after the proclamation of independence were directed toward a gradual reorganisation of Zambia's economic and social structure. They abolished the system of reserves, those products of the policy of racial discrimination and segregation, and nationalised the "crown" and "native trust" lands. A law was passed on compulsory primary schooling.

A five-year economic development plan for 1966-1970 was worked out and acted on. It provides for the investment of £454,000,000, of which a third, £140,000,000, are to be used for the development of the state sector of the economy.

The state will encourage the development of such industries as metallurgy and mineral fertilisers. It will also invest in branches which do not attract private capital—housing construction in the countryside and economic development of outlying rural areas.

The Copper Belt, a small strip of territory 100 miles long and 30 miles wide on the border with Katanga, continues to hold a special place in the country's economy. For the output of copper, it has moved to second place in the world (after the United States), producing 750,000 tons a year. Copper makes up 93 per cent of the value of Zambia's exports, and more than a half of the gross national product. Over a quarter of the country's population live in Kitwe, Ndola, Mufulira, Luanshya and three other Copper Belt towns.

Copper is still mined by private companies, which are united in two large groups—the Zambian Anglo-American Corporation, which accounts for 55 per cent of the copper output, and the Roan Selection Trust, which accounts for the other 45 per cent. Both companies are still controlled by British and American capital.

It is copper that makes Zambia one of the richest of all young African states south of the Sahara. In 1965, the royalties from copper producing companies totalled £65,000,000, or nearly 65 per cent of the state revenues.

The role of copper in Zambia's exports determines the position of copper-mining companies and their influence on nearly every sphere of life in this country, where even the parliament building is faced with copper.

Still, the government has increased considerably the share of the profits the companies have to pay to the exchequer, and in 1965 proclaimed minerals to be state property. Since the end of last century, the British South Africa Chartered Company, established by Cecil Rhodes, had exacted its share of every ton of minerals mined in the country. To compensate the company, the Zambian Government paid it a sum of £2,000,000.

In April 1968, the government decided to nationalise a number of foreign companies in the manufacturing industry, trade and on transport. Nationalisation did not affect mining companies, but the export of dividends is limited to 50 per cent.

When a strike of 30,000 African miners broke out in the Copper Belt in the summer of 1966, the ruling party supported the strikers, and the government passed a decision raising the wages of African mineworkers.

Many Africans are now able to hold posts which in the past were the privilege of the whites. The gap in the wages of white

and black workers has been reduced considerably. However, these measures did not affect the bulk of hired African labour (over 300,000 men), employed in diverse industries.

The five-year plan provides for the development of the manufacturing and power industries.

Agriculture is to start producing for the market so as to ensure the country's requirements in food and bring in a profit. So far the only cash crop sold abroad has been tobacco. In 1965, the country sold tobacco for £3,200,000. It is now planned to cultivate new crops—coffee, tea, cotton—and increase the production of sugar. Meat production is to rise to a level where it would in the main satisfy the country's requirements.

The regime encourages the establishment and development of private farms, and also cooperatives for the sale of marketable produce (and, in some cases, for the joint cultivation of land). In Zambia, the cooperative movement began to develop later than in some other African countries and the number of cooperatives is not great, but the government is encouraging the movement. Special committees have been set up in all provinces to receive applications from peasants wishing to set up cooperatives and to consider the possibilities of issuing credits to them.

The government pays much attention to the development of public education and the health services. The number of schools and hospitals increased considerably in the first two or three years after independence. Tuition is free in the majority of schools, and by the end of the 1960's it is planned to make both primary and secondary education completely free. All schools are integrated; there are no separate schools for the whites. A university opened in the capital city of Lusaka in 1966. Education there is also free.

The authorities have set up a voluntary organisation, the Zambian Youth Service, in which young men and women can learn various trades, mainly for work in industry.

In the civil service, the whites are gradually replaced by Africans. In 1966, Africans were appointed to 15 high posts in the security service.

The government has changed the colonial names of five towns, including Bancroft (in the Copper Belt), which is now to be called Chililabombwe. Fort Jameson has been renamed Kapata, and Fort Rosebery is now Mansa. The only town to retain a foreign name is Livingstone, called after the Scottish explorer and missionary Dr. David Livingstone.

At the same time, Dr. Kaunda has repeatedly stressed the dangers of extreme nationalism and warned against excesses in "Zambiasation".

Unlike the African National Congress, which relied mainly on the support of the peasants and tribal chiefs, the ruling United National Independence Party seeks support among the urban population: the workers, the professionals, the trade unionists. In

the first years of independence, the country adopted a single-party system. Dr. Kaunda spoke for this system, but stressed that he wished to achieve it by defeating the opposition at the polls, not by passing special legislation.

The country's foreign policy, like its internal difficulties, is determined to a large extent by its position on the African continent—on the border between the emergent states and the racialist-colonialist regimes in the south. Zambia is in the forefront of the struggle against these regimes.

Despite the pressure, threats and provocations on the part of the "unholy alliance", the Government of Zambia not only participated actively in the boycott of Southern Rhodesia, but actively supported the national-liberation struggle in South African countries. The Government exposed the British policy of connivance at the Southern Rhodesian racialists. It strongly criticised President Banda of Malawi for cooperation with the Republic of South Africa.

Zambia provided asylum to numerous political refugees from the Republic of South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa, Angola and Mozambique. Many South African organisations fighting for liberation have their headquarters in Lusaka. The armed struggle of the liberation forces of Southern Rhodesia began in August-September 1967 precisely in areas bordering on Zambia.

Various U.N. conferences and seminars against apartheid, racialism and colonialism in South Africa were held on Zambian territory.

Zambia is cooperating actively with the Organisation of African Unity and has established close contacts with a number of East African countries.

In international relations, the Government of Zambia follows the policy of non-alignment. Zambian government delegations have repeatedly visited the Soviet Union, and vice versa. A Zambian good will mission, headed by Vice-President R. Ch. Kamanga, visited Moscow in August 1966, and a delegation of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., headed by J. I. Palečkis, President of the Soviet of Nationalities, paid a visit to the Republic of Zambia in May 1967.

An agreement on economic and technical cooperation between the U.S.S.R. and Zambia was signed in May 1967.

MALAWI

On the night of July 5-6, 1964, Nyasaland was proclaimed an independent state within the British Commonwealth. The name the country bore in the colonial period was discarded, and it was called Malawi, after a group of Bantu peoples living on its territory. (Of the major peoples in the country—Nyanja, Chewa, Tonga,

Yao, Lomwe, Tumbuka and Angoni—the first three belong to the Malawi group; they account for over a half of the entire population.)

On the second anniversary of independence, July 6, 1966, the country was proclaimed a republic. The head of government, Dr. H. K. Banda, sixty-five, became president. By profession, Dr. Banda is a physician, but he also took degrees in history and political sciences during his studies in the United States and Britain. Nearly all his adult life, from the age of 13 onward, was spent abroad—in South Africa, America and Europe; he returned home in 1958, after an absence of 43 years.

The Malawi Congress Party is the sole political party in the country, and only Africans are admitted to it. But the European minority—10,000 out of the total population of four million—is represented in Parliament, and the number of white deputies has even increased since the country became a republic.

From the past, Malawi inherited an economy with practically no industry. The first factories processing agricultural raw materials were built only in the 1950's.

The vast majority of the population are still engaged in subsistence economy, growing maize, millet, rice, cassava, beans and groundnuts. Only a small number of African farmers cultivate export crops—tea, cotton, the tung tree.

Unable to find work in their own country, over 150,000 able-bodied Malawians were working abroad in the middle of the 1960's—in the Republic of South Africa, Rhodesia, Zambia and even Mozambique.

Mass migration of labour, Malawi's main "export", is her greatest tragedy. True, the migrant workers send back to their families from one to two million pounds a year, which is a considerable sum in the country's revenue, but the outflow of large numbers of men upsets the normal composition of the population, wrecks families and dooms hundreds of thousands of people to privations abroad.

The lot of migrant Malawian workers is summed up in these words of Jack Woddis, a British authority on African problems:

"When one realises what this migration of labour means in terms of human endurance, hardship and suffering, bitter indeed must be the lot of the Africans and desperate the plight which drives them in such quantities and so relentlessly to abandon wife, children and home, to set out from their accustomed plains and hills to travel hundreds of miles over tiring, barren land to slave from dawn to dusk for a foreign farmer or enter the darkness of mines to dig gold, tin or copper for a European master."

According to official figures, hired labour in Malawi in 1964 totalled 119,000, of whom only 20,000 worked in industry.

To check the mass outflow of labour, it is necessary to raise the living standards of the population, and this is impossible without building up a full-blooded national economy, without destroying the country's dependence on the former colonial power. It is necessary to have funds, of which the state is very short, and national cadres who could pursue a realistic policy in guiding the economy and all other aspects of the country's life.

Dr. Banda's government formulated its economic policy in the national development plan for 1965-1970. It was adopted in May 1964 and provides for the investment of £45,000,000. The plan assigns an important place to agriculture, and especially to cash crops. The production of tea and cotton is scheduled to double, maize to treble, and groundnuts and tobacco to go up by half. The plan provides for increases in the production of rice, coffee and cacao. The government has announced its intention to buy the big estates from the Europeans and encourage African initiative in agriculture.

In the sphere of industry, the task is to set up textile and wood-working industries. A big sugar refinery has been built. It is planned to make more extensive use of natural resources, notably such minerals as bauxites, coal and asbestos. The country is to build up its own power industry. The first turbine was commissioned in 1965 at the Nkula Falls hydro-electric station.

The country has always been short of modern means of communication (there are only 430 kilometres of railway lines); over a quarter of the appropriations under the five-year plan are earmarked for the development of transport.

To carry out its economic plans, the government set up in 1964 a Malawi Development Corporation. Its purpose is to promote agriculture, trade and mining, mainly by attracting private capital. The corporation cooperates with private enterprises in various ways, helping them with money and information about market conditions, and participates on a parity basis in the establishment of new enterprises.

Government funds predominate in the railway and water transport. In 1966, the railways became state property. But the government did not announce any plans to set up a large state sector or limit the opportunities for foreign investors.

The plans of economic development are associated to a large extent with the transfer of the capital from Zomba, in the extreme south of the country, to Lilongwe, 200 kilometres to the north-west, in the Central Region. It is believed that this will open up prospects for the development of the central and northern regions, and spur the development of the resources of Lake Malawi (Nyasa). But transfer of the capital town requires big outlays. The country does not have the money, and the first efforts to get it from Britain proved unsuccessful.

In planning the country's development, the government relies on foreign capital, on which it is strongly dependent as it is. Ma-

lawi's trade balance remains adverse, and the budget deficit is covered only by British subsidies.

Foreign capital is becoming increasingly active in the country. This applies first of all to such companies as Bata and Lever Brothers. Though plans are abroad to encourage Malawians to set up small tea and tobacco plantations, both these crops, which account for over a half of the value of the country's exports, are still cultivated mainly on European estates. Foreign investors also control the processing of agricultural raw materials, mining and wholesale trade.

The problem of education and the training of personnel is scheduled to be solved in two stages. The first is designed to wipe out illiteracy, which runs at about 96 per cent. The second is to produce specialists on the basis of school training. Higher education for Malawians is to be provided by a university, which opened in 1965-1966, and by higher schools abroad. Eight million pounds are to be earmarked for education.

In its policy on the African continent, the Banda Government stands aloof. Though the country was admitted to the Organisation of African Unity as early as May 1964, shortly before the proclamation of its independence, Dr. Banda refused to comply with its resolutions and openly came out against its policy of boycotting the colonial and racialist regimes in the south of Africa.

The Government of Malawi considerably extended its trade with Southern Rhodesia and the South African Republic, concluded trade agreements with them, established diplomatic relations with the Vorster regime and held talks on the official recognition of Mozambique as a Portuguese possession.

Dr. Banda's refusal to comply with the O.A.U.'s resolution on the severance of all relations with the official circles of the Republic of South Africa and Portugal led to a government crisis in 1964: six of the nine ministers came out against Banda's efforts to establish diplomatic relations with Portugal, and criticised the Prime Minister for the slow africanisation of the civil service, for lowering the wages of office workers, and other aspects of his home and foreign policy. Dr. Banda dismissed three ministers, and three others resigned themselves. This led to demonstrations in the country and even an attempted rebellion by supporters of the dismissed ministers in Fort Johnston at the end of 1964. The authorities countered with a wave of arrests.

At a convention of the Malawi Congress Party in October 1966, Dr. Banda said he would not subscribe to the resolutions of the Organisation of African Unity denouncing the regime of apartheid in the Republic of South Africa because he did not see any real forces capable of overthrowing this regime. On the question of attitude to Southern Rhodesia, Malawi supported the British position, whereas several other African countries had broken off diplomatic relations with Britain in protest against this position.

The Banda Government isolated itself on the African continent and would not even participate in several important conferences held by neighbouring countries of Eastern and Central Africa for the solution of common problems.

Several members of the Organisation of African Unity called for Malawi's expulsion from the O.A.U. because of Banda's derogatory references to the organisation. These demands became more insistent after Banda had signed a trade agreement with South Africa in March 1967 and began to receive economic "aid" from the South African Republic.

African opinion frequently criticises Dr. Banda's policy and says that Malawi has a Rightist single-party regime which puts itself up in opposition to most young independent states of this continent.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA

The disintegration of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland put an end to the hopes of Southern Rhodesia's racialists to subjugate the neighbouring countries. This, however, merely intensified the efforts to preserve Southern Rhodesia and rally her 226,000 whites to dominate the 4,250,000 Africans.

The reason behind this extraordinary stubbornness was that the white minority government felt the support of the other members of the "unholy alliance", the Republic of South Africa and Portugal; it could also count on the support of British monopolies, which had invested £200,000,000 in Southern Rhodesia, and South African monopolies, which had invested £175,000,000.

The upsurge in the national-liberation movement in Southern Rhodesia in the early 1960's was as turbulent as in the protectorates. Mass unrest and strikes flared up repeatedly in Bulawayo, Que Que, the African suburbs of Salisbury, and on tea estates in the Gwelo area. On May 14, 1962, the majority of African workers in Salisbury, Umtali and several other towns took part in a general political strike. In 1962-1964, clashes between the native population and the police and cases of arson at factories, estates and farms became more frequent.

The National Democratic Party, banned at the end of 1961, was immediately replaced by the Zimbabwe African People's Union[1] (ZAPU), headed by the same leader, Joshua Nkomo. The authorities banned the Union in September 1962, but its leaders carried on underground activities. The Union militated for universal suffrage and the establishment of an African majority government, nationalisation of the largest enterprises and re-allotment of

[1] The African political parties of Southern Rhodesia want to call their country Zimbabwe, after a complex of medieval African structures surviving on its territory.

the land. A group of nationalists headed by the Rev. N. Sithole broke away from the Union in 1962 over differences with its leadership, and in 1963 set up a political party of their own, the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU).

When it became clear that the Federation was doomed and the borders of independent Africa were drawing right up to Southern Rhodesia, extremist elements began to gain the upper hand among the country's white minority. In December 1962, the power passed into the hands of the Rhodesian Front, which had come into being as a result of the merger of the ultra-reactionary groups of white settlers. The new government's avowed aim was to declare "independence" and set up a racialist dictatorship patterned on that in South Africa. It demanded independence on the basis of the constitution of 1961. Under this constitution, only a small part of the Africans could vote and only 15 of the 65 members of the Legislative Assembly were Africans; in the government itself there were to be no Africans at all.

Early in 1964, the extreme Right wing of the Rhodesian Front gained the upper hand in the party, and its leader Ian Smith replaced Winston J. Field as prime minister. The repression of the Africans was further intensified. Joshua Nkomo and several other leaders of the liberation movement were arrested, scores of Africans were killed, and thousands were thrown into prisons and concentration camps.

At the end of August 1964, the government of Ian Smith introduced a state of emergency in the country. Nkomo, Sithole and many other leaders and militants of ZAPU and ZANU were exiled.

Smith made a peremptory demand for independence from Britain. In November 1964, he arranged a referendum, which was in effect confined to the white population since less than 13,000 Africans were allowed to take part. This referendum naturally approved Smith's slogan of independence on the basis of the 1961 constitution.

Joshua Nkomo, who was in exile in a remote part of the country, sent a letter to the British Prime Minister, saying that the Africans were rejecting both the 1961 constitution and any referendum held on its basis. Nkomo called for a conference to work out an electoral system based on the "one man, one vote" principle.

The Labour Government which came to office in Britain at the end of 1964 somewhat modified the tactics in respect of Southern Rhodesia, abandoning the Conservatives' open support of the racialists for veiled connivance.

In February 1965, the Wilson Government sent Secretary for Commonwealth Relations A. Bottomley and Lord Chancellor Gardiner to Southern Rhodesia on a ten-day mission. The British ministers met Ian Smith and members of his Cabinet, and also Joshua Nkomo and other African leaders who had been brought

from their places of detention expressly for the purpose. The British envoys were met by numerous demonstrators who demanded the release of political prisoners and carried slogans reading "One man, one vote" and "Majority rule now!"

Back in Britain, Bottomley and Gardiner told Parliament that the British Government did not intend to use military force to change the constitutional structure of Southern Rhodesia and introduce African majority rule.

The results of the mission made it clear to Rhodesia's white extremists that they need have no fear of any serious measures on the part of Britain, even though Wilson had declared that he would regard a unilateral declaration of independence as an act of sedition.

An analysis of all other actions of the Wilson Government in the question of Southern Rhodesia inevitably led Smith and his followers to the same conclusion.

The Labour Government's position was determined above all by the powerful monopolies with vested interests in Southern Rhodesia, such as the Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa, the Tanganyika Concessions, and the British South Africa Company.

At the same time, the Labourites could not ignore world opinion which had been strongly felt at Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conferences. In 1964, the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia was not even admitted to such a conference at the demand of several participants. The U.N. General Assembly, for its part, even at its 16th Session asked Britain to alter the constitution of Southern Rhodesia in favour of the African majority.

Finding itself in a very complicated position, the Wilson Government refused, on the one hand, to grant independence to Southern Rhodesia unless it guaranteed political equality to the African majority, and, on the other, made it clear that it would not seriously obstruct the Rhodesian racialists' schemes. It may well be that some British policy-makers actually believed that a unilateral declaration of independence by the Rhodesian regime would absolve Britain of responsibility for the fact that the racialist system in the country, far from being abolished, was becoming increasingly more brutal.

This stand of the British Government, the alliance with South Africa and Portugal, and the support of other imperialist forces enabled the Smith Government to ignore both a worldwide outcry and a special meeting of the Security Council on April 28, 1965, at which the African delegations demanded that Britain heed the voice of the native population of Southern Rhodesia and refuse to grant sovereignty to the racialist forces.

On May 5, 1965, the Smith Government held an "election" on the basis of the 1961 constitution. The election was preceded by a campaign of intimidation: the government passed a law introduc-

ing the death penalty or twenty years' imprisonment for Africans found to possess weapons. At the election, the Rhodesian Front won over two-thirds of the votes.

In these conditions, the Smith Government acted with steadily mounting confidence. When Wilson came to Salisbury in October 1965, the leadership of the Rhodesian Front refused to meet him. He was not even allowed to make a statement on local television. For all this, Wilson told Nkomo and Sithole, who had been brought out of exile to meet him, that they should take a more "realistic" stand and not hope that Britain would defend the Africans' rights by force.

On November 3, 1965, the Smith Government presented London with a sort of an ultimatum stating that if Southern Rhodesia were not given independence with the preservation of the existing regime, the Rhodesian Front would stop all negotiations with the British authorities. When they saw that the Labour Cabinet had pocketed this affront too and did not intend to take any vigorous measures, Smith and his followers, on November 11, declared Southern Rhodesia's independence. The next day, the Soviet Government issued a special statement denouncing both the actions of the racialists and the British Government's connivance.

Britain's role in the Rhodesian crisis was so obvious that the extraordinary session of the Council of Ministers of the Organisation of African Unity held in Ethiopia in December 1965 called on all African states to break off diplomatic relations with the British Government.

As for the latter, its only reaction to the unilateral declaration of Rhodesia's independence was to invoke several economic sanctions. It embargoed the shipment of oil to Southern Rhodesia and banned the purchases of Rhodesian tobacco. The Rhodesian assets in British banks were frozen. The British authorities intimated that these sanctions would force the Smith regime to its knees in a matter of months.

However, the oil needed by Southern Rhodesia was supplied by Portugal and the Republic of South Africa, while the entire tobacco crop was bought by West Germany, Italy, Spain, Holland and certain other countries.

A series of coups which rocked young African countries in 1965-1968 weakened their joint actions, and this enabled the Smith regime to consolidate its positions.

In 1966 and 1968, the British Cabinet resumed negotiations with the Rhodesian Government on several occasions, despite its earlier assurances that in the event of a unilateral declaration of independence it would break all contacts with the "rebels". Wilson even had two meetings with Smith in December 1966 and in October 1968. But all the projects of settling the crisis put forward by the Labour Cabinet, modest as they were, were turned down by the Rhodesian Front.

The Smith regime took measures which increasingly stepped up the terror and brought the system in the country closer to the regime in the Republic of South Africa.

The Zimbabwe African People's Union and the African National Congress of the Republic of South Africa adopted a declaration in August 1967 on joint action against racialism in southern Africa. Since then guerrilla groups have been operating in various areas of Southern Rhodesia. South Africa's authorities have sent police and soldiers and officers of their regular army to help crush the guerrilla movement.

The African countries hold Great Britain, the administering power, responsible for the situation in Southern Rhodesia. In December 1967, the U.N. General Assembly called on Britain to take all necessary measures, up to the use of force, for liquidating the illegal racialist regime. The demand to set up an African majority government in Southern Rhodesia is widely supported both in Africa and beyond its bounds.

BOTSWANA, LESOTHO, SWAZILAND

At the beginning of the century, these countries were part of the British empire with the status of protectorates (prior to independence, Lesotho was called Basutoland and Botswana, Bechuanaland). Although the three countries are located in different parts of southern Africa and are separated from one another by territories of the Republic of South Africa, they had much in common in the past and still have at present. To begin with, the population of these countries, the Bechuana, the Basuto and the Swazi, are ethnically kindred. The tragedy of the three peoples was that the European conquest divided them and now more than half of all the Basuto and Bechuana and one-third of the Swazi live in contiguous districts of the Republic of South Africa.

Economically, the protectorates have become fully dependent on the Republic of South Africa with which they have a common customs and monetary system. Almost all the exports of the three countries go to the Republic of South Africa and they receive from there all the imports. Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland remained the last British possessions in Africa (not counting Southern Rhodesia). This is explained by the specific features of the anti-imperialist movement in these countries, where the progressive forces had to wage a struggle on two fronts: against British and against South African imperialism.

Ethnic community, community of historical destinies and common methods of gaining independence offer grounds for presenting the history of these three countries together.

1918-1939. As in their other possessions, the British introduced indirect rule in these protectorates. In each of them, the paramount chiefs were subordinated to the British resident commissioners and the latter, in their turn, were subordinated to the British high commissioner who resided in the Union of South Africa.

Economically, the colonial administration sought to convert the three countries into a source of manpower for South African industry. This was achieved by introducing burdensome taxes and alienating the land from the Africans. The Bechuana and the Basuto engaged mainly in stock-raising and the Swazi, in farming.

The subsistence farming of the Africans required large areas. Confiscation of land and preservation of traditional farming methods led to a catastrophic exhaustion of soil fertility. The Africans ousted from agriculture had to go to the Union of South Africa in search of jobs. The economic situation was hardest of all in Basutoland, where the land hunger was most acute and population density was the greatest. It is not surprising that Basutoland provided the largest number of migrants.

The British authorities did little for the economic development of the protectorates and the same was true of the social services. Medical aid was particularly inadequate, as elsewhere in Africa. The few doctors treated mainly the white population. Epidemics of typhus, malaria, smallpox, plague and dysentery regularly figured in public health reports.

Before the Second World War, the educational system in Bechuanaland and Swaziland catered practically only to the whites. In Swaziland only one school was accessible to Africans for a long time. In 1921, it had 77 pupils. But in Basutoland elementary education made some headway. In 1935, there were several hundred elementary missionary schools and two secondary schools. In 1933, the first school offering a full secondary education was opened. As a result, before the last war Basutoland held first place in Africa for the literacy of the local population. This was largely because the chiefs, following the behests of Moshoeshoe, the founder of the Basutoland state, who had encouraged education, supported various missionary schools by subsidies. In Maseru, the administrative centre, there was a print-shop founded during the reign of Moshoeshoe. It printed books, textbooks and pamphlets in the Sesuto language, and also small-size newspapers *Mochochonomo* ("The Comet") and *Naledi* ("The Star").

The first African newspaper in Swaziland appeared in 1934. It was called *Izwi Lama Swazi* ("The Voice of the Swazi") and was printed in the Zulu language. No newspaper was published in Bechuanaland prior to independence.

Despite the spread of education and certain social changes which undermined the patriarchal mainstays, the tribal order and traditions remained very strong. The Bechuana, for example, preserved domestic slavery; the Swazi had survivals of matriarchy, and the Basuto adhered to their ancient beliefs.

The hierarchic structure of administration was based on general subordination to the paramount chief, but the degree of centralisation differed in each protectorate. In Basutoland, the *Morena e moholo* exercised supreme authority. The ancient custom of dividing power between the paramount chief (*Ngwenyama*) and his wife (*Ndlovikasi*) was preserved in Swaziland. The Bechuana had no paramount chief. The eight main tribes were actually independent of one another, although the prestige of the chief (*Kgosi*) of the biggest Bamangwato tribe was recognised to a greater or lesser

extent by the chiefs of the other tribes. In 1920, the British set up an African Advisory Council of all the tribes in Bechuanaland, but it carried no weight at all and did not become an instrument promoting the country's centralisation.

People's Assemblies (*Kgotla* in Bechuanaland and *Likoko* in Swaziland) were convened in Bechuanaland and Swaziland to settle important matters. In Basutoland, the People's Assembly (*Pitso*) was no longer convened during this period. Questions of local importance were discussed at the advisory councils of the tribal nobility or were decided by the chiefs themselves, who often paid no heed to the people's opinion. The British authorities did nothing to restrict the arbitrary rule of the chiefs. Even the circumscribed decrees of 1934 and 1938, regulating the rights of the chiefs, remained unimplemented up to the Second World War. Political activity in the protectorates was confined to struggle for power between the heirs to the throne. The colonial administration exploited these wrangles in its own ends, supporting some claimants to the post of paramount chief. Other claimants drew support from the tribes, and the struggle for power was often accompanied by anti-colonial actions.

In Swaziland, for example, the young heir waged a struggle against the regent, a woman who was supported by the administration and a group of chiefs. In 1922, under the pressure of the people she had to cede power. The heir, who became Ngwenyama Sobhuza II, demanded the return of lands confiscated by the Europeans.

The question was submitted to a British court. As was to be expected, Sobhuza II lost the case, but it helped to rally the Swazi round their ruler and the latter launched a successful campaign for redeeming part of the lands from the white settlers. As for relations between the British authorities and Sobhuza II, they became strained for good.

The chief of the Bamangwato tribe Khama III, who ruled for close to half a century, died in Bechuanaland in 1923. His son Sekgoma died shortly afterwards. Seretse Khama, a minor at the time, became the heir. In the struggle for the post of regent, victory was scored by Tshekede Khama, Sekgoma's brother. From the very outset (1926), Tshekede resolutely opposed British interference in the internal affairs of the tribe and he refused to sign a concession treaty with the British South Africa Company.

A new conflict broke out in 1933. The Bechuana more than once complained to the commissioners about the immoral behaviour of the whites, but their statements were ignored. Tshekede then tried at the *Kgotla* a man named Macintosh for insulting African women and had him flogged in public. When news of a white man's trial by a "native" court (an unprecedented case in Africa's colonial history) reached the high commissioner, he sent to Bechuanaland a punitive expedition armed with machine-guns and artillery.

Tshekede was removed from power, allegedly for repeated mockery at the administration and the undermining of harmony. But this action aroused such indignation in Bechuanaland and abroad that London had to disavow its commissioner.

Tshekede Khama remained regent until 1951. In the 1920's and 1930's he was the chief spokesman of anti-imperialist sentiments in Bechuanaland and devoted much effort to preventing the consolidation of British power in the protectorate. That in Bechuanaland and Swaziland the chiefs headed the anti-colonial movement is explained by the fact that prior to the Second World War the anti-colonial struggle was still of a defensive nature and assumed the form of resistance to the drive of the colonialists on the people's rights. The demands for independence had not been put forward yet. The struggle was for land, against concessions and attempts to curtail the remnants of internal independence. This dictated unity of the tribes around the paramount chiefs, who were the only ones capable of heading the anti-colonial struggle.

In Basutoland, the anti-colonial movement reached a higher stage of development. It was headed not by the chiefs, but by progressive intellectuals, and the movement had intrinsic elements of a political class struggle.

The advance of the national-liberation movement in Basutoland began as soon as the First World War ended. Soldiers of the Labour Corps in which Bechuana, Swazi, but mostly Basuto, served, returned from Europe in 1918. Stories of distant Europe and the amazing events in Russia stirred up the people. Spontaneous meetings were held in towns and villages of Basutoland, at which African speakers openly flayed not only the British and South African racialists, but also their tribal chiefs. Frightened by the scale of the anti-colonialist movement, the chiefs began to look to the British authorities for support. This undermined their prestige among the people.

A part of the intellectuals tried to head the movement of the people against the colonialists and local conservative elements. They wanted to create better conditions for Africans in education, trade and administration. This became the programme of the Basutoland Progressive Association, founded in 1916. Owing to their isolation and narrow aims, the Association members did not succeed in leading the national-liberation movement.

The Lekhotla La Bafo (Commoners' League) assumed the role of a vanguard in the anti-colonial struggle. This association, political in its essence and democratic in its composition, was founded prior to the First World War by the brothers Maputseng and Josiel Lefela, young Basuto who spent much time in educating themselves and were familiar with the progressive movement in the Union of South Africa. The League became particularly active in 1918, when its programme was fully shaped. The Lekhotla La Bafo considered its main task to be struggle against colonialism

and defence of the poor. The League was vigorously opposed to British rule and was the only organisation which called for abolishing the colonial administration system. It publicly declared the British commissioners the "arch-enemies of Basutoland". The League also exposed the reactionary role of the chiefs, although on this issue its leaders were not always consistent.

In contrast to the Progressive Association, the Lekhotla La Bafo opened its doors to peasants and seasonal workers employed in the Union of South Africa, to all who agreed with its programme. The influence of the League swiftly spread and in the mid-1920's it was the largest mass organisation in the country. The British authorities were seriously alarmed by its activity and intensified persecution. The chiefs and the Progressive Association also joined in the campaign against the League. In 1926 and 1928, the authorities tried to ban the Lekhotla La Bafo, but the able tactics of the leadership foiled these attempts. Since 1922, the newspapers of Basutoland and the Union of South Africa had stopped publishing articles by members of the League. This conspiracy of silence was breached in 1928 when the Lekhotla La Bafo established contacts with the Communist Party of South Africa. *South African Worker*, the Party's newspaper, agreed to publish the League's materials, and Josiel Lefela became a regular correspondent of the newspaper. The period of close cooperation between the League and the Communist Party and the African National Congress of South Africa began at that time.

One of the services rendered by the League was the exposure of the plans of South African imperialism which sought to absorb the protectorates. Grounds for these claims were offered by the terms of the South African Act of 1909, under which Britain undertook in future to turn over the protectorates to the Government of the Union of South Africa. After 1919, the South African Government repeatedly reminded Britain of her obligation. In 1934, Hertzog, Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa, threatened to apply economic sanctions against the protectorates. The British Government partly met the demands of South Africa. In 1935, a committee of representatives of Britain and the Union of South Africa was set up to consider the joining of the protectorates to the Union of South Africa. But the war stopped all its activities.

1939-1945. When the Second World War broke out, the British authorities decided to form a corps from among the peoples in the protectorates. This aroused dissatisfaction of young men who knew from stories of veterans who served in Europe in 1914-1918 that in the army they would have to perform arduous jobs instead of fighting. In Basutoland, the Lekhotla La Bafo at first came out against participation in the "capitalist war of white men", but then changed its position and demanded that the Basuto be given arms. The authorities imprisoned three leaders of the League but could not break it up and in July 1942 made more arrests.

In Bechuanaland and Swaziland, the chiefs insisted on the arming of volunteers. The British had to give assurances that all who volunteered for the army would be given weapons.

In September 1941, the first group of soldiers from the protectorates was sent to the army in the field, and others followed. Altogether more than 21,000 Basuto, 10,000 Bechuana and about 4,000 Swazi served in the army between 1941 and 1946. Many of them perished in the fight against fascism. Of the Basuto, 1,105 never returned home. At first the British, ignoring their promises, used Africans for digging trenches, carrying shells and building bridges, but in 1943 gave them arms. Many Africans became sappers and artillerymen, served in the Middle East and participated in battles for the liberation of North Africa and Italy.

No considerable changes in the internal life of the protectorates occurred during the war. Some reforms were introduced in Basutoland and Bechuanaland. The most important were those carried out in Basutoland. In 1943, the rights of the tribal courts were restricted and the number of courts reduced from 1,300 to 130; in 1944, elective District Councils with advisory functions were organised.

1945-1960. The economic situation in the protectorates grew worse after the Second World War. Soil erosion and exhaustion of the land held by Africans brought about a further decline in agricultural production. Food crises became frequent in Basutoland; and to prevent starvation, grain had to be imported from the Union of South Africa. Although promising raw material deposits were found in Bechuanaland and Swaziland, Britain did nothing to develop industry. The exception was a small asbestos mine in Swaziland.

Economic weakness made the protectorates easy prey for the South African monopolies, which further enmeshed the three territories in the nets of economic dependence. Of particular importance was the fact that South African mines and farms provided jobs to tens of thousands of Africans from the protectorates. The scale of manpower migration is illustrated by the following figures: approximately 60 per cent of the adult male population of Basutoland worked in the Union of South Africa; the corresponding figures were 40 per cent for Bechuanaland and 20 per cent for Swaziland.

This migration of workers was attended by intricate economic and numerous social consequences. For example, remittances from workers abroad became the main source of paying for the protectorates' imports. With the men leaving for seasonal work, women had to bear the brunt of arduous field work, and cultivation deteriorated. Seasonal work turned many peasants into semi-proletarians and helped to weaken the grip of the chiefs and tribal traditions.

The national-liberation movement began to liven up in the

protectorates after the war. The Progressive Association, founded at the end of the 1920's, stepped up its activities in Swaziland. Dissatisfaction with the colonial order and the arbitrary rule of the chiefs was on the increase. In 1950, some reforms restricting the rights of the chiefs were carried out at long last, but this little affected the people's life.

In Swaziland the successes of the progressive forces were less considerable than in the other protectorates. The white farmers, closely associated with the Union of South Africa, artfully played on the anti-British sentiments of Sobhuza II and they gained substantial influence at his court. An official alliance was thus formed, consisting of the Swazi conservative elite and white farmers. This was one of the reasons impeding the development of the protectorate.

In Bechuanaland, the soldiers who returned from the war became the main spokesmen expressing the general opposition to the colonial system. Dissatisfaction was also directed against Tshekeda Khama who, representing above all the interests of the tribal upper crust, sought to stifle any manifestation of protest from below. The prestige of the "iron regent", as he was called in the press, declined, and the Bamangwato repeatedly urged the young heir Seretse Khama to assume the throne. But Seretse, who was studying in London, wanted to complete his education. In 1948, he married an English girl. This was a direct challenge to the racialist order in South Africa and the beginning of stormy events.

Tshekede decided to utilise the situation to deprive Seretse of the right to power. A struggle flared up in the Kgotla, with the Bechuana taking the side of Seretse on several occasions. But Tshekede found an ally in the South African racialists. The British Labour Government, yielding to pressure from South Africa, informed Seretse that he was deprived of the right to hold the post of chief and was forbidden to enter Bechuanaland. Tshekede was removed from office too. The Bamangwato, insulted by the interference in the internal affairs of their tribe, refused to recognise the new heads appointed by the high commissioner. Disorders broke out, Tshekede's house was burned down and some policemen were killed. Tchekede's long career came to an inglorious end.

In 1956, the British Government had to allow Seretse to return to Bechuanaland. He came back as a private person, but was enthusiastically welcomed by his fellow tribesmen.

In Basutoland, the movement for reforms had begun even before the war. After 1946, more precise and definite demands were formulated: self-government and restriction of the power of the chiefs.

But the British Government was in no hurry to introduce constitutional changes. The appointment of the commission headed by Moore was merely a manoeuvre. In 1954, Moore presented recommendations which ignored the main demand of the Basuto and

did not envisage self-government. The report and the recommendations were rejected by the chiefs and the people. Faced with so unanimous a rebuff, the colonialists agreed to grant Basutoland self-government. But only in 1958 was a constitution drawn up, which provided for two-stage elections of deputies to the Basutoland Council, an advisory body of the British commissioner. One half of the members were elective; the other half of the Council were appointed by the British on recommendations of the paramount chief. The elections were set for 1960.

A new political organisation, the Basutoland African Congress, gained in strength in the struggle for constitutional changes. It was founded in 1952 by members of the Lekhotla La Bafo headed by Ntsu Mokhehle. The Congress supported by the African National Congress in the Union of South Africa, called for immediate self-government and subsequent full independence and for democratic reforms. In 1955, the Basutoland African Congress began to publish a newspaper *Mohlabani* ("The Warrior"). Two conservative parties, the National Party and the Marematlu, arose at the end of the 1950's. They were headed by the chiefs of rival nobility groups. Both parties, set up to resist the influence of the Basutoland African Congress, called for preserving the privileges of the chiefs and gradual advance to independence. Later, in 1962, the Marematlu united with the Freedom Party, which broke with the Basutoland African Congress. The new party called itself the Marematlu Freedom Party.

1960-1965. The year 1960 was a landmark in African history. It became clear that the days of colonialism in the three protectorates, too, were numbered.

In that year, the Union of South Africa withdrew from the British Commonwealth and, having proclaimed itself a republic, lost legal grounds for claims to these British possessions. The Government of the Republic of South Africa then concentrated efforts on creating in the future independent states a political atmosphere suiting its ends. The British Government, faced with the necessity of granting independence to the three protectorates, had to pay greater attention to their economic and political needs.

A competent mission sent to Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland submitted in 1960 a report with recommendations concerning the economic development of these countries. A study of the possibilities of building some industrial enterprises in Basutoland and Bechuanaland began. Important changes occurred in the economy of Swaziland from 1960 to 1965. Foreign monopolies, South African in the first place, became very active. A railway was built connecting the country with the Mozambique coast, a large open-cut iron-ore mine and several food and woodworking factories were commissioned.

The year 1960 witnessed important political events in the protectorates.

The first general elections were held in Basutoland—elections to the District Councils. A sweeping victory was won by the Basutoland African Congress: it gained 73 seats, while its rivals, the National Party and the Marematlu, won 22 and 16 seats respectively.

The first political parties arose in Bechuanaland and Swaziland. The stream of political refugees from the Republic of South Africa, where the authorities launched a reign of terror against Africans, gave an impetus to the founding of progressive organisations. The Bechuanaland People's Party was formed in 1960. It resolutely came out against tribalism and the power of the chiefs and called for putting an end to colonialism by every means.

In the same year, the Swaziland Progressive Association was reconstituted into the Swaziland Progressive Party. Its programme called for independence, equal rights for whites and Africans, redistribution of the land and making the Ngwenyama the head of a sovereign state. Nevertheless, not only the white farmers but also the Ngwenyama came out against the Progressive Party, fearing it would undermine their influence.

The tribal upper crust of Bechuanaland and Swaziland hastened to set up their own parties. The Bechuanaland Democratic Party headed by Seretse Khama was organised in 1962. In 1964, Sobhuza II organised the Imbokodo Party. A number of smaller parties sprang up.

In 1961 and 1962, there were splits in the three Left-wing parties in the protectorates—the Basutoland Congress Party (as the Basutoland African Congress has been called since 1960), the Bechuanaland People's Party and the Swaziland Progressive Party. Other splits also followed, but their underlying cause was the same. The parties in the protectorates were strongly influenced by the national-liberation movement in the Republic of South Africa, where after the Sharpeville tragedy relations between the African National Congress and the Pan-African Congress grew very strained. After the split, the Basutoland Congress Party and the Bechuanaland People's Party adopted the platform of the Pan-African Congress. In Swaziland, the Pan-Africanists who left the Progressive Party formed in 1963 the Ngwane National Liberation Congress.

In Basutoland, the minority expelled from the Basutoland Congress Party organised the Communist Party of Lesotho in 1961. Its constituent congress was held in May 1962. It became the third Communist Party in sub-Saharan Africa, and the only one existing legally in this part of the continent. The Communist Party of Lesotho established close contacts with the fraternal Communist Parties, and first of all with the Communist Party of South Africa. The Party has its own organ, the magazine *Tokoloho*. It published a programme calling for progressive reforms and the establishment of an independent democratic state in Basutoland. The party

proclaimed as its ultimate aim the building of a socialist society in Basutoland.

To fight against the colonialists and the internal reactionary forces, the Communist Party of Lesotho proposed the establishment of a united front of Left parties. The call was supported by the Lekhotla La Bafo and the Union of Students, but it was opposed by the Congress Party, which was against any contacts with the Communists.

In Basutoland, the Communists had to work in extremely difficult conditions. Local reactionary forces and also the British and South African authorities utilised every means of struggle against them, including individual terror. In 1964, attempts were made on the life of Communist leaders. This notwithstanding, the Communist Party extended its activities and by 1964 had set up branches in all districts. In 1964, T. Kena was elected secretary general.

The greater political acitivity of the people in the protectorates stimulated the trade union movement, especially in Basutoland and Swaziland. By 1963, Basutoland had five trade unions and Swaziland, four. The first general strike was held in Basutoland in 1961. In Swaziland, strikes particularly spread in 1962 and 1963 in woodworking factories, sugar refineries, plantations, asbestos mines and railway construction jobs. When a general strike was called in Mbabane (administrative centre of the protectorate), troops and police were sent into action. The strikes ended in partial victory for the workers.

All these events compelled the British Government to introduce reforms. After drawn-out negotiations, Basutoland was granted self-government in 1965. The first direct general elections of the Basutoland Council were held in the same year. The National Party, which received extensive financial help from the Republic of South Africa, won in Parliament by a majority of two votes. The Congress Party became the main opposition party.

In Bechuanaland, the population elected the Legislative Council on the basis of universal suffrage for the first time in 1965. The Democratic Party of Seretse Khama won 28 out of the 31 seats. In 1965, the country's capital was transferred from the territory of the Republic of South Africa, where it had been since the conquest of Bechuanaland, to Gaberones.

The leaders of Basutoland and Bechuanaland reached agreement with the British Government on the granting of independence in 1966.

In Swaziland, the various political parties could not reach agreement on a draft constitution to serve as a basis of self-government, which in British possessions usually preceded the proclamation of independence. The white minority of 6,000 people demanded equal representation with the Africans (300,000 people) in the National Council.

In 1964, the colonial authorities nevertheless held elections on

the conditions suggested by the Ngwenyama and the white settlers. Only half of the council members were elected, the other half being appointed by Sobhuza II. The whites and the Swazi voted separately. All seats contested by African parties were won by the Imbokodo Party. The opposition parties challenged the results of the elections, claiming that they were undemocratic and the returns were falsified. For this reason, Britain postponed the granting of independence to Swaziland.

Period of Independence. On September 30, 1966, Bechuanaland became an independent state, officially called the Republic of Botswana. The Legislative Council became the Parliament. Seretse Khama became the country's first president, its chief executive. He declared that the policy of his government would be aimed at strengthening political independence, developing the economy and building a democratic multiracial society. Seretse Khama also spoke in favour of close contacts with African countries and the preservation of economic ties with the Republic of South Africa.

Basutoland gained independence on October 4, 1966, and was named the Kingdom of Lesotho. According to the constitution, legislative authority will be exercised by the paramount chief and the Lesotho Council. Executive authority is vested in the government headed by L. Jonathon. He announced a policy of establishing friendly relations with the Republic of South Africa. Shortly before the proclamation of independence, Jonathon visited Pretoria where he met Verwoerd. The intention of the new government to maintain close ties with the Republic of South Africa is criticised by many organisations in Lesotho. Not only Left-wing parties, but also Moshoeshoe II, Basuto paramount chief, are in opposition to the government. Moshoeshoe II organised a campaign for the revision of the British-imposed constitution and the extension of the king's rights in settling state affairs. A wave of demonstrations in support of Moshoeshoe's demands swept the country at the end of 1966. While dispersing one of the meetings the police killed and wounded several people. Using this as a pretext, Jonathon arrested the king and forced him to sign a pledge not to make any statements without the approval of the Prime Minister.

At present the ruling party has in Parliament a slim majority of two votes and the political situation in the country is quite unstable.

Botswana and Lesotho have remained in the British Commonwealth.

In 1967, general elections were held in Swaziland. The Imbokodo Party gained all the seats in the National assembly though it polled only 80 per cent of the votes. It was then declared that the country would gain independence next year. The new independent state of Swaziland was proclaimed in September 1968.

THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

By the end of the First World War, South Africa was the youngest of British dominions. It was founded in 1910 through the merger of two British colonies, Natal and Cape of Good Hope Colony (the Cape Colony), with the Boer states defeated in the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902. These states, officially called the Orange Free State and the Republic of South Africa, were commonly referred to as the Orange Republic and the Transvaal. The four territories became provinces of the new dominion.

The state formed in this way was called the Union of South Africa till May 31, 1961, when it was proclaimed the Republic of South Africa (the Transvaal's official name before the Anglo-Boer War).

By the end of the First World War, the country had about seven million people. Even then the racial and national composition of its population was extremely varied.

Two-thirds of the inhabitants were South African Bantu peoples: Zulus, Xosas, Basuto, Bapedi, Bechuana, Shangaan, Swazi, Ndebele, Bavenda and others. The vast majority of Zulus lived in Natal; Xosas, in Cape Province; the Basuto, in the Orange Free State; the Bechuana, Shangaan, Swazi, Ndebele and Bavenda, in the Transvaal.

The European population (called "whites" or "Europeans" in official documents) made up only some 20 per cent of the total. Still, there were many more whites in the Union of South Africa than in the rest of Africa combined, and unlike the vast majority of Europeans in other parts of the continent they held that their home was the country they lived in, and not Europe. In the Transvaal, the Orange Free State and the Cape Province, the white population consisted in the main of Afrikaners (Boers),[1] with des-

[1] Descendants of Dutch and French settlers who made their home in Africa as early as the 17th century. At one time they were called Boers (Boer means "peasant" in Dutch), then Afrikanders (another Dutch word). It was only in recent decades that they came to be known as Afrikaners, the name they themselves had been using for a long time. "Afrikaner" means "African". This word comes from the Afrikaans language that developed in the Cape Colony through the mingling of various Dutch dialects and later

cendants of British settlers taking second place. It was only in Natal that these latter were in a majority.

About 9 per cent of the population were "coloureds". This group is a product of the intermixing of races—of Hottentots and Bantus with whites, and, to a lesser degree, with settlers of Asian origin. In official statistics, the term "coloureds" is for some reason extended to cover the Hottentots, the Bushmen and the Malays, descendants of slaves brought into the country long ago. The Hottentots, Bushmen and Malays numbered several score thousand. The vast majority of the coloureds settled in Cape Town and adjacent parts of the Cape Province.

About 3 per cent of the population were Indians. They lived mainly in Natal where they began to arrive in the 1860's as indentured labour for work on sugar plantations.

The vast majority of the population were engaged in agriculture. The white farmers gradually introduced intensive commercial stock-raising and crop farming. Their links with the market increased, and so did the share of export items, such as wool and wine. Processing of agricultural raw materials provided the initial basis for the development of manufacturing industries. The discovery of large gold and diamond fields at the end of the 19th century spurred the country's economic progress. The rapid growth of mining stimulated other industries and extensive railway construction. Cecil Rhodes' De Beers diamond mining company, which was established at that time, gradually developed into a world monopoly. Together with seven largest gold companies, it established control over mining and nearly the entire manufacturing industry.

The products of the Union's capitalist ("European") sector of the economy were exported mainly to the metropolitan country, Great Britain, and most of the capital invested in South Africa came from there. The rapid development of the capitalist sector was made possible by cheap African labour. The process of proletarisation of the native population in South Africa went farther than in other African countries.

The Africans who engaged in cattle-breeding and crop-raising were deprived of land and thus forced to work for whites. Over 87 per cent of the land was handed over to white settlers or set aside for them. Africans could farm on their own only in specially allocated areas, native reserves, which barely accounted for 13 per cent of the Union's territory; many of them were located in areas unsuitable for crop-raising and cattle-breeding.

The agrarian policy vis-à-vis the native population was formulated in the Natives Land Act, passed by Parliament in 1913. Under this Act, Africans could not buy, lease or otherwise acquire

underwent considerable changes. At present, it is spoken by more than three million people: the Afrikaners themselves, and the majority of the "coloureds"

land outside the reserves. It also banned sharecropping and money rent, and permitted Africans to use the land of white farmers only as labour-tenants, and only provided they worked for the farmer for at least 90 days a year. Infringement of certain provisions of this Act was regarded as a criminal offence.

The purpose was to create an artificial shortage of land and force Africans to seek employment in the "European" sector. The same purpose was served by the hut tax. The money to pay this tax could only be earned in the "European" sector.

The crowded reserves became pools of cheap labour. Their inhabitants had to leave their homes in search of a living. They hired out as farm-hands, swelled the ranks of the urban proletariat, sought employment in the "devil's pits" of the Transvaal's mining centre, the Witwatersrand (also called the Rand).

The rapid development of capitalism in the country's "European" sector scriously affected all South African peoples, speeding up the disintegration of still tenacious carry-overs of the primitive-communal system and breaking up the traditions and customs handed down from tribal times.

Union of South Africa after the First World War. The First World War gave a strong impetus to South Africa's economic progress. Disruption of traditional economic ties with Europe and America and a sharp drop in the flow of foreign goods to Africa promoted the development of industry both inside the Union and in the neighbouring parts of the continent. Temporary suspension of navigation through the Suez Canal and the resulting increase in the number of ships sailing around South Africa and calling at her ports led to a rise in the output of coal, required by the ships, and also boosted the country's foreign trade.

Agricultural exports in 1918-1920 were double the prewar level. The high wartime prices of gold accelerated the development of the gold industry and mining in general. The number of manufacturing establishments rose from 4,000 in 1915 to nearly 7,000 in 1920. 1922 saw the establishment of ISCOR, an iron and steel trust, which was South Africa's first big state monopoly.

Urban proletariat grew numerically, and its racial and national composition changed. Before the war, the vast majority of European workers were English; Afrikaners continued to engage predominantly in agriculture. However, with the appearance of large landed estates and the ruin of small farmers, more Boers began to come to the towns; in the first postwar years they accounted for a considerable part of South Africa's working class.

The influx of non-white, mainly African workers to factories and mines was even greater. The number of non-whites engaged in the manufacturing industry rose from 61,000 in 1915 to 113,000 in 1920, while the number of African miners in 1920 reached 270,000.

In industry, as in agriculture—the main sphere of employment for African labour—Africans were usually employed as unskilled

workers. During the war, however, the need for manpower became so great that Africans were occasionally given jobs which required considerable skills, such as driving electric locomotives in the mines.

Within two or three years after the end of the war, the country's economy encountered considerable difficulties. The economic situation was less opportune, and the markets shrank. The world economic crisis of 1920-1921 and the drop in the prices of gold soon after 1918 affected, directly or indirectly, a majority of South Africa's industries. The cost-of-living index rose rapidly.

With the development of economy, growth of the working class and intelligentsia, and mounting dependence on the world capitalist economy, social contradictions in the country became more acute. They emerged more and more clearly from the maze of racial and national contradictions. At the same time, along with the growth of the national awareness of South Africa's peoples and the rise of public and political organisations aspiring to represent their interests, there appeared the first signs of class solidarity and internationalism.

Internationalist Ideas Take Root. The appearance of internationalist ideas in the country was closely associated with the spread of Marxism, and primarily the activities of an ogranisation which called itself the International Socialist League (S.A.). It came into being in 1915 after splitting away from the South African Labour Party, which had existed since 1909. The split occurred over the question of attitude to the world war; the organisers of the League were against the war and called for solidarity of workers all over the world.

The League united progressive intellectuals and workers of European origin. It had a motley composition, comprising Fabians, anarchists and trade unionists, some of whom were veterans of the first South African Social Democratic organisations that had arisen at the turn of the century. Gradually, more and more League members came to support Marxism; the more progressive leaders adopted an internationalist approach not only to the world labour movement but also to the burning racial and national problems facing their own country. The League became South Africa's first political ogranisation established by whites which admitted non-white members.

These changes in the League were due to a large extent to the influence of the October Revolution in Russia and to an upswing in the revolutionary movement in many European countries. The fourth annual congress of the League, held on January 5-6, 1919, published a Declaration of Principles saying that proletarian revolution should be the ultimate goal of the struggle waged by South African workers: "Already the path has been cleared by the glorious Socialist Revolution in Russia on 7th November, 1917."

It is noteworthy that the Declaration called for the solidarity

of all South African workers, irrespective of colour of skin: "...The white workers must be encouraged to educate, organise and cooperate with their native fellow-workers at their place of work in mine, factory and workshop, in order that the Socialist Republic of South Africa may be inaugurated by the unanimous solidarity of all the workers."

The League circulated leaflets in English and also in Zulu and Sotho. One of them explained the meaning of Bolshevism in these words: "Workers! Do not be misled when the Capitalist Press reviles the Bolsheviks. They slander the Bolsheviks because they have lost the fat money bags they lent to the Czar to crush the Russian people. They slander the Bolsheviks because they have lost the rich mines and factories which Russian workmen are now working for themselves, and the land which forty million peasants are farming in common under the Soviet Republic.

"They slander the Bolsheviks because they fear you will follow suit. They are afraid the workers in South Africa will also become free and independent....

"Down with British Militarism! It is a weapon to crush the workers. Down with Allied intervention in Russia! Down with the Capitalist Class in all countries!"

The leaflet appealed to the workers: "The way to get ready is to combine in the workshops. Combine as workers no matter what colour. Remember that an injury to one is an injury to all, be he black or white."

The League came out for the establishment of a Communist Party and for joining the Comintern. It held several meetings with other socialist groups that had come into existence by that time, and agreement was reached on forming a Communist Party of South Africa. The constituent congress was held in Cape Town in the middle of 1921. Prominent League members—William Henry Andrews and Sidney Percival Bunting—were elected the Party's secretary and treasurer respectively. David Ivon Jones became its representative in the Comintern. The League's weekly, *International*, published since 1915, became the Party organ and carried its first manifesto.

The Communist Party did not become a mass party, but it did exercise a strong influence on the development of the country's democratic forces. The very appearance of this party, uniting whites and coloureds, Africans and Indians, was an unprecedented revolutionary event for sub-Saharan Africa.

At the end of the 1920's, there were many Africans among the Communists, and a Zulu, Albert Nzula, became secretary of the Central Committee. The Communists helped establish various organisations of African workers, and later, trade unions. They set up evening schools for African workers, and many of those who attended the schools were later to play an outstanding role in the democratic movement.

Strikes of African Workers. New Organisations of Africans. A wave of big strikes and mass workers' demonstrations swept the country in the first postwar years.

The organisations that initiated these strikes were not of a purely trade union nature. For example, prominent in the working-class movement in Johannesburg in 1917-1918 was the Industrial Workers of Africa, an organisation of African workers set up with the active assistance of the International Socialist League. The African National Congress (A.N.C.) also began to participate in the strike movement. It will be recalled that in the first years of its existence this massive national organisation (it was established as early as 1912) did not deem it necessary to work among the urban proletariat.

In 1918, the Industrial Workers of Africa, together with the A.N.C., staged a strike of municipal employees in Johannesburg. In the same year, several thousand African miners in the Witwatersrand held a two-month boycott of shops belonging to mine-owners.

An important role in the strike struggle and the Africans' democratic movement was played by the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of Africa, which was not a purely trade union organisation either. Throughout the 1920's it was the largest national ogranisation of Africans, wielding a far greater influence than the A.N.C. Its membership, according to the Union leadership, ran into 100,000 and even 250,000. Most of its members were workers, but it also comprised Africans from the most diverse sections of the population—professionals, artisans, shopkeepers and tradesmen. In Natal, the majority of Union members were peasants.

The Union's charter spoke of the polarity of interests of the workers and the exploiters. The Union began its work under the slogans of active struggle for the rights of African workers, against imperialism.

In 1919, the Union directed a strike of dockers in all the ports and railwaymen in the heart of the diamond country. It played an important role in organising the mass strike of African miners in February 1920, which involved over 40,000 men.

However, differences gradually arose and developed between members of various social groups in the Union's leadership. The Right-wing elements became increasingly active, and in 1926 the Communists were expelled. In 1927, the Natal branch broke away from the Union, and several years later the Union ceased to have any great influence on the country's life.

Rand Revolt of 1922. Workers of European origin played an important role in the class battles at the beginning of the 1920's.

In January 1922, the country was rocked by a strike of several score thousand white mineworkers in the Witwatersrand. In March, the strike developed into an armed uprising—the biggest

demonstration of workers of European origin in the history of Africa. The bourgeois press of the period called it a "red revolt" and even a "Bolshevist revolution". The strike began at a time when the country's economic position was growing worse; the mineowners used the threat of employing cheap African labour for semi-skilled jobs to make white miners accept a wage cut. The strike was of a contradictory nature. On the one hand, it was a protest against the lowering of the living standards of miners of European origin, but, on the other, it defended the whites' monopoly to hold skilled and semi-skilled jobs.

The Communist Party did much to channel the strike in the right direction. The Communists issued an appeal to the strikers saying that the strike of the Rand mineworkers was struggle against the ruling capitalist class and stressing that their only permanent allies were workers, regardless of race and colour of skin. Many Communists were elected to the strike committee. Especially important was the role of Communists at the final stage of the struggle, in March, when the government threw against the strikers an army of 20,000.

The mineworkers, who were practically unarmed, put up a desperate resistance. Pitched battles continued for five days. Hundreds of workers were killed and wounded, and about 5,000 arrested. Several strike leaders were sentenced to death, and they marched to the gallows singing the revolutionary song "The Red Flag".

Programme and Activities of the Hertzog Government. The ruling circles took in the lessons of the class battles in the first postwar years. They realised that they might find themselves in a position where they would not be able to resist the pressure of both the non-white millions and the workers of European origin; the clashes of 1918-1922 had shown that such a prospect was not entirely unthinkable. The government began to give still more importance to the policy of splitting the workers along racial lines and setting them against each other.

A whole system of measures aimed at bribing the white proletariat was gradually developed and introduced. The purpose was to put an end to unemployment among the whites, guarantee the white workers the monopoly of all, or nearly all, skilled occupations and, in the final analysis, eliminate the entire problem of "poor whites". As a result of this policy, the split in the country's working-class movement was perpetuated, and the white proletariat began to lose its militant traditions. The uprising of 1922 was the culminating point which the white workers' movement was never to reach again.

The regime of oppression and racial discrimination established in the Union of South Africa rested on a compromise between large-scale Africaner landowners, on the one hand, and the metropolitan country and big mineowners on the other. From its very

inception and till 1924, the Union was ruled by a South African Party government, which was headed by Boer generals but mostly pursued a pro-British policy. The South African Party sought to mitigate the rivalry between Afrikaner landowners and English industrialists over the profits from the exploitation of the country's manpower and natural resources.

General Botha, who headed the government till 1919, and his successor General Smuts represented those Boer landowners who openly favoured cooperation with British imperialism. In 1917, Smuts became a member of the Lloyd George Cabinet; he took part in the Paris Peace Conference of 1918, helped draft the Covenant of the League of Nations, was regarded as the father of the mandate system and carried out several missions for the Entente leadership. In 1919, he was even sent by the Entente Supreme Council to Budapest to bring pressure to bear on Bela Kun and the government of the Hungarian Soviet Republic in order to destroy Red Hungary.

Struggle within the ruling classes, which seemed to have abated somewhat in the last years of the war when Afrikaner landowners received big profits from the sale of agricultural products, flared up again at the beginning of the 1920's because of the worsening of the economic situation. The Nationalist Party became more active. Established in 1913 by extremist Afrikaner nationalists who had resigned from the South African Party, it sought to push back British capital, to strengthen the economic and political positions of big Boer landowners and growing bourgeoisie. To gain power, the nationalists speculated on the Afrikaner sentiments bruised by the defeat in the Anglo-Boer War. They put forward demagogic anti-British slogans and promised full national sovereignty and independence from Great Britain. The head of the nationalists, General Hertzog, even when he was cooperating with the British Government, never missed an opportunity to remind the public of his striving to make South Africa a republic in accordance with the Boers' republican traditions.

Hertzog's stand on the matter of relations between the whites and the Africans was particularly unyielding and he expressed his racialist views with utter cynicism. On one occasion he declared that "the native is psychologically incapable of driving a motor-car". In the early 1920's, the programme of the Nationalist Party stressed the mythical "black peril" which allegedly menaced the very existence of Afrikaner workers. Capitalising on the fact that the Boers working in industry were, for the most part, first-generation workers and had a very low qualification, Hertzog sought to create the impression that the mineowners intended to throw them out and replace them by Africans, and that he alone could save them if he came to office and realised his idea of a "colour bar". The "colour bar" would give the whites the monopoly of all skilled and semi-skilled occupations, with the Africans barred from them.

Playing on Boer nationalism and using the "colour bar" catchword, Hertzog won the 1924 election. True, the Nationalist Party did not get a large enough majority to form a government by itself, but the South African Labour Party, which represented the interests of the elite of workers of English origin, came to the rescue. To strengthen the positions of the labour aristocracy and protect it against potential competition on the part of Africans, the Labourites sided with the out-and-out reactionaries. They formed a bloc with Hertzog and supported his "colour bar" policy in exchange for a promise by Boer nationalists to desist from far-reaching anti-British measures.

The first concern of the new government was legislatively to consolidate the "colour bar" in industry. A circular on "civilised" labour (1924) ordered government institutions and recommended all private companies to remove Africans from skilled jobs and replace them by whites. The government even extended privileges to companies which faithfully obeyed this circular. The Mines and Works Act of 1926 went still further. It forbade the issue of licences to Africans entitling them to be locomotive engineers and mining technicians, i.e., to do work requiring special training.

A series of measures were enacted to increase racial segregation. Beginning with the middle of the 1920's, the authorities began to evict Africans from the towns. They were moved into locations—poverty-ridden, overcrowded ghettoes beyond town limits, which became hotbeds of disease.

Union of South Africa in the 1930's. The world economic crisis of 1929-1933 struck a hard blow at South African economy. The country's dependence on the world market made itself felt in full. As a result of the drop in the world prices of diamonds, many mines closed down and thousands of mineworkers found themselves unemployed. The situation was aggravated by an episootic and a drought (in 1931), which caused famine in the reserves and led the peasants to go to the towns.

The number of industrial strikes and peasant disturbances increased in the crisis years. In the middle of 1929, the Communist Party, together with the A.N.C., the African unions and sections of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of Africa, formed a broadly representative organisation of the popular front, the League of African Rights. The League demanded abolition of the system of innumerable passes and permits without which an African could hardly make a step. It called for franchise for the Africans, and the right to education. To rally African support, the League made December 16—"Dingaan Day"[2]—the day of the review of

[2] On December 16, 1838, a bloody battle took place between the Zulu army headed by Dingaan and the Boer settlers. The government officially observes it as a day of the whites' triumph over the blacks. The Africans, on the contrary, regard it as a symbol of their traditions of liberation struggle.

democratic forces. Dingaan Day demonstrations and meetings were brutally attacked by the police. A real massacre took place on December 16, 1930, in Durban, the largest city of Natal. Among those killed was the organiser of the Communist movement in Durban, Johannes Nkosi, a Zulu.

In face of the difficulties caused by the economic crisis and the upsurge of the popular movement, the ruling classes attempted to iron out their differences. In 1933-1934, a coalition government was set up with Hertzog as premier and Smuts as vice-premier, and the two principal bourgeois parties merged into a single United South African Party. One of the factors which contributed to the merger was that under the Westminster Statutes of 1931 [3] the powers of the Government of the Union of South Africa, like all other British dominions, were considerably extended. This satisfied to some extent the demands of the South African nationalists. The young capitalism of the dominion, whose differences with Britain had gradually increased, won a concession. At the same time, British positions in South Africa's industry and foreign trade remained unshaken. South Africa was still Britain's principal source of gold, and her main stronghold on the African continent.

The merger of the two rivalling parties failed to eliminate the contradictions within the ruling camp. The United South African Party included too many heterogeneous elements. Its most pro-British wing, dissatisfied with the Westminster Statutes, soon broke away from it to form an independent Dominion Party which urged closer ties with Britain. On the other hand, the more nationalist-minded Boers resented what they regarded as excessive rapprochement with Britain. They formed the so-called "purified" Nationalist Party headed by D. F. Malan. Malan's party was supported by many overtly fascist organisations which had appeared in the Union of South Africa simultaneously with the rise of fascism in Europe.

The coalition government continued the policy of its predecessor on all principal questions, and above all on matters that concerned the native population. The Industrial Conciliation Act of 1937 and several other pieces of legislation made it clear that Africans working in industry were regarded not as workers but as servants; they were denied the rights of workers, including that of joining the registered (officially recognised) trade unions.

The laws passed by the Hertzog-Smuts Government were aimed at abolishing the few rights the Africans had won in the period of the establishment of the Union of South Africa. A vivid example

[3] This law, passed by the British Parliament in implementation of resolutions by Imperial Conferences of 1926 and 1930, provided for the sovereignty of dominions within the British empire. Under the statutes, the dominions received the sovereign right of legislation, even if this legislation ran counter to British laws. The dominions now had the right to pursue an independent foreign policy, to decide questions of war and peace (including that of siding with Britain or her enemy).

is offered by the Representation of Natives Act of 1936, which barred the Africans of Cape Province from the common roll. They only had the right to send three deputies (of European origin) to the Lower Chamber of Parliament. [4]

In prewar years, the situation in the country was complicated by the appearance of fascist organisations and the growing activity of reactionary extremists. The growth of fascism in Europe found an echo in the Union of South Africa. Afrikaner propertied classes hoped that Anglo-German rivalry would weaken British positions in the Union and give greater opportunities to Boer capital. Nationalism and racialism were fostered vigorously among Afrikaner population, and chauvinist organisations associated with the secret Broederbond society, which was the major political tool of the Boer big landowners and bourgeois, became increasingly active.

The Second World War. Nazi Germany had high hopes for Afrikaner nationalism, for the fascist organisations in South Africa and the several score thousand Germans living in the Union and in South West Africa. The idea that Boers were closely bound with Germans, conceived in the times of Wilhelm II, was revived. The fascist Greyshirts organisation, operating in the Union, took its orders directly from Berlin. By the start of the war, the South African Defence Minister Oswald Pirow, who had repeatedly travelled to see Hitler and praised him publicly, had reduced the South African army to a state in which it was completely unfit for action.

There was no unity within the South African Government itself. Prime Minister Hertzog was known for his sympathies for the Hitler regime (in 1935 he even suggested that Liberia be turned into a mandate territory and placed under German administration). When the war between Germany and Britain broke out, the Hertzog Cabinet split. Six ministers, together with the premier, voted for neutrality, while seven others, including Smuts, were for war against Germany. The Parliament decided by 80 votes to 67 to support Britain. Smuts formed a war cabinet which included representatives of the United Party, the Dominion Party and the Labourites.

The Smuts Cabinet kept the country on the side of Great Britain, and South African armed forces took part in the war. Two South African divisions fought in Ethiopia and then in North Africa against Rommel, and suffered telling losses at Tobruk. Another division participated in operations in Sicily and the south of Italy. The Africans serving in the army (there were about 70,000 of them)

[4] Under the South Africa Act, passed by the British Parliament in 1909, the Cape Africans were not officially deprived of franchise as was the case in all other Union provinces, and they participated in elections along with whites. Though the number of African voters was very small because of high property qualifications, they could play a considerable role in some constituencies and thus affect the outcome of elections.

were used for digging trenches, transportation and other auxiliary work. In battle they were practically defenceless: in the South African army the Africans were not allowed to carry fire-arms.

The Nationalist Party, however, continued to press in Parliament for South Africa's withdrawal from the war. One of its arguments was that the Allies could not win anyway. There was a ramified network of the German intelligence in the country, directed from Mozambique, which was overrun with official and secret agents of the Axis powers. South African fascists became especially active at the turn of 1941, when Rommel's African Corps was pushing Montgomery's army to Alexandria and Cairo, while the Japanese had captured Singapore and were reportedly preparing to invade Madagascar, which is next door to South Africa itself. The number of explosions at Rand mines, power stations and railways, and other acts of sabotage increased. The submarine war had reduced the flow of oil, which is a scarce commodity in the south of Africa.

In this situation, the government found it necessary to secure the utmost support of the Africans, coloureds and Indians. The industry needed manpower, and the army auxiliary units. At the start of 1942, Smuts declared on behalf of the government that the policy of racial segregation should be abandoned as obsolete, and added that if the situation further deteriorated he would issue fire-arms to African soldiers.

It is indicative that at this same time the South African Government finally brought itself to recognise the Soviet Union and establish consular relations with it (though a South African consulate in Moscow was never actually opened). The Smuts Government took this step under the pressure of public opinion which was sympathetic to the struggle waged by the Soviet people. Solidarity meetings were held in the larger towns, and collections were organised to buy medical supplies for the U.S.S.R.

The statement about the abandonment of racial segregation was no more than a demagogical trick designed to mislead the people. No real measures were taken against segregation. The Africans who took part in military operations in North Africa and Europe were never issued fire-arms.

Still, segregation was relaxed somewhat during the war years to meet the needs of industry, which was working both for the South African army and for the Allies, supplying them even with armoured cars and large-caliber mortars. The growing demand for labour made the authorities admit some Africans to the towns and open to them more semi-skilled, and occasionally even skilled, jobs.

The political situation in the country could not but be affected by the strengthening of the world democratic forces during and as a result of the Second World War. All this led to a certain relaxation of the "colour bar" in the trade unions and the establishment of several organisations and groups (like the war veterans' organisation Springbok Legion), in which membership was not limited to whites.

The prestige of the Communist Party, the only political party fighting against all racialist measures, was enhanced. Communist publications dealing with the burning topics of the day were widely circulated in the country. In 1944, the Party scored first victories at municipal elections, and several Communists became members of the municipal councils of Johannesburg and Cape Town.

The African National Congress became more active. In 1944, it adopted a Bill of Rights, a broad programme of its demands.

African soldiers who had fought abroad returned with the knowledge that it was not everywhere that a deep gulf divided the whites and the blacks. The rout of Hitlerism and the condemnation of racialist ideology by the overwhelming majority of mankind led many people in South Africa to hope that the conditions existing in their country might change.

The First Postwar Years. The war accelerated the growth of South Africa's industry, including manufacturing. In 1947-1948, the industry employed about 1,100,000 workers, or 31.3 per cent more than in 1938-1939. The number of workers in the manufacturing industry, transport and trade had increased even more (by 74 per cent).

The weakening of Britain's positions in many parts of the world during and after the Second World War was felt in the south of Africa, too. The flow of American capital increased sharply, and so did its competition with British monopolies. Afrikaner capital, in its turn, gained ground, especially in manufacturing. The Afrikaner banking organisation Volkskas (People's Treasury), established in the early 1930's, began to play a significant role in South Africa's economy.

The country's ruling circles were worried by the situation that had developed as a result of the Second World War in South Africa and the world at large. They feared lest further economic progress and the inevitable strengthening of contacts between various racial and national groups should sweep away racialist barriers. They feared that the establishment of the socialist community, the incipient disintegration of the colonial system in Asia and the strengthening of the forces of democracy throughout the world might encourage South Africans to vigorous anti-government demonstrations.

The strike which broke out at the Rand mines in August 1946 was regarded by the authorities as a sign of a new upswing in the people's struggle. For a week, 100,000 African mineworkers demanded a guaranteed minimum wage of ten shillings a day. The Smuts Government countered with mass reprisals. The police raided the premises of the African Mineworkers' Union and other African unions and also the Communist Party premises in Johannesburg, Durban, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and East London. They arrested not only the leaders of the African Mineworkers' Union but also the

entire Central Committee of the Communist Party and members of the Johannesburg Party Committee. Again, as on many previous occasions, the authorities spread rumours about a "Communist plot" and started a trial on charges of "high treason". The trial lasted nearly two years and fell through because of total absence of proof.

The ruling circles were looking for a way to withdraw the concessions of the war years and to set up a regime that would brutally suppress even the slightest attempt at resistance. The possibility arose of the power passing into the hands of extreme Rightists. The Broederbond began to wield a steadily growing influence. It never openly participated in political struggle, but operated through the Nationalist Party, capitalising on the fact that most of its leaders were members of the Broederbond, while some, like Malan and Verwoerd, were among its leaders. The Broederbond infiltrated all echelons of government and laid the ground for the Nationalist Party's advent to power.

Apartheid in Theory. The parliamentary elections of May 26, 1948, were won by the Nationalists. Malan formed a government and declared that he would pursue a policy of apartheid. In Afrikaans "apartheid" means "separateness; segregated, separate existence and development". The word gained political meaning only in 1947, when a group of leading nationalists, then teaching at Stellenbosch University, began to use it as their election slogan.

During the Nationalist Party's struggle for power, "apartheid" was a slogan meaning sharp intensification of racial discrimination and fascistisation of the political regime. It was not until they had formed a government that the Nationalist Party leaders and ideologists began to look for a theoretical basis for this slogan and try to explain in ever greater detail what practical forms this "segregated, separate existence and development" should assume and how it should be put into effect.

Inadmissibility of racial integration was made the principal proposition of apartheid. Speculating on the religious feelings of Afrikaners, most of whom are pious Calvinists belonging to the Dutch Reformed Church, the Nationalists interpret the Bible and the teaching of Calvin, especially the doctrine of predestination, from ultra-racialist positions. The ideologists of the ruling party claim that a special destiny, a special path of development, and consequently a special way of life, is preordained for each race; consequently, the European way of life does not suit the Africans, and vice versa; each race can prosper only if it follows its predestined path. Any assimilation, any loss of "blood purity" or violation of the preordained way of life is a fatal departure from the path indicated to a race or nation by providence. The "superior" white race would inevitably degrade in this case. Assimilation is allegedly particularly fatal for the *Herrenvolk* (master race), as the extremist Afrikaner Nationalists call their people. The inference is that apartheid, racial segregation, offers the only correct solution of the racial problem.

Pursuing this line of thought, many votaries of apartheid have stressed that since each race has its own exclusive path of development, the fruits of European civilisation should be enjoyed by Europeans only, while the Africans should keep to their own "traditional" tribal system. Modern culture and comprehensive education, declared to be the privilege of the white race, can allegedly only harm the Africans by diverting them from their preordained path.

The champions of apartheid proceed from the assumption that in a society where members of various races come in close contact racial conflicts are inevitable, and that segregation alone can guarantee peace among the races. Only by making the various racial groups live separately from each other and drastically reducing contacts between them is it possible to avoid hostility and bloody clashes which, according to the present rulers of South Africa, would inevitably plunge the country into chaos. Having proclaimed their theory to be the only true guarantee of racial peace, the authorities accuse the opponents of apartheid of fomenting racial strife.

An "ideal" form of apartheid, in the opinion of the Nationalists, would be to separate various national groups not only in all spheres of activity, but also territorially.

Many observers have noted that full apartheid is impossible as it would be tantamount to giving up employment of non-whites. According to the 1951 Census, only 754,000 of the 3,600,000-3,800,000 wage workers were whites. This means that the country's capitalist economy rested upon the labour of non-whites, and in the first place Africans. Close to a quarter of a million Africans were recruited annually from other countries in the south and east of Africa, mainly for work in the mines. Of this total, several thousand settled permanently in the Union of South Africa every year.

The Nationalists could not but understand that the country's economy depended entirely on African labour, and Malan, in one of his first speeches as head of government, gave assurances that industry would not be deprived of African labour.

Thus, from the very start, apartheid was a far cry from what the Nationalists claimed it to be. It was not aimed at complete separation, but at perpetuating the subordinate position of all non-whites, and especially Africans. This position was to be subordinate to such an extent as to permit any form of exploitation.

Apartheid could not be regarded as an entirely new phenomenon for the Union of South Africa. The policy of segregation had been practised in the country for a long time both by Boer and British authorities. But apartheid involves a considerably wider range of racialist and anti-democratic measures and amounts, in effect, to fascistisation.

Suppression of the millions of Africans is the most important but not the only aim of the Nationalist Party. A product of the Broederbond ideologists, apartheid is closely bound up with the idea that Afrikaners are a "master race", a "chosen people". In accordance

with the views of the Broederbond and the Nationalist Party, the entire population of the country can be visualised as a pyramid: on top are the Afrikaners; below them are the other whites (English, Germans, and lower still Jews); then come the coloureds and Indians, and at the very bottom, the millions of Africans. To build such a pyramid has been the aim of the Broederbond as evidenced by its long-standing programme of proclaiming South Africa a republic, making it fully independent of Britain, and subjecting all public life and education to Afrikaner control in the spirit of "Afrikaner Christian nationalism".

The doctrine of apartheid is merely a pseudo-scientific screen for racial oppression. The programme of the South African Communist Party, adopted in 1962, says in part: "Apartheid means gross national oppression for all non-whites. This system of race domination and oppression has its origins far back in South African history. However, it was developed into its present, extreme form with the development of capitalism and especially of the great diamond and gold-mining monopolies. . . . The South African and foreign monopoly capitalists and large-scale landowners, who, together, are the real rulers of this country, have cultivated racial differences and prejudices as their most effective instrument in their insatiable drive for cheap labour and high profits. The colonial status of the African people facilitates the maximum exploitation of their labour."

Apartheid in Legislation. After coming to power, the Nationalists began to enact racialist laws in keeping with their "theory".

The system of apartheid was built around the Group Areas Act of 1950. This law empowered the government to declare any part of the country an area for the settlement of some ethnic group. Persons belonging to other groups must leave such an area. In the mid-1950's, the authorities began to evict Africans from the larger towns. A Resettlement Board was set up in Johannesburg, the country's largest city, with a population of over a million, half of whom were Africans. It was decided to reserve the western suburbs of Johannesburg for the whites and move the 60,000 Africans living there to special settlements far beyond the city's limits. Analogous measures were subsequently enacted in other cities.

The Nationalist government also stepped up economic discrimination. Numerous measures were taken to consolidate the "colour bar" in industry, to keep Africans from holding skilled and even semi-skilled jobs. The Industrial Conciliation Act, adopted in 1956, empowered the Labour Minister to "reserve" any type of jobs in any industry for members of one race. It provided the legal possibility of completely barring Africans, even all non-Europeans, from skilled jobs. In 1957, the Minister of Labour and Public Works, Jan de Klerk, announced his intention of "reserving" 40,000 jobs for Europeans in the garments industry.

In the sphere of civil rights, the Nationalists put through a measure contemplated for many years; the coloureds in Cape Province

were excluded from the common roll and placed in a special college so as to prevent them from voting with Europeans and influencing the outcome of the elections in a number of constituencies.

The law could be passed only by a two-thirds majority at a joint sitting of both chambers of Parliament because the right of the Cape Province coloureds to be on the general voting lists was recorded in the South Africa Act of 1909. The Nationalists did not control a two-thirds majority at the time, but their desire to bar the coloureds was so strong that in 1951 they tried to pass the law by a simple majority. The method used to adopt it was so flagrantly unconstitutional that the Supreme Court had to make the law void. The Nationalists, nothing daunted, resorted to another political trick; they increased the number of Senators and thus obtained the necessary two-thirds majority. In 1956, the coloureds were excluded from the general voting lists.

Measures greatly curtailing the Africans' opportunities to receive an education were carried out as part of the apartheid policy. The Bantu Education Act, passed in 1953, sharply curtailed the curricula for Africans in the majority of South African schools. Verwoerd, then Minister for Native Affairs, remarked cynically that it was no use teaching a Bantu child mathematics since he would never be able to apply it in practice. Verwoerd said: "There is no place for him (the Bantu.—*Ed.*) in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour. . . . For that reason it is of no avail for him to receive a training which has as its aim absorption in the European community."

In 1959, Parliament passed the so-called Extension of University Education Act. It said that students with different colour of skin could not study in the same university. Only whites were entitled to study in the existing universities, and special educational establishments were to be set up for non-Europeans.

The South African Nationalists were not the pioneers in fighting for the "purity of race". But, as in most of their policy aspects, they have left their predecessors far behind. As early as 1927 an Immorality Act was passed in South Africa, prohibiting not only marriages but also extra-marital relations between Europeans and Africans. But marriages between Europeans, on the one hand, and coloureds and Indians, on the other, were not officially banned. Shortly after they came to power the Nationalists carried through a bill prohibiting marriages between Europeans and all non-Europeans. The following year an amendment to the bill forbade extra-marital relations too. Shadowing of "moral violators" was introduced.

The Population Registration Act is also part of the fight for the "purity of race". It was adopted in 1950 to deprive coloureds having a white skin of the chance of posing as Europeans, and Africans as coloureds. Under the law, every inhabitant of the country on reaching the age of 16 must receive an identity paper which indi-

cates the ethnic group to which he belongs and describes his appearance.

The essence of apartheid as a combination of racialism and anti-democratic and reactionary measures found a particularly vivid expression in the persecution of all whites who came out against racial discrimination or showed sympathy with the Africans. The nature of the regime established by the Nationalists was exemplified by the so-called Communism Suppression Act of 1950. It was aimed at crushing all anti-racialist organisations, starting with the Communist Party.

Under the law, the name "Communists" was applied to all persons and organisations aiming to bring about "any political, industrial, social or economic change within the Union by the promotion of disturbances and disorders, by unlawful acts or omissions or by the threat of such acts or omissions or by means which include the promotion of disturbance or disorder, or such acts or omissions or threat." This vague definition made it possible to apply the law in the case of any demonstration against the existing regime, any undesirable political situation. Any person declared to be a Communist could now be arrested, deported, evicted, restricted in movements, barred from political activity or deprived of his M.P.'s mandate. An organisation or periodical proclaimed Communist could be banned and its property confiscated.

Resistance to Apartheid Regime in the 1950's. Only a united front of all progressive organisations could stand up to the onslaught of reactionary forces. The 1950's brought some successes in pooling the efforts of leading anti-racialist organisations. Faced by the Communism Suppression Act, the Communist Party of South Africa, which had existed legally, announced its self-disbandment. Very soon, however, its staunchest members set up an underground Communist Party of South Africa. The largest political organisations of non-Europeans—the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress, changed in character.

Democratic forces assumed leadership in the A.N.C., which was originally controlled by tribal chiefs and then, in the 1920-1940's, by pro-bourgeois elements. In 1949, the A.N.C. adopted the Programme of Action of its Youth League, which came into being in 1944 and sought to step up the struggle, make broader use of civil disobedience campaigns, boycotts and strikes.

The Indian Congress gradually developed from a bourgeois organisation fighting for concessions for Indians into a truly mass democratic organisation.

At the turn of the 1940, the two organisations began to act in concert on some issues. This was an extremely important achievement for the progressive forces of the country as the ruling circles had tried for a hundred years to channel the Africans' wrath against the Indians, and had time and again provoked anti-Indian riots.

The May Day demonstrators in 1950 were attacked by the police. Many people were killed and wounded. On June 26, both Congresses organised new demonstrations to mourn May Day victims and protest against the banning of the Communist Party and against the entire regime established by the Nationalists. The demonstrations of June 26, 1950, were so big that since then June 26 has been annually observed as South Africa Freedom Day. The most important anti-racialist campaigns are timed for this date.

In 1952, both Congresses held a mass campaign of resistance to discriminatory laws. Throughout the country groups of volunteers systematically violated the racialist laws. All who were given a choice between a fine and a prison term went to prison. Altogether, 8,500 people were arrested. The campaign was important in that it made thousands more people join in the struggle and led to the establishment of two more anti-imperialist organisations—the Congress of Democrats, uniting whites opposed to racialism, and the Coloured People's Organisation, which later changed its name to Coloured People's Congress.

In June 1955, these four organisations, which had come to be known as the Congress Movement, convened a Congress of the People, the most representative assembly in the history of South Africa. The Congress, held near Johannesburg on June 25 and 26, was attended by 3,000 delegates from all over the country, who represented townships, mines and factories, and the native reserves. The Congress adopted a Freedom Charter, which has since become the programme of struggle of all democratic forces.

In opposition to the government's policy of apartheid, the Charter set out a programme of establishing a democratic state in South Africa. Its preamble said that "South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people." The Charter set out a programme of radical changes in all spheres of life. It put forward the slogan "the people shall govern" and demanded equal civil rights for all South Africans. The Charter called for the solution of the national problem by giving full equality to all national groups. It said: "The preaching and practice of national, race and colour discrimination and contempt shall be a punishable crime." The Charter formulated a number of general democratic tasks. It demanded the restoration of the country's wealth to the people, the abolition of forced labour and allotment of the land to those who till it. In conclusion it said: "Let all who love their people and their country now say, as we say here: 'These freedoms we will fight for, side by side, throughout our lives, until we have won our liberty.'"

The Charter marked a new stage in the development of the democratic movement in South Africa. It marked the establishment of an alliance of the progressive forces of the African, Indian, white and coloured population, which sought not merely to destroy the existing system but to establish a new, democratic one.

Beginning with the mid-1950's, the peasants, too, began to put up stronger resistance to apartheid. Several large demonstrations were held in the reserves against the wanton rule of tribal chiefs, those placemen of the government. The biggest disturbances took place in the Zeerust and Pondoland reserves.

The reprisals against participants in anti-government demonstrations became increasingly violent. Under the Nationalist governments of Malan (1948-1954), Strijdom (1954-1958), Verwoerd (1958-1966) and Vorster racialism was so closely intertwined with anti-democratic actions that every government measure practically cut in both these directions. Thus, the Public Safety Act of 1953 made more severe the punishment for disobedience to discriminatory practices. The law was applied against all fighters against racialism irrespective of colour of skin. It was especially widely used to combat Communism. It was under this law that the trial of 156 leaders of various anti-racialist organisations began in 1956. They were charged with incitement to overthrow the government by force and establish a people's democracy. The trial continued for over four years, from December 5, 1956, to March 29, 1961. In South Africa it was compared to Goering's Reichstag fire trial. The case finally had to be dropped as there was no evidence to prove the charges, and the trial itself had attracted such widespread attention in the country and outside it that it was impossible to sentence the defendants without proof.

South Africa and International Affairs. The Nationalist Government invariably sided with the most reactionary forces. The Nationalists regarded the strengthening of the socialist community, the disintegration of the colonial system and the emergence of every new sovereign African and Asian state as a blow to their positions. South African bomber planes took part in the war in Korea. In 1956, the Strijdom Government broke off consular relations with the U.S.S.R. In the same year, during the Suez crisis, the then Defence Minister F. H. Erasmus declared that he was ready to send South African troops to "fight Communism" anywhere. Erasmus and Foreign Minister Louw repeatedly visited the capitals of European powers and held talks on the establishment of a bloc of powers "responsible for Africa", a branch of NATO. But because of the stormy development in Africa at the end of the 1950's and the odiousness of the apartheid regime, no country would risk open alliance with the Government of South Africa.

The tragedy of the peoples of South Africa attracted more and more attention abroad. The fate of South Africans was an important issue at various African conferences and summit meetings held in the late 1950's. It was also a major problem in the Afro-Asian solidarity movement. Two representatives of South African democratic organisations, Moses Kotane, an African, and Maulvi Kachalia, an Indian, attended the 1955 Bandung Conference as observers. The Afro-Asian solidarity conference in Cairo in December 1957-January

1958 adopted a resolution on racial discrimination, appealing to all states to bring pressure to bear on the South African Government to abolish apartheid.

The U.N. General Assembly discussed at its sessions three South African questions: racial discrimination in South Africa, the position of South African Indians, and the status of South West Africa, a former mandate, which was practically annexed by the Nationalist Government in 1949. The 7th Session of the U.N. General Assembly in December 1952 even set up a special Commission on Racial Discrimination in the Union of South Africa.

Sharpeville and Langa Massacres. 1960, Africa Year, was a significant landmark in the struggle of the South African people, too. They drew strength from the successes of the liberation movement sweeping the continent.

One by one, young African states declared their detestation of apartheid and their support for the forces fighting against it. The leaders of the newly free states called for the abolition of apartheid and stressed that this regime would eventually fall under the joint onslaught of the African population of the Union and the peoples of independent Africa. The ruling circles of South Africa found themselves faced with the prospect of isolation on a hostile continent.

Yet the Verwoerd Government, far from making any concessions or relaxing the regime, took an unyielding stand and stressed its determination to stick to its policy and uphold the existing system at any cost.

The Nationalists demonstrated this already in 1960 when it was decided to hold lavish celebrations to mark the 50th anniversary of the Union of South Africa, due on May 31, 1960. In other words, while the peoples of the continent were celebrating the birth of 17 new African states, the South African racialists were preparing to observe the golden jubilee of a regime founded on the discrimination of Africans.

The A.N.C. and organisations cooperating with it planned a mass campaign of protest against the jubilee celebrations and against the entire apartheid regime. Before the campaign began, however, on March 21, the Pan-Africanist Congress organised demonstrations in Sharpeville, an African township near Johannesburg, and in Langa, near Cape Town. (The Pan-Africanist Congress, which combined extreme African nationalism with anti-Communism, was founded by a group which broke away from the A.N.C. in 1958.) The police opened fire on the demonstrators, killing and wounding nearly 300 persons. For six months after the shootings, the country lived in a state of emergency. The A.N.C. and the Pan-Africanist Congress were proscribed. Nearly 20,000 arrests were made.

As a result, the planned festivities were held with a state of emergency declared. Despite this, in response to a call by democratic organisations, many workers in Johannesburg and other in-

dustrial centres stayed away from work during the principal celebrations, May 29-31.

The Sharpeville and Langa massacres had far-reaching consequences for the Union as they aroused a storm of indignation throughout the world. The U.N. Security Council met on the demand of 29 Asian and African countries and adopted a resolution condemning apartheid.

South Africa Becomes a Republic and Withdraws from the Commonwealth. The Verwoerd Government ignored this decision of the Security Council, as also the protest resolutions adopted throughout the world. More than that, to demonstrate its firmness, the government announced in 1960 that it would finally act on the Nationalists' old demand and proclaim the country a republic. In October 1960, a referendum was held among the white population, and a majority voted in favour of this. The date of the proclamation of the republic was set for the 51st anniversary of the Union.

The Verwoerd Government knew that because of this change in the country's status the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference would have to consider whether it could remain a Commonwealth member. It also knew that the governments of many newly free African and Asian countries that had become members of the Commonwealth after the Second World War would vote for South Africa's expulsion. When the conference met in London in March 1961, Verwoerd did find the majority of participants to be against him, and announced that South Africa would withdraw from the Commonwealth. On May 31, 1961, South Africa was proclaimed a republic.

Terror in the 1960's. After 1961, the racialists stepped up the terror and whipped up hysteria and racial hatred. A series of increasingly brutal laws were passed, including the Sabotage Act and an unprecedented law giving the authorities the right to detain people for six months without presenting charges.

Atrocities, including beatings and torture by electricity, occurred more and more often in South Africa's prisons. The number of death sentences increased. Reprisals became wholesale. Democratic organisations were proscribed one after another. The reaction attacked not only Communists and members of the Congress Movement but all who were remotely suspected of "liberalism".

The authorities banned influential progressive publications, the rallying points for the country's progressive forces. Early in 1963, they banned the *Fighting Talk* monthly, which had existed for 16 years. In March 1963, they crushed the weekly newspaper which came into being in 1937 under the name of *The Guardian*, was banned in 1952, revived as *The Clarion*, and later existed under the names of *The People's World, Advance, New Age* and *The Spark*.

By the end of 1966, the list of proscribed books had over 20,000 titles, including works by Gorky, Faulkner and Caldwell, among

others. The penalty for reading these books was a fine of £1,000 (R. 2,000) [5] or five years imprisonment, or both.

The machinery of repression was sharply reinforced. The strength of the army, motorised police and reservists was increased. The army and all para-military formations consisted entirely of whites. The white population—men, women, teen-agers—were all taught to shoot and handle modern weapons.

In the 1960's, the government started equipping the army with the latest weapons, regardless of expense. These weapons were bought from Britain and other NATO countries. Simultaneously, the government continued to develop its own military industry. At the end of 1966, the first jet fighter designed and built in the country was tested.

The government is planning to set up its own atomic industry, primarily for military uses. South Africa is one of the main suppliers of uranium to the West (uranium is a by-product of its gold industry). It also has valuable minerals—berillium, lithium, zirconium, chromium, nickel, tantalum, thorium, niobium and vanadium. South Africa's first nuclear reactor was built in 1965 by a U.S. firm.

Military expenditures, direct and indirect, were much bigger than during the Second World War. All the activities of the authorities it the 1960's are designed to strengthen the regime and wipe out both the revolutionary underground and any serious legal opposition.

Bantustans. The 1960's witnessed a whole series of measures designed to step up the policy of apartheid. The most important of them was the so-called Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Bill, which was passed in 1959 but was first put into effect at the beginning of the 1960's. Under this law, the country's 264 reserves are to be gradually merged into several territorial units which are to become "homelands" (Bantustans in common parlance) for the largest Bantu peoples—Zulus, Xosas, Bechuana, Northern and Southern Basuto, Vendas, Tsongas and Swazi. Under the law, each of the principal Bantu peoples is to receive self-government within its respective "homeland". But the law makes no provisions for any extension of the land that was previously set aside for the reserves.

The Bantustan Act pursued several aims. Propaganda-wise, the Verwoerd Government wanted to show the world at large that the rights of the African population in the country were being extended. Actually, the establishment of Bantustans was to aggravate, not improve the position of the African population. With the establishment of "homelands", the Bantu people were to lose the last vestiges of their rights in the rest of the country, or 87 per cent of its territory. From now on they would be regarded as living there only temporarily since their real homes were supposed to be in

[5] The rand, introduced in the early 1960's, is the monetary unit of the Republic of South Africa. It equals approximately one half of the British pound, and is in circulation also in South West Africa.

their Bantustans. The Africans' representation in Parliament, meagre as it was, was abolished, and the few M.P.'s elected by the Africans to represent their interests lost their mandates.

In May 1963, Parliament passed a law on the establishment of the first Bantustan—the Transkei, the "homeland" of the Xosa people. The Transkei, the country's biggest reserve, has an area of 41,400 square kilometres and its population includes 1.5 million Xosas, 14,000 coloureds and 18,000 whites (tradesmen, civil servants and their families). The Transkei has its own Legislative Assembly and Council of Ministers, its own flag and national anthem.

The competence of the Transkei Legislative Assembly, however, is confined to internal affairs, education, science and art, trade, industry, crafts, agriculture and forestry, law enforcement, social security, labour, finance and, in part, transport. All the laws passed by the Assembly are subject to approval by the president of the Republic of South Africa. Questions of foreign policy, defence, internal security, communication, emigration, currency, loans and the key problems of transport are outside the competence of the Transkei authorities and are the exclusive province of the South African Government and Parliament.

All Xosas were proclaimed to be citizens of the Transkei, even those who had been born elswehere and had never actually lived there. (According to the 1960 Census, there are 3.4 million Xosas in South Africa; at the time of the Census, over a half of them were living outside the Transkei). The laws passed in the Transkei were to apply to all Xosas. Thus the Xosas living in towns would be subordinated to tribal chiefs. This was a blow to the African working class and intelligentsia.

Only 45 of the 109 members of the Transkei Legislative Assembly were elected by the population. The rest of the seats were held by 60 tribal chiefs and four paramount chiefs who were appointed by the South African Government and were completely dependent on it.

Election of 45 deputies of the Legislative Assembly took place in November 1963. There were 880,000 registered voters, men and women, including 610,000 in the Transkei and 270,000 Xosas living in other parts of South Africa and even in South West Africa. Under the Transkei Act, all of them were entitled to take part in the voting.

The main election struggle was between the supporters of two best-known chiefs contending for the post of chief minister—Victor Poto and Kaiser Matanzima. Poto was against apartheid, both in the Transkei and throughout the Republic of South Africa, while Matanzima was in favour of it. Poto's supporters won 30 of the 45 seats, but when Parliament met to elect the prime minister in December 1963, the majority of the chiefs who had been included in Parliament ex officio voted for Matanzima, and he became chief minister.

The first Bantustan is not only subordinated to the South African authorities politically, but is heavily dependent economically. Every year, nearly half a million Africans from the Transkei have to sign up for work in other parts of the country because of shortage of land and soil erosion. The Transkei had no industry, and nothing has been done to develop it since 1963, despite the Verwoerd Government's widely publicised plans. The South African Government seeks to develop industry not in the Transkei itself, but in neighbouring "white areas", in order to use cheap Bantu labour.

The elections in Transkei and the establishment of a local government spurred the political activity of the population, though this must have been far from the government's intention. Demands for genuine independence of the Transkei began to be voiced even within the ruling party, though Matanzima himself anything but encouraged these sentiments.

On the other hand, some people in the South African Nationalist Party thought that Bantustans would undermine to some extent the undivided white rule in the country, and for this reason criticised Verwoerd. The United Party was of the same opinion. This may be the reason why the Transkei remained for several years the only region in which the experiment with Bantu self-government was tried out.

South Africa's Policy on the African Continent. In its foreign policy, the Verwoerd Government sided with the most reactionary forces in the West and in Africa. The Republic of South Africa became a bulwark of counter-revolution on the African continent.

As the tide of liberation swept closer and closer to South Africa's northern frontiers, the Verwoerd Government attached more and more importance to preserving racialist and colonial buffer regimes. Verwoerd reached agreement with Salazar and the Portuguese authorities of Mozambique and Angola, and also with Roy Welensky, prime minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. In the world press, this bloc came to be known as the "unholy alliance".

After the disintegration of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, the South African Republic became the main prop of Ian Smith's regime in Southern Rhodesia. Ignoring the call by the United Nations, the South African Republic refused to join in the boycott of the Smith Government and began to supply it with sorely needed oil and petrol.

The South African authorities tried to interfere in the affairs of young African states, using the most diverse means. In the Congo (Kinshasa), for example, they supplied Moise Tshombe with planes. Many white South Africans joined his army as mercenaries.

The South African Government made skilful use of the difficulties facing the newly free states in an effort to subordinate them to its influence, to make them stop opposition to apartheid, to prevent

the establishment of a truly effective front of African states against the South African regime.

To achieve these purposes, the South African Government capitalised, among other things, on the economic difficulties of African states, on their poverty and extensive unemployment. The Witwatersrand mines are the only place where hundreds of thousands of people from South and East Africa could find employment. Moreover, in South Africa, with its great mineral wealth, developed industry and shortage of manpower, the wages of Africans, though very low, were still higher than in the many newly free states.

In such countries as Malawi, where industry was almost non-existent, the money sent or brought back by contracted workers employed in the Witwatersrand mines accounted for a considerable part of the country's revenues. As a result, the Government of H. K. Banda ignored the calls by African conferences to cut off the supply of manpower to South Africa and did nothing to stop the flow of migrant labour there. This situation, coupled with the policy of the Malawi Government, naturally made that country dependent on the Republic of South Africa.

Lesotho and Botswana, which came into being at the end of 1966, also became dependent on South Africa, because roughly a half of their able-bodied male population had to seek employment in the Witwatersrand and because Lesotho is surrounded completely by South African territory, while Botswana lies between South Africa, Rhodesia and Angola.

In 1966, shortly before his death, Verwoerd came forward with the idea of a "South African Common Market", an economic union of several countries led by South Africa. After Verwoerd, the South African authorities continued to look for ways and means of subordinating the neighbouring countries.

The Vorster Government. The Verwoerd Government, which was in office from September 1958 to September 1966, was the most reactionary in the history of the country. Since the beginning of the century, the men placed in power by the ruling circles of South Africa have pursued a more and more reactionary policy. The contemporaries of Botha, Smuts and Hertzog must have thought that the racialist terror practised by them had been unparalleled at any time. But in 1948 there came Malan with his apartheid policy, then Strijdom, who considered Malan all but a liberal, and lastly Verwoerd, who passed for an extremist even in Strijdom's Cabinet.

The most reactionary member of the Verwoerd Cabinet was Balthazar Johannes Vorster, who in 1961 became Minister of Justice. He was regarded as the man primarily responsible for the repressive legislation of the 1960's. He was notorious for his pro-fascist views even among Verwoerd's other ministers. In 1942, Vorster declared: "We stand for Christian Nationalism which is an ally of National Socialism. You can call this an anti-democratic principle

of dictatorship if you wish. In Italy it is called fascism, in Germany National Socialism, and in South Africa Christian Nationalism."

Vorster's actions matched his words. During the Second World War, he was a "general" in one of the organisations that had planned a coup to pull the country out of the anti-Hitler coalition and conclude an alliance with Nazi Germany. The Smuts Government had to send Vorster to a concentration camp on a charge of sabotage. At the turn of the 1940's, his name was still so odious that the Nationalist Party refrained from sending him to Parliament. It was felt that the time was not yet ripe for this.

It was Vorster who became prime minister in September 1966, when Verwoerd was killed in Parliament by a parliamentary messenger. In his policy statements he declared that he would go even farther along the road blazed by his predecessors.

One of the first actions of the new government was to threaten to withdraw from the United Nations if the U.N. tried to take South West Africa away from it.

The regime established in the country by a succession of Nationalist governments was taking substantial shape. In 1947-1948 apartheid was merely a slogan. By the middle of the 1960's, it came to carry a definite meaning in every aspect of the country's life. The programme of the South African Communist Party describes this regime as "colonialism of a special type" marked by the "combination of the worst features both of imperialism and colonialism within a single national frontier".

The South African Republic and International Capital. The prevalent Western view is that the responsibility for the situation in South Africa today rests entirely with Afrikaner nationalists. This is not so.

There is no denying that Afrikaner nationalism is the political backbone of the Nationalist Party. This nationalism has been sedulously fostered, especially since 1948. But Afrikaners have not become the leading force in industry, though their economic positions have grown stronger under Malan, Strijdom, Verwoerd and Vorster. Almost all of the large-scale industry of South Africa—the backbone of her economy—is outside the control of Afrikaner capital. It is still dominated by a handful of mining corporations which were established at the end of last century and in the first decades of this century by people who mostly came from the Anglo-Saxon countries and Germany. These monopolies control the principal branches of the manufacturing industry. They have close links with banks. They own large tracts of land and mining rights in almost every part of the country.

These corporations are closely interlocked, often through family ties. The Oppenheimer family, the diamond and gold kings of South Africa, heads De Beers Consolidated Mines, which controls almost the entire diamond production and trade in the capitalist world.

The Oppenheimers also head the Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa, a powerful mining monopoly, and some 50 more big companies operating both in South Africa and in many other African countries.

South African monopolists have close links with the West, and especially with Britain and the United States. One-fourth of the capital of the seven largest mining and financial groups belongs to foreign investors, mainly British and American. More British capital is invested in South Africa's economy than in the rest of the continent. In the mid-1960's these investments were estimated at about £1,000 million.

It is not only individual British firms but a considerable section of the British ruling circles that have vested interests in South Africa. The gold mined in South Africa (600-700 tons a year) goes to Britain. Thanks to this, London has remained the most important gold market in the world. The pound sterling and the influence exerted by British banks on international affairs both depend to a great extent on the flow of South African gold to the City.

South Africa is one of Britain's major trading partners. In the mid-1960's, the annual volume of trade between them exceeded £400 million.

American investments in South Africa in the middle of the 1960's were close to a billion dollars. Hundreds of American firms had subsidiaries in South Africa. The financier most closely linked with South Africa was Charles Engelhard, director of the Anglo-American Corporation and head of two giant organisations recruiting hundreds of thousands of Africans for South African mines—the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association and the Native Recruiting Corporation.

South African monopolists were frequently critical of the policy of apartheid which seriously damaged several industries by cutting off the necessary supply of manpower: there were not enough white workers in the country, and apartheid prevented the Africans from acquiring the necessary skills.

Still, because of the country's great wealth and cheap labour, the average rate of profit in South Africa was considerably higher than in the capitalist world in general. This attracted investors. Moreover, as openly admitted by many American and British financiers, investors were also attracted because they believed in the stability of the South African regime. Thus, despite certain reservations, international capital supported the Nationalist government and their policy as a whole.

Foreign investments played a big role in the boom which began in South Africa in the first half of the 1960's and led to a considerable growth of several industries. In the period between 1962 and 1964, the output increased at an annual rate of 7.5 per cent. Western investments enabled the South African Government to plan an annual production increase of 5.5 per cent for 1964-1969

and to start several big projects, including a R.450,000,000 Orange River irrigation and power scheme.

Influential Western circles have on many occasions shown that South Africa interests them not only economically, but also politically, as the bulwark of imperialism in the south of the African continent. Since South Africa's expulsion from the Commonwealth, which was supposed to be a measure against apartheid, Britain has been steadily increasing her trade with South Africa, supplying it with tanks, planes and other military equipment, and has admitted South African officers for training at her military schools.

True, the Labour Government which came to office in Great Britain in 1964 banned deliveries of British weapons to South Africa, but this ban did not extend to earlier deals. Besides, South Africa could now dispense with the import of many types of weapons as it was quickly developing its own military industry with the help of Western firms. Aid, including military, came to South Africa from many NATO powers.

At the same time, apartheid has given rise to serious differences within South Africa's ruling circles and Western forces close to them. The manufacturing industry needs skilled regular workers, but apartheid has been an obstacle to this. The narrowness of the domestic market resulting from the low purchasing capacity of the non-white population does not affect the profits of the mining corporations, which export their produce, but hits hard the manufacturing industry and trade. Coupled with South Africa's growing political isolation and fear of a revolutionary outbrust, this prompted South Africa's industrial kings to steer a careful political course, to nurture political groups that would prevent the Left forces from coming to power in the event of the fall of the Nationalist Government. These groups, like the Progressive Party established at the turn of the 1950's, sharply criticise the most unsavoury aspects of racialism but they do not touch the foundations of imperialist rule in the country.

In 1960, British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan made some criticism of the apartheid regime. He was followed by other Western statesmen. But these critical utterances were not backed up by action. They merely reflected the desire of many Western politicians to dissociate themselves from the South African rulers, who had become too odious in the eyes of public opinion. Following the Sharpeville and Langa massacres, criticism of apartheid became so wide spread that it was echoed by political parties which had no intention of backing it up by action. If all those who censured South African policy in the 1960's had given effect to their denunciations, the cabinets of Verwoerd and Vorster would hardly have remained in power.

South Africa and World Opinion. And yet, forces came into being that really wanted to destroy apartheid. All-African conferences and the Organisation of African Unity, established in 1963,

urged the independent African states, and called on the other countries, to boycott the Republic of South Africa. They demanded South Africa's expulsion from the United Nations. Nearly all African states severed diplomatic relations with South Africa and many refused to trade with it. Their example was followed by some non-African countries.

The Soviet Union stopped all trade with South Africa and maintained no relations with its official circles. The Soviet Government repeatedly advocated the strongest sanctions against South Africa, but stressed that they would be effective only if supported by all U.N. member states, including the leading NATO powers.

The United Nations adopted increasingly tough resolutions condemning the South African Government. On November 6, 1962, the 17th Session of the U.N. General Assembly passed a resolution urging the member states to sever diplomatic relations with South Africa or refrain from establishing them if they did not exist; to close their ports to South African shipping and prohibit their own ships from entering South African ports; to refrain from supplying weapons and munitions to South Africa; to deny overflight and landing rights to South African planes. The Security Council called for an embargo on arms shipments to South Africa.

The 18th Session of the U.N. General Assembly adopted a resolution tabled by 38 Afro-Asian countries and urging all states to refrain from supplying weapons, military equipment, oil and oil products to South Africa.

An international conference on economic sanctions against the Republic of South Africa was held in London in April 1964. The conference was attended by 41 states. Its resolutions said that the most effective measures against South Africa would be to stop buying its gold, the country's major export item, and to refuse to supply it with oil (90 per cent of the oil consumed in South Africa comes from abroad, mainly from the Persian Gulf area).

Were they applied, these sanctions might have seriously altered the situation in South Africa.

The conference of Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow in November 1960 denounced apartheid as "an inhuman system of racial persecution and tyranny" and called upon the democratic circles of the world to "render active support to the peoples of South Africa in their struggle for freedom and equality".

The Organisation of African Unity undertook to provide aid to the peoples of South Africa in their struggle for freedom. This task was entrusted to a committee established within the Organisation to coordinate aid to the national-liberation movements in the colonial countries, and to a special fund set up to aid the countries under colonial rule. However, because of the difficulties it encountered in the first years of its existence, the Organisation could render only limited aid to the peoples of South Africa.

South Africa's Democratic Forces in the 1960's. In South Africa itself, the opposition forces found themselves in a particularly difficult position in the 1960's. With the banning of the principal opposition parties, the legal forms of struggle became practically impossible. Underground work required experience which many of the democratic organisations did not possess. Still, efforts in this direction were made. Democratic South African organisations established their centres outside the country—in Tanzania and other African states, and also in Britain. These centres informed world opinion of the real conditions in South Africa and worked to rally the forces inside and outside the country to struggle against apartheid.

The influence of the South African Communist Party increased in the 1960's. Its theoretical journal, *African Communism,* founded in 1959, was on sale throughout Africa and beyond the continent. In South Africa itself, the Party circulated leaflets. A delegation of the Party attended the Moscow meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in 1960, and the 22nd and 23rd Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. In 1962, the Party adopted a new programme. This programme proclaimed the national liberation of the African people to be the main content of "a national democratic revolution in South Africa", and upheld the establishment of "an independent state of National Democracy in South Africa" as its main task.

In December 1963, the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party issued a statement entitled *Strive for World Communist Unity*. The statement welcomed the Moscow Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Testing in the Atmosphere, Outer Space and Under Water and denounced the attempts to isolate the national-liberation movement from the socialist countries and the progressive anti-imperialist forces in the capitalist countries. It said in part: "We South Africans, like all fighters for African freedom, are keenly conscious of the solidarity, the support, both moral and practical, rendered to our struggle by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. We remember Suez; we remember Algeria; we remember the innumerable occasions when our case has been championed by the socialist countries; we know of their unqualified backing for African freedom today. No sincere African patriot will ever forget these things. The plain facts of present-day history disprove any suggestion that the Soviet Union, or the policy of peaceful coexistence, or the demand for disarmament hamper or retard the national liberation of colonial or formerly colonial peoples."

In the early 1960's, both the Communist Party and the African National Congress decided that non-violence methods were not enough in conditions where the government was pushing the country to the brink of civil war. At the end of 1961, there appeared a clandestine organisation Umkonto we Sizwe ("Spear of the Nation"), which made armed struggle its goal.

Despite the terror and tremendous difficulties, the freedom fight-

ers displayed great courage and staunchness. The organisers of underground struggle realised, of course, the risk they ran of execution or life imprisonment, and yet they went on with their work.

For a long time, the underground organisation of the African National Congress was headed by Nelson Mandela, one of the A.N.C. leaders. In 1963, he was arrested together with Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Dennis Goldberg, Ahmad Katrada and several other leaders of the liberation movement. All of them were sentenced to life imprisonment. Their counsel, Abraham Fischer, a veteran Communist of nearly 30 years' standing, himself had to go underground soon afterwards. He was arrested several months later and also given a life sentence, allegedly for conspiring for the purpose of sabotage. In his speech at the trial in 1966, he said: "It was to keep faith with all those dispossessed by apartheid that I broke my undertaking to the Court, separated myself from my family, pretended I was someone else, and accepted the life of a fugitive. I owed it to the political prisoners, to the banished, to the silenced and those under house arrest not to remain a spectator, but to act. I knew what they expected of me and I did it. I felt responsible, not to those who are indifferent to the sufferings of others, but to those who are concerned. I knew that by valuing above all their judgement, I would be condemned by people who are content to see themselves as respectable and loyal citizens. I cannot regret any condemnation that may follow me."

In assessing South Africa's role in the revolutionary movement on the African continent and the prospects for the further developments in the country, it would be wrong to consider solely the activities of its ruling circles. Throughout the past half-century, South Africa also played a different, revolutionary role.

South Africa has always had the largest working class on the continent. In the mid-1960's, there were over two million workers in the cities. Despite apartheid, the number of Africans engaged in industry and the capitalist sector of agriculture increased rapidly. According to the 1960 Census, African urban population rose by 45 per cent between 1951 and 1960, and the number of Africans in the capitalist ("European") sector of agriculture (i.e., outside the reserves), by 20 per cent.

With the speeding up of industrial development in the 1960's, this trend was further accentuated. The African population of Johannesburg rose by 97,000 between 1962 and 1964, though, naturally, the newcomers were settled primarily in locations. In the manufacturing industry alone the number of Africans increased by 100,000 between 1960 and 1965. The growth of industry demanded a steady influx of African labour. In three years, from 1961 to 1963, South African economy required 500,000 more workers, and the economic development programme for 1964-1969 calls for another 750,000 men. The need for skilled labour was particularly great—so much so that the authorities had to reclassify some occupations,

previously regarded as skilled, to make them accessible to Africans. Nor could the policy of apartheid, which runs counter to the interests of the country's economic development, arrest the rise of a regular African working class, though it did retard the process.

The African working class in the Republic of South Africa is not only bigger than in any other African country, but has the oldest traditions. It was in South Africa that veteran workers, coming from workers' families, first appeared. The trade union movement in South Africa developed earlier than in other African countries, and so did the strike movement. It was here that the first countrywide political organisation of Africans, the African National Congress, was established. It was here that the first African Communist Party was founded. The Witwatersrand mines annually employed hundreds of thousands of Africans recruited in Mozambique, Malawi, Lesotho, Botswana, Tanganyika and other countries. They brought back not only the "miner's disease"—tuberculosis, but also an experience of struggle for their rights.

It was in South Africa that African intelligentsia first began to develop. Before 1960, a limited number of Africans were admitted to the country's English-language universities. A big role in the rise of the local intelligentsia was played by the South African Native College, established in Fort Hare (in the east of Cape Province) during the First World War by the efforts of John Tengo Jabawu and other African intellectuals. Thousands of specialists, mostly teachers, were trained there and it had some distinguished scientists on its staff. (At the end of the 1960's, when the authorities made conditions at the college unbearable, many teachers resigned.)

In South Africa, Bantu-language publications appeared earlier than in other countries. The first newspapers in Xosa appeared as early as the 19th century. The Zulu-language newspaper *Ilanga lase Natal* ("The Sun of Natal"), which is still published, was founded in 1906. When the A.N.C. was established in 1912, it started publishing its own newspaper, *Abantu-Batho* ("The People"). There were several other Bantu newspapers in the 1920's and 1930's. In 1930, the Communist Party newspaper, *South African Worker*, changed its name to *Umsebenzi* ("The Worker") and began to carry materials in Bantu languages. So did the periodical *Inkululeko* ("Freedom"), which became a Communist publication in 1940. The overall weekly circulation of Bantu-language publications before the Second World War was between 50,000 and 100,000.

There were also several progressive English-language publications, such as *The Guardian* and *Fighting Talk*, which greatly influenced the minds of people in many African countries.

The first works of fiction in Bantu languages appeared at the turn of the 19th century. In recent years, Bantu literature has made signal progress. Thomas Mofolo and John Dube, the founders of Sutho and Zulu literatures, wrote their main works in the 1920's and 1930's. Almost all Bantu novelists and poets turned to the most viv-

id, the most inspiring periods in the history of their peoples. The obvious message is that peoples with such a great past must not remain slaves.

Works of "protest literature", denouncing the racialist regime, were uppermost among the writings of both Africans and authors of European origin. These works helped to mould the people's outlook in many African countries.

The country's rapid economic development, the growth of the working class and intelligentsia promoted the growth of national and political awareness among the South African Bantus. The regime of brutal racial discrimination, extended to all Bantu peoples in the Republic of South Africa, caused them to realise the identity of their destinies. The urban workers, the farm-hands and migrant workers increasingly came to realise that their interests were the same. And they realised this not merely as Zulus, Xosas or Basuto, but also as members of the millions-strong African population of the Republic of South Africa.

It is to the great credit of South African freedom fighters that in an atmosphere of frenzied racial hatred they have retained internationalist ideals and forged an alliance of the country's progressives, irrespective of colour of skin. The African National Congress had declared repeatedly that the growth of African national and political awareness must not develop into extreme nationalism, into hostility to all whites, coloureds or Indians. The A.N.C. leaders have stressed that anyone who regards South Africa as his home is a South African, whatever his race or nationality. There is no room in it only for racialism and racialists. This point of view was advocated by the president of the African National Congress, the Zulu Albert Luthuli who perished in 1967, the first African to win a Nobel Peace Prize; by the Afrikaner Abraham Fischer, winner of a Lenin Prize for the Promotion of Peace Among Nations; and by the A.N.C. fighters, who, together with the Zimbabwe guerrillas, are fighting for the liberation of all of southern Africa from racialism.

SOUTH WEST AFRICA

The country received its present name in the 1880's from the Bismarck Government, which had by then seized territories north of the Orange River, west of the Kalahari Desert and south of Angola and christened them "South West Africa"—naturally, with the word "German" tagged on in front. This word was removed from the country's official name after the dissolution of the German colonial empire.

In the mid-1960's, many participants in the anti-colonial struggle began to urge that after liberation the country's name be changed to Namibia (or the Namib Country; Namib is a vast desert in the northwest of the territory).

South West Africa is the most sparsely populated of the sub-Saharan countries. In the mid-1960's the population of this territory, which is larger than Great Britain and France combined, numbered less than half a million Africans—Ovambo, Herero, Nama (Hottentots), Berg-Damara and Bushmen, some 80,000 whites, and several score thousand Africans of mixed origin—the Basters or Rehobothers. A considerable part of the country is under deserts.

Compared with the neighbouring regions, which became part of the British empire, German South West Africa was a rather poor country with relatively small natural resources. Its principal mineral wealth, which was later to attract the world's leading mining monopolies had not yet been discovered at the time of German rule.

Still, South West Africa was regarded as perhaps the most attractive among the German colonies: Germany had been late for the division of the colonial pie and had to be content with the less tempting morsels. South West Africa had attracted more settlers than any other German colony. The vast tracts of land taken away from the native population were used to set up stud farms and to ranch cattle and raise karakul sheep. Diamond and copper mining began in several places.

However, the government of Bismarck and Wilhelm II valued the country mostly as a bridgehead for penetrating the interior of the continent to reach the gold of the Transvaal, the diamonds of the Cape Colony and the wealth of Katanga. The purpose of Berlin's

colonial policy was to set up a continuous belt of German territories from German South West Africa to German East Africa.

Union of South Africa Takes Over. This plan, like the other plans of German imperialism, fell through with Germany's defeat in the First World War. Already by the middle of 1915, South West Africa had been occupied by a 50,000-strong army of the Union of South Africa, which had easily crushed the resistance of several thousand German troops.

During the war and in the first postwar years, when the future status of South West Africa was still undecided, the British press and official circles went out of their way to expose the atrocities of the German administration, which stood out even against the sinister background of colonial plunder throughout the continent. The British Government even brought out a special Blue Book, a *Report on the Natives of South West Africa and Their Treatment by Germany*. Documents were published about the massacre of the Nama and Herero tribes, which had revolted in 1904-1907. Detailed accounts were made public of how German punitive units had driven Herero rebels, with women and children, into an arid desert, dooming them to death of hunger and thirst. Excerpts were published from a German document of that period urging the extermination of the Herero to the last man.

In publishing these materials, British and South African statesmen stressed that such a thing would never happen again. And when the League of Nations, on December 12, 1920, extended to the Union of South Africa a mandate to administer South West Africa, its official purpose was to put an end to the criminal regime of the German authorities. Actually, the former German colony became a military prize of the British empire and its South African dominion.

Officially, the League's decision did not give the mandatory state complete sovereignty over the mandate territory. It merely gave it the right to administer it to "promote to the utmost the moral well-being and social progress of the inhabitants of the country", as the mandate put it.

The new authorities took over in South West Africa even before receiving a mandate, profiting by the state of emergency which existed in the country in 1915-1920. The South African Government of Botha and Smuts sought to do what neither Bismarck nor Wilhelm had been able to achieve: to bring under their rule the entire territory, all its peoples. The German administration, in its 30 years in power, had actually been able to control only the central and southern regions; in the most densely populated northern part of the country, inhabited by the Ovambo tribes, there were no German troops, police or administration up to the First World War. Colonial rule there was limited to the local chiefs undertaking to provide the administration with an annual levy of labourers. The border between South West Africa and Portuguese Angola was drawn along a parallel on the map, and was not clearly demarcated on the spot.

The agricultural Ovambo held only a relatively small part of the country, but they accounted for over a half of its population (and a part of the population in the south of Angola). The Union government could not regard its power over South West Africa as fully established until the Ovambo were fully subjugated.

The Union of South Africa, which borders on South West Africa, was, of course, in a much better position to carry out its policy of conquest than Germany, which had had to send troops over the Atlantic. The Botha-Smuts Government immediately seized on this advantage to "give a lesson" to the Ovambo tribes. An excuse was provided by the fighting that was going on between Portuguese troops and the Ukuanyama, the second largest Ovambo tribe, which then numbered 80,000 people.

In 1917, after losing from 4,000 to 5,000 dead in clashes with the Portuguese, the Ukuanyama began to move from Angola to South West Africa. The South African Government pounced upon this conflict to demarcate the border. This was done in such a way as to divide the Ukuanyama, leaving two-thirds of the tribe in Angola and one-third, in South West Africa.

Then followed a ban on crossing the border, and a South African punitive expedition was sent to the area on the pretext that the Ukuanyama chief Mandume had repeatedly violated it. Mandume and many of his warriors were mowed down by machine-gun fire. The Portuguese troops were meanwhile massed near the border ready to help massacre the "rebels" who had escaped from them. The Portuguese commander in the area had even placed his field guns at the disposal of the South African forces.

1922 saw a massacre of the Bondelswarts, a pastoral Nama tribe in the extreme south of the country. Under the Germans, the Bondelswarts had revolted repeatedly. With the establishment of South African rule, the position of the Bondelswarts became worse than it had been under the Germans. The land taken away by the Germans was not returned and there was a shortage of pasture-lands. Dire need forced many Bondelswarts to seek employment as farm-hands with white farmers, but under the new authorities attempts were often made to cut even the small wages that had become fixed by that time. On top of this, the dog tax introduced by the Germans was quadrupled (the Bondelswarts needed dogs for hunting and guarding the cattle). Failure to pay the tax meant fines or imprisonment.

The disturbances were sparked off when the police tried to arrest one of the tribe's honoured members, who had directed an uprising against the Germans. In May 1922, General Smuts sent against the tribe 400 soldiers armed with four machine-guns. The Bondelswarts' huts were bombed from the air—for the first time in the history of colonial wars. About 100 people, including women and children, were killed and over 150 thrown into prison.

Three years later, South African authorities made equally short shrift of a community of Basters, who had settled on the Rehoboth

River, in the central part of the country, in the early 1870's. The community concluded with the German authorities a treaty called the Charter of Independence, and the Germans hardly ever interfered in its affairs. In 1915, the community received assurances from General Botha, Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa, that its rights, as laid down in the Charter, would be respected. In 1923, however, the authorities proposed a new agreement. The Rehoboth Council signed it, but the majority of the Rehobothers saw in it an encroachment on their rights, and in 1924 set up a new Council. The authorities refused to recognise it.

By the beginning of 1925, the relations between the community and the South African administration had reached breaking point. The excuse for punitive measures was provided by the new Council's recourse to the League of Nations with a demand for independence, and the Rehobothers' refusal to comply with certain government instructions.

Early in April 1925, the Rehoboth village was surrounded by troops. Planes appeared overhead and the inhabitants were told to "surrender". Some 640 persons were taken prisoner. After this, the community was in effect stripped of its former rights.

The repressions against the Bondelswarts and the Rehobothers were discussed in the League of Nations, but no measures were taken to prevent their recurrence.

Punitive operations of this kind became a component of the regime established in South West Africa by the Government of South Africa. They were aimed not only at subjugating those against whom they were directed, but also at intimidating all the other peoples of the country.

South West Africa under Mandate. Under South African rule, the process of dispossessing Africans of their land continued on a still wider scale.

The German administration had divided the country into two, and under South African rule this division was consolidated. The greater part of the country, a territory of some 500,000 sq. km. comprising the entire south and the central regions, was regarded as a "Police Zone", where the land was divided among the settlers or set aside for allocation in the future. The Africans were left only 100,000 sq. km. of land in the form of reserves. On the rest of the territory the administration gradually introduced police control over the movements and the very life of native Africans, including a special system of passes and permits. The Africans were allowed there only as workers, servants, or farm-hands (with or without a plot of land) working for the white settlers.

The Police Zone left out only the northern regions, an area of some 350,000 sq. km., where no land had been alienated and where there were no European settlers. These regions are sometimes called the Tribal Zone.

When the mandate went into force, the Police Zone was extend-

ed repeatedly, and the line dividing South West Africa into two parts was moved farther and farther to the north. Under the Germans, African tribes managed to stay on vacant lands in the Police Zone that had not yet been taken over by the settlers, but the South African authorities began to expel them. In 1922, the authorities published a Native Administration Act, which proclaimed the establishment of several more reserves in the Police Zone.

These reserves were set up on arid sandy land. The average depth of wells sunk there in 1925 was 70 metres; in one place water was found only at a depth of 244 metres. In 1926 it was decided to surround the reserves with barbed wire.

The actions of the Union Government made it clear that it had decided from the very outset to turn the Police Zone into a "white man's land". It sought to increase the influx of white settlers, encouraging large farms as the mainstay of the new regime. A land board was set up to allocate farms to new white settlers. A special fund of £500,000 was established to coax into the country 300 Boer families that had migrated to Angola from the Transvaal in the 19th century. There was heavy South African immigration. The government extended big loans to the farmers. A land rush began, with thousands of applicants for the allocated holdings.

Already in 1926, the number of Europeans in South West Africa had doubled compared with 1914, despite the repatriation of 6,000 Germans. The flow of immigrants fell off sharply during the world economic crisis (when, moreover, South West Africa had several droughty years), but more white settlers came in the mid-1930's. Owing to the efforts of the authorities, there were now four whites to every ten Africans in the Police Zone.

The appearance of new farms, the development of the mining industry and the growth of the towns resulted in a swelling demand for manpower. In 1925, the government set up two associations to recruit African labour, one for the copper mines and farms, and the other for the diamond fields. During the Second World War, both were replaced by the South West African Native Labour Association, operating throughout the country.

In the Police Zone, the Africans gradually found themselves subjected to the same racial discrimination measures as were practised in the Union of South Africa. Racial discrimination was especially keenly felt by Africans in the "European" sector of economy—the farms, suburban locations and mining compounds.

The entire northern part of the country, lying outside the Police Zone (Ovamboland, Okavango, Kaokoveld and adjacent areas), was turned into a huge pool of cheap manpower—to a still greater extent than the reserves, since the north accounts for over a half of the country's population. The requirements of "European" economy grew so fast that already by the middle of the 1940's the north provided roughly a half of all newly recruited labour. Crop failures, grain shortages and periodic famines all contributed to this trend.

Unlike the Police Zone, the north was always regarded, officially, as an African zone. There were few whites there. The South African authorities had always had very little to say about the life of the people in this part of the country—both to the outside world and to their own white population. The traditional way of life of the Ovambo and other tribes underwent fewer changes than that of the Africans in the Police Zone, but here, too, social relations were increasingly affected by labour migration.

The South Africans lorded it in their mandate as if it were their colony. All South African governments tried to formalise the country's annexation. Already at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, Prime Minister Botha sought the Entente powers' approval for South West Africa's official take-over by the Union. This move failed, however.

In 1934, the Union Government secured from the Legislative Assembly of South West Africa a resolution in favour of accession. This was not too hard to obtain as the Assembly consisted entirely of representatives of white settlers; no African has had the right to vote from the moment it was established in 1925 to our day. The document was so obviously untenable that it failed to secure any serious support even in the League of Nations.

During World War II, the resources of South West Africa were used by the Jan Smuts Government for war against the Axis powers. At the same time, the country was a stronghold of nazi agents on the African continent. This was the result of the vigorous activities of fascist organisations in the 1930's, which also extended to the Union of South Africa. South Africa and South West Africa had some fascist organisations which acted in concert. In the latter, pro-Hitler sentiments were even more pronounced than in the mandatory state, as they were nurtured by the thousands of German settlers who had stayed on after the country had ceased to be a German colony. A branch of Hitler's nazi party, with its own Gauleiter, existed there in the 1930's. Young people of German origin received training in the Hitlerjugend and pledged themselves at secret (and even not so secret) meetings to "be German, live German, die German. Heil Hitler!".

Even during the war, the South African administration failed to take determined action against nazi agents in the mandated territory: the pro-fascist sympathies among the South African ruling circles were far too strong.

South Africa's Annexational Actions after the Second World War. When the League of Nations ceased to exist and the U.N. was established, all its members put their mandated territories under international trusteeship. The only exception was the Union of South Africa.

The Smuts Government stage-managed a referendum among South West African chiefs, and at the first session of the U.N. General Assembly in 1946, General Smuts, on the strength of these

"consultations", demanded the country's incorporation into the Union. These claims were so patently untenable, however, that no U.N. member state with the exception of Great Britain supported them. The South African authorities were strongly criticised by the Soviet delegation. In accordance with the provisions of the U.N. Charter, the Government of South Africa was invited to put the territory under U.N. trusteeship. The Smuts Cabinet refused.

The Nationalist Party of South Africa, which came to office in 1948, after defeating the United Party of Smuts, and which was even more reactionary, resorted to openly annexational actions.

In 1949, the South African Parliament passed a law which actually incorporated the former mandated territory into the Union as one of its provinces. Under this law, the white settlers in South West Africa received the right of representation in the South African Parliament (six seats in the House of Assembly and four in the Senate). From 1949 on, South Africa stopped sending to the United Nations the annual reports on its administration of the country, which it was supposed to submit.

A series of subsequent measures consolidated the annexation and merged the systems of administration in South West Africa and the Union of South Africa. Beginning with 1954-1955, the main questions of Native Administration (the so-called Native or Bantu affairs) were put under the jurisdiction of the South African Minister of Bantu Affairs. The senior official of the South West African administration, known officially as the Administrator, was made a member of the South African Bantu Affairs Commission, under the Minister of Bantu Affairs.

The laws on apartheid, which were then introduced in the Union of South Africa were all extended to South West Africa; in addition to a whole system of permits and passes for the Africans to move about the country, find employment, etc., these included measures against strikes, the "Communism Suppression Act", and provisions for the eviction of Africans from large towns.

The annexation measures, like all the other actions of the ultra-reactionary South African forces, met with complete approval on the part of the white settlers in South West Africa. The Nationalist Party regarded the latter as the mainstay of its influence and, seeking to strengthen its position in Parliament, gave them an inordinately large number of seats. The representatives of South West Africa vindicated these hopes, and have invariably been among the extreme Right wing in both the Senate and the Assembly. At the 1950 elections to South West Africa's Legislative Assembly nearly all deputies, 16 out of 18, were members of the local Nationalist Party affiliated with the Nationalist Party of South Africa.

Growth of the Country's Economic Importance. The economic role of South West Africa increased sharply in the postwar years. This was attributable not to the branches catering to the needs of the native population (cattle-breeding and the cultivation of millet,

sorghum and maize), but the growth of industries working exclusively, or almost exclusively, for export: mining, fishing, and karakul sheep-breeding.

The first diamond was found in the country in 1908. With the establishment of South African domination, diamond production was concentrated almost entirely in the hands of the company Consolidated Diamond Mines of South West Africa, controlled by the Oppenheimers—the diamond and gold kings of South Africa. In 1928, rich diamond deposits were discovered north of the Orange River. The company's operations became especially profitable after the Second World War. Its annual profit was double the country's entire state budget (£15,500,000 and £8,000,000 respectively by the beginning of the 1960's).

Consolidated Diamond Mines became a state within a state in the north-west, in the diamond country, while the Tsumeb Corporation ruled in the north of the Police Zone, in the Tsumeb area, rich in compound deposits of non-ferrous and rare metals.

The Tsumeb Corporation was founded in 1946 by several American companies, notably Morgan's Newmont Mining Corporation and the American Metal Company (today the American Metal Climax Corporation). At the turn of the 1950's, the Tsumeb Corporation was one of the world's biggest exporters of copper, lead and zinc. It also mined silver, cadmium and germanium, an extremely rare metal.

At the end of the 1950's and the beginning of the 1960's, Consolidated Diamond Mines accounted for nearly two-thirds of the minerals mined in the country (by value), and Tsumeb, for more than a fourth. No other company operating in South West Africa could compare with these two giants, even though some of them were big companies, like the South West Africa Company, one of the world's biggest producers of vanadium.

Fishing, mostly pilchard fishing, became quite important at the beginning of the 1950's. Since then it has been the second biggest industry in the country, yielding only to mining for revenues and manpower employed. Large fish-meal and fish-oil factories and canneries were built. In 1952, fish exports totalled £5,000,000; and ten years later, they were more than double this figure. The largest centre of the fishing industry was Walvis Bay, which accounted for 90 per cent of the overall fish-industry production of South West Africa and South Africa.

Unlike the mining industry, in which Anglo-American investments and the capital of South Africans of English origin predominate, the fishing industry is controlled by Afrikaner capital, and above all the Federale Volksbeleggings company, which has close connections with South Africa's state-owned Iron and Steel Corporation (ISCOR) and also with banks, insurance companies and even the Nationalist Party press.

For the number of karakul sheep the country has moved to first place in the world, and its revenues from this industry are so big that karakul is called the "black diamond" here. The country's first ten karakul sheep came from Russia at the time of German rule. The animals throve in the south, with its arid climate and poor grazing-grounds, even during drought. The sheep population increased rapidly and in the 1950's it numbered from three to four million. Today South West Africa produces half of the skins sold annually on the world market (2.5 out of 4.5-5 million). Karakul sheep are grown almost exclusively on the European's farms.

National-Liberation Movement in 1945-1960. The rapid growth of several industries in the postwar period led to a soaring demand for labour. The shortage of manpower became increasingly acute, and even the overspill of labour from Angola could not alleviate it. As a result, the role of the densely populated north, especially Ovamboland, rose steadily.

Ever larger numbers of Africans were recruited for work in the "European" sector of the economy, frequently by deception. New social groups came into being, and the number of Africans in towns and townships increased.

Resistance to the colonial rule, too, changed in character. Before the end of the 1940's, protests were as a rule led by tribal chiefs and were always spontaneous. With the growth of the proletariat, the rise of national intelligentsia and the establishment of contacts with the democratic movement in South Africa, the struggle became more purposeful and organised.

The country's first trade union, the Lüderitz Port Workers' Union, was established at the turn of the 1940's, with the help of two trade unionists from South Africa. In 1952 and 1953, the union held two strikes of Ovambo workers. In suppressing the second strike, the police killed three workers. The union itself was banned. But the struggle bore some fruit: in 1953, working hours for Africans in industry and construction were reduced. Subsequently, several more strikes were held in various parts of the country, though the unions were under a strict ban. All the strikes were crushed by the police.

Among those taking part in the movement of protest against the racialist laws launched by the democratic organisations of South Africa in 1952, were several South West Africans studying at South African schools and colleges. In the course of the campaign they set up an organisation called the South West African Students Body. Its members acquired political experience in Johannesburg and Cape Town. Upon returning home, they promoted the growth of political awareness among fellow-countrymen.

An impetus to the Africans' national and political awakening was given by events at the end of 1959, when mass protests began in Windhoek, the country's administrative centre, against the latest apartheid measure designed to make it a town for "Europeans" and move the Africans out into the suburbs set aside for them. There

were meetings, both spontaneous and organised; various municipal services, beer halls, cinema-theatres, dance halls and buses were boycotted. South African police and troops were rushed to the town, and on December 10, the U.N. Human Rights Declaration Day, the police opened fire on a meeting, killing and wounding nearly sixty persons.

An active part in the Windhoek events was played by the first African political organisations which had been set up several months earlier—the Ovamboland Peoples' Organisation and the South West African National Union (SWANU). Soon afterwards, in June 1960, the Peoples' Organisation extended its activities in order to lead the struggle of the Ovambo and the rest of the population. Its name was changed to the South West African Peoples' Organisation (SWAPO).

The principal demand of both SWANU and SWAPO was abolition of the regime established in the country by the Government of South Africa, and proclamation of independence.

One important form of protest against the regime in the postwar period was petitioning to the United Nations. The petitions were sent by anti-colonial organisations, groups and individuals. Many petitions came from the oldest chiefs, Hosea Kutako, Hendrik Witbooi and others, and were delivered by the Rev. Michael Scott, who later had to leave South Africa because of threats of reprisals. The petitions were considered, among other U.N. bodies, by the Committee on South West Africa.

The question of South West Africa became a permanent item on the U.N. agenda. Conferences of African peoples and meetings of African statesmen called repeatedly on the United Nations for effective sanctions against the arbitrary rule in the country. No valid measures were taken, however. The government of South Africa declared that the very inclusion of the question of South West Africa in the U.N. agenda constituted interference in South Africa's internal affairs, and flatly refused to participate in its discussion. Eric Louw, South African Minister of External Affairs, declared: "We do not care twopence whether the United Nations observes the two-thirds majority rule or the unanimity rule in dealing with the South West African affairs, because we have consistently said the United Nations has no right to concern itself with the affairs of South West Africa."

South West Africa in 1960-1966. All African countries which had once been mandated or trust territories became independent in the 1950's and early 1960's. South West Africa alone, in defiance of international law, is still treated as a colony by the former mandatory power, which relies on support from outside.

More than that, the Government of South Africa, encountering growing opposition in Africa and throughout the world, has begun to tighten the screws, adopting increasingly brutal measures to preserve the existing system both in its own country and in South West

Africa. The emergence of over 30 young states on the African continent, their common detestation of apartheid, the further changes in the balance of world forces, South Africa's enforced withdrawal from the Commonwealth and its proclamation as a republic—all this has greatly exacerbated the situation in the south of the continent, notably in South West Africa.

The ruling circles of South Africa have allied themselves with the Portuguese authorities of Angola and Mozambique, the government of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland which existed in 1953-1963, and, after its disintegration, the government of Ian Smith. Contrary to the will of its population, South West Africa found itself within this bloc, which is opposed to the rest of Africa.

The armed forces in South West Africa have been reinforced, and military units have been moved to the border with Angola, where armed struggle for liberation has been going on since the early 1960's. The "instigators" fleeing from Angola are detained and handed over to the Portuguese. In 1961, South West African authorities conducted "preventive" punitive operations against the Ovambo, as there are many rebels among the Ovambo living in Angola.

A military and air base has been established in the easternmost part of South West Africa, the Caprivi Strip, which juts into the interior, almost reaching Rhodesia, and separates Botswana from Zambia and Angola. Both South African and Rhodesian soldiers worked on its construction in 1966. The troops in the Caprivi Strip detain political emigrants from South Africa and South West Africa trying to reach Zambia.

In South West Africa, the authorities are trying hard to enlist the support of Afrikaners, Germans and Englishmen, and lean on them in their policy. Reactionary racialist sentiments among the white population here are perhaps even stronger than in South Africa; protests against the existing system and calls for solidarity with the Africans are extremely rare among the whites.

In the 1960's, as before, the South African Government sought to isolate South West Africa, and especially the Tribal Zone and the reserves, from the rest of the world. Even correspondents of bourgeois Western newspapers were often prevented from travelling freely in the country.

That the world knows something about the conditions in South West Africa is due to a large extent to the efforts of Ruth First, progressive South African journalist. In the early 1960's, despite harassment by security police and threats of imprisonment, she made a tour of the country. The tour was followed by a book called *South West Africa*; it had to be published outside of South Africa, and was later translated into several languages.

A typical story was told Ruth First by Fritz Gariseb, a Berg-Damara from Windhoek: "I am an old man, born on Aukeigas during the days of the great rinderpest, long before the white man.

During this time we were living as a free people and we lived wherever we pleased. Our flocks, and we had many livestock, used to graze everywhere. I was, to cut a long story short, a free man. The first time I ever came face to face with a European was during the German occupation, in the town today known as Windhoek. At this stage we also made our first acquaintance with prisons, and other White customs like the public mass executions. Passes took the form of metal number plates, of which every town had its own. Ever since the administration was handed over to the South Africa government, we have had no say in our fatherland. We are the true owners of this land, but we have no freedom of speech (you saw this yourself when you tried to speak to Africans); there is no way of expressing our grievances and complaints. Our lives are controlled by passes. These are the chains of our lives, the chains that strangle us. And besides, we have to pay taxes, though we have no say at all in government."

This is how Ruth First describes the life of Africans in the towns: "The Nama have a wistful and saddened look.... Those in the towns seem to show in their faces that they are regarded as enemies; their 'place' is in the shrunken reserves of the south, or in the kitchen, or shearing shed, out of sight and hearing."

Eloquent evidence about the life of Africans in the reserves is provided by the following statement by a white clergyman well aware of the situation in the reserves in the south: "The people are sick, tired, cross. The land is too small, yet pieces have been cut away over the years to make white farms. Some people own three goats, that is all in the world. Sometimes they eat mealie meal porridge once a day."

Officially it is maintained that both the reserves and the entire area north of the Police Zone are administered by the Africans themselves, by their traditional chiefs and councils of headmen. According to the official version, they are administered exclusively in the interests of the tribes and in complete accordance with their traditions and customs.

In actual fact, the power belongs to the administration's commissioners (all of them white), who are the real masters in this part of the country. There are four such commissioners north of the Police Zone. The duties of the chiefs and headmen are to collect taxes, convey to the tribesmen the orders of the administration and the commissioners and put these orders into effect.

As in all countries with indirect rule, the chiefs and headmen are assigned the role of a cheap and convenient apparatus. They have become a buffer between the population and the authorities in Windhoek, and divert to themselves a big part of the Africans' resentment.

The chiefs are completely dependent on the commissioners, receive pay (if very small), and can be dismissed at any moment. The South African Minister of Bantu Affairs has the power not only to

appoint and dismiss chiefs, but also to divide and amalgamate tribes.

At the same time, the chiefs are given extensive powers over the tribesmen. In the precolonial period, the power of the chiefs in South West Africa was never arbitrary. It was limited and controlled: the most important tribal affairs were discussed at tribal gatherings. In present-day South West Africa, however, as in the Republic of South Africa and in Rhodesia, the colonial authorities, to facilitate administration, ignore these traditions and regard the chief as the sole arbiter of the tribe's destinies.

The South African Government has repeatedly stated that it wants not only to preserve the present regime in the reserves, but also to extend to South West Africa their plans for the establishment of "Bantustans", patterned after those set up in South Africa. Specific recommendations for the establishment of Bantustans in South West Africa were formulated in March 1964 in the report of the so-called Odendaal Committee, which proposed to perpetuate the country's division into two parts, leaving 326,000 sq. km. under Bantustans and turning over the rest of the territory (498,000 sq. km.) to the white settlers.

The report spoke of the need to establish the following Bantustans: Ovamboland, where close to 250,000 people live on a relatively small territory, Okavangoland (population 30,000), Kaokoveld (10,000), Damaraland (over 45,000), Hereroland (over 35,000), East Caprivi (over 16,000), and also "homelands" for 12,000 Bushmen, 11,000 Rehobothers and a small number of Bechuana living in the east of the country. As in the Republic of South Africa, these "homelands" were to be set up primarily on the basis of reserves. Each "homeland" was to have its own legislative council (with extremely limited powers), but only 40 per cent of the council members were scheduled to be elected; 60 per cent of the seats on the councils were to be filled, by appointment, with chiefs and headmen.

But the power of the chiefs, like the traditions of tribalism and the entire system of indirect rule in general, is gradually waning because of labour migration. Similarly to the Republic of South Africa, the efforts of the authorities to keep up segregation, apartheid, to perpetuate the carry-overs of tribal society, clash with the laws of economic development. The reserves and the northern regions are called upon to supply more and more labour, and this has become the keynote in the work of the commissioners. More and more Africans leave their homes in search of a living: many of them settle in towns or on farms, thus escaping the grip of their chiefs and breaking with the traditional way of life.

Since the labour recruitment system occupies such a prominent place in the life of the country, it has been thought out in every detail. Under the rules worked out by labour-recruiting agencies, the recruits are classified into several health groups suitable for various types of work, from underground mining to farming.

The authorities insist that the chiefs encourage their tribesmen,

who are ruthlessly driven by hunger and drought—this scourge of South West Africa—to sign up for seasonal work. Every year, more and more recruits, with labels hanging from their necks in lieu of identity cards, can be seen moving along the roads.

Here is what an Ovambo tribesman had to say about the recruitment of labour: "If a reserve does not supply enough labour . . . the headmen and board members are scolded. Then the Ovambo is sent off with a ticket. He does not know where he is going. The names of the master and the place are written on the label, and the people at the railway station send him where he has to go. After the station master has read the label, he rings up the police station to come and fetch this 'parcel', and he is taken to the police station, from where he is fetched by the farmer, or taken by the police to the farmer."

The wages in South West Africa are considerably lower than in South Africa. The maximum earnings in a year of work in a mine or factory rarely exceed £30.

In the 1960's, the protests of the African population against the existing system became more organised. In the mass campaign against the recommendations of the Odendaal Committee in 1964, an extremely active part was played by the South West African Peoples' Organisation. After addressing protest meetings, several of its leaders found themselves in prison. Many of the more active fighters had to leave their homeland, swelling the ranks of political emigrants in other African countries.

In July 1966, the South West African Peoples' Organisation, which had won considerable prestige in the country, published a programme, setting forth the main goals of the current stage of struggle: (1) annulment of South Africa's mandate over South West Africa; (2) release of political prisoners and return of the exiles; (3) immediate elections under international supervision.

Despite repeated appeals by the Organisation of African Unity and its African Liberation Committee (11-Nation Committee), the various anti-colonial organisations in the country failed to achieve unity of action. In November 1963, an attempt was made to pool the efforts of the Peoples' Organisation, the National Union, the Council of Chiefs, headed by the 90-year-old Herero chief Hosea Kutako, and several other organisations that had come into being by that time. An agreement was reached to set up a Front for the National Liberation of South West Africa, but the differences that arose within the front from the very first days of its existence prevented it from becoming an effective alliance.

The more far-sighted leaders of the national-liberation movement have consistently advocated a close alliance with the progressive organisations of South Africa against the common enemy—the ruling circles of the Republic of South Africa.

For many years now the question of South West Africa has been

regarded as one of the most pressing of all African and international problems.

The Organisation of African Unity has proclaimed aid toward the liberation of this country to be one of its aims. But this aid has not been sufficiently effective because of the relative weakness of the newly free African states and the Organisation of African Unity itself, and also because of the support given to the South African Government by the world imperialist circles.

The reasons for the interest of international monopolies in the exploitation of South West Africa were made amply clear by reports on the consequences of the activities of mining and other international companies with investments in South West Africa, issued by the United Nations in 1965 and 1967. The reports stressed that the largest companies were controlled by foreigners, that the profits were not reinvested, that the deposits worked by Consolidated Diamond Mines would be exhausted in approximately 20 years, and those worked by the Tsumeb Company, in 25 years.

In 1965, South West Africa sold minerals for R. 115 million, including R. 70.3 million for diamonds.[1] The country ranked fifth in the capitalist world for the production of diamonds—after the Congo (Kinshasa), South Africa, Ghana and Sierra Leone, and second (after South Africa) for the production of gem diamonds, which accounted for 90 per cent of the output. In 1963, the country experienced another diamond rush, sparked off specifically by the extension of off-shore diamond mining in coastal waters. New companies, operating ships with marine pumps and installations for the processing of sand raised from the ocean floor, were set up and given concessions.

The report said that between 1948 and 1961 the Tsumeb Corporation received R. 105 million of net profits, whereas its stock capital is only a little over R. 2 million. The dividends paid out by the corporation per share in the six years between 1958 and 1963 ranged from 150 to 350 per cent. Consolidated Diamond Mines of South West Africa, with a capital of R. 10.5 million, received R. 369 million in profits in the 20 years between 1943 and 1962, including R. 264 million net profits.

After considering these figures, the U.N. Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples recommended that the General Assembly denounce the government of South Africa for its policy of providing concessions to international companies and letting them exploit South West Africa's natural and manpower resources to the detriment of the African population, and also for its own participation in this exploitation; to denounce the

1 In 1965, the country sold fish products for R. 45 million; karakul pelts, R. 14 million.

activities and methods of operation of international companies in South West Africa, which exploit the natural resources and the African population of the territory solely for their own advantage and thus hamper the country's progress toward independence, and its political, economic and social progress.

South Africa's policy in the former mandated territory was denounced in all the resolutions adopted by the United Nations in discussing the future of South West Africa. Thus, the 18th Session of the General Assembly, in a resolution of November 13, 1963, confirmed the right of the people of South West Africa to self-determination and independence; it qualified any attempt by the Republic of South Africa to annex South West Africa as an act of aggression and stressed that the South African Government's policy in South West Africa had brought about a situation endangering world peace and security. The resolution called upon all countries to stop deliveries of weapons and military equipment to South Africa. Only six countries voted against this resolution: the U.S.A., Britain, France, South Africa, Spain and Portugal.

The support given to the South African Government by several Western powers was especially clearly manifested when South West African affairs were discussed by the International Court of Justice in the Hague. On September 4, 1960, Liberia and Ethiopia, the only African countries which had belonged to the League of Nations, lodged a complaint on behalf of independent African countries that the policy of apartheid practised by the Republic of South Africa ran counter to its obligations under the mandate. Liberia and Ethiopia insisted that South West Africa should be administered under U.N. supervision.

The International Court discussed the matter for six years, considered 3,000 depositions, spent millions of dollars and finally, on July 18, 1966, rejected the complaint of Liberia and Ethiopia, thus indirectly conceding to the Government of South Africa the right to administer South West Africa and practise apartheid there. The Court adopted its decision by eight votes to seven. The Soviet representative voted against the ruling and expressed his protest.

The Verwoerd Government was overjoyed and immediately embarked on its programme of establishing Bantustans in South West Africa.

However, public opinion in Africa and the rest of the world was so outraged that the question of South West Africa became one of the key issues at the next, 21st session of the General Assembly. Over 50 African and Asian countries, supported by the socialist states, tabled a joint resolution demanding official annulment of South Africa's mandate over South West Africa and acknowledging that the United Nations Organisation was directly responsible for the territory. The resolution was passed on October 28, 1966, and the number of votes cast for it, 114, was a record in U.N. history.

The resolution meant a new approach by the United Nations to the question of South West Africa: in the first 20 years of its existence, the organisation proceeded from the assumption that legally the Republic of South Africa was entitled to administer South West Africa, and discussed only the methods of this administration. The 1966 resolution officially cancelled the mandate. This decision provides the ground for a transition from persuasion to compulsion in respect of the Government of the Republic of South Africa.

In its resolutions of 1967 and 1968, the General Assembly again called on the Government of the Republic of South Africa unconditionally and at once to withdraw its military and police forces and administrative apparatus from the territory of South West Africa, release all political prisoners and allow all political refugees to return. The General Assembly denounced the refusal of the South African Government to abide by the U.N. decision annulling the mandate and requested the Security Council to take effective measures to implement it.

The Vorster government, far from submitting to the U.N. decision, demonstratively began to set up "Bantustans" in South West Africa. It also staged in Pretoria a trial of South West African patriots on a charge of "terrorist" activity and in February 1968 sentenced 30 of them to life imprisonment. Vorster declared that his government rejected the demands of the General Assembly and the Security Council. A delegation of the Council for South West Africa, set up by the United Nations, tried to visit the territory of this country early in 1968, but was prevented from getting there by the South African authorities.

THE MALAGASY REPUBLIC

Madagascar in 1918-1939. The economic enslavement of Madagascar began after the French colonialists crushed the resistance of its people and established their political rule on the island in 1896. Several financial groups which held a leading position in the economy of France—Banque de Paris et des Pays Bas, Banque de l'Indochine, Péchiney, Schneider, and others—established control over the key sectors of Madagascar's economy. They acted individually or jointly through colonial firms—Compagnie Marseillaise de Madagascar, Compagnie Lyonnaise de Madagascar and Société industrielle et commerciale de l'Emyrne.

Prior to the First World War, the export of capital to Madagascar, just as to the other French colonies, was insignificant. From 1897 to 1919, total state investments of France in Madagascar amounted to 2,300 million francs (at the 1940 rate). But after the war the flow of capital increased and the sum of 4,600 million francs was invested in the country's economy from 1920 to 1933. Simultaneously, private investments rose; they exceeded state investments and reached 11,500 million francs on the eve of the Second World War.

The French authorities introduced high taxes (a poll-tax, livestock tax and others) and also used direct coercion to force the Malagasy peasants to expand the cultivation of export crops, frequently by reducing the area under food crops, manioc in particular. As a result, the export of coffee steeply climbed from 98 tons in 1909 to 20,000 tons in 1939; vanilla, from 110 to 335 tons; and clove, from 98 to 6,520 tons.

French capital undertook to exploit the island's natural resources. In 1936, the production of graphite reached 1,450 tons; mica, 650 tons; and gold, 428 kilogrammes. All mineral raw materials were exported. The monopolies fully controlled Madagascar's foreign and home trade. France's share in the island's trade rose to 83.5 per cent in 1937 as against 24 per cent prior to Madagascar's seizure.

Colonial companies and European settlers seized ten million hectares of agricultural lands and forests. But European plantations were not intensively developed: Malagasy farms provided 97 per cent

of all agricultural output and 72 per cent of the exports. Non-equivalent trade and intermediary trading operations were the main sources which gave the monopolies annual profits exceeding 1,000 million francs (at the 1952 rate) on the average.

The confiscation of the land and colonial exploitation, coupled with the development of capitalist relations, brought about the ruin of the Malagasy countryside, in which peasants with small plots and sharecroppers comprised the largest section of the population. The overwhelming majority of the peasants had tiny plots, ranging from 0.2 to 0.5 of a hectare; the average holding of a peasant family was 1.75 hectares. The development of the money economy led to the formation in the community of a prosperous stratum, while the ruined poor peasants were forced to leave their villages and seek employment in the towns.

Enterprises for the primary processing of agricultural raw materials and for the mining and processing of minerals gradually appeared on Madagascar. They employed a considerable part of the labour force. By 1939, 130,600 people had worked for hire.

A considerable number of small Malagasy entrepreneurs (tradesmen, buyers-up, middlemen and artisans), mostly connected with large French trading companies, appeared on the island, and the formation of a Malagasy bourgeoisie began. The intellectuals became a tangible socio-political force.

Veterans of the First World War played a prominent part in the growth of the national-liberation struggle on the island. They brought back with them revolutionary ideas and news about the first workers' and peasants' state, Soviet Russia.

Ralaimongo, an outstanding leader of the Malagasy national movement, came from the ranks of the war veterans. He took part in organising the League for Granting the People of Madagascar French Citizenship. The League, set up in Paris in 1919, was soon banned. Ralaimongo's propaganda activities were supported by Ravoahangy and Ranaivo, Malagasy public leaders, and also by Dussac, a Frenchman who subsequently joined the French Communist Party. The newspapers *Action coloniale, Libéré, Opinion* and *Aurore malgache,* which began publication in 1921, became the vehicles of a campaign against the disfranchisement and racial discrimination, which was conducted by Ralaimongo, together with Ravoahangy, Ranaivo and Dussac.

The first strike, held on Madagascar in June 1925, inaugurated the struggle of the working people for their economic and political rights and for national independence. A year later came the first mass action of peasants against the confiscation of land and forced labour. On May 19, 1929, more than 3,000 people came out into the streets of the capital with the slogans: "Freedom! Independence! Madagascar for the Malagasy!"

The movement for independence gained momentum after the out-

break of the world economic crisis in 1929, when the position of the working masses and especially the peasants greatly deteriorated. Agricultural commodities—manioc, vanilla and rice—could find no market and their prices dropped disastrously. Companies curtailed production, dismissed workers and cut the meagre wages.

The establishment of a Popular Front Government in France in June 1936 gave fresh impetus to the liberation movement on the island. A campaign to set up a National Malagasy Front was carried on under the slogan: "Justice, freedom, peace!" Workers, peasants and intellectuals joined in the struggle. It was at that time that a Malagasy section of the French Communist Party was organised. The workers stepped up the struggle for higher wages. A strike at the meat cannery in Tananarive continued from October 1936 to June 1937. The first illegal trade unions were organised in 1937 and in the same year they won recognition of the colonial authorities and affiliated with the French General Confederation of Labour.

Even the modest successes registered by the progressive forces troubled the colonial administration, big businessmen, agents of the colonial companies, planters and prosperous settlers. They financed the organisation of terrorist groups which, enjoying the help of the police, attacked Malagasy patriots. Shortly before the outbreak of the Second World War, the authorities banned the Malagasy section of the French Communist Party.

The Second World War. After France's defeat in the war, the Vichy government sent its representative to Madagascar and a terrorist regime was instituted on the island. The local authorities were ready to collaborate with the Japanese militarists, and Japanese submarines were provisioned in Madagascar ports. British troops landed on Madagascar in May 1942 to prevent the island's conversion into a base of the Axis powers. At the end of that year, the island was placed under the administration of de Gaulle's Free French.

The local population was in dire straits in wartime. The colonial authorities stepped up exploitation to an unprecedented degree and forced labour was employed on a sweeping scale. Agricultural products were requisitioned or bought up at low prices, and the population had to pay additional taxes and levies. A reduction of the sown area and the crop failure in a number of districts caused a famine.

The condition of the working people in the towns, too, sharply grew worse. The colonial companies jacked up prices of food and the purchasing power of factory and office workers was cut by more than half. The population growth stopped and in 1944 mortality exceeded births.

The 1947-1948 Uprising. After the Second World War, France had to make certain concessions in the colonies under the pressure of the national-liberation movement, actively supported by the world's progressive forces. Reforms were effected to stop the disintegration

of the empire. The people in the colonies formally received French citizenship, and some representative institutions were set up there.

A representative council was set up on Madagascar in 1945. Thirty of its members were Frenchmen and as many were Malagasy. The former were appointed mainly by the island's Chambers of Commerce and the latter were elected by a college, which consisted of "notables", i.e., village elders and officials connected with the colonial authorities.

The French progressive forces, headed by the Communist Party, succeeded in carrying out a number of democratic changes in France in the first years after the war, particularly giving the colonies representation in the French Constituent Assembly. Raseta and Ravoahangy were elected to the Constituent Assembly from Madagascar: they were leaders of the Malagasy Revival Democratic Movement, an organisation founded in 1946.

The Democratic Movement demanded the restoration of the country's independence, the granting of broad political rights to the Malagasy and a number of other progressive changes. The organisation consisted of representatives of the working class, peasantry, national bourgeoisie, intellectuals, clergy and the democratic-minded part of the French population, that is, the country's main progressive anti-imperialist forces. The aims of the Democratic Movement—struggle for national independence, parliamentary forms of government and democratic reforms—were in line with the aspirations of diverse classes and groups of Malagasy society. It was a national democratic, anti-imperialist organisation. Support by the workers and peasants was of decisive importance for the success of the Democratic Movement. Within a few months, it had more than 100,000 active members and 500,000 sympathisers.

To prevent the further consolidation of the national forces, the colonial authorities provoked armed clashes in March 1947. This enabled them to introduce a state of siege, to ban the Democratic Movement, dissolve the trade unions and abolish freedom of the press and assembly. Compelled to defend their elementary rights, the Malagasy took up arms.

The French Government expected the "pacification" of the Malagasy people to be a mere "military parade of strength". But in April 1947, the French high commissioner had to ask for considerable reinforcements from France. Hostilities spread over one-fifth of the island's territory with a population of about one million. The uprising grew over into an anti-colonial war, which lasted for more than a year.

Aircraft, motorised and tank units were sent into action against the insurgents. Some towns were bombed. Atrocities were perpetrated on prisoners and civilians: hostages and prisoners were burned alive, dropped from planes, shot or hanged without a trial.

The massacre on Madagascar in 1947-1948 was a disgraceful

page in the postwar history of French imperialism. According to press reports, more than 100,000 people, the flower of the Malagasy nation, perished as a result of hostilities and punitive operations. More than 20,000 of the finest representatives of the people, Communists, active members of the Malagasy Revival Democratic Movement and trade unionists, were thrown into prisons and concentration camps. Ravoahangy and Raseta, together with some other leaders of the Democratic Movement, were sentenced to death. Only a powerful protest campaign in France and other countries saved their lives, and the death sentence was commuted to hard labour.

The Franco-Malagasy war of 1947-1948 ended in the defeat of the people because the forces were so unevenly matched. But by their gallant struggle for freedom the Malagasy people inscribed a heroic page in the history of Madagascar. This struggle was followed with sympathy by progressive world opinion; it engendered a powerful movement of solidarity with the Malagasy people and further aggravated the crisis of French imperialism's colonial system.

Madagascar in 1949-1960. Having defeated the insurgent detachments, the imperialists expected fully to stifle the national-liberation movement on the island. But the working people did not stop the struggle. On the contrary, it grew sharper under the impact of economic difficulties and mounting unemployment. Madagascar's economic development proceeded at a slow pace. From 1950 to 1960, agricultural production (together with forestry and fishing) rose in value only by about 25 per cent; the output of the extractive, manufacturing and power industries, slightly more than 100 per cent; the value of exports, approximately by 50 per cent; and imports, by 80 per cent. In 1950, there were 220,000 people working for hire (41,000 in the state sector and 179,000 in the private sector). Subsequently, the number of people in paid employment declined and in 1960 it was 191,000 (34,000 and 157,000 respectively).

A congress of Malagasy trade unions was held in November 1949 in the village of Ambogetrimanjaka near Tananarive, notwithstanding the state of siege. The Congress, attended by 180 delegates from all parts of the island, restored the ties between the trade union organisations broken up by the repressions in 1947.

A union-led strike of workers at ship-repair yards in Diégo-Suarez was held in December 1950. It continued for 22 days and ended in victory for the workers, who won a wage increase and a family allowance. In 1951, according to official figures, workers at four enterprises went on strike. In 1952, there were 15 strikes and in 1953 the number rose to 21.

The establishment of the Fifanampiana Malagasy (Malagasy Solidarity Organisation) was of great significance for the liberation movement. It was founded in May 1950 by Henri Rakotobe and Gisèle Rabesahala, Malagasy intellectuals who adhered to Marxism, and other progressives.

The official aim of the organisation was help to political prisoners and people who had suffered from natural calamities. It put forward the demand for ending the judicial persecution of patriots and full amnesty of those convicted for participating in the 1947-1948 events. The amnesty demand for the convicted became one of the main slogans of the Malagasy national-liberation movement. At the same time, the Malagasy Solidarity Organisation launched a campaign in defence of the people's rights, "against injustice and club law on Madagascar" and also against the "spiritual enslavement of the Malagasy people".

The assimilation policy applied by the colonial authorities impeded the country's cultural development. Up to 1951, the Malagasy language was not taught in school. At the end of the 1950's, more than half of the island's population was illiterate. The first university of Madagascar was founded only after the attainment of independence.

Another upswing of the national-liberation movement on the island began in the mid-1950's, and the progressive political forces consolidated their strength. In 1955, political parties were organised in Tananarive: the Malagasy People's Union, headed by the Rakotobe-Rabesahala group; the National Malagasy Front; the Assembly of the Malagasy People; and the Union in Defence of Malagasy Interests. The Social Democratic Party of Madagascar and the Comores, the Democratic and Social Union of Madagascar and some bourgeois reformist parties were organised at the beginning of 1956. All these parties demanded general elections and a National Assembly.

The working-class movement was also strengthened organisationally. In August 1956, most of the island's trade unions formed a Federation of Madagascar Trade Unions, which affiliated with the World Federation of Trade Unions.

The results of the municipal elections in November 1956 may be regarded as an indication of the advance of the national-liberation movement. Notwithstanding police persecution and the direct interference of the colonial administration, its henchmen were defeated, whereas progressive parties and organisations won 31 out of the 37 seats in the Tananarive municipal council and 19 out of the 31 seats in the Diégo-Suarez municipal council.

A more flexible policy of partial concessions was introduced by the French ruling circles in Madagascar and in other African colonies. They put forward the slogan of "neither colonialism nor withdrawal". The essence of the slogan was the gradual transfer of administrative and political functions to representatives of the local population who had been brought up in the spirit of loyalty to France.

In 1957, which the French authorities solemnly proclaimed the first year of the "experiment in peaceful decolonisation", a law, known as *loi-cadre*, came into force, allowing the government to extend the powers of territorial assemblies.

In conformity with this law, the number of territorial assemblies with their own government councils was increased on Madagascar, but simultaneously the creation of central organs of administration began. Each provincial assembly elected from among its deputies nine members to the island's Representative Assembly. The latter, in its turn, appointed ministers of the Madagascar State Council. A semblance of a Madagascar parliament and government, headed, however, by a French high commissioner, was thus created.

The elections to the provincial assemblies were held in March 1957. The colonial press had every ground for reporting "victory of the moderate elements over the ultra-nationalists". Patriots received only 58 out of the 240 seats in the provincial assemblies. Most of the seats were won by "moderates", who united at the elections in the Franco-Malagasy Union.

The leading position in the Franco-Malagasy Union was held by conciliatory parties, the Democratic and Social Union of Madagascar and the Social Democratic Party of Madagascar and the Comores. The leadership of these parties consisted mainly of government officials, Catholic clergymen, French settlers and company agents. Representatives of the national bourgeoisie and intellectuals wielded considerably less influence in the Union. This election bloc came out in support of the 1957 law. At the opening of the Representative Assembly, Tsiranana, leader of the Social Democratic Party who was approved by the authorities as vice-chairman of the State Council, described the *loi-cadre* as an "organised and rational evolution" and said it had the full support of Malagasy business circles.

The reforms, carried out in conformity with the 1957 law, could not stem the upsurge of the national-liberation movement. In June 1957, a congress of the Malagasy People's Union in Tananarive demanded the country's independence.

A 48-hour strike of workers and other employees of private enterprises, the largest in the country in 20 years, broke out on November 26 and 27, 1957. About 15,000 people participated in it. Although the authorities declared it "unlawful", the strike spread to all the big towns and was supported by peasants, shopkeepers and small tradesmen. The strikers put forward not only economic demands (a rise in wages, an increase in the family allowance, etc.), but also resolutely called for independence.

The success of the liberation movement largely depended on bringing about the unity of the numerous political parties founded in 1955 and 1956. To this end, a unity congress was convened in the port of Tamatave in May 1958. Ten out of the country's twelve political parties were represented at the congress. Only the Social Democratic Party of Madagascar and the Comores and the Democratic and Social Union of Madagascar were opposed to the congress. This notwithstanding, all Malagasy acclaimed the Tamatave meeting which turned into a review of the people's revolutionary forces. It was attended by representatives of all the provinces, delegates of trade unions, delegations of Malagasy residing in France and numerous guests. The Congress received messages of greeting from all parts of the island and even from political prisoners and exiles.

The congress delegates unanimously demanded annulment of the decree on the annexation of Madagascar, recognition of the island's independence and election of an assembly to draw up a constitution of the Malagasy Republic. The Congress adopted a resolution proclaiming "its unbending will to work for national independence", called on all the political parties and the people to continue joint efforts to achieve independence, and decided to begin corresponding negotiations with the French Government.

In an attempt to prevent the consolidation of the patriotic forces the colonial administration intensified repressions against progressive parties and organisations, enlisting the help of the Malagasy Government. Patriotic newspapers were frequently confiscated and members of the Malagasy People's Union were subjected to unlawful reprisals.

The persecution and arbitrary actions reached their apex during the 1958 referendum on the new French constitution. The voters were intimidated and in some places were driven to the polls by armed force. The voting, especially in the villages, was public. In the prevailing conditions, leaders of most bourgeois parties did not venture to come out against the constitution.

As a result, 1,400,000 votes were cast for the constitution; 390,000 votes were cast against it and approximately the same number of voters stayed away from the polls.

In conformity with the new French constitution, the Malagasy Republic was proclaimed at the Congress of Provincial Assemblies in Tananarive on October 14, 1958. It entered the French Community with the rights of internal autonomy.

A National Assembly, which replaced the Representative Assembly, was elected at the Congress of Provincial Assemblies from among their members. The State Council was reconstituted into a Council of Ministers headed by F. Tsiranana, who shortly afterwards became the president of the republic. A Constituent Advisory Council was also set up. In the spring of 1959, it was reconstituted into the Senate, the second chamber of the Malagasy Parliament. The entire administrative machine, including the police and the gendarmerie, was turned over to the Malagasy authorities. At the same time, questions of foreign policy, defence, finance, economics, justice, higher education, transport and communications remained under the jurisdiction of France.

Such meagre "independence" naturally could not satisfy even the moderate nationalists.

The government's statement, made at the time of signing the act on the formation of the Malagasy Republic, about the "radical revolution" and "full emancipation of the island by generous France"

sounded hollow. The people of Madagascar continued their struggle for freedom. It was headed by the new united party, formed in conformity with the decisions of the Tamatave congress, the Madagascar Independence Congress.

The Congress Party united in its ranks different sections of society—workers, peasants, intellectuals and the bourgeoisie—and headed the anti-colonial movement. The Rakotobe-Rabesahala revolutionary group played a leading part in the Madagascar Independence Congress.

At the first meeting of the Congress Party in July 1959, it put forward the following demands: full independence for Madagascar and its withdrawal from the French Community; the establishment of an independent secular republic on the island; development of the economy along socialist lines; an end to the persecution of democrats.

Under the pressure of the people, Tsiranana, in December 1959, asked the French Government to begin talks on the terms for granting Madagascar independence. As a result of the talks, held in Paris from February 11 to March 26, 1960, agreements were signed granting Madagascar independence "within the framework of the community". The independence of the republic was officially proclaimed on June 26, 1960.

THE MALAGASY REPUBLIC AFTER THE PROCLAMATION OF INDEPENDENCE

The proclamation of the republic opened to the Malagasy people the road to liberation from foreign misrule, the building of a national economy and attainment of genuine independence.

But there are many obstacles to the achievement of these aims. They stem not only from the low level of the economy—this legacy from the colonialists. The unequal Franco-Malagasy "cooperation" agreements of April 2, 1960, are a big impediment to Madagascar's economic development. These agreements enable France to influence the country's domestic affairs with the help of numerous commissions and technical committees set up on a parity basis, in which, however, French advisers and experts play the dominant part.

French military bases (Diégo-Suarez, Fort-Dauphin, Ivato and others) have been preserved on the island. French forces, numerically twice as large as the Malagasy national army, have preserved the right of free movement over the country's territory. The equipping and training of the Malagasy armed forces is controlled by the French general staff and Government.

The agreements have also left the system of higher education under French control. The curricula at the de Gaulle University in Tananarive and other higher educational establishments, the conditions for obtaining diplomas and scientific degrees, and the staffing of the faculties are decided by France.

In the economic sphere, the agreements envisage numerous privileges and guarantees for French companies. The "equal opportunities" for local and French capital, proclaimed in the agreements, enable the French monopolies not only to preserve, but even to reinforce their positions in the country.

A favourable investment climate has been legally created by the Investment Code, passed by the National Assembly in October 1961. The code grants a wide range of privileges to private capital—release from the payment of taxes for a period of up to 25 years, duty-free import of equipment for new enterprises, easy terms for receiving bank credits, etc.

That the Malagasy Government orients itself on the development of private capitalist relations is now beyond doubt, although leaders of the ruling Social Democratic Party assert that they are building socialism. True, they make the reservation that they have in mind a "particular, Malagasy socialism in the specific conditions of Madagascar, which is not an obstacle to the development of the private enterprise system". The press frequently mentions the "liberal socialism" of President Tsiranana and the "spiritual socialism" of Rabemananjara, a member of the government. The idealisation of the "socialist traditions of the ancestors" is a characteristic feature of these theories.

"Malagasy socialism", Jacques Rabemananjara writes, "is rooted in the traditions of the Malagasy community, the Fokonolona, based on mutual assistance."

The rural community is regarded as the cell of socialist society, a view which is in vogue on the African continent. The country's leaders do not plan deep-going socio-economic changes. Moreover, the fathers of "Malagasy socialism" vigorously denounce any break-up of the existing socio-economic relations as incompatible with the ideas of humanity and tolerance.

The Malagasy Government is in principle opposed to the nationalisation of foreign enterprises. The state takes over only sectors which private entrepreneurs have for some reason neglected. Such a policy has been named "dynamic nationalisation". President Tsiranana said that "Malagasy socialism is not directed against the capitalists because the policy of dynamic nationalisation is applied only where private enterprise is inadequate."

Exploring ways for solving intricate problems in eliminating the country's economic backwardness and raising the living standard of the people, the Madagascar Government pins great hopes on planning. A five-year development plan for 1964-1968 was approved in 1963. Of the 165,000 million African francs to be invested under the plan, the private sector is to contribute 82,000 million. The sectoral pattern of the economy is to be considerably altered. While formerly

almost all the investments were made in agriculture (industry received only 1 per cent), now the plan calls for spending 17 per cent on industrial development and 23 per cent on agriculture.

The plan describes cooperatives as the "main link in economic, social and technological progress". More than 90 per cent of Madagascar's population are peasants. Just as centuries ago, they cultivate their tiny plots with the help of fire, the axe and the hoe; they burn down the trees and shrubs, uproot the stumps and grow rice, manioc and vegetables on the soil prepared in this way. Tractors, mineral fertilisers and fungicides are unknown to the peasants. Modern cultivation methods are employed only on European-owned plantations which grow sugar cane, tobacco and other export crops. A General Commissariat for Cooperation was set up in March 1962 to promote the organisation of cooperatives and guide their activity. In 1962, there were about 250 cooperatives (mainly marketing) in agriculture. But all of them were small or tiny organisations and their share in agricultural output is insignificant (17 per cent of the rice and 4.3 per cent of the groundnuts produced in 1963).

A land reform has not been carried out to the end as yet. Foreigners hold about 2 million hectares of the most fertile arable land, pastures and meadows. Huge tracts owned by foreign companies are not utilised but kept "in reserve". Not more than 200,000 hectares are cultivated. At the end of 1962, the government adopted a decision on the transfer to the state of lands which have not been utilised for 20 years, emphasising that this is not an encroachment on property rights. But even this, very limited, measure is being implemented very hesitantly and so far has not produced tangible results.

After the publication of the new investment code (1961), investments in industry in 1965, for example, exceeded 2,600 million African francs (between 1950 and 1960, annual investments amounted to 1,000 million African francs on the average). Weaving and spinning mills in Antsirabe, a pharmaceutical and a match factory, and a bicycle assembly plant are under construction. Two automobile assembly plants, each with a daily capacity of 5-6 Renault and Citroen cars, have been commissioned.

To tap national financial resources, a National Investment Company was set up in September 1962 with a capital of 1,000 million African francs, and a National Development Bank in January 1963. It is the first Malagasy bank in which the government has 51 per cent of the capital. A tax on trading profits not invested in Madagascar was introduced in September 1962. It reaches up to 50 per cent of corporate profits (the flow of capital from the country as a result of the activity of trading companies ranges from 5,000 to 9,000 million African francs annually).

But reservations and amendments introduced in 1964 and 1965, brought down the tax rate to 15-25 per cent. As a result, in 1964 this tax yielded only 32 million African francs (0.12 per cent of all budget revenue). Madagascar has no state trading companies which would enjoy a monopoly right to export or import goods. Mixed state-private companies have been organised in recent years. The share of the state in such companies is not large (not over 33 per cent and more often, from 15 to 20 per cent of the capital). Cooperation with the government is very advantageous for private firms which retain their profits and receive additional guarantees against nationalisation.

The living standard in the country remains exceedingly low, and unemployment is on the increase. Wages of agricultural labourers on plantations do not exceed 12 francs an hour and of urban workers, 14 francs. Forced labour is still employed in the countryside. The Labour Code, adopted in 1961, reduced to nought many gains of the working people.

The political situation in the country remains tense as the struggle between the conservative and progressive forces continues. Parliamentary elections were held in August 1965. Although the state machine and all propaganda media backed the ruling Social Democratic Party, in Tananarive candidates of the leading opposition party, the Madagascar Independence Congress, received 52,000 votes and the Social Democratic candidates, only 31,000 votes. The opposition party received three out of the four seats in the capital. The workers led by the Trade Union Federation of Madagascar are stepping up the struggle for their rights. The membership of the Federation rose from 1,000 in 1958 to 20,000 in 1968. It works in close contact with the Madagascar Independence Congress, and numerous strikes in recent years have been held under their joint leadership.

The progressive forces hold that the hopes of the Malagasy people for a better future can be realised if the country pursues a policy based on equal relations with all countries; if the key industrial enterprises, banks, and insurance companies are nationalised and a foreign trade monopoly is proclaimed; and if state control over the activity of foreign companies is instituted.

In foreign policy, the Government of the Malagasy Republic was one of the initiators of the Afro-Malagasy Union, set up as a group of African states oriented on Western countries, France in the first place. The Malagasy Republic is associated with the Common Market. It maintains diplomatic relations with the regimes on Taiwan and in South Korea. The government of the republic has not established diplomatic relations with socialist states.

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