

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW



Problems of Peace and Socialism

In this issue:

AFRICA TODAY

A. Lerumo • A. Yata • T. Amath • J. Suret-Canale • K. Batsa

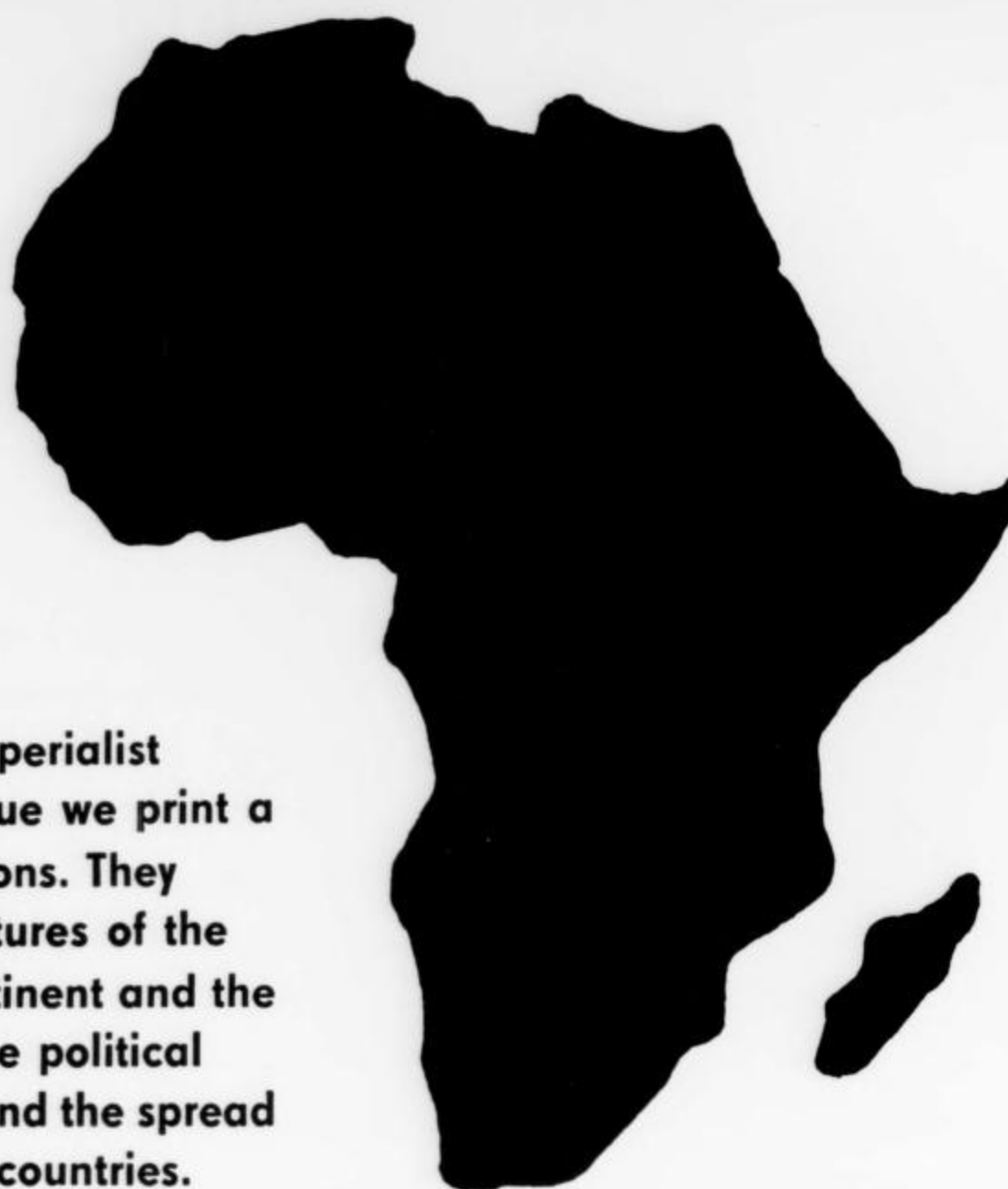
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Africa Today

What is the African scene today? What are the most important and characteristic aspects of the national-liberation movement on the continent? And what are its prospects? People all over the world are keenly interested in these and other questions relating to the anti-imperialist revolution in Africa. • In this issue we print a series of articles on these questions. They discuss some of the general features of the revolutionary process on the continent and the specific ways of development, the political situation, the balance of forces, and the spread of socialist ideas in some of the countries.



Independent countries	Area (1,000 sq. km.)	Capital	Population (millions)	Date of proclamation of independence
1. Algerian People's Democratic Republic	2,382	Algiers	11.5	July 5, 1962
2. Republic of the Ivory Coast	323	Abidjan	3.5	Aug. 7, 1960
3. Kingdom of Burundi	27.8	Usumbura	2.4	July 1, 1962
4. Republic of the Upper Volta	274	Ouagadougou	4	Aug. 5, 1960
5. Gabon Republic	267	Libreville	0.5	Aug. 17, 1960
6. Gambia	10.4	Bathurst	0.3	Feb. 18, 1965
7. Republic of Ghana	237.8	Accra	7.5	March 6, 1957
8. Republic of Guinea	245	Conakry	3.5	Oct. 2, 1958
9. Republic of Dahomey	116	Porto-Novo	2	Aug. 1, 1960
10. Republic of Zambia	746.3	Lusaka	3.6	Oct. 24, 1964
11. Federal Republic of Camerouns	475	Yaounde	4.8	Jan. 1, 1960
12. Republic of Kenya	582.6	Nairobi	9.3	Dec. 12, 1963
13. Republic of Congo	342	Brazzaville	1	Aug. 15, 1960
14. Democratic Republic of Congo	2,345	Leopoldville	15	June 30, 1960
15. Republic of Liberia	111.4	Monrovia	2.5	July 26, 1847
16. Kingdom of Libya	1,760	Tripoli and Bengazi	1.5	Dec. 24, 1951
17. Islamic Republic of Mauritania	1,086	Nouakchott	1	Nov. 28, 1960
18. Malawi	125	Zomba	3	July 6, 1964
19. Republic of Mali	1,204	Bamako	4.9	Sept. 22, 1960
20. Malagasy Republic	596	Tananarive	6.1	June 26, 1960
21. Kingdom of Morocco	443	Rabat	13	March 2, 1956
22. Republic of the Niger	1,267	Niamey	3	Aug. 3, 1960
23. Federation of Nigeria	924	Lagos	55.6	Oct. 1, 1960
24. United Arab Republic	1,000	Cairo	29	Feb. 28, 1922
25. Republic of Ruanda	26.4	Kigali	2.7	July 1, 1962
26. Republic of Senegal	197	Dakar	3.3	Aug. 20, 1960
27. Republic of Somalia	640	Mogadishu	2.3	July 1, 1960
28. Republic of the Sudan	2,506	Khartoum	12.8	Jan. 1, 1956
29. Sierra Leone	72.3	Freetown	2.2	April 27, 1961
30. United Republic of Tanzania	941.6	Dar-es-Salaam	10.4	April 26, 1964
31. Togo Republic	57	Lomé	1.6	April 27, 1960
32. Republic of Tunisia	165	Tunis	4.5	March 20, 1956
33. Federation of Uganda	243.4	Kampala	7	Oct. 9, 1962
34. Central African Republic	617	Bangui	1.3	Aug. 13, 1960
35. Republic of Chad	1,284	Fort-Lamy	2.8	Aug. 11, 1960
36. Ethiopia	1,200	Addis Ababa	22	Origins date back to 13th century

In Rhodesia, a self-governing British colony, the racist government of the white minority made a unilateral declaration of independence on November 11, 1965.

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The revolutionary party and social changes

YUMJAGIN TSEDENBAL

FORMATION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

THE GREAT OCTOBER Socialist Revolution in Russia gave a powerful impetus to the national-liberation movement of all oppressed peoples. The world's first proletarian state, headed by the great Lenin, put an end to tsarist Russia's expansionist policy in Mongolia; the liberating ideas of October contributed greatly to the political awakening of the Mongolian people, inspired them with sympathy for the working people of Russia.

The feudal-theocratic system in the country at the time was experiencing a profound crisis. The political bankruptcy of the ruling clique and its betrayal of the national interests were made plain when the country was overrun, first by the troops of militarist China and then by Russian whiteguards. The occupation regime, while it brought untold misery and suffering upon the people, led to a growth of national consciousness.

It was in these conditions that the first revolutionary groups appeared which had as their objective to win national independence and to abolish feudal oppression. In its activities the revolutionary organization of the representatives of the people reflected their aspirations and interests; the revolutionaries, headed by Sukhe-Bator and Choibalsan established contact with Russian revolutionaries in Verkhneudinsk and Irkutsk. These direct contacts and the revolutionary changes which they observed in Siberia greatly influenced their outlook and helped them to combine the

tasks of the national and social liberation of the people. "Affirmation of the power of the working people and the restoration, accordingly, of the State on new principles — these two basic tasks will be accomplished by the Party in keeping with the conditions of the times and the place, on the firm foundations of revolutionary socialism," so read the first appeal of the Revolutionary Party to the people. The talks which Mongolian revolutionaries had with Lenin in 1920, and his counsel, played a big role in the Revolutionary Party's subsequent activity and in its struggle for the non-capitalist path of development.

On March 1, 1921, Mongolian revolutionaries convened the inaugural congress of the People's Party which in 1925 was renamed the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP). The Congress adopted a program which advanced the task of winning national independence placing power in the hands of the working people and subsequently reorganizing social life in Mongolia. The formation of the Party marked a turning point in the long liberation struggle of the people against foreign and international oppressors. The revolutionary ideas and objectives of the Party fully accorded with the aspirations of the working people and with the development of the country.

Within a very short time after its inception the Party became the soul of the movement for national liberation and for the social regeneration of the country; it rallied to its side all the progressive and patriotic forces. The People's Army, formed by the Party and

fighting side by side with the Red Army units, smashed the common enemy, the Whiteguard units of Baron Ungern. In the summer of 1921 the capital of Mongolia was liberated and power passed into the hands of the Provisional Revolutionary Government. A new era began in the history of Mongolia, the era of independent and sovereign development and rapid social progress.

After the liberation the People's Revolutionary Party became the ruling party. In order to direct the new state and social system our Party sought a Marxist-Leninist approach to the problems of social development. It could be successful only if it consolidated itself organizationally and ideologically as a revolutionary party that had mastered advanced scientific theory. Headed by Sukhe-Bator the Mongolian revolutionaries followed Lenin's counsel to the effect that the task was "... to become a mass party, uncluttered by alien elements."

The process of growth of the Party proceeded simultaneously with the victory of the revolution throughout the country. Thanks to its organizational and political work the MPRP became a mass party, with branches in all parts of the country, and enjoying prestige and respect among the people.

In its social composition the Party was a peasant party. However, unlike the peasantry in the capitalist countries who were influenced by bourgeois ideology, the Mongolian arats formed in their great majority a relatively homogeneous working class that had just emerged from feudal society. As we know from history the peasants in pre-capitalist formations were most receptive to the ideas of utopian socialism. Consequently, the Mongolian arats were able to assimilate and were inspired by the ideas of socialism, true, in its scientific and not utopian form, which the Party brought to the masses. As Lenin noted, (and as expressed in the theses of the Second Congress of the Comintern on the national and colonial question), "... in the backward countries the masses will be brought to communism not through capitalist development, but through the development of class consciousness under the leadership of the class conscious proletariat of the advanced countries." Close contact and alliance with the Russian proletariat were indispensable to the victory of our struggle.

The Mongolian revolution confirmed that the revolutionary potentialities of the peasantry by no means end with the democratic tasks and changes carried out in the first stage. We had many occasions to prove the correctness of this thesis. The arats actively

supported the Party's general line, adopted at its Third Congress in 1924, to advance along the non-capitalist path.

In the period of preparing for the revolution and when carrying it out the Party accepted also representatives of other sections of the population who supported national liberation. Those of them who firmly sided with the working people remained with the Party to the end. But as the revolution deepened the Party on several occasions had to purge its ranks of feudal and other alien elements. Parallel with this the Party began, in keeping with the decisions of the Third Congress, to take a stricter class approach as regards its social composition, accepting into its ranks only the best representatives of the poor and middle peasants.

The circumstances were such that the MPRP was and remained the sole political party in the country, although this was not its aim; its program, as a matter of fact, allowed for the possibility of cooperation with other parties in the interests of attaining the basic goals of the revolution (H. Choibalsan, *Short History of the Mongolian People's Revolution*, 1952, p. 42). This was due to a number of reasons: the absence of any political parties and, consequently, of traditions in pre-revolutionary Mongolia; the prestige enjoyed by our Party among the people; the relatively considerable social homogeneity of the working people, which ruled out the possibility of forming parties expressing the specific interests, say, of the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, as was the case in some of the People's Democracies.

The existence of our Party as the sole political party in the country entailed, of course, certain other difficulties. Its adversaries did not venture to challenge the Party openly, for this would have immediately compromised them in the eyes of the people; they therefore acted covertly, intrigued and plotted. Reactionaries tried to penetrate into the Party and to control it from within so as to turn it into an opportunist, reformist and, ultimately, a bourgeois party similar to the Kuomintang in China or the National Congress in India. This, in effect, is what certain sectarians tried to get the Party to do and to this end attempted to form a special "Communist faction." However, the leadership cut short these dangerous attempts.

The Marxist-Leninist core of the Party had to combat nationalist deviations, opportunist distortions of the revolutionary line and dogmatist mistakes. The difficulties that beset this process may be gathered from the fact that at times the entire Party found itself in-

involved in a sharp inner-Party struggle. But it emerged from this struggle ideologically stronger and more united.

Extreme economic backwardness and the specific social relationships in Mongolia did not make it possible for our Party to borrow, *ready made*, the forms and methods of the revolutionary reshaping of society suitable in other countries. Attempts to follow stereotyped patterns, blindly to copy their experience (for example, on the question of collectivization, the transition from nomadic to settled life, the attitude to religion, etc.) were as a rule a sheer waste of effort and, in the final analysis, slowed down the advance of socialism.

As it gave effect to Lenin's thesis regarding the non-capitalist way the Party had to overcome the resistance of the overthrown feudal class and the pressure of the nascent capitalist elements. Their mouthpiece in the Party were the Right opportunists against whom in 1926-28 it waged a stubborn struggle, which at the Seventh Congress ended in their ideological and organizational defeat.

Grave harm was caused by Leftist mistakes which stemmed from disregard of the concrete situation and a dogmatic approach to Marxist-Leninist theory and to the building of socialism in the Soviet Union. The "Lefts" failed to understand the country's specific socio-economic features at the beginning of the thirties, and imposed a wrong decision on the Party by proclaiming that the revolution had entered its socialist phase at a time when its general democratic tasks were still far from being accomplished. These mistakes were rectified at the extraordinary Plenary meeting of the Central Committee and Central Control Commission of the Party in June 1932.

The assistance rendered by the Comintern and the ideological and political influence exerted by it, the fraternal relations with the CPSU and the creative approach to its experience — all greatly helped the MPRP steadfastly to pursue its general line, to develop into a militant Marxist-Leninist party capable of giving leadership to the people.

YEARS THAT WERE THE EQUIVALENT OF CENTURIES

The Party regarded national independence and the establishment of the people's rule not as the consummation of the revolution but as merely a beginning of revolutionary changes — the deepest in Mongolian history — in all spheres of social life: in the economy and in social relations, in the political superstructure

and in the realm of culture.

For two centuries before the revolution Mongolia was a neglected colonial hinterland of the feudal Manchurian empire; pre-capitalist forms of exploitation of the masses both by the local feudal lords and by foreign trade and usurer capital predominated in the country. As distinct from the Western capitalist countries Mongolia lacked not only industry and modern means of transportation but even a developed system of agriculture and a monetary system of its own. The arats, held in feudal bondage, were illiterate. Moreover, Mongolia was a theocratic state in which nearly half of the male population lived in monasteries, cut off from productive labor. For a whole number of reasons Mongolia had marked time at the level of the early Middle Ages in Europe; it knew neither reformation nor renaissance, nor was it affected by the industrial revolution or enlightenment.

During a talk with a Mongolian government delegation in the autumn of 1921 Lenin highly assessed the significance of the revolution in Mongolia and spoke with optimism about its further development.

The people and their revolutionary Party were confronted with an epoch-making task — that of performing a leap equivalent to the strides taken in the political and governmental organization of the country, also in the realm of the economy, social relations and culture. It was a matter of compressing historical epochs into decades, centuries into years!

The task was a formidable one in all respects, all the more so since at that time the country had no experience of carrying out socio-economic changes of this magnitude.

Proceeding from the objective requirements of social development, from the national interests and the aspirations of the people, our Party rejected the capitalist way. Indeed, what would this have meant for our country? Capitalism would have entailed sacrifice and hardships for the working people without offering any prospect of a better future. All that this road promised Mongolia was the status of an agrarian raw-material appendage to the imperialist powers, economic bondage, dependence, perpetuation of backwardness, crises and unemployment — at best, a mere replacement of the feudal forms of exploitation of the working people by local and foreign oppressors with capitalist forms.

Hence the Party adhered to the line of non-capitalist development, towards socialism, the only path acceptable to the working people, a path that guaranteed genuine national independence, economic progress and rising

material and cultural standards for the working people.

Drawing on the experience of the country's first years of development, the Third Congress of the Party — a milestone in its history — defined the long-term tasks as follows: "Mongolia should not repeat the road of capitalist oppression traversed earlier by other countries, but should go ahead in the spirit of genuine government by the people in keeping with modern international development."

For the people the non-capitalist road was incomparably easier than the capitalist road. But it demanded much of the Party, for this road laid a great responsibility on it, demanding conscious guidance of society and theoretical and political maturity of its cadres.

Although the possibility of non-capitalist development of economically weak countries towards Socialism had been substantiated by Lenin its practical realization was a difficult task. Our Party was called upon to apply this theory to the specific conditions in Mongolia, to concretize the correct general line on this basis, and to foresee all the social consequences of those economic transformations and political measures essential for the transition to socialism without passing through capitalism.

Although our Party was certain of the correctness of the road it had chosen, it ruled out from the very outset any attempt to impose its policy of administrative or other compulsory means. The non-capitalist road should under no circumstances be regarded as a revolution effected from without or from the top. The people should be convinced of the correctness of this road, while the revolutionary reconstruction should rely on their activity and initiative. The task was, as we have said, to convince the people of the soundness of that non-capitalist road, to inspire and head their struggle for translating it into reality. Marxist-Leninists reject the counterposing of a "creative minority" to the "inert mass," of an "enlightened élite" to the "ignorant masses"; a revolutionary party can fulfil its historical mission only when it becomes the vanguard of the working people, when it does not isolate itself from them, and maintains close contact with them.

The Mongolian Marxist-Leninists rightly held that the Party, the state and ideology do not simply reflect in a passive way the socio-economic relationships existing at the given moment but, having once arisen, can actively influence them and promote their advance in the desired direction provided, of course, that they are in step with the onward march of

social development. A revolutionary party guided by a revolutionary theory is in a sense a catalyst of the historical processes, accelerating their development by rallying the masses for conscious effort to create new, progressive forms and relationships. The subjective factor acquires special significance at the turning points in the revolution provided the aims set before the masses are realistic and feasible. The non-capitalist road of development towards socialism was precisely the realistic aim set by our Party for the people of Mongolia.

When, owing to historical circumstances, the democratic phase of the revolution becomes protracted, the danger arises of a deep-going class stratification in society, of the emergence and consolidation of a bourgeoisie which is bound to try to deflect the country onto the capitalist road. As for the duration of the transitional period, it is determined mainly by objective conditions and, in any case, cannot be shortened at will.

Already in the first stage of the revolution our Party and the people's government did not limit themselves to anti-feudal and general democratic changes alone, such as the proclamation of the Republic, the disestablishment of the Church, abolition of serfdom and of the social estates, nationalization of the land, equality of all citizens, the adoption of a democratic Constitution and election of all organs of power, abolition of the exploitation of the working people by secular and clerical feudal lords, etc. The Party also worked to create the economic, social, material and spiritual conditions for the subsequent transition to the second, socialist phase of the reconstruction.

During this period foreign merchant and usurers' capital was first restricted and then expelled from the country, a monopoly of foreign trade was introduced, state-owned and cooperative industrial enterprises and state farms were established in animal husbandry and crop-growing, consumer cooperatives were organized, and a state credit, financial and trade system was created as well as modern means of transport. The people's government, having laid the foundation of the national economy, took over the key positions in it and pursued a policy of restricting and ousting the nascent capitalist elements not only by legislative but also by economic measures.

As a result of this correct policy our Party succeeded in preventing in good time the spontaneous formation of a new exploiting class of rural and trading bourgeoisie, and this made it possible subsequently to carry

out the collectivization of agriculture without forcibly dispossessing the rich proprietors.

In the course of carrying out these changes the Party itself changed. As the anti-feudal revolution deepened, it began to rely mainly on the poor and middle arats and then, increasingly, on the young working class which was being formed in the course of industrial development. Thus the experience of our Republic has demonstrated that, given the dictatorship of the proletariat in some one country, non-capitalist development of a formerly backward country can be initiated under a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the working people which gradually develops into the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Throughout the first stage the struggle against the Lamaist Church, a veritable "state within a state," presented exceptional difficulties for the Party.

In pre-revolutionary Mongolia the Lamaist Church enjoyed exceptional privileges and exerted a tremendous influence on the people. This was a vast, well-organized political force. Suffice it to say that the country had over 700 monasteries and temples and more than 120,000 lamas, not counting those residing outside the monasteries.

The reactionary top clergy, living a parasitic life, mercilessly exploited the working people both economically and spiritually. They put up fierce and systematic resistance to all the revolutionary measures of the Party and the government: they circulated all kinds of rumors, openly and secretly sabotaged reforms, and repeatedly organized uprisings against people's rule. The monasteries became hornets' nests of counter-revolution.

The People's Revolutionary Party, in deference to the religious feelings of the people, pursued a flexible and prudent policy, consistently attacking the positions of Lamaism.

Following the proclamation of religious freedom and the separation of the Church from the State, the Party and government laid stress on promoting differentiation among the clergy so as to isolate the reactionary upper crust from the lower and middle sections. To foil the attempts made by the monastic feudal element to secure the support of the masses, the Party opposed any identification of the Lamaist Church as a feudal institution with Buddhism as a religion. According to a government decision top lamas had to pay a progressive income tax and a tax for exemption from military service; the herds of the monasteries were turned over to the poor and middle arats; schools were organized in the monasteries in which younger lamas were taught to read and write; material sup-

port and encouragement were extended to those who broke with the Church and entered upon a life of labor. As a result of these measures and of the educational work conducted by the Party, by the end of the thirties the lamaist clergy disintegrated organizationally, the monasteries were abandoned by the lamas and ceased to function. This was one of the most difficult problems resolved by the people's power and one of the decisive successes of the people's revolution.

The process of doing away with feudal relationships and the reactionary influence of the lamas, ousting the rapacious foreign capitalists and restricting the emerging capitalist elements thus fused with laying the foundations of the new economy and culture, with the rise and consolidation of socialism. The successful solution of these tasks basically completed the first phase of the revolution and ushered in the period of the gradual development of the democratic revolution into the socialist revolution. The Tenth Congress of the Party (1940) met at this crucial juncture to sum up the achievements and to outline the next tasks.

MONGOLIA'S SOCIALIST REGENERATION

The Second World War seriously retarded Mongolia's advance towards socialism, but progress was resumed at a steadily growing rate after the defeat of the Japanese aggressors in the Far East.

The socialist construction, especially during the first two five-year plans (1948-57), the three-year plan and the third five-year plan (1958-65), brought about far-reaching changes. New industries arose. The power, oil, ore and coal mining, metalworking, building, woodworking, textile, leather and footwear, printing, food and other branches of industry, and also rail and air transport, made rapid progress. Enterprises belonging to the producer cooperatives developed apace. Industry was supplied with modern machinery and technology; its gross output increased tenfold between 1940 and 1964. Industry now accounts for more than 40 per cent of the gross national product in terms of value. Annual rate of growth averaged 10.3 per cent during the third five-year plan. Growth was accompanied by substantial changes in the structure of industry. At present output of means of production accounts for 46 per cent of the gross output of industry.

This development has been accompanied by rapid numerical growth of the working class. In 1960 there were more than four times as many industrial workers as in 1940. Today

workers and office employees and their families make up more than one-third of the population.

The socialist industrialization of Mongolia, carried out with the help of the economically more developed socialist countries, represents a planned process of transforming a country which had no modern industry before the revolution into an agrarian-industrial and eventually an industrial-agrarian country.

Mongolia has successfully solved one of the most complex tasks in building socialism—the socialist reconstruction of the countryside. Socialization of agriculture based on small private property is an objective necessity in any country building socialism. The specific features of Mongolia were taken into account in preparing the ground for this step, and by 1959 the herdsmen had joined cooperatives. The industrialization, the growth of the working class and working intelligentsia, and the steadily increasing aid from other socialist countries—all facilitated the socialist reconstruction of agriculture.

Our agricultural cooperative movement has many specific features. Not the land but the livestock was socialized, for stock breeding was the main occupation. The cooperatives were joined by the well-to-do arats as well.

There now are 293 agricultural associations, each having an average of 60,000 head of cattle and an average annual income of 1,700,000 tugriks.

With the transition to cooperative agriculture socialist production relations became the rule throughout the national economy, and the basic principle of socialism, "from each according to his ability, to each according to his labor," began to be observed everywhere.

One of our biggest achievements in recent years was the opening of virgin lands to cultivation, meeting our own grain needs and expanding fodder growing. In 1957-64 the cultivated area increased 5.5-fold and the grain harvest 7.9-fold. Grain growing has become established as a branch of our agriculture.

Thanks to the socio-economic changes, socialist ideology has triumphed in our country, the moral and political unity of the working class, the arat cooperators and our socialist intelligentsia has taken shape, and the unity of the Party and the people is now stronger than ever.

The socialist changes in the economy have been accompanied by a steady rise in the standard of living and by a growth of social consciousness. Spiritual backwardness is now a thing of the past, adult illiteracy has been abolished, universal education has been introduced and there has been a sharp increase in

population growth. At present we have 104 students, more than 1,572 pupils of general and special secondary schools, 12 doctors and 90 hospital beds per 10,000 of population.

The life of the working people is steadily improving. The wage fund as well as the peasant cooperators' incomes are growing from year to year. Besides income from the cooperative according to work done, agricultural cooperators may keep individually up to 75 head of livestock (the present average is 30).

These gains, which have transformed within a historically brief space of time what was once one of the most backward countries in the world, are, above all, the fruit of the selfless labors of the people, but they are also due to the aid rendered by the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, the GDR, Poland and the other socialist countries.

Summing up the past forty years of the country's development, the Fourteenth Congress of the Party held in 1961 pointed out that Mongolia had entered a new period—that of completing the building of socialism.

"The key to the creation of the material and technological base of socialism," the Congress declared, "is industrialization and mechanization of agriculture with a view to more intensive farming. The task facing our Party and all the working people is to transform the MPR from an agrarian-industrial country into an industrial-agrarian country in the near future."

In 1965 the people completed their third five-year plan. Today the Party and the nation are tackling the tasks outlined in the fourth five-year plan (1966-70) which will be discussed at the Fifteenth Congress of our Party next June. During the next five-year span the Party will concentrate on accelerated development of the basic branches of the economy, improving the material and technological base of industry and agriculture, ensuring proportional development of industry and agriculture, raising the productivity of labor and the effectiveness of economic endeavor.

UNDER THE BANNER OF PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM

The Mongolian revolution of 1921 was the first national liberation, anti-imperialist and anti-feudal democratic revolution of the new type which Lenin foresaw and which has swept Asia, Africa and Latin America in our time.

From the very beginning our Party re-

garded the revolution as a direct continuation of the Great October Socialist Revolution and at the same time as an integral component of the world revolutionary process leading to the national and social emancipation of workingmen everywhere, of all the oppressed peoples. Guided by the ideas of proletarian internationalism the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party already in its earliest appeals and program-documents called for unity of action among the revolutionaries of all countries "in the name of the common interests and solidarity of the working people of the world, of all the peoples oppressed and enslaved by world imperialism" (from an appeal to the people of China). In its first appeal to the people our Party declared that it would establish contact and work together with the revolutionary parties in all countries which "make it their aim to wage not in words but in deeds a revolutionary struggle to destroy imperialism and to establish the rule of the working people, a struggle for their fraternity and equality" (Appeal of the Mongolian People's Party to all citizens of Outer Mongolia). Sukhe Bator, the founder of our Party, enjoined the people "to combine forces with the masses of workingmen the world over, to fight resolutely against all capitalists and to put an end to slavery and oppression."

Our Party has always regarded the achievements and perspectives of our revolution as being inseparable from the achievements of the Soviet people in building socialism, from the truly fraternal aid they render us, and from the development of the liberation movement of the working people of other countries. Because of this our Party applied soon after its foundation for admission into the Communist International. In deciding to apply and later when it took an active part in the work of the Comintern over a span of two decades, our Party not only counted on aid from fraternal parties but hoped that its own activity would be a contribution, however modest, to the development of the Communist and liberation movements.

Proletarian internationalism is the cornerstone of the foreign policy of our Party and of our state. It was thanks to the inviolable fraternal friendship with the Soviet people and subsequently with the peoples of the other socialist countries that we were able to register such remarkable achievements in building the new life and ensuring the economic and social progress of our country. The Soviet Union has rendered us truly in-

valuable aid in developing our industry and modern transport facilities, a new financial-economic and distributive system, in channeling our agriculture onto cooperative lines and promoting crop cultivation, in carrying out the cultural revolution and creating a public health service, and in developing our own working class and working intelligentsia.

This all-round aid is of particularly great importance for us at present when our people are laying the material and technological base of socialism. We repose great hopes in close cooperation with other socialist countries within the framework of the Council of Mutual Economic Aid, which makes it possible to coordinate the economic plans of its member countries, to extend cooperation and division of labor on an international scale, all of which will hasten the completion of the building of socialism in Mongolia.

The working people of our country have always fulfilled their internationalist duty. During the Second World War they rendered every assistance to the people of the Soviet Union and helped to defeat the Japanese militarists in the Far East. Our people came to the aid of People's Democratic Korea when it was invaded by the U.S. aggressors, and they now give material and moral support to the valiant people of Vietnam.

Strengthening the community of socialist countries and the unity of the world Communist movement, solidarity with all peoples fighting for national and social emancipation, prevention of a new world war and ensuring durable peace throughout the world — these are the aims to which our Party has dedicated itself.

The MPR is extending and strengthening its solidarity with all progressive forces fighting for world peace, democracy and social progress. The admission of our country in 1961 into the United Nations and the fact that it maintains friendly relations with more than 80 foreign countries and takes an active part in diverse international progressive organizations testifies to the growth of the international prestige of the MPR and the correctness of our Party's foreign policy.

Mongolia's advance along the non-capitalist road to socialism refutes the fabrications of the imperialist ideologists about "export of revolution," and "international Communist conspiracy" and other anti-Communist calumny. Although the liberation movement in Mongolia, like the liberation movements in China, Turkey, Iran and other countries in

the early twentieth century, was unquestionably greatly influenced by the ideological impact of the Russian revolution of 1905-7, it began long before the Bolsheviks came to power in Russia. The October Revolution stirred all the oppressed peoples, the peoples of Mongolia included, yet the immediate spur to the revolution in Mongolia was given by the loss of its autonomy and its occupation by foreign invaders. The revolutionary changes in Mongolia were effected by its own people and their Party. From the outset these changes were highly specific in character, a continuation rather than a repetition of the proletarian revolution in the USSR, and certainly not a copy of the non-capitalist path of development of the backward border areas of the old Russian empire, even though our Party, needless to say, made a close study of their extremely valuable experience. The Mongolian revolution, then, was independent and unique as regards its genesis and its development.

Indissoluble friendship with the Soviet people is for the people of Mongolia the guarantee of their present and future accomplishments. Hence the importance we attach to the visit of a Soviet Party and government delegation headed by L. I. Brezhnev to our country in January 1966.

THE INTERNATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MONGOLIAN EXPERIENCE

Steering the country along the non-capitalist path of development, our Party has been fully aware throughout the forty-five years since its inception of the responsibility it bears not only to the Mongolian people but also to the world Communist and national-liberation movements. The success of the policy of the MPR has exerted a revolutionizing influence on the oppressed peoples, helping to accelerate the world revolutionary process; conversely, any mistakes and failures could have discredited the very idea of non-capitalist development and could have had a negative effect on the national-liberation movement and the revolutionary transition of nations to socialism.

Hence the gratification we derive from the high appraisal given by the fraternal parties and all progressive, democratic forces of our experience in overcoming age-old backwardness and moving on to the most progressive social system. "Elaboration by your Party of the theoretical aspects of the non-capitalist path of development to socialism and the

practical experience of building socialism in Mongolia," Comrade Suslov, member of the Presidium and Secretary of the CC CPSU, said at the Fourteenth Congress of the MPRP, "are a valuable contribution to the ideological treasure-store of Marxism-Leninism and enrich the collective experience of the international Communist movement. Mongolia's experience in building socialism is of particularly great practical significance today when the face of Asia, Africa and Latin America is changing, when more and more peoples whose mode of life has been characterized by feudal and even pre-feudal relationships are acquiring national independence and taking the destiny of their countries into their own hands." We take pride in the fact that our revolution and our experience are regarded, as Comrade Le Di $\dot{\text{c}}$ Tho, member of the Political Bureau of the Working People's Party of Vietnam, said, as "convincing proof of the correctness of Lenin's thesis concerning the ways of transition to socialism." Comrade Blas Roca, member of the Secretariat of the Communist Party of Cuba, described the strides in social development in Mongolia as "a stimulus to many peoples still fighting for liberation from national oppression and against the survivals of feudalism, poverty and ignorance."

These tributes to the work of our Party and the Mongolian people inspire us to redoubled effort to complete the building of socialism and to transform Mongolia into an advanced industrial-agrarian country and to ensure our eventual transition to Communism.

Our Party has never counterposed the national tasks of the Mongolian people's revolution to its international tasks. We have always held that the successful advance of our country to socialism, bypassing the capitalist stage of development, corresponds not only to the vital aspirations of our people but also to the interests of the working class of the entire world and the national-liberation movements of the oppressed peoples. And we have had ample confirmation of this, especially in the past ten years, when our own achievements have become more palpable and our international ties have become immeasurably stronger.

In recent years Mongolia has been visited by scores of government, party and other delegations from many Asian and African countries which only a short time ago rid themselves of colonial bondage and won national independence and are now searching

for the shortest, most effective and painless ways of social progress. We do not seek to impose our experience on them; we merely say: Compare what Mongolia used to be with what it is today. The national regeneration and social renovation of our country is the result of the non-capitalist path of development towards socialism. We readily share our knowledge, experience and accomplishments, and, in turn, we are always eager to assimilate everything valuable in the experience of other countries.

The knowledge that our positive experience can benefit other peoples and thereby make some contribution, however modest, to facilitating and accelerating their social development is the true source of the national pride of our people. We trust that the representatives of many countries who visit us do not leave us empty-handed in this respect. That they do not is borne out, for instance, by this statement made by Modeibo Keita, President of Mali: "We regard our visit to Mongolia as a visit to a friendly and fraternal country, for the peoples of both Mongolia and Mali have experienced colonial and feudal oppression . . . The people of Mali greatly admire the struggle waged by the Mongolian people for liberation from the colonial yoke and to overcome their age-old backwardness . . . We consider the experience of the struggle of the Mongolian people for a new life and in building socialism extremely valuable for the newly-emerged countries of Africa. This experience is very instructive for the newly-free countries of Asia and Africa in their endeavor to take the road of scientific socialism. We regard your experience as a good example for our Party in its efforts to promote our country's development along the socialist path."

The Mongolian people's revolution has had an international impact primarily because ours was the first independent country to take the non-capitalist road and successfully to forge ahead to socialism thanks to the aid of the USSR and later also of other developed socialist countries. Mongolia is a small country; it accounts for only one per cent of the territory and 0.03 per cent of the population of the world. Yet the example it has set in advancing from economic backwardness to socialism is bound to be followed, to one or

another extent, by many peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The experience of the Mongolian People's Republic is confirmation of the Leninist theory of socialist revolution, according to which the *non-capitalist path of development to socialism is the highroad of social progress for the economically lagging countries*. This path is not only the most promising and effective one, it is also the least painful for the peoples. In our day, when capitalism has outlived its time on a world scale and there now exists a socialist world system, any country, however backward economically, socially and culturally, can embark on the building of socialism, bypassing the preceding social formations.

The alliance of the working class and the peasantry on the international plane can compensate for the absence of a proletariat in one or another country. In such countries co-operation with the world Communist movement makes it possible to found parties guided by Marxism-Leninism and to bring the ideas of scientific socialism to the peasant masses. Drawing on their international links and knowledge of the objective laws of social development, revolutionary parties in countries of this type can become Marxist-Leninist parties, direct the working masses onto the non-capitalist road and successfully guide the building of socialist society. Depending on the concrete historically-conditioned circumstances the form of non-capitalist development are as multifarious as the forms of the transition to socialism in the economically developed countries. Capitalism has no future in the economically less developed countries. We are convinced that in the not distant future all the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America will turn to socialism, many of them bypassing capitalism either completely or at least its more mature stages.

Our Party has no loftier ideal or aim than to be the vanguard of the Mongolian people who are now building socialism with the all-round assistance of the great and close-knit community of socialist countries, to be a militant contingent of the international army of Communists fighting for unity and cohesion in the world Communist movement, for world peace, for the triumph of Socialism and Communism.

Africa today

The outstanding feature of Africa today is the indomitable resolve of its peoples to win complete freedom from colonialism and neo-colonialism, their determination to repulse the desperate efforts made by international imperialism to suppress the national-liberation movement at whatever cost.

Although the revolutionary process in the various countries bears the specific imprint of the national conditions, its overall characteristic is solidarity with the anti-imperialist forces elsewhere in the world. In their struggle for freedom and economic liberation, for social progress, the African peoples enjoy the unflagging support of all the revolutionary forces of our time—the socialist countries, the international working-class movement, and the world national-liberation movement. The conference of Asian, African and Latin American peoples held in Havana in January, 1966, which ushered in a new stage in the solidarity movement on a broad, tri-continental basis, was a striking instance of this support. In the decisions of this conference aimed at building a united anti-imperialist front of all revolutionary forces the African patriots see an important earnest of success in their struggle for freedom.

Africa's anti-imperialist revolution

A. LERUMO

THE WHOLE OF AFRICA is in the midst of a powerful movement of national liberation to redeem the soil and the wealth of our Continent from alien imperialism and its agents, and to restore Africa to its rightful owners, the African peoples. Although, in the various regions and areas of Africa, this movement is in different phases and takes varying organizational and political forms, there is a remarkable identity of purpose and intention. Africans seek to complete the process of political independence by helping the remaining territories which are subjected by local white or foreign colonialists to free themselves. They seek to crown political independence with economic independence and social revolution, so as to expel colonialism and neo-colonialism from their exploitation of African resources and

labor; so as to overcome the crippling imperialist heritage of poverty, backwardness and ignorance and raise our peoples' living and cultural standards to the highest levels of the contemporary world.

The exceptional continent-wide solidarity is not merely a sentimental abstraction. It is reflected in practical support by the independent states to their brothers and sisters in the remaining unliberated areas. When the illegal Smith regime in Rhodesia decided to consolidate its power by unilaterally declaring "independence" it was understood by all Africa as an attack; not only neighboring Zambia but even far-away Ghana took it as a declaration of war and began to mobilize.

To comprehend this phenomenon, it is necessary to recall the common history and experi-

ence of all the African peoples, whether they were colonized by British, French, Belgian, Portuguese, German or Dutch colonialists, whether of so-called "Arab Africa" or "Black Africa." For centuries European and other adventurers descended on Africa like locusts to seize gold, ivory and other wealth. Above all, they stole people. For over four hundred years West European man hunters captured men, women and children from our continent and transported them across the Atlantic in incredibly barbarous conditions to sell them into slavery, especially in the Americas and the Caribbean islands. It is estimated that up to 100 million Africans were thus exported as work-cattle.

By 1935 when the Italian fascists invaded Ethiopia, this ancient kingdom was virtually the last remaining independent African state. The beginning of the Second World War found the whole of our continent divided among a handful of West European powers.

Everywhere our people courageously resisted the conquest, and the bitter years of alien rule never succeeded in destroying the patriotic spirit of independence now blazing all over our continent. The defeat of the fascist axis in the Second World War, the historic victories of socialist and national liberation revolutions in East and Central Europe, in China and other countries of Asia, greatly weakened the power of imperialism and created favorable conditions for the reconquest of Africa by the Africans.

Despite these favorable conditions, it was by no means an easy task. In some areas, such as Algeria and Kenya, it involved bloody armed struggles. Everywhere the imperialists resisted vigorously, conceding formal independence only when they were forced to retreat, and striving to retain, behind the formality of independence, as much economic, military and political dominance as they possibly could. Even now the process is far from complete; apart from the remaining areas of open subjection, a number of the African states are still enthralled by neo-colonialism. Nevertheless it would be erroneous to undervalue the very real and substantial victories won by our people. The birth of nearly forty African states, comprising the main land area and the majority of the population of our continent, is a great historical achievement and the essential pre-condition for our future advance to complete emancipation.

There are a number of specific features of our African revolution which are of exceptional significance and absorbing interest. Above all it is the powerful tendency towards all-African unity and solidarity in the common struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism. It is a tendency that may be summed up in the simple words of the ordinary African: our fathers were defeated because we were divided among ourselves; if we wish to regain and to defend our freedom we must stand together now.

This marked tendency found its original inspiration in the writings and activities of such pioneer thinkers as the great African patriot and Communist, the late W. E. B. Du Bois. But the movement gathered impetus and reality in the course of the actual struggle against colonialism. African patriots met in exile, when the whole continent was dominated by the imperialist powers, to chart common aims and strategy. In a historic series of all-African Peoples' Conferences on African soil, the first independent countries combined their efforts with those still under foreign rule, in order to widen and extend the boundaries of free Africa.

An important milestone on this road was the formation of the Organization of African Unity at the historic assembly of Heads of African States and Governments at Addis Ababa on May 25, 1963. This notable event played an inestimable part in asserting the vitality and validity of the concept of a united Africa in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism in all its forms.

The Charter of African Unity adopted at this conference laid a firm basis for future unity of purpose and action among all African countries.

The Addis Ababa assembly also adopted a number of specific resolutions. On the question of opposition to apartheid and racial discrimination the meeting called for a more complete diplomatic and economic boycott of South Africa and Portugal. It roundly condemned the "intolerable malpractices" in the United States directed against African-descended citizens of that country.

The militant anti-imperialist upsurge of the African people was reflected not only in the meeting of heads of state; it was also reflected in a number of historic advances at the close of 1963.

In the Congo (Brazzaville) the neo-colonialist despotic regime of Youlou was overthrown by mass actions headed by the trade unions and other progressive elements.

In Zanzibar, the sultanate and the entire minority-based regime inspired by British imperialism was replaced, in armed insurrection, by a popular government based on the masses: a government which rapidly advanced to unity of the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba with the neighboring fraternal Tanganyikan people, in the united republic of Tanzania.

In Sudan, the military dictatorship of General Abboud, which seized power with the assistance of American imperialism, was swept away by a popular uprising.

In the same period many progressive and democratic advances were also made by the people in Algeria, Egypt, Ghana, Mali, Guinea and other countries.

THE COUNTER-OFFENSIVE OF IMPERIALISM

It could hardly be imagined that all these progressive developments could be regarded

with equanimity by international imperialism, or that the colonialists would idly stand aside to watch the constant widening of the area and deepening of the content of the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist national-liberation movements of Africa.

And indeed, events were soon to disclose the unfolding of a continent-wide, concerted and many-sided imperialist onslaught directed against every independent African country.

This was evidenced, in particular, by the return of Tshombe to the Congo, and his recruitment — with the connivance of the Verwoerd regime — of hired killers from South Africa and elsewhere to subjugate and terrorize the freedom-loving Congolese people. Shortly afterwards, under cover of a so-called rescue operation to “protect” some white missionaries, the United States and Belgium launched open and direct military aggression in Africa. Regular troops were flown from the military base at Ascension Island to Stanleyville. There they joined with Tshombe’s thugs in attacking the revolutionary capital, whose capture was followed by ghastly massacres not only of the patriotic armed forces but also of the people of the city and the surrounding villages.

Strong protests were made by Africans all over the continent, and stern warnings were issued by many African leaders. But, tragically, the OAU was unable to find any effective way of replying in action to this blatant act of imperialist aggression and intervention. It was a weakness and a failure, at a critical turning point which has cost us dearly.

Not only did Tshombe, the servant of imperialism, open the door to imperialism to his own country; he allowed the Congo (Leopoldville) to become a springboard for aggression and intervention against neighboring states — against the Congo (Brazzaville), against Uganda, and against the Sudan.

Africa began to experience many of the other maneuvers of the cloak-and-dagger experts. Assassinations, the typical weapon of Yankee political gangsterdom, struck down many patriotic African leaders.

Sometimes American and other imperialist diplomatic personnel are directly involved in attempts at intervention by clandestine contacts, espionage and bribery. And it is known that all U.S. diplomatic missions harbor more or less skilfully concealed agents of the CIA. But far more often, operatives of the CIA and other agencies of imperialist espionage, corruption, terrorism and subversion, work under the guise of “businessmen,” “trade union advisers” from the ICFTU, the CIO-AFL or the TUC, or “Peace Corps” volunteers supposed to be helping as teachers or in African development projects.

Apart from direct military aggression, intrigues, plots, assassinations, bribery, provocations, forgeries and the like, all the imperialist countries have intensified the powerful economic pressures on African governments which they are able to exert precisely because of the

dependent and undeveloped nature of the African countries which was bequeathed to them by colonialist rule. This pressure takes various forms.

Nearly all our countries which have achieved political independence are working on important long term plans of development and industrialization so as to be able to fortify their independence and clothe it with reality. All such schemes require considerable investment of capital which, for fully understandable reasons, African countries are not yet able to provide out of their own resources.

The colonialists take advantage of the urgent need of capital for development plans of African countries by imposing unwarranted economic, political and other conditions as the price of their “aid.” It is true that the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have done much to counter this tendency by providing truly fraternal assistance without any conditions; nevertheless the requirements of African development are such that our governments have to seek aid wherever they can get it. Imperialism, which is responsible for the lack of development and capital resources in African countries, does not scruple to take the fullest advantage of the difficulties thus created.

Even when they were prepared to make capital available for plans of national economic development, the imperialists usually demanded political, economic and even military conditions of such a nature as to make it difficult or impossible for any self-respecting independent state to accept them.

The willingness of socialist countries to fill this gap, within their own capacity, by providing low-interest loans without any “strings” has radically transformed this situation. In addition to the direct and substantial benefits which the African countries received, it has compelled the imperialists to modify considerably their previous arrogant attitudes. But their aims remain the same: to retain African countries within the sphere of capitalism, and to retain their status as one of economic backwardness and dependence so that they will remain a source of cheap labor and cheap raw materials for the benefit of the foreign monopolies.

In addition to their direct control over wide areas of industry, finance, transport, marketing, etc., in many African countries, imperialist interests are able to blackmail many of our governments to toe the line by manipulating and depressing international prices of African-produced raw materials. This process, together with constantly rising prices for manufactures, is steadily widening the already dangerous gap between our living standards and those of the industrialized countries.

Naturally those African countries which have far-sighted and patriotic leaders are endeavoring as quickly as possible to correct this dangerous position by diversifying their agriculture and stepping up food production as well as raw materials; by developing process-

ing plants and other industries. But these are developments which need time; in the meantime imperialism is utilizing its economic levers to the full in order to influence the foreign and internal policies of African governments and even to bring about changes in their personnel.

THE "UNLIBERATED SOUTH"

Besides these strenuous and unwearying attempts to hold up African advance towards independence, progress and unity, international imperialism gives powerful backing to the Portuguese fascist colonialists and the Verwoerd and Smith white minority dictatorships in the "unliberated South" who still hold millions of Africans in colonialist slavery.

The arms, capital and other forms of assistance with which Salazar, Verwoerd and Smith sustain their bloody rule of terror are supplied by the United States and other NATO powers, as well as other capitalist countries such as Japan.

British imperialism and the Wilson Labor Government bear responsibility for the so-called "independence" recently imposed on the people of Zimbabwe. "Independence," in this context, means of course nothing but unlimited licence for Smith and his racist gang to monopolize the wealth and land of Zimbabwe and oppress its 4,000,000 people.

This "tenderness" of Britain and the other imperialist powers towards the white settler police state in Salisbury is not only a result of sentimental sympathy with the settlers. The truth is that they are terrified of a real independent democracy in Zimbabwe, based on the one-man-one-vote principle. This would bring the African Revolution to the banks of the Limpopo River with incalculable consequences for the fascist apartheid Republic of South Africa across the border. It would threaten the main remaining bastion of colonialism in Africa, the center of anti-African counter-revolutionary activities and intrigues throughout the continent, and one of the most important areas of super-exploitation for imperialism.

While hypocritically condemning the immoral tyranny and degradation of the South African regime at the United Nations and other international forums, the British, United States and other imperialists vigorously oppose every practical move towards international solidarity in support of the national-liberation movement. This tenacious defense of apartheid is to be explained not only by political and strategic considerations but also by the vast stake of the imperialists in South Africa and in the maintenance of the apartheid-cheap labor system.

A steady stream of British, American, West European and Japanese investments is constantly flowing into South Africa, whose natural wealth, considerable economic development—it is by far the most industrialized area in

Africa—and above all whose system of forced semi-slave labor, make it a region where the rate of labor exploitation and profit is perhaps the highest in the world. Apart from the lucrative gold mines, where half a million African workers herded into jail-like compounds produce the bulk of the capitalist world's gold output, foreign money is pouring into manufacturing enterprises where rates of return on capital averaged 36 per cent in 1963, "making this," in the words of the *New York Times* (January 25, 1965), "the most lucrative market for United States participation in manufacturing enterprise anywhere in the world."

All this feverish, many-sided and unscrupulous activity by the imperialists in Africa is aimed, strategically, at retaining Africa "for the West"—i.e., as part of their political "sphere of influence" and as an area of cheap labor and raw materials for the benefit of imperialist monopoly capital. To secure this aim they need an Africa that remains economically undeveloped, politically weak, divided, undemocratic.

It is true that they can score up certain successes in these aims. African solidarity was weakened by the formation of a factional grouping of former French colonies many of which absented themselves from the October 1965 meeting of the Organization of African Unity at Accra. It is not difficult to discern imperialist influence, direct or indirect, in certain developments in some African countries. Indeed, it would be self-deception to overlook the many links, levers and sources of influence which still tie many African countries to the West European metropolitan governments and institutions which recently ruled them directly; or the new connections which have been developed over the past decade by the United States, West German, Japanese and other monopolists and governments who are anxious to replace the role of the "old" imperialists in Africa.

But such successes of imperialism are bound to be only partial, temporary and short-lived, because its strategic aims are diametrically opposed to the aims, needs and aspirations of the overwhelming majority of the African people and of practically every class and grouping in every African society. All Africans, except for a tiny minority who are direct agents of the foreign monopolies, are interested in seeing that the conditions of political and economic dependence, characterized by mass starvation and illiteracy, disease and backwardness, should rapidly be replaced by new conditions of genuine independence, involving rapid all-round economic development and swiftly rising standards of living, health and education. The differences which exist among patriotic Africans are largely related not to the desirability of these aims but to the methods by which they should be attained.

CLASS DIVISIONS AND PARTIES

This widespread measure of agreement on

aims has been reflected in the emergence in a number of African countries—including such states as Ghana, Guinea, Mali and Tanzania—of all-embracing national united fronts including all the anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist tendencies; the so-called “one-party system.”

The problem of one-party system and the attitude to it is the subject of widespread discussions in the national-liberation movement, and so far there is no common opinion on it. In considering this problem, it is important to bear in mind that political developments in some African countries differ substantially from those in the countries where indigenous capitalism has long been established, with its sharp and antagonistic differentiation between classes, and especially between the capitalists on the one side and the workers and peasants on the other. To ignore these distinctions and attempt to transfer mechanically lessons derived from abroad would lead to very incorrect conclusions.

Of course conditions are not the same in all the regions and states of Africa. Some, despite the experience of colonialism, can show some degree of industrial development, an exchange economy, urbanization, communications, the production of cash crops, etc., others practically none at all, with nearly all the people engaged in subsistence agriculture or animal husbandry under pre-capitalist—communal or feudal—relationships. But some generalizations are undisputed—for example, that industrialization is nearly everywhere very limited and in its infancy; that in the regions of the greatest industrialization and development of capitalist relations, particularly in the South, practically all the economic opportunities have been monopolized either by foreign companies or by the native white capitalists who use state power to enforce a special type of colonialism on the African masses.

The result is the characteristic situation for our continent, with the exception of possibly North Africa, where there is a great mass of Africans working, more or less under compulsion, partly as workers in foreign-owned mines, plantations, farms, industries, etc., and partly engaged in subsistence farming on communally-owned land, moving freely from one capacity to the other. There is often a class (very small and weak in relation to the first-named group) of indigenous trading and commercial bourgeoisie, who however lack capital to employ any substantial number of workers themselves and also find themselves at a serious disadvantage in relation to their foreign competitors who have large amounts of capital at their disposal.

It is quite clear that the differences between the existing classes are not very acute, and are in any event quite subordinate to their common struggle against imperialism and colonialism. And it could be said that even in the areas of communal and feudal cultivation, the latent antagonism between chiefs and commoners is often subordinated to the com-

mon need to reclaim the best and most fertile areas from the colonialists who have seized them.

It is above all, then, the pressing need for a united front of all patriotic classes and groups organized for national liberation which has found its expression in the characteristic single mass party to be found in so many African countries.

But there are other reasons as well for this phenomenon. The colonialists, particularly the British and the French, sedulously fostered in their colonies the type of bourgeois parliamentary institutions, complete with rival political parties, which have evolved in the completely different historical conditions of the metropolitan countries. In the post-independence period, many of the former colonies have abandoned these exotic institutions. It should be borne in mind that Africans were able to govern themselves quite satisfactorily, and on the whole pretty democratically too, before their countries were occupied by Europeans. Also, “Western” institutions proved in practice completely unsuitable for African conditions.

The multiplicity of “political parties” which were fostered and encouraged during the period of colonial rule seldom if ever reflected profound differences of class interest and policy among the African people. Many of these “parties” were a mere cover for the fanning of regional, tribal, religious and other antagonisms, much to the advantage of the colonialists, but very much to the detriment of the African people themselves. Ambitious, scheming politicians who built up these factions which called themselves “parties” were often more interested in gaining office for themselves, even under colonialist-controlled constitutions, than in gaining genuine political power for their people. Such “parties” and their leading personnel therefore easily lent themselves to bribery and corruption by the imperialists.

When the European bourgeois press bemoans the “disappearance of democracy” from Africa, it is really bemoaning the disappearance of their own concepts of bourgeois democracy which have been discredited in practice, and which have been replaced not by autocratic methods of government, but by institutions which are infinitely more democratic in content and which have been evolved by the Africans themselves. The elections held in September in Tanzania, despite the fact that there was only one party, offered the voters a very considerable freedom of choice; indeed very many members of parliament and some members of the cabinet lost their seats.

By contrast, in Nigeria, usually held up in the imperialist press as a model of “Westminster-type” bourgeois democracy, the feudal elements turned the national elections in December 1964 and the recent Western regional elections into an absolute scandal and a disgrace to Africa, with widespread arrests and even assassinations of candidates, intimidation

of voters and unashamed falsification of results.

Of course, the "one-party" system is not a cure-all, a panacea for all African countries. Sometimes the concept may be used by neo-colonialist regimes to suppress progressive and patriotic movements, as has been done by the Senghor regime in Senegal. Sometimes bourgeois or feudal elements use the people's desire for unity as a cover for advancing their own interests; such is the tactic of the Right-wing parties in Sudan in their scandalous efforts to illegalize the Communist Party, the vanguard of the successful rising which ended the Abboud dictatorship.

Certainly in areas such as South Africa with its relatively large proletariat which has given rise to its own political party, the Communist Party with a history of 50 years' struggle for African freedom, the one-party system would be unsuitable. But this warning should not divert attention from the essence of the problem: the overriding need for a united front of all patriotic elements—and this means the overwhelming majority of Africans of all classes—in the common struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism.

In fact the expression "one-party system" is rather misleading. What we are seeing in a number of African countries are not "parties" in the traditional sense. They are united fronts of national liberation broad enough to include all shades of patriotic, anti-imperialist opinion and interests; fighting organizations which were formed and shaped in the fire of the struggle for independence and which now have to adapt themselves to the different tasks of continuing the fight for independence in the course of government and administration of the young African states.

The question is sometimes posed: will the spirit of unity and the common inter-class aims which kept these united front organizations together during the struggle for independence continue to prevail after political power has been gained? Or will they disintegrate as a result of internal class and consequently policy differences?

We should be on guard against a superficial approach to such questions. Formal political independence is not the final goal of national-liberation movements of the African and other peoples victimized by colonialism. Certainly formal independence is the essential prerequisite for further progress. The few short years since independence have shown, in many African states, progress in the development of the national economy, in the provision of educational, health and other services, which would have been inconceivable under colonial rule. But the progress that has been made falls very short of what is actually required and what must be done. The political revolution must be followed by a social and economic revolution of a far more profound character if the countries of Africa are to accomplish the truly gigantic task which still lies before them:

namely, to convert independence from a formality into a reality in every sense.

This post-independence phase of the African revolution requires a tremendous mobilization of and effort from the people as a whole. It is meeting and will continue to meet with determined resistance from the forces of neo-colonialism, which is in many ways a more dangerous and subtle enemy of African progress than the old colonialism ever was. One of the major tactics of neo-colonialism is to play off one group or section of Africans against another, region against region, tribe against tribe, chiefs against commoners, selfish interests of certain commercial and capitalist elements against the real interests and aspirations of the great masses of working people.

Africans are correctly meeting this challenge not by allowing their forces to be divided by the enemy, but by preserving and strengthening, in the post-independence period, the national united fronts of liberation which organized the independence struggle, and by arousing and mobilizing the widest masses of the people for the building of the New Africa.

Naturally, economic development in Africa is certain to be accompanied by an increase in the size and class consciousness of the working class. In the countries which follow the capitalist path—even though this may be done under the banner of "African socialism"—this is sure to lead to sharp clashes between the exploiters in town and country and the working masses.

It is just for this reason that many Africans seek a path which will ensure rapid social and economic development, and prevent the exploitation and disintegration inherent in capitalism with its emphasis on selfish acquisitiveness and ruthlessness towards one's fellowman.

The traditional fraternity and humanistic outlook characteristic of communal society and the need for rapid development explain the great attractiveness of socialist ideas in Africa.

TOWARDS SOCIALISM

It is becoming increasingly clear to enlightened African opinion throughout the continent that there is no other road to building the New Africa than that of development towards socialism. This is not mainly the result of theoretical studies, but the outcome of the practical needs of African development today. Africans have, for the most part, had ample experience of imported capitalism: its wastefulness and planlessness, its merciless exploitation of human labor, its inculcation of un-African attitudes of individual enrichment at the expense of one's fellowman. It is clear to everyone who is seriously concerned with the future of our people that the capitalist road is not only at variance with the immediate needs of the masses, it is also completely incapable of solving the colossal problem of overtaking the wide and growing gap between the develop-

ment of our countries and those of the technologically advanced countries, with all that this means in terms of living and cultural standards and in the winning of true equality within the world family of nations.

So much is this the case that it has become impossible today for any African leader to gain any public support for a plan or program of capitalist development.

It is not impossible for underdeveloped countries to catch up with more developed industrialized ones. The Soviet Union — and particularly its Central Asian republics — the formerly backward states of Eastern Europe, China, North Korea and North Vietnam, all show that this formidable task can be accomplished in a relatively short space of time. But it can only be done along the non-capitalist road towards socialism.

A century after the achievement of formal independence in Latin America, in which, following the capitalist road, the countries have remained sunk in stagnation and become easy victims to neo-colonialism, events have demonstrated amply that modernization, industrialization and all other needs of underdeveloped countries cannot be secured without purposeful advancement towards socialism.

So clear has this lesson become to the great majority of Africans that no government or leader dares any longer contest it in public. Even when plans for development along capitalist lines are put forward, as in Senegal and unfortunately in Kenya, it is necessary to disguise their real content from the masses by presenting them as plans for "African socialism." It is becoming more and more difficult to get away with such artifices, as barriers between the African peoples and the international Communist, national-liberation and labor movements are increasingly broken down, and the universally valid concepts of Marxism-Leninism, applied to African conditions by African Marxists, become more and more firmly rooted among the masses of working people.

Africans are appreciating more keenly than ever that it is not good enough merely to proclaim socialist objectives in general. To lay the foundations for the advance towards socialism, purposeful steps must be taken to build industries, communications, etc., with emphasis increasingly on the state sector, to modernize agriculture on cooperative lines in accordance with African tradition, and to democratize the state structure. The natural leadership of the masses of working people of town and country should assert itself in order to prevent the slowing-down or sabotage of progress by conservative and reactionary elements, often in league with neo-colonialism.

Paramount significance in this process attaches to the relatively small but rapidly growing African working class, which in most of our countries has played a key role in the winning of independence and has an even more crucial role to play in the new phase of the revolution. A negative influence on this develop-

ment is systematically being exerted by the activities of trade union bureaucracy in the imperialist countries, particularly the AFL-CIO of the United States and the British TUC, acting inside and outside the framework of the so-called "International Confederation of Free Trade Unions." These bodies have deliberately set themselves to cut off the African trade union movement from the national-liberation movements in our countries. They have spent hundreds of thousands of dollars for the purpose of "aid-with-strings" to our unions; in fact a process of bribing and corrupting African trade union leaders. But this process is yielding diminishing returns. The Second Congress of the so-called "African Trade Union Confederation," set up by the ICFTU as a counter to militant All-African Trade Union Federation, turned out to be a complete flop when it was held in October in Nigeria.

It is clear that the African working class can only fulfil its destined role as vanguard of progress and pacemaker towards socialism when it refuses to allow itself to be isolated but remains within, and increases its ties of solidarity with, the united national liberation front.

THE AFRICAN COMMUNISTS

The growing number of African Marxists and Communists in all parts of our continent have played and will increasingly play an indispensable part in the present phase of the revolution. Their study of scientific socialism and its practical application to the varying realities of each region, their close connection with the real problems of the working people of town and village, fields, mines and plantations, enables them to make an outstanding contribution within the national united front. Anti-Communist prejudice, inculcated by imperialist propaganda, and in some cases an element of sectarianism, are steadily being overcome. Naturally, the organizational form of the Marxist contribution will vary from one country to another. In a few countries there are already established Communist Parties, working in harmony with other patriotic elements in united fronts of national liberation. In other countries the Communists, while maintaining the principle of the right of the working class to its own independent Marxist political organization, have made and are continuing to make their contribution to the struggle against imperialism and colonialism, and for socialist development, within the ranks of the mass liberation front. Clearly it is impossible to decide a universal rule with regard to this intricate organizational problem, which must depend on the judgment of the Marxists of each country, taking into account the realities of the local situation.

What is clear is that Marxists all over Africa are, by their untiring work, sacrifices and heroism in the fight against imperialism and colonialism, by their sound leadership and patriot-

ism, destroying the myth that Communism is "a foreign ideology," or that Marxists have some special interests different and apart from those of the masses. They are proving that N. Numade was right when he wrote in *The African Communist* that "the fact that a man is a Communist makes him a better and not a worse fighter for the liberation of his people."

The African Revolution is taking place during an era of world history in which mankind as a whole has begun the transition from the obsolete capitalist system towards socialism. This international situation has already made it possible for the peoples of Asia and Africa to make most important advances in their common struggle against imperialism and colonialism. A third of the population of the world, under Communist leadership, has already freed itself entirely from imperialist domination, and a great majority of the population of the world has thrown off direct colonialist rule and is making steady advances towards economic independence as well.

The socialist world, at the heart of which stands such a powerful fortress of workers' and peasants' rule as the Soviet Union, has proved a powerful ally of the national liberation and socialist movements everywhere — a factor which imperialism cannot but take into account. The world knows that the presence and the stern warnings of the socialist stronghold prevented imperialist police action from achieving its object when the Egyptian people repossessed their national asset, the Suez Canal, and when the Zanzibari people chased out the British-backed sultanate.

Imperialism can no longer rely on being able to "deal with" the colonies and former colonies one by one. The solidarity of the

peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, is becoming more and more a tangible factor to be reckoned with. As we have seen above, in Africa itself, despite setbacks of one kind or another, unity in the struggle against colonialism is steadily binding the various regions of our continent closer and closer together.

The unity of Africa is becoming less a matter of intangible aspirations and feelings and more and more a reality as our common desperate needs are proving to all Africans that the tasks we cannot tackle area by area and region by region will be enormously facilitated when we work together.

At present the main all-African task facing us is the completion of the process of winning back the whole of the continent, above all of helping the people of the "Slave South" to liberate themselves. African unity, in the sense of an all-African planning and administrative region, is unrealizable so long as such a huge part of our continent — and by far the most economically developed part at that — remains in chains. And the very independence of all African countries remains seriously imperilled so long as the unholy alliance of Verwoerd, Smith and Salazar is still in a position to arm and plot in the bastion of anti-African colonialism south of the Zambesi.

The African Revolution, then, seen in its broader context, is an integral part of the world revolutionary process. Our people are marching ahead in company with the great army of mankind, towards a future of freedom, democracy, peace and socialism.

It is this knowledge and understanding that gives us confidence that our people will overcome the forces of imperialism and colonialism, and build a truly free, advanced, united and Socialist Africa, in our lifetime.

Morocco: the problem of left unity

ALI YATA

THE SALIENT FEATURE of the Moroccan scene is the deepening crisis in all spheres of life. In particular, the cost of living is soaring, unemployment is growing, small enterprises are being forced out of business and poverty is spreading.

As we have pointed out time and again, this state of affairs can be traced to the direction our country has taken since independence, above all to the system of economic liberalism* which enables a small minority connected with foreign monopolies to exploit the working people and amass profits, dooming the working man to poverty and privation.

Moroccan experience over the past ten years as well as that of other developing countries bear out what Marxists foresaw long ago—that economic liberalism cannot ensure independent economic development or solve the social problems bedeviling developing countries like ours.

Economic liberalism and absolutist rule have laid an onerous burden on the people, whose dissatisfaction with things led to the upheaval of March 1965. It should be recalled that these events began with student demonstrations which were joined by the unemployed, the workers and the poverty-stricken masses in general. In the forefront were the women forced to live in the shanty-towns.

The March actions did not come as a surprise. They were the result of both the international situation and the conditions at home, of the accumulation of unsatisfied popular demands and growing political consciousness.

The struggle took a toll of 600 lives. Far from being either accidental or merely a manifestation of hopeless despair, it was a demonstration of militancy with profound meaning for the future of our country.

The outbreak shook the reactionary set-up to its foundations and halted the campaign conducted for years against the progressive movement.

The defeat of the reactionaries strengthened the progressive forces. It changed the views on which the reactionary thinking had hinged, and forced the official admission that the country was in the throes of a crisis; the promise was made to review the situation and to change it so that the dispossessed might regain at least a particle of what they had lost and the country be brought into step with the general worldwide social advance.

As a guarantee of the promise the country's rulers released political prisoners, including Basri and his associates who had been sentenced to death. They dissolved parliament which had been constituted through faked elections, removed the discredited Bahnini government, nationalized some sectors of foreign trade, and entered into negotiations with the political parties and national organizations with the exception of the outlawed Communist Party.

This shows that the March events created more favorable conditions for the progressive and revolutionary forces.

But the question arises: has the progressive and revolutionary movement taken advantage of these conditions to build up its organization, to forge ahead towards realization of its aims? Regrettably, the answer is no.

Why is this so?

Needless to say, the issue after the March events was not completion of the socialist revolution and transition to building socialism, but developing further and completing the national-democratic revolution, in other words, liberating the country from the "internal colonialism" represented by economic liberalism and embarking on a national policy

*By "economic liberalism" is meant the system of capitalist private enterprise.—Ed.

aimed at building an independent, planned economy. It was also a matter of putting an end to absolute feudal rule and elaborating a democratic political line that would enable the people to exercise their sovereign rights and to order the affairs of the nation.

In the light of the objective conditions and the actual balance of forces in the country we believe that this still holds true, and will continue so for some time, irrespective of subjective desires.

Following the March events the country's economic, social and political orientation could have been radically changed had there been agreement among all the forces advocating such a change. On the social plane, these forces were the working class, the poor peasants, and the national bourgeoisie with the exception of its Right wing.

The political parties and organizations upholding the interests of these forces and voicing their aspirations are:

- the Labor Union;
- the National Union of Popular Forces;
- the Communist Party, and
- the Istiqlal.

These forces, the opposition, are working (each in its own way) for radical changes in the general orientation of the country, as can be seen from their programs and activities.

Clearly, not one of these forces can win by itself, by the efforts of its own members. Nor could any one of them, in the event of coming to power, govern independently of the others, overcome the crisis and solve the problems facing the country. They all lack the necessary prestige at home and abroad. Not one of them is in a position to undertake full responsibility for the government of the country, not to speak of the fact that in view of the circumstances one-party rule would not be democratic.

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The stage through which our country is passing — that of completing the national-democratic revolution — and also the objective and subjective conditions of today call for coordinated effort on the part of all the forces fighting for the completion of this revolution.

It should be said the negotiations which took place between the Court and some opposition groups after the March events proved futile and the people's hopes were disappointed precisely because this dictate of history was disregarded.

In the negotiations the spokesmen of the ruling circles were confronted not by a united

front pursuing a common line but by dis-united forces engaged in rivalry or even opposed to one another. The Labor Union and the National Union of Popular Forces, although they are kindred, complementary organizations, did not unite organizationally or coordinate their efforts. They failed to bring together the Left forces, including the Communist Party, and at the same time were unable to achieve even a temporary agreement with the Istiqlal, the party of the national bourgeoisie.

Moreover, the negotiations were conducted in secret. Not one of the memoranda submitted to the Court was published. The results of the talks were never made known to the people. And this despite the fact that the experience of the national movement (and especially our experience with the Abdallah Ibrahim government) teaches that nothing good can come of negotiations conducted behind the backs of the people, that no undertaking, however useful, can be carried through without the support of the masses.

The division in our ranks offered openings for intrigue aimed at setting one section of the movement against another. As a result none of the proposed reforms was realized.

After the failure of the April-May negotiations and the proclamation of a state of emergency, the government again promised to meet with representatives of the opposition, this time in October, and to conclude an agreement with them on the fundamental changes demanded by the situation.

No meeting took place in October and there is no sign that it will take place. On the contrary, the ruling groups are veering away from the stand they took after the March events. Evidently they have "forgotten" their pledges since they are incapable of offering any solution to the pressing problems.

It is worth noting that the reactionaries seem to be regaining confidence in themselves. In point of fact, they are already talking about the futility of negotiations with the opposition, especially the Left, or of cooperating with it. This is another result of the division in our ranks.

We cannot forget that the reactionaries have always sought to combat the progressive movement and to neutralize it by sowing discord in its ranks so as to check any movement toward the abolition of the feudal set-up and the remnants of colonialism and to stifle the striving towards economic and social progress.

The reactionaries have remained true to

their methods. Today too they are resorting, and not without success, to splitting maneuvers in an effort to achieve what they failed to gain through deception, arrests, banishment, and other forms of violence.

The split in our ranks, the rivalry between the patriotic forces, is preventing the progressive movement from taking advantage of the crisis to promote the interests of the revolution. Discord and internal strife are putting a brake on both economic and social progress.

It would be a mistake to assume that this has not weakened the progressive movement. To think so would be deceiving oneself. Lack of unity has set back the opposition as a whole and the Left forces in particular. If the Left groups continue to wrangle with one another there is the tangible danger that the vast influence they gained in the course of long years of struggle will be lost.

We also fear that the promised "radical change" will not be carried out. This change, let it be stressed, should consist in the abolition of the colonial and feudal structure and the implementation of far-reaching reforms such as the agrarian reform and nationalization.

These fears are well grounded, for the fact is that the ruling circles have no intention of drawing on the viable forces of the nation, of utilizing its resources and of developing its productive forces. Instead they turn to foreigners for "aid" with political strings in order to cover the budget deficit and to carry out a few measures of second-rate importance.

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Different views are advanced as to how the government should be formed.

It should be noted, however, that effective and stable administration is possible only if the national, progressive and revolutionary forces stand united. Only then can we have a viable government based on a clear-cut program and able to undertake the radical reforms which would make it possible for the country to overcome its backwardness and get firmly on its feet.

We are obliged to demand the formation of such a government and to organize a mass campaign to this end. And even if our campaign does not result in success and we do not achieve the kind of government we want, the effort will not have been in vain, for sooner or later the people will come to see that we are right.

Division in the progressive movement is, then, a fact we cannot afford to ignore and which we should approach as a chronic ailment requiring constant attention. We must never passively accept this division, or adapt

ourselves to it, forgetting the lessons of our own history and the history of other peoples who before us experienced the grave consequences of discord. Time and again we have seen opposing sides resolve their tensions and seemingly insoluble contradictions, reach agreement on the outstanding issues and achieve unity. This can happen in our case too.

Take the Left forces. There are contradictions among them, but these contradictions are not of a fundamental order. They are conflicts of a personal rather than ideological and political nature.

We find one Left organization attacking another, and some Left leaders levelling unfounded criticism at others; there are charges and counter-charges of playing into the hands of the local exploiters, of being in collusion with the French monopolies, or of playing second fiddle to the government and not upholding the interests of the working people; one group holds that the next has no influence among the masses and hence no future, another says that nothing good can come of the policy of the first.

As for us, we cannot agree with these pointless recriminations, for they have no political justification and are more in the nature of personal insults than instances of scientific analysis or constructive criticism.

We do not condemn this or that Left organization, do not sever relations with it or wage a struggle against it either by ourselves or together with some other organization. We do not cooperate with any one Left organization against another.

To do so would be a mistake. There is no need for it. All the Left organizations have sprung up from the people and enjoy prestige both at home and abroad. Their programs are progressive and their activities positive.

In short, we should cooperate with all these organizations and primarily continue our trade union activities within the Labor Union, and not trail behind those who would build a rival organization to compete with the Union. Division can but weaken the working class, can but benefit the reactionaries and colonialists.

This attitude stems from our sincere desire to put an end to the split and to unite the Left. Unity is imperative. It is the prime condition of success for the Left who want to lead the country out of the crisis and ensure its progress.

Unity would revitalize the Left and give a new spur to their initiative. As a result their influence would grow, opening the pros-

pect of their becoming the decisive factor in Morocco's political and social life.

Needless to say, unity will require hard, persevering work; it can be achieved only in the course of mass struggles.

There is every reason to assume that the immediate future will witness a mounting struggle to force the government to live up to its promises, a struggle for unity. To give impetus to this struggle the issues must be made clear to the masses. The revolutionary vanguard should thoroughly analyse the situation, show on whom the responsibility rests, call for Left unity and work for a

meeting of these forces to discuss agreement on the building of a front of action for radical change, to work out a plan of action emphasizing the need for unity now and in the future.

At present unity is essential in order to find a way out of the crisis and to put an end to the passivity among the Left. In the future unity will be needed to foil the maneuvers and attacks of our enemies at home and abroad.

No nation can order its destiny without being aware of its enemy and of the obstacles and difficulties to be overcome. It can win only through unity.

On the occasion of the tenth anniversary of Morocco's independence the Communist Party issued the following appeal to all patriots:

LET US UNITE!

**Unite to Ensure that the Second Decade of Independence Should Be
a Decade of Democracy, Stability, Efficiency and Progress!**

Dear Compatriots,

Ten years have passed since our country regained its independence after nearly fifty years of foreign occupation and resistance to the invaders, after many ordeals and valiant struggles waged jointly by all the patriotic forces headed by the working class.

What have we accomplished in these ten years of independence?

Have we achieved the aims for which our people fought in their liberation struggle?

We cannot say that we have. On the contrary, we see our country in the grip of a general crisis affecting all areas of life and all citizens.

* * *

In the sphere of foreign policy there has been a departure from national positions in solving the problem of the alienated territories.

There is complete silence on the matter of Mauretania, and this causes grave concern to all true patriots.

Nor is there any talk about the ports of Ceuta and Melilla, which are essential for the development of the North and East of our country. The reasons for this silence have never been made clear to the people.

The question of Ifni, Sekia el Hamra and Rio de Oro has been raised in a vague, purely formal way in the United Nations.

The policy of desperate appeals for Western "aid" makes rapprochement with the fraternal Arab countries meaningless. Nor can it be said that Morocco has done all it could to strengthen its relations with our natural allies since the Casablanca and Accra conferences. The same pro-Western orientation has deprived us of the advantages of co-operation with the socialist countries.

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In the sphere of home policy the most glaring fact is the absence of democratic freedoms and the consolidation of absolutism.

The intensified repressions have extended beyond the bounds of our country, witness the abduction of Mehdi Ben Barka in Paris.

Freedom of the press has become a hollow mockery. The censorship makes it possible virtually to ban the progressive press without regard for the law.

Repressions against the working class, the poor peasants and the youth are becoming more ruthless. The object is to stifle any striving for freedom, improvement of living conditions and social justice.

After the bloodshed in March it was officially conceded that the country was in the throes of a crisis, that government policy was bankrupt and the Constitution a mere fiction.

A state of emergency was proclaimed, ostensibly as a farsighted and just way of

solving the deep-seated contradictions of our society.

Actually, however, nothing has changed either in the political scene or in the economic and social spheres.

* * *

The dominant trend in the economic sphere is economic liberalism, a trend which gives free rein to the employers notorious for ruthlessness, the owners of the big enterprises, in other words, the exploiters, both foreign and local.

The long awaited agrarian reform has not been carried out. More, the agreements concluded between the state and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development allow foreigners to own land in Morocco. At the same time feudal landholders continue to exploit the peasants.

Present investment policy strengthens the positions of neo-colonialism and opens the doors to all kinds of manipulations and the outflow of capital.

The ineffectiveness of this policy is evident from the continued backwardness of the country, the steady rise in the cost of living, the decline in the standard of living, growing unemployment and semi-unemployment.

In 1965 two measures were introduced to alleviate our financial difficulties: nationalization of part of our foreign trade and cuts in imports.

Experience has shown that in foreign trade, which is dominated by the imperialists, the Purchasing and Export Board is powerless to remedy the situation and put an end to profiteering. The prospect of association with the European Common Market threatens to reduce this Board merely to a central bureau serving the interests of European businessmen and some of their local flunkies.

Protectionist measures taken earlier have now been rescinded, with the result that the profits of importers are soaring while Moroccan entrepreneurs are going under.

All this shows that no partial measures towards economic liberation can be effective so long as the semi-feudal and semi-colonial structure of the state remains and the people are barred from any say in the nation's affairs.

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In the social sphere there is a growing crisis of education due to the poverty and chronic impoverishment. The schools are unable to accommodate a million and a half boys and girls. The level of education is declining. The few past achievements in higher education are disappearing. Arabization is making no headway. The general deterioration affects primarily the poorer strata of the population.

Thanks to their struggle and sacrifice the workers have won some improvements, but these are far from sufficient and the working class is now demanding a 30 per cent increase in wages and tangible social rights for all working people.

* * *

Dear Compatriots,

The foregoing shows, on the one hand, the utter failure of the anti-democratic political orientation pursued hitherto, and, on the other, how meagre and transient are the minor concessions made to the people in order to divert them, at least for a time, from the main tasks of their struggle.

The moral, political, economic and social conditions in our country are steadily deteriorating.

The patriotic forces are unanimous in demanding a new, national and democratic orientation.

In our view, this decline, taking place only because the national movement is divided, can be reversed by ensuring the unity of that movement.

The decline, needless to say, has been caused by imperialism, neo-colonialism, the feudal element and other reactionaries. Yet a great share of the responsibility rests also with the national movement, which was unable to maintain its unity and hence was incapable of defending the people and the country.

The revolutionary, progressive and patriotic forces are sincere and dedicated. Our people are militant and are yearning for progress, democracy and happiness. It is therefore incumbent upon the national forces, and primarily on the Left, to lead the people to a better life. We issue an urgent call to all men of good will, all those with civic courage, all revolutionaries, progressives and patriots, to unite in order to ensure the victory of democracy, to create sound political, economic and social institutions, to overcome the crisis which has gripped our country and to steer Morocco towards progress and social justice.

The revolutionary, progressive and patriotic forces are faced with the alternative of either cementing their alliance, coordinating their efforts at the head of the masses — which would be the guarantee of the desired changes — or remaining divided, incapable of the concerted effort needed to avert the danger of things developing towards a naked dictatorship and reckless gambles.

We are experiencing difficult times. Every citizen should be aware of this and play his full part in solving the problems facing us.

Irrespective of social origin and ideological

and political convictions, let us do everything in our power to end the differences between the various revolutionary, progressive and patriotic forces and to bring them together to draw up a joint platform of struggle and regeneration.

Demand the elaboration of a national charter which all revolutionaries, all progressives, all patriots could solemnly pledge to observe and fully carry out.

Let us work with dignity and a full sense of responsibility, each in his own way, for:

—rejection of the orientation based on economic liberalism and renunciation of democracy;

—for the non-capitalist way to socialism;

—the election, based on universal suffrage, of a sovereign National Assembly which

would give the country a Constitution placing power in the hands of the people and conforming to our sound national traditions;

—a patriotic provisional government enjoying the confidence of the people and consisting of authoritative spokesmen of all the vital forces in the country, a government which would above all prepare for the election of a Constituent Assembly.

Revolutionaries, progressives, patriots of all trends!

Let us declare our standpoint publicly and unequivocally! Let us unite to ensure that the second decade of our independence shall be ushered in under the device of democracy, efficiency and progress!

Let us unite and fight to save our country, in the name of the prestige and greatness of Morocco!

Class structure in tropical Africa

Some aspects of the problem

THIERNO AMATH

THE AWAKENING of Tropical Africa, the entry into political life of large numbers of people living in varied and often contradictory economic and social conditions, poses the question of how to channel their efforts into the mainstream of the popular struggle against imperialism, against all the forces seeking to perpetuate foreign exploitation and economic backwardness.

In order to see which of our forces on the political arena hold the key to Africa's progress it is imperative to examine the class structure of contemporary African society.

Two basic viewpoints on the question can be clearly discerned. The proponents of one view maintain that the process of class differentiation is only beginning in most countries of Tropical Africa and conclude from this that social and political conflicts can be averted. The other viewpoint, while recognizing the existence of classes, holds that exploitation of one class by another is nothing new in this part of the continent.

A new social structure in Tropical Africa is taking shape in the most varied conditions. Ethnically the countries are highly heterogeneous. Patriarchal-tribal survivals persist in many regions. Religious beliefs are deep-seated. In some instances, as, for example, in the case of the Hausa people in Northern Nigeria, the ethnic, political, administrative and religious hierarchies are intertwined. The variety of social structures encountered within comparatively limited areas makes it impossible to draw conclusions derived from any single model. The preservation of pre-colonial social structures and the changes introduced by colonialism add up to a somewhat complicated social picture.

Owing to this and to the accompanying difficulties, some Western scholars and politicians claim that the problems of Tropical Africa do not lend themselves to analysis. Adherents of this view see African society as a solid grey mass in which stratification is only beginning.

President Senghor of Senegal, for instance, claims that Senegalese society consists not of classes but of three "major professional groups" — the free professions, wage-earners, and peasants, including herdsmen, fishermen and handicraftsmen. If there is a bourgeoisie in Senegal, he says, it consists of the civil servants, office employees and industrial workers whose wages are considerably higher than the income of the peasants, herdsmen and artisans. The purport of this theory is perfectly clear. Its object is to counterpose the urban population to the peasantry, and this in a situation marked by popular struggle against neo-colonialism. To be more exact, this theory is directed against the urgently needed worker-peasant unity.

The Western monopolies are alarmed by the growing scale and far-reaching implications of the revolutionary movement on our continent. In recent years several pro-imperialist governments suffered defeat — in the Sudan, Zanzibar and the Congo (Brazzaville). Some people regard these developments as a struggle for power between individuals or groupings not representative of any particular class. It would be a mistake, of course, to claim that all these changes of government were of a pronounced class character. Important factors of a tribal, religious and even personal order were no doubt involved. But for all that the changes did have definite class connotations. For instance, it was the trade unions that played the leading role in defeating Fulbert Youlou in the Congo (Brazzaville), and this was an indication of a regrouping of forces and of the growth of class consciousness among the workers in that country.

African society is also an arena of ideological struggle. If a national ideology rallied all sections of society to fight against colonial rule and for independence, today, when the issue is the choice for ways of further progress, political and ideological differentiation is making itself increasingly felt.

The spread of various ideological trends is a sign of the existence of diverse class forces. Majhemout Diop, General Secretary of the African Party of Independence (Senegal), says in his book *Classes and Class Ideology in Senegal*: "Classes and class ideology — the body and the soul — are evidence of the maturity of a divided (in the social sense—Ed.) society. What do we find in Senegal? Not only do we have classes but the more active members of each class are grouped in class parties. And these parties have worked out their class ideologies. These ideologies are by no means ceremonial trappings brought over by chance

from Europe, as some people think. They are, clearly, instruments of struggle and, what is more, of a struggle for power."

Needless to say, the degree of social stratification is far from identical in the countries of Tropical Africa. By and large, however, this area is witnessing a progressive disintegration of the patriarchal-tribal community owing to the accelerated differentiation of the traditional classes as well as to later social developments associated with the invasion of colonial capital. As a rule, class differentiation is more pronounced in the coastal areas, which were subjected to more intensive exploitation and where capitalism struck deeper roots, than in the less-developed inland regions which largely remain a reservoir of manpower for the seaboard towns and regions.

The standard of living of the peasants, who constitute more than 90 per cent of the population, is extremely low. Social stratification in the rural areas is still in the initial stage. Although there are both well-to-do households and families which barely manage to subsist, common customs and mode of life as well as common ties with one and the same community retard the development of antagonistic contradictions.

Yet most Tropical African countries have a genuine rural bourgeoisie. In Senegal this is a class of middlemen and usurers; in Southern Dahomey, Togo, Nigeria, the Cameroons and in the former Belgian Congo, it consists of planters, and in the Republic of the Ivory Coast, of planters and traders. Latterly this comparatively old stratum of rural bourgeoisie has been joined by a new section to whom European export-import companies have turned over trading enterprises in settlements of secondary importance in order to invest their own capital in more profitable and safer undertakings.

The traditional social structures are still strong in the countryside. Private ownership of land is gaining ground but it remains within the framework of communal democracy. This, however, does not mean that there is no class exploitation. As Jean Suret-Canale points out, the productive forces in agriculture, based on primitive division of labor, made it possible to produce surpluses long before colonization. "Tribal or patriarchal-tribal society," he says in regard to pre-colonial Africa, "can be considered typical for the transition from the primitive community to class society."

Clearly, the old patriarchal-tribal aristocracy underwent changes and exploitation increased with colonial conquest. It is now im-

perative to make a precise assessment of the changes which have taken place since then in the social structure of tropical Africa, bearing in mind that the conditions in the various countries differ depending on how direct was the impact of colonization. In the French colonies imperialism simply abolished the traditional aristocracy and created a new hierarchy integrated with the colonial administration, while in the British possessions the colonial rulers subordinated the old aristocracy to themselves and even increased its privileges to the detriment of the population and in violation of communal democracy.

Further changes were caused by the development of commodity-money relations and, later, by the imperialist exploitation. The decisive role in the decline of the patriarchal-tribal structure and the development of new forms of land tenure was played by the cultivation of export crops.

An agricultural proletariat — partly full-time and partly seasonal — emerged on the plantations of the Ivory Coast Republic, Dahomey, Nigeria, Liberia and other countries.

These plantations are the base of the local bourgeoisie in the Ivory Coast Republic and the main source of strength for neo-colonialist regimes of the type instituted by the government of Felix Houphouët Bouagny, himself a planter. In Senegal the land has not served as the basic source of accumulation of capital by the rural bourgeoisie, although at the present time private acquisition of landed property in the vicinity of the bigger towns is becoming more common.

If private ownership of land in most Tropical African villages is still not widespread, this is due not so much to the tenacity of the old community structure as to the fact that production is still at a very low level. But for all that commodity-money relations are making themselves felt. In point of fact, in Senegal, in the Republic of the Ivory Coast and in Nigeria the peasants consume 80 to 90 per cent of all imported goods, whereas formerly they grew everything they used.

The growth of private ownership of land in countries with a plantation economy can be judged from the fact that the number of African planters in the Republic of the Ivory Coast increased more than fourfold between 1947 and 1958. Moreover, this growth was accompanied by the steady spread of modern forms of exploitation of labor, i.e., the gradual disappearance of the distribution of the produce on a family basis and the replacement of the traditional share-cropping system by remuneration in money. The peasantry, plun-

dered by usurers, middlemen and rural traders generally, is becoming poorer. In some countries its plight is worsened by the agricultural policy pursued by the neo-colonialist rulers — compulsory cooperatives, forcing the peasants to buy implements at exorbitant prices, high interest rates on food and seed loans, and so on.

At present patriarchal-tribal relationships in their pure form are found only in a few areas where export crops do not play the decisive role. But even in these exceptional cases the need to pay poll tax and to buy certain goods compels the peasant to sell this produce and to search for work bringing in a cash income.

This shows how illusory and dangerous is the tendency to idealize the "communal democracy" and "collectivist foundations" of the Negro-African society. Spontaneous and self-contained development of our rural communities with their present social structure and primitive technical level cannot lead to socialism. Without due regulation, the processes now in evidence are more likely to result in intensified exploitation of man by man than in the shaping of socialist relations of production.

The disintegration of the old community life, the low productivity in the countryside and the development of some industries have caused people to migrate to the towns and mines. Migrant workers constitute a manpower reserve from which the African proletariat is taking shape. This new working class which has left the villages in search of a livelihood is concentrated in shanty towns where life often is even harder than in the countryside. A feature of these workers is that they are in constant contact with their native villages, although these links are slowly weakening. Some of them find steady employment, but most form a fluid mass of unskilled labor, part of which gravitates to the lumpen proletariat which makes up a relatively large section of the urban population. Growing unemployment is a feature of the African countries.

This situation is fraught with grave consequences from two points of view. The villages are being drained of able-bodied workers and the labor market in the towns is becoming more and more glutted. The incipient local bourgeoisie and colonial capitalists take advantage of this to bring pressure to bear on the working people generally and trade union leaders in particular in order to subordinate them to the interests of neo-colonialism.

The African working class, despite its ar-

duous conditions, is the constant object of calumny. There is much talk about its allegedly high standard of living, talk designed to counteract its demands and to create the impression that it is exploiting the peasants. While it is quite natural that the bureaucratic upper crust serving the interests of imperialism should indulge in this propaganda in order to keep the working people in check, there can hardly be any justification for such views being held by people with a reputation for patriotism and progressiveness.

The role of the proletariat as the most revolutionary class does not depend on its standard of living or on its numbers. The important thing is that this class is directly linked with modern production, which is social in nature. It alone is capable of assimilating and translating into practice the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism. Consequently, the positions now held by colonialism and its social base in the African countries can be abolished once and for all only by enhancing the influence and political weight of the working class.

It cannot be denied that the working class played a major role in the national movements as a factor uniting the popular forces against imperialism. Many of those among the ruling classes who now vilify the working class owe their positions of power to it. It was under pressure from the trade unions and youth organizations that these leaders were compelled, against their will, to accept the slogan of independence. This role was played in the former French colonies by the General Confederation of Labor and, later, by the General Workers' Union of Black Africa. During the 1958 referendum all sections of the latter urged rejection of the Gaullist Constitution. The ruling classes are well aware of the strength and revolutionary traditions of the trade unions. They fear the working people. And hence, wherever groups associated with foreign imperialism are in power, they use corrupt union leaders to "tame" the trade union movement and to prevent independent working-class political organization.

In a number of cases they succeed in this owing to the weakness of the working class, a weakness due primarily to its newness. It consists mainly of former peasants with their inherent petty-bourgeois outlook. The proletariat is weak also because it is still led by men of the petty bourgeoisie. In most of the countries its initial contingents were organized by clerical workers whose material conditions differ little from those of the working class proper. This had a negative effect on the workers' ability to resist the offensive of

neo-colonialism and reaction.

These objective causes of our weakness must be rapidly removed to enable the working class to perform its vanguard role in carrying the national liberation struggle to consummation and building independent democratic states.

Besides the traditional strata of handicraftsmen, small traders, etc., a prominent place is occupied by the more modern urban petty bourgeoisie. This, unquestionably, is the first stratum to emerge as a result of colonialism. It consists mainly of lower officials with a long service in the colonial administration as well as of self-employed professionals, teachers, postal employees and clerks in the administrative bodies and commercial enterprises. The political activity of these sections brought them to the fore as organizers of the struggle against colonial rule.

Today, too, this stratum should not be underestimated. In it one can find patriotic trends, although its class limitations often cause it to vacillate. The place occupied by this stratum in the anti-imperialist alliance varies, but it has a common feature evident almost everywhere and under all regimes—a tendency to take the line of least resistance.

The national bourgeoisie is very weak both economically and politically. Its development does not follow the same pattern in all countries. It is most developed in the former British colonies (Ghana and Nigeria) and much less so in the former French colonies. But in Tropical Africa as a whole it occupies a far less important place than colonial and neo-colonial monopoly capitalism. In an effort to strengthen its economic position, the national bourgeoisie played a certain role in the fight against colonialism and for independence. But it soon began to establish contact with imperialism in order to resist the progressive solutions demanded by the people and their organizations. The national bourgeoisie in Tropical Africa failed to give consistent leadership to the liberation struggle owing to its economic weakness and countless ties with foreign capital.

With the winning of independence a new social stratum which African political writers call the bureaucratic bourgeoisie began to crystallize in most countries of Tropical Africa. This segment includes former members of the colonial administration and some intellectuals who entered the administration after independence. The feature of this youngest social section is that in one way or another it takes advantage of its position in the administration, in parliament or in the leader-

ship of the ruling parties to enrich itself. The Western monopolies willingly support "influential" members of this bourgeoisie, using them as their placemen in the "mixed companies."

This parasitic bourgeoisie which has nothing whatever to do with production engages in speculation, embezzles government funds and appropriates land and securities. Its greed knows no bounds.

The domination of this pro-imperialist ruling upper crust is a heavy burden on the people. For instance, in some of the newly independent countries, members of parliament are paid fabulous salaries. The French economist Rene Dumont mentions in his book *A Bad Beginning for Black Africa* that in six months these parliamentarians pocket "as much as the average peasant earns in thirty-six years, that is, in a lifetime of hard work."

This bureaucratic bourgeoisie is a purely artificial creation. It carries too little weight with the people to prevent the growth of organized pressure on the part of the masses. Its weakness is evident if only from the numerous coups that have taken place in Tropical Africa. In the interval between the end of November and the beginning of January this year, four presidents were overthrown by the army—in the Congo (Leopoldville), Dahomey, the Central African Republic and Upper Volta.

Although the political possibilities of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie are limited by its isolation from the people, its significance should not be underestimated since it is mainly through this section that the imperialists will try to find a way out of the crises. It is in a way the African counterpart of the Latin American oligarchies. "The bureaucratic bourgeoisie is a weed infesting the national field," M. Diop says in his book mentioned above. "In order to survive, our people must uproot it from the soil of their country."

What are the relations between the various exploiting social strata in Tropical Africa? It is difficult to draw a clear-cut demarcation line between the different sections of the bourgeoisie—the rural, trading, financial and bureaucratic-parliamentary. Owing to the economic weakness of the bourgeoisie vis-a-vis foreign capital, all its sections tend to unite around the administration and to subordinate

themselves to it. These coalitions do not always have the same implications. While the parliamentary-bureaucratic bourgeoisie is out to make the state machine an instrument of its own rule, the other sections seek to use the state and its economic bodies as a base for consolidating their positions in the competitive struggle with foreign capital. Between the different sections of the bourgeoisie, common interests notwithstanding, there are contradictions which should be neither over-rated nor underestimated by the patriotic forces in building the anti-imperialist alliances needed to accelerate the advance of our countries towards national democracy. As previously, the main thing is maximum isolation of the forces most closely associated with imperialism, in this case, the bureaucratic-parliamentary element.

Such, then, are the salient aspects of the class structure in Africa. Reality, of course, is far too complex to be fully reflected in one article. Although the population of Tropical Africa consists mostly of peasants who have preserved the old patriarchal-tribal structure, we are witnessing within the framework of communal democracy accelerated growth of capitalist relations which are causing the traditional structures to crumble. In most of the countries the reins of government are in the hands of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie. But the working class, with all its weaknesses (due to its newness, its peasant origin and the ideological influence of the petty bourgeoisie), is growing in numbers and is guided more and more by the logic of class struggle. In many cases the working class is maturing in undemocratic conditions where trade union rights and other democratic freedoms are being trampled underfoot, and where the ruling parties subordinate the trade unions ostensibly in the name of national reconstruction and harmony of interests in African society.

However, there is no doubt that Africa from now on will be an arena of genuine class struggle on both the national and international planes. This is a fact that should not be underestimated. The revolution is inevitable, whatever the forms it will assume and whatever the ways it will take. It is destined to bring to power those forces who stand for social and economic progress and who are fighting for truly national democratic states.

Guinea looks ahead

JEAN SURET-CANALE

LAST OCTOBER the Republic of Guinea observed the seventh anniversary of its independent statehood.

Guinea became free after the vast majority of the population rejected, in the referendum held on September 28, 1958, the de Gaulle Constitution proposed to them. Guinea was the first of the French colonies in Tropical Africa to gain independence.

Guinea's gaining and consolidation of political independence nullified the strivings of French imperialism to preserve the old colonial system in the guise of "Association." Less than two years after the referendum the "Association" disintegrated and new independent states appeared.

SEVEN YEARS AFTER

Today Guinea is less in the news than it was seven years ago, and observers following developments in the country tend to focus on the difficulties with which it has had to grapple.

Those African leaders who have chosen the easy way of neo-colonialism like to compare the "failure" of the Guinean experiment with the "prosperity" they have brought their countries.

But what does an analysis of this "failure" and "prosperity" show?

It is true that life for the bourgeoisie and the powers-that-be in Abidjan, where there is whiskey galore and air-conditioning equipment in the shops, is much easier than it is in Conakry. But what is the view of the plantation workers whose wages have remained stationary for years, of the proletariat and increasing number of unemployed who live in the slums of Petit-Bassam island?

To avoid show-window comparisons let us recapitulate some of the changes that have

taken place in Guinea in the past seven years.

Democratization of political life. The colonial regime was completely "autocratic": it ensured the domination of the colonialists through an hierarchy beginning with a governor, to a European district commandant, to a "cantonal leader" and ending with the village chief. All were appointed by the higher authorities and were subordinate only to them.

In 1957, even before independence was won, the Democratic Party, availing itself of the regime of "semi-autonomy" granted by French law, abolished the institution of cantonal chiefs and did away with local feudal lords who were the principal support of the colonial regime. With the loss of political power the chiefs also lost their economic power, since their wealth was based principally on extortions and *corvée*.

Elective bodies were set up at all levels. In the villages power began to be exercised by committees which are elected every year and report back to general meetings.

—*Emancipation of women and the youth* by establishing a minimum age for marriage and consent of the couple concerned, verified by a representative of the civil authorities; limitation of the bride's dowry; active participation by young men and women, through their organizations and elective bodies, in the public life of the country.

—*Adoption of a new labor code* and introduction of social welfare; trade union participation in all official economic and public bodies.

—*An educational reform* which has made it possible to increase the number of pupils from 45,000 to 172,000 in the past six years (1963-64 figures).

—*Nationalization of private schools*; measures to combat religious fanaticism and super-

stitution without impinging on freedom of conscience, and maintaining the secular character of the schools and the State as guaranteed by the Constitution.

—*Complete Africanization of personnel* which in the beginning was necessitated by the sudden departure of practically all French employees who left the administration and technical posts. The difficulties this entailed were compensated for by the enthusiasm displayed by the Guineans in learning to shoulder their new responsibilities.

Besides these measures, primarily of a political nature, others were taken to lay the foundations of the country's economic independence.

—*Establishment of a national monetary unit*—the Guinean franc—on March 1, 1960, which is completely independent of the imperialist "currency areas."

—*Nationalization of the banks, insurance companies, maritime transport, electric power stations, and distribution of oil products and water.*

—*Establishment of a state trade sector*, concentrated at first in two Guinean banks, the International Trade Bank and the Foreign Trade Bank and subsequently extended to a number of specialized national companies.

This sector, despite its uneven development, has given the State the *virtual monopoly in foreign and wholesale trade*. It has thereby dealt a telling blow to the parasitic activity of the foreign trusts which until then controlled virtually the entire national economy.

—*Development of the national industry*. Nationalization of the gold and diamond mines and the mining of bauxite in the Kassa area; the establishment of new national industries (the production of bricks and ceramics in Kobaya, establishment of meat and vegetable canneries in Mamou, a hydro-power station in Kale, manufacture of cigarettes and matches, etc.).

—*Nationalization of land* which although it did not do away with private ownership halted the process of land concentration and land profiteering. Land owners retain the right to their land only if they cultivate it and can sell this right only with the permission of the government.

—*Introduction of a planned national economy* (the three-year plan of 1960-1963 and the seven year plan 1964-1970) to strengthen the economic power of the country, gradually eliminate structural disproportions (industrialization), develop production on the basis

of national resources and thus release the means needed for capital investments, the introduction of cooperative farming including producer cooperatives.

DIFFICULTIES CONNECTED WITH THE COLONIAL HERITAGE

The foregoing picture of what has been accomplished in the seven years under review is, I might note, a rather bright one. But there are still many difficulties that have to be grappled with, difficulties stemming from the colonial heritage.

In the case of Guinea and the countries of Tropical Africa in general, more so than in the case of other colonial and semi-colonial countries, the main difficulties lie not so much in "under-development" and "quantitative" backwardness in technical equipment and labor productivity compared with the "developed" countries (although the lag is a big one), as in the deformed structure of the economy. As a colonial country Guinea, exploited by foreign monopoly capital, was merely an economic appendage to the metropolis.

The de Gaulle regime made the most of this. It made it clear that once Guinea achieved independence France would break off all traditional ties and the country would be doomed. The initiators of this kind of blackmail thought they had the whiphand, considering that after the "flow of credits" from France had been stopped they would be able to pump out profits of all kinds and even to swell this outflow to the metropolis (more than 3,000 million Guinean francs were siphoned out of the country during 1959).

But Guinea pulled through, thanks to the aid of the socialist countries. However, this aid could not in itself, no matter what its quantitative and qualitative scope, ensure the rapid, let alone immediate, improvement of the deformed economy which presents the following picture:

—agriculture rests almost completely on manual labor; its productivity is, consequently, still very low. The plans to increase this productivity are fraught with the danger of exhaustion and erosion;

—no industry to speak of (one brewery, one or two factories producing soft drinks, one soap factory, one plastic processing works but none of these can meet domestic demands);

—insufficient means of communication which paralyzes the exploitation of natural resources;

—lack of trained personnel.

To illustrate this, it will suffice to point out that there was not a single Guinean among bank employees.

This deformity of the economy was aggravated by the conditions under which France's former West African colonies gained their independence.

Ghana and Nigeria enjoyed a relative autonomy within the framework of the British empire, had their own central organizations and services. Guinea, however, was administratively only a part of French West Africa where up to 1957 the tendency was toward intensified centralization. As a result, when independence was proclaimed the Mining Administration in Guinea, for example, was merely an adjunct of the central administration in Dakar and its functions were limited to issuing automobile licence plates and collecting money owing on mining commitments. This Administration did not even have a geological map of Guinea, or charts and surveys of the mine workings. The statistical department, too, was an insignificant branch of the Central Administration in Dakar and its sole function was to draw up the cost of living index in Conakry; it did not even have the necessary means to set up a national statistical board.

The "Balkanization" of Africa which in 1957-58 broke the unity of former French West Africa and yielded a crop of micro-states, is another obstacle in the way to developing and balancing the economy.

Another obstacle is a restricted national market (three million inhabitants with a very low income) which hampers industrialization. There is the danger that even the small enterprises with low productivity, with a negligible margin of profitability, will produce more than the home market can absorb. Furthermore, production costs will not be able to withstand foreign competition, which rules out any possibility of exports. Bigger enterprises, apart from the fact that they would cost more than the country can afford, would have even greater difficulties in finding a market for their goods.

The length of the frontiers makes control difficult and consequently undermines the stability of the currency; the smuggling out of products and money continues to cause heavy damage to the Guinean economy.

SOCIAL CLASSES AND STRATA

To these purely economic difficulties were added, particularly in 1961, difficulties of a social character.

The structure of Guinean society presents the following picture: the peasantry accounts for more than nine-tenths of the population. During 1956-57 they won liberation from the oppression of the feudal lords and the cantonal chiefs. Although the patriarchal communal structure still prevails it is gradually falling apart and giving way to individual or family farms.

The urban population consists of small producers or employers (handicraftsmen, tradesmen, middlemen and carters) whose social status is similar to that of the peasantry.

As everywhere else in the world the development of these social groups constantly engenders capitalism. During the period of colonialism there began the social differentiation between the rich peasants who employed labor, and the poor peasants who sometimes became sharecroppers or simply laborers on the plantations.

However, this social differentiation could not develop beyond certain bounds: feudal exploitation by the tribal chiefs up to 1956, the privileges granted the European plantation owners, the almost total absence of private property in land and, most important, the impossibility of acquiring farming machinery, considerably slowed down the process of differentiation. The purchase of farm produce by foreign companies at prices far below value naturally ruled out any possibility of capital accumulation in agriculture. The peasants barely managed to make ends meet.

The number of African capitalist planters was very small and confined, geographically, to the banana zone of Lower Guinea.

There were fewer obstacles to capital concentration in the sphere of trade. Here there were wealthy middlemen and tradesmen. But in most cases they did not employ many workers; they could not go in for trade in a big way in view of the existence of the big foreign companies which specialized in colonial trade, known as "commerce des traites"* and also in view of the dominance of Europeans and Lebanese in the wholesale trade and partly in the retail trade.

Besides the peasants and urban petty-bourgeoisie there is the numerically small *working class*, concentrated in Conakry and in other big towns. Although it is still small in numbers and its class consciousness is still not fully developed, it has played a decisive

*In this context the term signifies the periodic purchase of farm produce for export and sale in exchange for imported products.

role in moulding the democratic and national consciousness.

For most wage-earners their *master* was either the colonial administration (the railways, public works, etc.) or the colonial exploiter (companies or private individuals). Hence for them class struggle was to all intents and purposes identified with anti-imperialist struggle.

It is not by chance that between 1947 and 1954 the Democratic Party drew its support mainly from the organized working class. It was on this base that the Democratic Party was able in 1954-56 to draw the peasant masses into the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal movement which won a resounding victory in the elections in January 1956.

Lastly, a few words about the civil servants.

The position of many of them, and especially the lower-paid categories, viz., railway, post and telegraph and municipal employees, in no way differs from that of the industrial workers.

From the economic standpoint, the upper strata, those whose work is not directly connected with production, e.g., administrative officials, school teachers, doctors, nurses, etc., can also be classed as wage-earners. Their social and psychological status, however, places them in a specific social category.

During the colonial period they played a subordinate role in the administrative machine. Brought up in the spirit of contempt for their "uncivilized" brethren, of faith in the superiority and invincibility of the colonialists, they were destined to become the direct agents of their oppressors.

They were torn between their status and their "colonial" education, on the one hand, and their African origin and the direct effects of racial discrimination, on the other. This condition, typical of the "middle" sections, explains the instability and contradictory nature of their political attitude. In the independence struggle some of them acted as servants of colonialism, others (the minority) espoused the cause of the people and became their spokesmen.

The rest preserved a cautious neutrality, serving the colonial authorities without enthusiasm and at times secretly wishing success to the Democratic Reunion of Africa (of which the Democratic Party of Guinea was a branch).

After the victory of the Democratic Party in the 1956 election and later, after gaining autonomy in 1957, many civil servants joined the party. In the young republic, where after

60 years of colonial domination 95 per cent of the population remained illiterate, it was this vacillating social stratum that formed the backbone of the administrative machine. Many of them occupied leading positions in the party.

"BOURGEOISIFICATION," BUREAUCRACY AND CORRUPTION—A THREAT TO GUINEAN INDEPENDENCE

After winning independence, Guinea opted for the non-capitalist path of development. The Democratic Party has repeatedly stressed that its aim is to abolish all forms of exploitation and to build socialism.

Is this merely a statement of good intentions or is it a definite orientation? Let us turn to the facts.

The first fact which should be noted is that in a country like Guinea there is a close link-up between the policy of genuine independence and the non-capitalist road.

The social and economic conditions do not permit national capitalism to develop to a point where it could play any appreciable role in production. The local bourgeoisie, who operated mainly as middlemen and compensated for the lack of capital by speculative manipulations, possess neither the means nor the economic stimuli to play any part in production.

Consolidation of economic independence and the advancement of the national industry can be effected only by the state, and provided the national resources are employed to the maximum to combat parasitic trade and profiteering.

Neo-colonialism does not afford any opportunity for the emergence of a national bourgeoisie in the proper sense—the colonial trusts have no intention of relinquishing their positions. At best the imperialists facilitate the formation of a parasitic stratum of merchants, swindlers and corrupt politicians on whom they can rely and who enable them to conceal the actual neo-colonialist and exploitation dependence of Guinea behind a screen of "nationalism."

The policy of national independence pursued by the Democratic Party in 1957-59 was wholeheartedly supported by the people, and no true Guinean desires a return to the colonial past. The very thought of this is repugnant to the people.

The struggle against colonialism enjoyed the support of the masses. The colonial oppression was painful to all.

At the phase of building up, however, the situation is somewhat different. The disin-

tegration of the patriarchal pre-capitalist society does not automatically lead to the triumph of the socialist ideology. On the contrary, small commodity production or private enterprise leads automatically to an individualistic bourgeois mentality, to a striving for personal gain. These tendencies were particularly pronounced among the small and middle traders for whom independence meant stepping into the shoes of the ejected colonialists, not turning over to the people the profits of the foreign commercial monopolies. The creation of a state-trading sector was a grave disappointment to them.

The bourgeois elements declared war on the state sector. Taking advantage of the difficulties facing the new state enterprises and the inexperience of their managers, and penetrating into state bodies, making use of kinsmen or accomplices who held posts in those bodies, and resorting to bribery and corruption, they contrived to expand their businesses to the detriment of the state enterprises. At the same time, they launched a campaign aimed at discrediting these enterprises, at proving them to be incapable of ensuring normal trade and hence to press for a return to private trade.

These elements found some support in the administrative and political apparatus. Many of those holding positions of responsibility in the new republic were less concerned with discharging their duties as public servants than in using their new positions to enjoy the benefits and privileges of the Europeans they had replaced. The government's policy of limiting the salaries of the highest-paid categories designed to end the excessive inequality in housing, services, etc. did not, of course, suit them.

Many of them endeavored by illegal practices to secure what they were denied by law. Belonging in many cases to the well-to-do sections of the population, and often even to the families of former tribal chiefs, they entered into profit-sharing deals with diverse traders while at the same time participating in the campaign to discredit the policy of the Party and the state.

This explains the difficulties encountered by state trade and the setback it experienced in 1960-61.

After independence, state commercial banks were granted a monopoly of foreign trade and wholesale trade. The Bank of Internal Trade opened branches throughout the country and set up a network of state stores in most cities, town and villages.

This measure went farther than envisaged by the original plan. The merchants and their

stooges took advantage of the excessive centralization and administrative unwieldiness, lack of personnel and general inefficiency to enrich themselves at the expense of the public, and to step up the campaign against state trade.

The result was that although the operations of the two banks (closed in 1961) yielded a profit of 3,386 million Guinean francs, they were unable to accumulate sufficient capital to carry out the industrialization measures provided by the plan.

The purpose of the 1961 reform was to invigorate and promote state trade through competition with the private sector and by far-reaching decentralization measures. The Bank of Foreign Trade was replaced by some twenty national companies; the Bank of Internal Trade was dissolved and its regional branches and large state stores in Conakry were granted financial autonomy. The state trade monopoly was abolished. State stores, many of them operating at a loss, were closed or turned over to local bodies.

Some commentators at once jumped to the conclusion that this was a "return to capitalism." Of course, it was to some extent a retreat, but one dictated by necessity. You cannot build socialism with a deficit economy. On the other hand, the shortcomings in state trade, which were exploited for propaganda campaigns and largely instigated by those responsible for the shortcomings, gave rise to sentiments which could not be ignored.

A large section of public opinion believed that even a partial return to private enterprise would be enough to revive the trade sector, and experience alone could induce them to change their mind.

The decentralization did not yield the expected results. True, despite the fact that the above-mentioned abuses continued, the state enterprises were on the whole profitable: in the fiscal year that expired on September 30, 1964, they yielded an average profit of 2,500,000 Guinean francs. Not so the local banks.

Irresponsible management on the part of the local authorities brought most of them to bankruptcy. Most of the regional managers used their positions as a convenient means for financing local undertakings without giving any thought to the future. At times, with the connivance of the local authorities, various clans and groups of businessmen used state funds for their own private purposes. In October 1963, therefore, the banks were closed down and the legal authorities instructed to institute immediate proceedings with a view to exacting debts from the local bodies and private individuals involved.

At the same time, in order to stimulate diamond mining and to provide the state with an additional source of foreign currency, it was decided to grant African prospectors the right to work diamond fields not exploited by the state company.

This experiment in a partial return to private trade was not a success. Far from improving the situation, it made matters worse. The expansion of private trade did not ensure a supply of goods to the market, it merely created favorable soil for fraudulent practices—building up stocks of goods in demand and withholding them from the legitimate market in order to channel them to the black market, and trade in contraband—and currency manipulations which compelled the government in March 1963 to exchange old banknotes for new, making illegal accumulations of government currency abroad worthless and forcing those in possession of excessively large sums to explain their source (a measure which resulted in many persons being sent to jail).

By the summer of 1964 public opinion had had ample opportunity to witness the "blessings" of private enterprise.

An economic conference of the Party organization in Conakry, held on June 7, 1964, unanimously endorsed the measures outlined by the Party for revitalizing the trade sector and abolishing merchant capitalism. The conference unanimously voted in favor of:

1) accelerated development of the state sector.

2) promotion of producer and consumer cooperatives. . ."

The time had come to correct the trade policy and, what was more important, to stop parasitic operations, commercial swindles, corruption and bureaucratic irresponsibility which were demoralizing the masses and jeopardizing the cause of the revolution.

The country was now faced with the alternative either of capitulating to the emerging bourgeoisie which sought to abolish the state sector, to reject a national monetary unit and draw the country into any imperialist currency zone (which would mean giving up national independence and returning to the colonial order), or striking a blow at the bourgeoisie, to end its arrogance, and preparing the people for the continued advance along the long and difficult road, but the only road that led to the consolidation of independence and the elimination of the exploitation of man by man.

REFORMS OF NOVEMBER 1964

On November 8, 1964, at a public rally in the Donka Stadium in Conakry, Ahmed Sekou

Touré, President of the Republic and General Secretary of the Democratic Party, on behalf of the National Political Bureau of the Party submitted to the people a 12-point program of reforms.

Ten days later an extraordinary joint meeting of the National Council of the Revolution—the supreme Party body in the period between congresses—and the National Assembly was held which adopted all the decrees and laws connected with the implementation of this program.

Let us briefly examine the principal steps taken to fulfil the November 8 program.

1) *Trade reform.* State monopoly of foreign trade was re-established; after the abolition of all patents and licences granted to private shopkeepers new licences will be issued only by national and regional commissions to those shopkeepers who produce the necessary guarantees of solvency, professional competence and morality; the maximum number of private shopkeepers was fixed for each region; the number of shopkeepers in Conakry was reduced by four-fifths. All buying or selling transactions outside the permitted trading institutions are prohibited by law. Officials in the administration and state enterprises are forbidden to engage, both directly or by proxy, in any profit-making business activity.

2) *Stepping up the prosecution of smugglers.*

3) *Abolishing private diamond mining* (which was suspended already in May 1964 since the prospectors preferred smuggling out the diamonds to selling them for Guinean francs).

4) *Housing reform.* A commission was instituted to regulate and control rents and fix taxes; all those in receipt of subsidies for building houses were obliged to use the houses built only by themselves and their families; officials owning their own houses and at the same time occupying government-owned flats were obliged to leave the latter.

5) *Property Check-Up.* A national commission and regional commissions were formed to examine property acquired after September 28, 1958, the property owned by all persons entered in the trade register and by all responsible political and administrative personalities; all property the lawful acquisition of which cannot be proved should be confiscated in favor of the nation.

6) *Reform of Party organization.* The setting up of Party organizations in the enterprises, cooperatives and administrative offices (until then the Party was organized only according to the territorial principle). In Conakry Party membership was limited to one-

sixth of the population. In the capital this step is in line with the policy of transforming the Party, which hitherto has been a Party of the masses uniting the majority of the population, into a vanguard Party. Persons convicted after 1958 for stealing, embezzlement or other offences, as well as persons engaged in private trade, are not eligible for election to responsible posts in the Party. Renewal of all district and sectional leaderships in the Conakry region.

An intense struggle around the November reforms has been under way for more than a year. After meetings held on December 30 and 31, 1964, and January 2 and 5, 1965, the Political Bureau of the Party noted, in summing up, "the obvious reduction of smuggling abroad . . . , the obvious tendency for prices to go down; the appearance of large stocks of goods on the market; the expulsion from the trade sector of a large number of profiteers and smugglers."

With a view to strictly implementing all the provisions of the law, the Political Bureau approved various measures according to which the right to join consumer cooperatives is guaranteed only to peasants and workers so as to prevent traders and smugglers from using the cooperative for their own ends.

At the end of 1964 a saw- and plywood mill built with Soviet assistance was commissioned in N'Zerekore. The mill, with an annual capacity of 34,000 cubic metres, will supply the furniture factory in Sonfonia built with Yugoslav aid and the cigarette and match factory built with technical assistance from the Chinese People's Republic. The two enterprises were commissioned in 1964.

An economic conference held on March 10, 1965, adopted a series of important decisions: on repairing some of the roads; on building storage premises for unprocessed goods in the districts; on opening 10 retail-trade shops in the suburbs of Conakry; on establishing a rent scale effective as of March 25.

In Beyla region a "week of roads" was held: Party members were mobilized to repair roads and bridges and for eight days they worked under the leadership of members of the regional Party committee.

Horaya, organ of the Party, devoted two editorials to the question of *self-government* which was experimentally introduced in the nationalized printing plant named after Patrice Lumumba. In this self-governed enterprise the workers adopt a production plan, fix work rates, compile and approve annual reports.

On June 7-11 the National Council of the Revolution, meeting in N'Zerekore, heard a

report on the measures that had been taken under the November 8 law.

The Council noted that "the property-investigation commissions had sequestered unlawfully acquired property and, to a large extent, had halted profit-seeking." However, their task is far from completed.

In the field of trade it was decided to withdraw licences issued after November 8 from all consumer cooperatives, with the exception of the Conakry region.

Wherever the cooperative spirit was not sufficiently developed, the Council recommended that licensed traders should be urged to open shops.

On July 18 President Sekou Touré cited as an example the excellent results achieved by the national cigarette and match factory. During ten months of self-management, this factory, the construction of which cost 500 million Guinean francs, netted a profit of 1,300 million francs.

On August 13-17, 1965, the National Council of the Revolution, at a meeting in Conakry, summed up the results of the industrialization program and, in particular, approved the conclusion of an agreement with the USSR, under which Soviet experts will help Guinea carry out prospecting work for the construction of a hydro-power station and aluminium works on the Konkoure River.

Noting the unsatisfactory results achieved in agriculture, the Council called upon the government to take a number of steps to raise agricultural production.

Further, several decisions were taken concerning the work of the Party. "The work of the DPG—from the primary organization up to the National Congress—should be thoroughly reconsidered," said President Ahmed Sekou Touré. "The DPG as the motive force of our revolution is confronted with the imperative task of replacing all its officials whose morale or professional training have proved unsatisfactory."

A resolution was adopted which envisages the improvement of ideological work in the Party, strengthening its leading bodies, setting up a school for Party functionaries and founding a theoretical journal.

Commenting on these decisions, a leading article in *Horaya* said:

"Every day new and far from easy tasks are arising before Guinea. These tasks are not easy because we must build a state free from all influences and all survivals of colonialism. . . .

"The National Council of the Revolution, which has just finished its work, calls on all Party members to ponder over these issues

and make their practical contribution to their solution. . .

"The achievement of economic decolonization opens new horizons before us. However, realization of these projects will be possible only when the whole of Guinea applies itself to this task."

Effort to increase production is the slogan of the revolution.

These are the objective facts. And even if some of the aspects of the rapidly changing situation in Guinea may still be hard to grasp, the achievements of the country are self-evident. The Communists and all other democrats welcome every gain won by the people in the fight against imperialism and to consolidate their national independence.

Ghana's road

KOFI BATSA

WHEN GHANA ACHIEVED its independence nine years ago, it inherited a typically colonial-type backward economy. Today, it has already done much to overcome this legacy and has made substantial progress along the road of non-capitalist development in the direction of socialism.

The economy of pre-independence Ghana (or the Gold Coast, as it was then known) was geared to the production of a limited range of agricultural raw materials—cocoa, and certain types of timber—and minerals, notably gold, diamonds and manganese. These items, the output of which was wholly unrelated to the country's internal requirements, were exported to the Western countries. One of these products alone—cocoa—accounted for 68 per cent, or in other words more than two-thirds, of our country's exports. It could with much truth be said that the Gold Coast was virtually reduced to a huge cocoa plantation.

As a result of the policies of the colonial authorities and the British monopolies which dominated the cocoa trade, farmers were encouraged to concentrate on the growing of cocoa.

Other crops were neglected. Traditional agriculture that met the needs of the country was consigned to oblivion. The result was that a wide variety of items which the Gold Coast could itself have produced were imported. Millions of pounds sterling were spent annually on imports of food and manufactured

goods, much to the profit of the British companies which controlled trade and commerce.

The gold, diamond and manganese mines were British-owned. There was virtually no large-scale industry; what there was belonged to British companies. Even the few factories producing such items as beverages, tobacco and wood products were foreign-owned.

It is symbolic that although the Gold Coast was the world's major producer of raw cocoa, there was not a single plant for processing cocoa. The cocoa grown on our farms was shipped to Britain to be made into chocolate. Our country, which was (and still is) second to none in the world for the export of cocoa-beans, had to import all its chocolate and all its cocoa.

Even the colony's railway system was designed to facilitate the extraction of our wealth, with no regard for the country's all-round economic development. Narrow-gauge lines ran from the cocoa-growing areas and from the mines to the coast.

While the economy was completely dominated by a small number of foreign monopolies such as the United Africa Company, itself in turn forming part of the worldwide Unilever monopoly, there was a well-developed national bourgeoisie. This had its roots in small-scale trade (merchants and petty traders as distributing agents), and in small-scale industry. Likewise there was a well-to-do class of cocoa-farmers.

It should be noted that there was no large-scale acquisition of land by a white settler minority, as was the case for example in the climatically more congenial East African colonies. Colonial power in West Africa relied on economic control by British monopolies and a relatively small group of British administrators using the techniques of "indirect rule." It sought allies among the traditional tribal rulers and among the national bourgeoisie, and the strata of officials.

This, then, was the legacy bequeathed to the new state of Ghana when in 1957, under the leadership of Kwame Nkrumah and the Convention People's Party, it became the first of the new independent African states.

The winning of political independence marked the first stage in the national liberation. As soon as political independence was won, the first stage closed and the second—the creation of a political system in which power is wielded by the people—opened.

In his *Towards Colonial Freedom* Kwame Nkrumah defined the aim of this stage as "the establishment of a democracy in which sovereignty is vested in the broad masses of the people." It is during this stage that the newly-won political power is consolidated and rendered safe from the intrigues and machinations of imperialism which constantly seeks new ways and forms to re-establish itself.

"The Convention People's Party, as the revolutionary vanguard of the people, with the support of chiefs, workers, farmers, peasants and our intelligentsia, won independence for us," Kwame Nkrumah declared in a speech on the occasion of the sixteenth anniversary of the foundation of the CPP on June 16th, 1965. "It has given us a republican form of government, expressing the will of the people and, by wielding the whole power of the people, has laid siege to all forms of oppression and exploitation. It has secured and maintained the unity of the people, by means of which we are already building a new Ghana dedicated to the emancipation and political unification of Africa."

He recalled how there have been no less than thirteen political parties in this country apart from the Convention People's Party since 1949—but the people have consistently rejected them all. These mushroom parties, each of which had been consistently rejected by the people, despaired of ever winning against our Party and, as a forlorn hope, came together to form the United Party to seek the overthrow of our Party. They failed. They resorted to a campaign of lies to discredit our Party and its leadership. They failed. They joined forces with our enemies outside the country; they resorted to subver-

sion and violence to destroy us. They have failed. No one, no group of individuals, can withstand the march of history.

The third stage is the struggle for the total reconstruction of society, the struggle for freedom from poverty and economic exploitation. In this struggle, as Kwame Nkrumah states in *Africa Must Unite*, "socialism is our only alternative."

For a developing nation to follow the capitalist path of development means that control of the national economy remains in the hands of foreign private capital. The inevitable consequence of this would be the creation of a neo-colonialist regime. Moreover, production for private profit deprives a large section of the people of the goods and services produced.

Ghana's advance along the non-capitalist path in the direction of socialism is charted in the 1963-64/1969-70 Seven-Year Development Plan. Introducing the Plan in March 1964, Kwame Nkrumah clearly defined its main tasks and aims:

firstly, to speed up the rate of growth of our national economy;

secondly, to enable us to embark upon the socialist transformation of our economy through the rapid development of the state and co-operative sectors;

thirdly, to eradicate completely the colonial structure of our economy.

Our aim, under this plan, is to build in Ghana a socialist state which accepts full responsibility for promoting the well-being of the masses. Our national wealth must be built up and used in such a way that economic power shall not be allowed to exploit the worker in town or village, but be used for the supreme welfare and happiness of our people. The people, through the state, should have effective control over the economy of the country. "A socialist state cannot come by itself, nor can it be established by the formulation of plans," Nkrumah pointed out. "Socialism has to be worked for and even sacrificed for. Socialism, which is aimed at the emancipation of the people from exploitation, has to be built by the people."

True, the economy of Ghana would for some time remain a mixed economy in which a vigorous public and cooperative sector would operate along with a private sector. But the public and cooperative sector would expand at the maximum possible rate, especially in those strategic areas of production upon which the economy of the country essentially depends.

"We are determined that the economic independence of Ghana shall be achieved and maintained so as to avoid the social antago-

nisms resulting from the unequal distribution of economic power," said Nkrumah. "We are equally determined to ensure that the operation of a mixed economy leads to the socialist transformation we envisage, and not to the defeat of our socialist aims."

All this requires that we constantly bear in mind the necessity of giving the maximum encouragement to the development of the state and co-operative sectors, of regulating the pattern of state investment in order to give the highest priority to productive investment, and of determining and directing the forms and conditions of foreign investment in order to safeguard our socialist policy and national independence.

Foreign investment has a valuable contribution to make to Ghana's economy and to the attainment of certain specific objectives, including the production of consumer goods, the local processing of Ghanaian raw materials and the utilization of Ghana's natural resources in those lines of economic activity where a large volume of investment is required.

"We expect, however, that such investments will not be operated so as to exploit our people," Nkrumah stressed. On the contrary, we expect such enterprises to assist in the expansion of the economy in line with our general objectives . . . We welcome foreign investors in a spirit of partnership. They can earn their profits here, provided they leave us an agreed portion for promoting the welfare and happiness of our people as a whole as against the greedy ambitions of the few . . . Our Government has always insisted that the operations of all economic enterprises in Ghana should conform to the national economic objectives and be subject to the rules and regulations which are made in pursuance of our socialist policies."

It will be recalled that Lenin in his *Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government* written in March-April 1918, at a time when the young Soviet Republic was facing the tasks of economic reconstruction and re-organization, declared that "the possibility of building up socialism depends entirely upon whether we shall be able, by paying a certain tribute to foreign capital during a certain transitional period, to safeguard our internal economic independence."

The world situation has greatly changed since the founder of the Soviet state wrote those words. The Soviet people were obliged to build socialism in isolation, in capitalist encirclement. Ghana is taking its first steps along the road to socialism at a time when there already exists a mighty commonwealth of socialist countries, and when imperialism

has been further weakened by the upsurge of the national-liberation movement. Since Ghana herself attained independence, there has grown up a large group of newly-independent countries in Africa and Asia, many of whom are likewise taking the non-capitalist road. Nevertheless, Ghana must still to a large extent rely on investment from the imperialist countries, and build socialism while "paying a certain tribute to foreign capital during a certain transitional period."

The Plan envisages investment totalling £442 million on development projects in the public sector. In addition, another £34 million is being put into the completion of the Volta River Project. This brings government investment in the public sector to £476 million, or £68 million a year—about £10 per head of the population per year. This can be compared with the figure of less than 8s. per head of population per year which the much-vaunted association with the European Common Market brought the French-speaking African states during the five years 1958 to 1962.

Of this investment, an average of 37.3 per cent per year will go to direct production. This proportion will, however, be substantially increased during the final years of the Plan.

Investment in the private sector should total £540 million—53 per cent of the total. Of this, some £55 million a year should come from Ghanaians and foreigners and foreign companies already in Ghana; another £8 million a year will come from new inflow of foreign capital. This is in addition to the £58 million already secured from foreign sources to pay for an aluminium smelter.

The people are now working to implement the Plan. New factories are springing up, ranging from a steel works to a chocolate factory. These will eventually enable us to cut back on our imports and open up new opportunities for exports. At the same time no effort is being spared to increase the production of our traditional mineral products, and to develop the production of the many new minerals whose presence has been revealed by an extensive prospecting program.

In agriculture, too, efforts are being made to end the one-sided dependence on cocoa and to develop new crops, both to cater for the new industries and to provide food for the people. This again will enable us to cut unnecessary imports.

The heart of our plans for a new Ghana is the great Volta River Project, one of the most ambitious development schemes now under way in any part of the world. It has three aspects:

1. The building of a new port at Tema,

some 15 miles east of Accra. Over the last twelve years (work started before independence) the Ghana Government has spent some £35 million from its own resources on the construction of what is now one of the largest and best-equipped man-made ports in Africa. This aspect of the project also includes a carefully planned township and industrial area.

2. The building of a dam and hydro-electric power station at Akosombo, about 60 miles north of Tema. The dam, already built, will create one of the largest man-made seas in the world, while the power station will eventually provide 883,000 kilowatts of electricity. The first phase of the power station is already supplying power a year ahead of schedule. Ghana herself has provided half the cost of the dam and power installation. The remainder has been *lent* on normal commercial terms by the U.S. and British Governments and the International Bank. *Not one penny has been given.*

3. The construction of an aluminium smelter at Tema. This is now being built by VALCO, a consortium formed by two American firms, the Kaiser Aluminium and Chemical Corporation and the Reynolds Metals Company. With an eventual capacity of 120,000 tons a year, the smelter will be one of the main users of power from Akosombo. It will at first use imported bauxite, but the agreement establishing VALCO as a company subject to Ghanaian laws provides incentives for the use of Ghanaian bauxite within ten years. The agreement also makes provision for the creation of a special fund to which VALCO will contribute a proportion of its profits. The fund will be used to finance educational and social projects in Ghana.

The Volta River Project will alter the whole map of Ghana. It will mean more power for new industries and for the domestic consumer; it will mean new possibilities for the development of fishing on the new inland sea, which will also constitute an important means for north-south communications; it will make possible the opening up of new areas for agricultural development by the provision of irrigation schemes.

But while work on this project is proceeding ahead of schedule, and although the cost of the dam and power installation has proved substantially less than the original estimate (a rare event in these times), it should not be thought that Ghana has encountered no difficulties in her efforts to overcome the legacy of colonialism.

Thanks to the one-sided economy bequeathed by colonialism, Ghana is still forced to

depend on the export of one crop—cocoa—for nearly two-thirds of the foreign currency she needs to finance her development plan. Furthermore, despite very substantial increases in purchases by the socialist countries, she still has to sell the bulk of her cocoa in a world market dominated by a small number of monopolies, mainly British.

At the end of World War Two, there was a world shortage of cocoa, and these monopolies, with the tacit approval of the Western Governments, pledged that however much output was increased, they would guarantee a minimum price of between £200 and £250 a ton.

In response to these appeals, Ghana, by great investment of money and effort, more than doubled her output between 1956 and 1964.

The Seven-Year Plan was drafted on the assumption that this increased output would be sold at a minimum price of £200 per ton; it was estimated that foreign currency earnings from cocoa would average £86 million a year. Bearing in mind the repeated pledges of the cocoa monopolies and the fact that in 1953-54 cocoa was selling at £476 a ton, this was not unreasonable.

Indeed, the high prices being obtained for cocoa in the early fifties prompted many, both in Ghana and elsewhere, to call for even greater concentration on cocoa and the rejection or at least the slowing-down of plans for the diversification of agriculture and industrial development.

Had this policy been adopted, the results would have been disastrous. What in fact happened during the succeeding years, thanks to market manipulation by the monopolies, who conveniently forgot all about their promises of a minimum price, was that the price of cocoa began to fall, until in summer, 1965, it reached an all-time low of £85 a ton. In other words, although Ghana had produced and sold more cocoa than ever before her foreign currency earnings remained virtually stagnant at about £70 million a year.

This problem is not peculiar to Ghana. It is shared by many developing countries which are obliged to rely mainly upon one agricultural product or mineral to earn the foreign currency they need to finance their development programs.

Furthermore, Ghana, again like other developing countries, has come up against the problem of the increase in the prices of the industrial goods which she must buy from the advanced capitalist countries at a time when her own earnings are at best stagnant and at worst falling as a result of the slump

in the prices of raw materials and agricultural produce.

The consequences of these developments in the world capitalist market have been grave for all developing countries. For Ghana, they have meant that she has had to draw heavily on her reserves. She has had to resort to credits to a much greater extent than would otherwise have been the case. Being on "normal" capitalist commercial terms, these credits impose a heavy interest burden. Repayment of interest and capital swallowed up over a quarter of our total export earnings in 1965.

Many would like to take advantage of these difficulties to make Ghana renounce her policy of non-capitalist development and anti-imperialist unity.

A recent example was the U.S. rejection of Ghana's request for £35 million in surplus food over the next seven years. Western commentators linked the refusal directly with the appearance of Kwame Nkrumah's latest book, *Neo-Colonialism—the Last Stage of Imperialism*. The political strings attached to U.S. "aid" became clearly manifest.

But Kwame Nkrumah has already made it clear that "neither the machinations of monopolists in the cocoa trade, nor the obstacles placed in our path by those who seek to control foreign currencies and credits, will cause us to slacken or halt our pace of development. If more sacrifices of luxuries are required, we shall make them. If greater efficiency must be reached in our present production, we shall reach it. But our development will go on."

This policy of development in the direction of socialism at home has been matched by a policy of peace and anti-imperialist unity abroad.

Ever since it became independent Ghana has been in the forefront of the struggle for a United Africa completely free of colonialist and neo-colonialist influences. The recent holding of the Summit conference of the Organization of African Unity in Accra, despite months of neo-colonialist efforts to disrupt it, and the decisions which it reached marked a further step toward unity.

Subsequent events in Zimbabwe, where the white settler regime of Ian Smith was able to seize power thanks to the policies of appeasement pursued by Britain's Labor Government, have once again underlined the urgency of the problem of African unity, and the need for a common African foreign policy and a joint African military command.

Only a united Africa can withstand the

political and economic pressure of imperialism in all its forms; only a united Africa can ensure that the wealth of Africa is used not to fill the pockets of foreign investors but to build a fuller, richer life for Africa's own people.

Ghana also opposes imperialist aggression on other continents. She has called for an end to U.S. bombing in Vietnam as a vital preliminary for peace negotiations. She has repeatedly made clear her readiness to assist in bringing about such negotiations and her view that the South Vietnam National Liberation Front must take its rightful place at the negotiating table.

Ghana seeks the prohibition of all nuclear tests and supports the banning of nuclear weapons. She is in favor of the establishment of nuclear-free zones in Africa and elsewhere. She is a firm advocate of general and complete disarmament.

Kwame Nkrumah has declared that socialism can only be built by socialists, and the battle against the survivals of colonialism in the minds of men is of decisive importance. At its inception the Convention People's Party was a party embracing all sections of the population, with its roots firmly in the broad mass of the common people.

The task now is to transform it into a vanguard party leading and organizing the masses on the basis of a common ideology—that of scientific socialism, Marxism-Leninism applied to African conditions.

The CPP has rejected the concept of "African Socialism," believing it to be neither African nor socialism, seeing it as the offspring of the class-collaborationist doctrines of West European Right-Wing Social-Democracy. The CPP knows only one socialism — scientific socialism—and the aims of the CPP now include "to pursue the study of scientific socialism as enriched and advanced in Nkrumaism."

In his address to the first session of the Second Parliament of the Republic in August 1965, which he significantly described as "the first Socialist Parliament of Ghana," Kwame Nkrumah declared: "From now on, we must devote all our energies to the pursuit of a unifying and progressive ideology, a dynamic but flexible economic policy, a positive and constructive role in the African Revolution, and a balanced relationship with the rest of the world. Above all, we must devote our energies to the establishment of a strong and prosperous socialist society, which can fulfil the aims and aspirations of our people."

These are the tasks which the people of Ghana are now tackling.

A sickly stench of betrayal

THE EVENTS IN ZIMBABWE ("Rhodesia") are pervaded by a sickly stench of betrayal of African interests by British imperialism, presided over by the Wilson "Labor" Government. As a direct result of this betrayal, nine African countries have already broken off diplomatic relations, including two members of the British Commonwealth, Tanzania and Ghana, and it is expected that others will soon follow their example. To understand the depth of African indignation over these events, and the crucial importance attached to them, one should review them in their historical and political context.

When Ian Smith and his racist "Rhodesian Front" cabinet declared their "independence" from British rule last month they were in fact making a determined bid to preserve white supremacy and to *prevent* genuine independence for the territory under democratic majority rule. Leaders of the Labor and Conservative parties professed indignation at this "illegal act of rebellion." But this "rebellion" was not a sudden coup, the outcome of a conspiracy. Smith and his gang had quite openly been threatening and preparing for a long time — over two years — for what they referred to as a "unilateral declaration of independence." Right until the last minute Wilson pleaded with Smith — as if he was the head of an important world power, instead of the representative of a minority of 200,000 white settlers in a country of four million Africans.

In the course of these talks Wilson promised Smith that, even in the event of the white Rhodesians illegally declaring independence, Britain would not use force against them. That was all the settler gang in Salisbury was waiting to hear. Convinced that, with the aid of their fascist allies in the Republic of South Africa and Portugal, they could successfully defy African and world opinion and weather any economic sanctions imposed by Britain and the United Nations, they proclaimed a new constitution declaring themselves an independent state headed by the Queen of England.

Thus, in the eyes of Africa and the world, British imperialism bears direct and immediate responsibility for the Salisbury declaration of November, which — despite its form and appearance — was not an act of "rebellion" so much as it was a declaration of war against the people of Zimbabwe. Even more pertinent is the question of how Smith and his gang were ever in a position to speak as the "Government of Rhodesia," to control a substantial state machine, including police, army and air force; to form alliances, military, political and economic, with foreign states such as the Verwoerd and Salazar regimes; and to conduct a reign of terror against the African majority and even the minority of liberals among the white community.

THE 1961 CONSTITUTION

The answer to this question is that Ian Smith and his accomplices were "elected" to their positions in terms of the constitution of the colony of Southern Rhodesia approved by the Conservative government and British Parliament in 1961.

According to this Constitution, to vote for Parliament a citizen must enjoy a certain amount of income and have a certain level of education in order to get into the "A" roll, which elects 50 out of 65 members of the Legislative Assembly. It is no accident that those who qualify to vote on this roll include nearly all the whites and exclude nearly all the Africans.

The white minority dominates the economy, monopolizing skilled jobs and commercial opportunities, making it virtually impossible for the Africans to rise above the ranks of ill-paid unskilled labor. They manipulate the educational system — £100 a year is spent for educating each white child as against £8 a year for an African child — so that no more than a tiny handful of Africans can hope to attain the secondary education required to qualify as a voter.

The result is that on the crucial "A" roll 90,000 whites are registered as qualified vot-

ers, as against 2,263 Africans (1964 elections). Apologists for the 1961 constitution point out that, unlike that of the neighboring Republic of South Africa, which legally confines the franchise to those of "pure European descent," there is no formal and explicit discrimination against Africans as such. But the plain fact is that the income and education barriers are plainly designed to do what they have done: to exclude Africans and to enfranchise whites.

That is why the majority of the African people, including the Zimbabwe African People's Union headed by Mr. Joshua Nkomo, have refused to help operate this fraud of "elections" and have stood out for their demand of "one man, one vote."

Mr. Harold Wilson, when Leader of the Opposition, condemned the 1961 Constitution roundly. He told the British House of Commons (March 1963): "We have said that no constitution is defensible which fails to allow the people of those territories to control their own destinies. We have bitterly attacked the Southern Rhodesian Constitution for that, and *a Labor Government would therefore alter it.*" (My italics.—T.A.)

Unfortunately, on this question as in so many other instances, Mr. Wilson's brave words when in opposition bear no relation to his attitude as Labor Prime Minister. No move was made during the year of Labor government to alter the constitution so as to effect a transfer of power to the majority of the people. Wilson's negotiations with Smith were on the basis, fundamentally, of the continuance of the rotten 1961 Constitution which had placed Smith's Rhodesian Front in power. When he met Mr. Nkomo and other African leaders, who had been brought from their places of detention to interview him during his visit to Salisbury, Wilson attempted to browbeat them into retreating from the principles for which they were victimized and into cooperating with the very same constitution.

Indeed he has repeatedly stated in Parliament that the African majority in Zimbabwe is "not ready" for majority rule. Of course, no democrat and opponent of racialism can for one moment accept this argument, based on the grotesque pretence that the colonizers came to Africa and other areas of colonization (who had been adequately governing themselves for centuries before they arrived) in the art of self-government. It is true that the colonialists — in the case of Southern Africa, the white minorities — have effectively debarred Africans for many years from gaining administrative experience. But neither

poverty nor lack of education, both the results of colonialism, are a barrier to the exercise of democratic rights; indeed experience has proved that without political power oppressed peoples can gain neither education nor higher living standards.

POLITICAL EXPERIENCE

In fact the African people of Zimbabwe have demonstrated a considerable degree of political maturity, the result of many years of mass activities led by their national liberation and trade union organizations.

When the British South Africa Company, headed by the millionaire adventurer Cecil Rhodes, and chartered by the British government, invaded the kingdom of King Lobengula with a private army of mercenaries, they were met with courageous armed resistance by the people, and even after that resistance had been crushed they rose time and again in rebellion against the despotic rule of the Chartered Company.

Already in the twenties they formed the Southern Rhodesia African National Congress and the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union, on the pattern of similar bodies in the then Union of South Africa. After the Second World War, the trade union movement — especially the railway workers, headed by Joshua Nkomo, conducted many militant and disciplined struggles. The African National Congress led the struggle against the ill-omened Federation of Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) and Nyasaland, which ended in the collapse of the Federation and the shipwreck of the plans of Britain and the white minority permanently to dominate these regions of Central Africa. As in the other two territories, repeated general strikes, boycotts and other mass activities took place in Southern Rhodesia.

Like their counterparts in the Republic of South Africa, the white minority regime replied with mounting repression and fascist-type legislation such as the Unlawful Organizations Act, the Preventive Detention Act, the Law and Order Maintenance Act, legalizing detention without trial and imposing the death penalty for political offences. The African National Congress was outlawed—it was succeeded by the National Democratic Party, and as each was successively declared "unlawful," the Zimbabwe African People's Party and the Zimbabwe African People's Union. Despite illegality, mass arrests and the isolation of Joshua Nkomo and hundreds of their most experienced leaders in detention camps, the people have maintained their organiza-

tion, discipline and spirit of resistance. The great demonstration at the airport that greeted Wilson's arrival with demands for a democratic constitution, the strikes in Bulawayo and Salisbury against the illegal declaration of "independence" — these despite terrorism by Smith's armed white police — all are clear indications, if any were needed, not only that the people are "ready" for majority rule, but that they are *not* ready to submit any longer to the tyrannical misrule of a minority of upstart settlers, most of whom have only arrived in the country during the past few years.

"SANCTIONS" — AND THE ALTERNATIVE

Wilson, as we have seen, broke his promise that "a Labor Government would . . . alter" the "indefensible" Southern Rhodesian constitution. But he has kept his promise to Smith not to use force against what the British Government itself describes as "treason" and "rebellion." Britain has refused to send in troops — even to protect the Kariba Dam installations from sabotage by the Smith regime, which would have disastrous effects on Zambia's economy. Nor will the British authorities agree to the sending in of troops under the auspices of the Organization of African Unity or of the United Nations in order to put down the criminal, anti-African Smith regime.

One cannot avoid the contrast between this reluctance to contemplate forcible measures against the settler regime (which, in any case, only maintains itself in office by continual use of violence against the majority of the people) and the constant readiness of British imperialism to employ unrestrained force against colonial peoples genuinely struggling for freedom. Labor leaders are not pacifists. They have in the past supported violent suppression of colonial "rebellions" throughout the British empire. They are currently conducting colonial wars in Aden and Malaya, and maintain troops in British Guiana to uphold a minority regime and a British-imposed, undemocratic constitution. They have given unqualified backing to the aggression of the United States government in Vietnam.

As a supposed alternative to military action, the imperialists have reluctantly agreed — under constant pressure from African and world opinion — to impose economic sanctions against the Smith regime. The first economic measures announced by Britain were no more than a mild token of disapproval. Chief among them was an embargo on British purchases of Rhodesia's tobacco crop — the

country's main export. This was immediately negated by the offer of Anton Rupert, South African tobacco tycoon and head of the international Rothman's, Carreras and Rembrandt cartels (firmly established in Britain) to buy the entire 1966 Rhodesian tobacco crop.

It was only after the ultimatum of the African states threatening to break off diplomatic relations that Britain agreed to extend international sanctions to a ban on the export of oil and petrol.

But the manner of applying these sanctions leaves one with the gravest doubts of the intentions of the imperialist powers. Oil sanctions, like all similar economic measures against the Smith regime, can only be effective if they are applied universally, and particularly by the neighboring countries. The main countries to consider in this respect are the Republic of South Africa, and Portugal which dominates the neighboring territories of Angola and Mozambique. Both Verwoerd and Salazar have close sympathies with the Smith regime and will undoubtedly do all in their power to frustrate sanctions and mitigate their effects. There is a direct oil pipeline from Beira in Mozambique to Zimbabwe, and though this is controlled by a British-dominated firm, there is no guarantee that it will not be used to defeat the oil embargo.

It is obvious that economic sanctions against the Smith regime can only be fully enforced by means of an international blockade both of the Portuguese colonies and of the Republic of South Africa. It is no accident that these are the very countries against which the African, Asian and socialist countries have repeatedly demanded sanctions. These demands have always been resisted by British, American and other imperialist representatives at the United Nations and elsewhere. And the Labor government continues the Tory policy of opposing UN boycotts and of greatly extending trade and investments in these countries.

In announcing the oil embargo in Parliament, Wilson told Smith's Conservative sympathizers that Britain would oppose a blockade of Mozambique and South Africa to enforce it.

WHY THEY BACK WHITE SUPREMACY

This strange spectacle of Britain's patent reluctance to bring a breakaway colony back into the imperial fold is surely unparalleled in the long and chequered history of colonialism. Inevitably African, Asian and other observers contrast this tenderness towards the

Smith gang with the merciless repression of our own people when we have rebelled against colonialism. And inevitably the conclusion is drawn that the "Rhodesian" rebels are receiving kid-glove treatment because they are white, because, as the British politicians keep emphasizing, "they are our kith and kin."

To be sure there is a great deal of crude racialism and color prejudice abroad in Britain. Nor is this confined to the openly fascist groups who have made Ian Smith their hero — or to the right wing of the Conservative Party. White chauvinism and illusions of racial superiority, nurtured by a long period of British rule over African and Asian peoples, are widespread among the public and even infect sections of the labor movement. The Labor Government panders to these tendencies instead of fighting them — an outstanding example being its recent disgraceful measures against "colored immigration."

No doubt these tendencies have created the climate in which it has been possible to carry out the appeasement of the Smith gang, with very little opposition apart from that of the Communist Party, the Anti-Apartheid Movement and sections of student and church opinion.

But it would be an over-simplification to ascribe Britain's betrayal of African interests only to racial sentiment. The "Rhodesia lobby" in Parliament, represented by Lord Salisbury and Julian Amery, the hard-headed businessmen in the City of London (and for that matter in New York and Zurich), which are the real pressure groups behind Wilson's Rhodesia policy, are not motivated by sentiment but by far more tangible considerations. And if they have jeopardized the future of the "British Commonwealth" and the goodwill of the entire continents of Africa and Asia over this issue, it was not because of concern for 200,000 whites — the population of a medium-sized English town, and most of whom, in any event, are not of British origin. Far more important considerations are at stake.

One cannot divorce consideration of Zimbabwe and its future from that of the Republic of South Africa, with which it is closely involved not only geographically but also politically, economically and militarily. Together with the Portuguese colonies, they form a part of the Pretoria-Salisbury-Lisbon "Unholy Alliance," in which western monopolies are deeply involved, and which is the key to the entire "grand strategy" for Africa — a stronghold of colonialism and projected

springboard for imperialist penetration and intrigue throughout the continent.

The direct stake of foreign imperialism in this area is immense and rapidly growing. Official estimates of British investments in South Africa are about £1,000 million. *Newsweek* recently placed USA investments at \$600 million. Other capitalist countries—notably West Germany, France and Japan — are increasing their stake in the apartheid economy. These foreign investments are not confined to such traditional colonialist fields as mining, but are moving to a marked degree to manufacture, finance, insurance, and commerce.

The exceptionally high profit rates on these investments arise directly out of the extremely vicious type of colonialism practised by the white minority regimes in Southern Africa (including Rhodesia and Southwest Africa as well as the Republic). Widespread alienation of African land (in Rhodesia, whites have seized about half, in the Republic, over four-fifths, of the land) and the pressure of poll-tax and other taxes and pass-laws, produce a steady stream of forced, migratory African labor to white-owned and foreign-financed mines, plantations, farms and industries. Police terror and fascist labor laws operate to keep African wage-rates at the very minimum. The result is a rate of exploitation of labor reflected in profit rates probably the highest in the world.

In a nutshell, what imperialism is primarily concerned with, as the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party pointed out in its recent statement, is "to avoid a truly democratic solution in Zimbabwe which would give a further impetus to the anti-colonialist African Revolution and bring it to the banks of the Limpopo River. This would endanger the investors' paradise which apartheid and cheap African labor have created in the Republic of South Africa."

HEAD-ON COLLISION

The truth is that the interests and aims of imperialism and those of the African peoples throughout the continent are diametrically and irreconcilably opposed. The imperialists aim to keep our continent backward, undeveloped and dependent, a supplier of cheap labor and raw materials. Therefore they want to retain the South under white minority control, a heaven-sent dumping ground for the profitable investment of the vast accumulations of capital which are posing a most serious problem for the capitalist system as a whole. The African people want to develop

and modernize their countries as quickly as possible, and to make independence a reality in every sense. Therefore they are determined to hasten the liberation of their brothers and sisters in the South.

That is why the Organization of African Unity has resolved to use every means within its power to crush the illegal Smith regime and to assist our brothers and sisters in Zimbabwe to win democratic majority rule. It is true that most African countries at present lack the military resources to make their clearly-expressed will fully effective. The reactionaries have not been slow to seize upon this relative weakness in order to sneer at the ineffectiveness of OAU decisions. It is shameful to find them being joined in this unsavory pastime by Dr. Banda — though the independence of Malawi is due in no small measure to the contribution of Zimbabwe Africans to the struggle against the "Central African Federation."

But if the African countries have not yet been able to encompass the overthrow of the Smith regime directly they have done and are doing a great deal to demonstrate their solidarity with Zimbabwe, and in many cases at the cost of not inconsiderable self-sacrifice. In addition to the Commonwealth countries which, loyal to the OAU decision and at no small material cost, broke off diplomatic relations with Britain, particular reference must here be made to the most courageous stand of Dr. Kaunda and the Zambia government, in the very difficult position in which they found themselves. With such a heavy dependence of Zambia's economy on power, supplies and transport across the Zambesi River, Zambia has nevertheless taken a firm and principled stand against the illegal settler takeover.

Moreover, if the African states have been bitterly betrayed by the imperialists, who have moved ahead in their "Rhodesia" policy along an endless trail of broken promises, the African peoples are finding, as they have found at every critical turn in African affairs from Suez to Zanzibar, that they are not alone in the world, that they have, in the socialist countries, staunch and reliable friends in the struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism. The visit of the two Zambian Ministers to the Soviet Union at the end of December is bound to strengthen relationships not only between the two countries, but also between all the African and the socialist countries.

The sympathies of all progressive mankind are with the people of Zimbabwe. The problem of Rhodesia figured prominently at the First Tri-Continental Conference in Havana. A resolution adopted by the conference sharply condemned the unlawful actions of the Salisbury racists and the policy of the British government. The delegates to the conference voiced their full solidarity with the people of Zimbabwe and their readiness to render them every assistance in their struggle against the Smith racist regime.

The imperialists have been striving to present themselves behind a mask of benevolence in Africa. Their hypocritical double talk, condemning apartheid and colonialism in words, while supporting and financing Verwoerd, Smith and Salazar in deeds, was meant to conceal the fundamental clash of interests between imperialism and Africa. They aimed to defer all critical decisions which would have brought this clash out into the open and brought it to a head.

The real crime of Smith and his accomplices, in the eyes of the imperialists, is that they have upset this carefully prepared plan of action. Their precipitate action is leading to a head-on collision between the colonialists and white supremacists and the united forces of African liberation.

The people of Zimbabwe are preparing for bitter and relentless struggles in 1966. They cannot pause or rest until the criminal Rhodesia Front regime is ousted. In these struggles they will have the unreserved support of all the peoples of Africa, not least their twelve million oppressed brothers and sisters in the Republic of South Africa. The leading South African liberation organizations, such as the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party have already declared the fullest solidarity with the Africans of Zimbabwe. They have called upon the South African people to do everything in their power to prevent the Verwoerd government buttressing the Smith regime, and to redouble their struggles against apartheid in the Republic itself. Our struggle, they point out, is one and the same.

Given this spirit of unity and resistance, and of all-African solidarity, the year 1966 may witness powerful blows against the evil white minority dictatorships in the South, which bar the road to African and human progress and threaten world peace.

Terence AFRICANUS

Sudan: the fight for democracy continues

WORKING PEOPLE throughout the world, and the democratic forces in all countries, express their solidarity with the Communist Party of the Sudan. They are shocked at the action of the government, which has initiated an anti-Communist crusade and produced a bill outlawing the Communist Party.

Anti-communism is not a new thing in the world and particularly in the Sudan. In 1951 the British colonial authorities amended a law which banned a number of associations in order to bring the CP and other democratic organizations under the ban. The purpose of the ban was to isolate Sudanese democratic organizations from friends in other parts of the world.

When it became clear that the amended law was not achieving its purpose the Governor-General submitted another bill "against subversion." The bill, which met with vigorous opposition from the public, was rejected by Parliament at its first reading.

In November 1958 the Abboud military junta launched a drive against all opposition forces on the pretext of "combating communism."

Despite the persecution the CP carried on the fight, combining underground work with legal actions, and using every opportunity to extend its activity. Championing the national interests and the interests of the working class and the peasantry, the CP increased its influence, and contributed in no small measure to the success of the revolution in October 1964 which overthrew the pro-imperialist military dictatorship.

Then for the first time the new social forces on the political arena—workers, peasants and intellectuals—were represented in the Provisional Government which succeeded the military dictatorship.

After the revolution the democratic forces became better organized and the CP enjoyed more favorable conditions for its activity. The Sudanese Communists set to work to build a really mass party. Tens of thousands of peasants and agricultural laborers were organized in unions. Trade unions were formed in town and countryside.

The 1964 national-democratic revolution opened up a bright prospect for the people and pro-

duced a mood of optimism. The people became more insistent in their demands for democratic reforms — agrarian reform, industrialization, ridding the administration of counter-revolutionaries, abolition of the sheikdoms which ruled the roost in the countryside where they were the mainstay of semi-feudal social relations.

The Provisional Government, which had the support of the overwhelming majority of the population, began to realize these demands.

But this policy did not suit everyone. Umma (a reactionary party of landlords), the Right-wing leadership of the bourgeois Unionist Party, subservient to the Umma party, and the Moslem Brotherhood, a terrorist organization, began to show their hand.

Backed by Western imperialists, these reactionaries set out to halt the revolution, to divert it from the peaceful road. The Provisional Government, they claimed, was a Communist government and the demand for democratic reforms was voiced solely by the Communists.

At the point of the bayonet, they succeeded in ousting the Provisional Government and replacing it with reactionaries; elections were held under reactionary laws which did not ensure a fair distribution of seats. Towns and areas with a politically active population which played a big role in the political life of the country and contributed effectively to the success of the revolution, were denied a large number of seats, whereas backward areas under the influence of reactionary parties such as Umma were given a relatively greater number of seats. Workers and peasant cultivators were denied any special representation.

The People's Democratic Party boycotted the elections. Despite the manipulations of the reactionaries an analysis of the elections reveals a striking fact. In the 54 constituencies where the Communist Party had its own candidates or supported other candidates, it polled 73,103 votes—17.3 per cent of the total. In 14 urban constituencies it polled 20.1 per cent of the vote. Eleven of the fifteen seats allocated in the Constituent Assembly to candidates with a higher education were won by the CP. In the capital the Party polled 26.5 per cent of the

vote, compared with 1.16 per cent in the previous elections in 1958. In the capital the Unionist Party vote dropped from 64.6 per cent in 1958 to 42.5 per cent. Thus, election returns showed a decline in influence for the bourgeois-landlord parties and a growth of influence for the Communist Party.

The coalition government formed after the elections by the bourgeois-landlord parties failed to solve the crucial economic problems facing the country, the problem of its unity and of the nationalities.

In the Constituent Assembly the Communist members denounced the reactionary policy of the government; they upheld the interests of the working people and took a stand for democratic freedoms. This strengthened the growing opposition to the undemocratic practices of the government and the parties of the Right.

The government retaliated by a drive against the Opposition. With the backing of the imperialists it struck at the Communist Party and banned it.

The democratic forces in the country rallied to defend the CP. They realized that the government action was directed not only against the Communists but against the democratic forces generally. A National Congress for the Defense of Democracy was formed, which embraces workers, peasants, intellectuals, the democratic parties and other organizations.

The people, resolved to uphold the gains of the revolution of October 1964, want a national democratic government which would take the country along the peaceful way to socialism. The Communist Party stated in its Program that the choice "*no doubt will depend not only on the revolutionary forces, but also on the attitude taken by the imperialist powers and the internal reactionaries. Should these resort to undemocratic and unconstitutional methods in order to halt the revolution and to secure their narrow aims, as they did on November 17, 1958 when they used a handful of reactionary army officers to fight against the people, there will be no alternative for the revolutionary forces but to stand firm in self-defense and in defense of the revolution and national independence.*"

The Sudan is at the crossroads. As things are, development along the capitalist path can bring nothing but disaster to the country.

The class struggle is growing in intensity. And it hardly needs saying that the unity of the democratic and socialist forces and their determination to fight for their aspirations, together with the solidarity of peace-loving people all over the world, will finally triumph. The Communist Party, which is working for the people, will fulfil its historical mission.

H. ABDALLAH

The colonialists are doomed to defeat

The question of ending colonial rule once and for all in the territories still held by the Portuguese colonialists continues to figure on the agendas of continental and regional forums of African leaders at various levels. A special resolution on this question, adopted by the Third Assembly of the heads of state of African countries, held last autumn in Accra, called on all countries to "render the movement for the independence of the Portuguese colonies . . . all the diplomatic and material aid needed in their struggle to complete the liberation of their territories."

Unanimous support for the freedom fighters in the Portuguese colonies was voted at the First Solidarity Conference of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America held in Havana in January. Delegates denounced the persecution to which African patriots are subjected by the colonialists. Speaking on behalf of delegates from the Portuguese colonies, Amilcar Cabral, General Secretary of the African Party of Independence of "Portuguese" Guinea, declared: "Dictator Salazar does not want to hear of granting independence to his Africa. In these circumstances we have no other alternative but armed struggle."

In Angola, Mozambique and "Portuguese" Guinea the colonialists are being pressed to the wall as the peoples intensify the fight for independence. News from the fronts of the liberation struggle indicates that the ground is burning under the feet of the colonialists. The day is not far off when Salazar and his NATO patrons will have to clear out of Africa.

ANGOLA

IT WAS A bleak Christmas for the Portuguese soldiers fighting the "dirty war" against the people of Angola. Many of them met their death in the fighting and much of their supplies and transport was destroyed. The heaviest fighting occurred in Cabinda province where the freedom fighters headed by the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (PMLA) are firmly entrenched.

Guerrillas ambush the enemy, block roads and destroy bridges, disrupting their supply lines and the routes over which Angola's wealth is shipped abroad. Roughly a quarter of the ter-



VITORIA OU MORTE!

ritory of the northern provinces has been liberated.

The People's Movement, uniting town workers, agricultural laborers and peasants under the leadership of patriotic intellectuals, is the only genuinely people's party in the country with a clearcut program of action.

Confronted with the obdurate refusal of the Portuguese government to grant Angolans the right to decide their own destiny, the party in 1961 called on the people to take up arms. Since then considerable headway has been made in rallying the people against the colonialists. At one time, however, the fight for freedom was gravely handicapped, primarily because of disruptive action by the pseudo-revolutionary party headed by Holden Roberto. Roberto, by means of subterfuge, managed to secure recognition by the Organization of African Unity and a number of independent African states. Setting up headquarters in the neighboring Congo (Leopoldville), the disruptors prevented the delivery of arms to the guerrillas, resorted to various provocations and sowed discord.

But now things have changed for the better. The Roberto group has become discredited in the eyes not only of the people of Angola but of African public opinion generally and all

friends of the African people. The crisis in Roberto's so-called government in exile has led to the complete isolation of his supporters.

The Second Conference of national organizations in the Portuguese colonies, held last October in Dar-es-Salam, called on the heads of OAU governments to revise, "in the interests of the people of Angola and of all Africa, their decision to extend de jure recognition to the so-called 'Angolan revolutionary government in exile'."

The leaders of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola note that the party owes its success in overcoming the difficulties encountered on the international arena to the aid of the socialist countries and primarily the Soviet Union, the country which, in the words of Louis Azevedo, one of the leaders of the PMLA, "has always been to the fore in championing the struggle of the oppressed people."

Experience has taught Africans that there is only one militant force in Angola that has proved its patriotism in the struggle against imperialism. That force is the PMLA. The removal from its path of the obstacles artificially created by imperialists and their agents should bring about a new upsurge of the liberation movement of the Angolan people.

MOZAMBIQUE



"Between July 17 and August 23 the Portuguese army lost 14 troop carriers and suffered 242 casualties. Our losses for this period were 8 killed and 12 wounded." This is typical of the communiques issued from the battlefronts of the liberation war which the people of Mozambique, and their party, the Mozambique Liberation Front, are waging against the Portuguese.

The armed struggle of the people of this colony began in September 1964. The Mozambique Liberation Front, founded in 1962 in Dar-es-Salam, is based mainly on workers and peasants and primarily workers made to perform forced labor. For a long time the patriots waged their independence struggle by peaceful means, and it was only in the face of Portu-

gal's adamant refusal to hear of any negotiations that the Liberation Front was forced at its Congress in 1962 to adopt a decision to prepare for armed struggle.

The freedom fighters won their first success in 1964 when guerrilla raids partially disorganized the economic life of the colony threatening the profits of the imperialist monopolies. In order to conceal from the Portuguese public the truth about the losses suffered by the punitive forces, the Salazar-controlled press contained inspired reports to the effect that epidemics had broken out in the colonial army.

By the autumn of 1965 enemy losses were approximately 1,000 soldiers killed, 8 aircraft shot down, several administrative posts and troop carriers, destroyed bridges and strategic communications demolished, and large quantities of arms and ammunition captured.

The Portuguese troops have been forced to withdraw from a number of areas in the provinces of Cabo-Delgado, Nyasa, Zambesi and Tete. In these liberated areas people's rule is being established and rehabilitation work is under way. Schools and medical stations are being opened. These oases of a new life are harbingers of a free independent Mozambique ruled by its people.

Today Portugal is obliged to maintain an army of 40,000 in Mozambique.

The people of Mozambique and of Africa generally are seriously disturbed by developments in Rhodesia. Since UDI, the Salisbury racialists have established closer contact with the Portuguese colonialists. Oil and other essential products are being supplied to the Smith regime through the Mozambique ports of Beira and Laurencio-Marques. The Republic of South Africa is also dependent on the transport arteries running through Mozambique. It is therefore not by chance that all the ultra-reactionaries in Africa are openly or secretly supporting Salazar in his war against the Mozambique people.

The confidence of the Mozambique patriots is strengthened by the knowledge that they have many good and powerful friends. One of these is the United Republic of Tanzania, whose government and people, as Eduardo Mondlane, President of the Mozambique Liberation Front, noted recently, "are firmly on the side of our struggle."

Encouraged no doubt by the growing aggressiveness of world imperialism, the Portuguese colonialists are now resorting to threats against Tanzania. Salazar has announced his intention to invade Tanzania on the pretext that Mozambique patriots have taken refuge there.

The imperialists and aggressors of all kinds should not forget that the African peoples have the support of the powerful socialist world. "In our fight we enjoy the support of other friendly countries," stated a message addressed by the Mozambique Liberation Front to the people and the government of the USSR on the occasion of the forty-eighth anniversary

of the October Revolution. "One of these countries is the Soviet Union which is rendering invaluable and unconditional aid to our people and our struggle."

Constantly strengthening its positions in the country and in union with the revolutionary forces of the world, the Liberation Front looks confidently to the future which is bound to bring the Mozambique people long-awaited freedom and peace.

GUINEA (Bissau)



The most notable feature of the liberation struggle in this relatively small "overseas province" of Portugal in West Africa is that nearly half of its territory is for all practical purposes no longer controlled by the colonial administration. The liberated zone, which covers the entire south and a large strip of land stretching northwards, is in the hands of the armed forces of the African Independence Party of "Portuguese" Guinea and Cape Verde.

This, of course, does not mean that the colonialists have left our country. They still hold a number of fortified points which are supplied by helicopter. But they are no longer able to launch offensive operations. In the liberated area life is returning to normal, people are at work and the number of schools, hospitals and municipal services is growing.

In the areas still under colonial rule the struggle still goes on. At its First Congress in 1964 the Independence Party decided to create a regular national liberation army in addition to the guerrilla units. This army is now in action, striking heavy blows at the Portuguese punitive forces.

During the rainy season (the summer and autumn months) last year the freedom fighters considerably extended the territory of the liberated areas. The army attacked 31 fortified enemy camps, destroying ten of them. The enemy lost 730 in killed and wounded. Guerrilla and regular army units destroyed or captured 33 troop carriers and shot down two enemy aircraft. They blew up two bridges, destroyed two fuel and ammunition dumps and captured considerable quantities of arms and equipment. The front line today is now within a few dozen kilometers of Bissau, the administrative center of the colony.

At the end of 1965 two conferences of Party functionaries in the northern and southern areas under the chairmanship of the General Secretary Amilcar Cabral, adopted important decisions relating to the armed struggle and rehabilitation in the liberated areas.

A communique summing up the results of the biggest military operations in the north in November announced that a Portuguese army camp, six trucks, armored cars and a landing vessel has been destroyed. The colonialists lost 55 men in killed.

The liberation struggle is sowing panic and confusion in the camp of the Portuguese colonialists and their accomplices. The removal of Colonel Carneiro from his post as chief of staff of the colonial army is evidence of the dissension among the policymakers of colonialism and of the failure of their plans to win the "dirty war."

Nothing can halt the advance to freedom of the people of "Portuguese" Guinea. "The strategy and tactics of our armed struggle," states the Independence Party, "are subordinated to the political task of winning national independence. And this task we shall fulfil even if it means carrying on the fight until the final defeat of the Portuguese colonial army."

M. DIENNE

Africa and socialism

(Recent books)

A SUCCESSION OF NEW BOOKS on Africa in the past three years have devoted their main attention to the political ideas now being expressed in many of the 36 independent states.

The new African states recognize that their further advance is inseparable from the struggle which is being waged to win freedom in the remaining parts of Africa. African unity is bound up with the new challenge confronting the new states. Which is the path forward to complete their final liberation? Will they travel on the orthodox road of capitalist development or can they take decisive steps on the road towards socialism?

It is in this situation that socialist ideas have become popular among the African peoples. This in itself is a tribute to the advance of the socialist world and its impact on the African liberation struggle. It is simultaneously an expression of the undying opposition to imperialism and the determination of the African masses to embark on a different road from that of the capitalist countries.

After winning political independence they are faced with the necessity of transforming the old and backward colonial economy and striking out on a new path. It is in the search for this new road that socialist ideas have become popular in Africa.

Socialism has been achieved in one-third of the world by the application of Marxist principles and strategy. Despite its political impact this does not guarantee that socialist ideas in Africa are based on Marxist principles. It is true there is a considerable growth of Marxist ideas. It is also true that the existing Communist and Workers' Parties (legal and illegal) in South Africa, Basutoland, Sudan, Nigeria, Morocco, Tunisia and other countries are doing their utmost to apply Marxist principles to the specific conditions in their countries.

However, in many of the new states African national leaders are most assiduous in putting forward the concept of "African Socialism," a concept which differs from Marxism and from what they define as "European" socialism. The claim is made that this concept is an expression of the "African Personality" which grows out of African traditional society, the non-existence of rival classes in Africa, the unity which developed in the struggle against im-

perialism and the restoration of African pride and dignity.

This concept of "African Socialism" is the theme of several recent books on Africa, numerous pamphlets, and many essays and articles in African journals. Among them is the book by President Senghor (Senegal) in 1964, the booklet by President Nyerere (Tanzania) written in 1962, an official booklet by the Kenya Government, and even one by an African priest of the Catholic faith, from Nigeria.*

ROOTS OF "AFRICAN SOCIALISM"

In a certain sense "African Socialism" has grown out of the Pan-African movement led by Dr. Du Bois in the first half of the 20th century. It was rescued from the black racialism of Marcus Garvey and transformed into a positive force for all-African liberation. In its early stages it was mainly a movement of African exiles, and did not express socialist aims. It was actually declining before the second world war, but had a new lease of life after its 5th Congress in Manchester in 1945.

Pan-Africanism found deep roots in Africa itself only after the first All-African People's Conference at Accra in December 1958. This, the first Pan-African gathering on African soil, had a powerful impact on all African liberation movements in subsequent years.

After winning political independence the search for a new path of development has stimulated a variety of political trends. Just as there are conflicting trends within Pan-Africanism so there are different versions of "African Socialism." President Senghor and President Nkrumah were among its earlier advocates. Until 1962 it was enshrined in the constitution of the Convention People's Party (CPP) as its aim. It has since been omitted, for President Nkrumah soon realized the term "African Socialism" was becoming a screen for reaction.

*Leopold Senghor. *African socialism*. London, Pall Mall Press, 1964. Julius Nyerere. *UJUMAA: The basis of African socialism* 1962. *African socialism and its application to planning in Kenya*. Ministry for Economic Planning and Development. Kenya. Government Printers, 1965. Bede Onuoha. *The elements of African socialism*. London. Andre Deutsch, 1965. Kwame Nkrumah. *Consciencism*. London, Heinemann, 1964.

Towards the end of 1962 a weekly socialist journal "The Spark" was launched in Ghana to expound the principles of scientific socialism and to expose the fallacies of "African Socialism." In its one-hundredth issue (end of 1964) President Nkrumah explained his political standpoint in these words:

"With the general acceptance, even if grudgingly given in some quarters, of the socialist path of development, it becomes necessary to spell out the content of socialism. . . .

"The many erroneous and deceitful concepts of socialism currently put out have to be exposed and destroyed. Concepts like African socialism, pragmatic socialism, traditional African socialism, Arab socialism, etc., will have to be analyzed and carefully explained so as not to confuse the African people as to the real meaning of socialism and the correct way to set about achieving it.

"Here we have had to wage an unflinching battle for the general acceptance of the principles of scientific socialism. Socialism, in its basic principles, is a science. And science has no geographical limitations. The duty of Africa is to embrace these universal principles of socialism while giving the institutional forms that take into account our African background and heritage."

The concept of "African Socialism" has three main features. First, the assertion that African traditional society was completely communal and egalitarian, and still exists today. Secondly, that this means that rival classes do not exist in Africa as in capitalist Europe. Thirdly, that African culture has its own history, special form and character, and that its preservation and enrichment depend entirely on Africa finding its own way to salvation.

President Nkrumah and other advocates of scientific socialism recognize Africa's special features. In his book "Consciencism" (1964) he defines three main segments. The first is traditional African society, secondly the Islamic tradition, and the third the infiltration of the Christian tradition and the culture of Western Europe—the last of which uses "colonialism and neo-colonialism as its primary vehicles."

President Nkrumah argues that these different segments are animated by competing ideologies, and in his book aims to present an ideology which reflects "the dynamic unity of society, as a guide to society's continual progress." Not content with the perpetuation of African traditional society, President Nkrumah looks to the future:

"Socialism, therefore, can be and is the defense of the principles of communalism in a modern setting. Socialism is a form of social organization which, guided by the principles of underlying communism, adopts procedures and measures made necessary by demographic and technological developments." (p. 73)

AFRICAN TRADITIONS

The most confusing and mystical version of "African Socialism" is that expounded by President Senghor, with its related concept of

"Negritude." To him African traditional society is synonymous with socialism:

"... Negro-African society is collectivist or, more exactly, communal, because it is rather a communion of souls than an aggregate of individuals. We would learn that we had already achieved socialism before the coming of the European. We would conclude that our duty is to renew it by helping it to regain its spiritual dimensions." (p. 49)

President Nyerere (Tanzania) expressed basically the same view (but without its spiritual emphasis) that African traditional society was egalitarian:

"Nobody starved, either of food or of human dignity, because he lacked personal wealth; he could depend on the wealth possessed by the community of which he was a member. That was Socialism. That is Socialism." (Ujumaa, p. 3.)

The Kenya Government booklet has a section on "African Traditions" which makes the claim that:

"Political democracy in the African traditional sense provided a genuine hedge against the exercise of disproportionate political power by economic power groups. In African society a man was born politically free and equal and his voice and counsel were heard and respected regardless of the economic wealth he possessed. Even where traditional leaders appeared to have greater wealth and hold disproportionate political influence over their tribal or clan community, there were traditional checks and balances including sanctions against any possible abuse of such power." (p. 3.)

This quotation (and other parts of this booklet) seem to throw serious doubt on the "egalitarian" nature of the early communal society, especially since it was the chief or elders who accumulated wealth, and were also those responsible for checking any abuses!

The Catholic view is put forward by Father Bede Onuoha at some length. Like the Kenya Government booklet his book "The Elements of African Socialism" seeks to preserve communal traditions, but also to adjust them to modern society:

"It is beyond doubt that traditional African society was based on a profoundly socialist attitude of mind, and governed by indigenous socialist rules, customs and institutions." (p. 30.)

Father Onuoha is simply repeating the words of President Nyerere about socialism being "an attitude of mind," and it is not surprising that he tries to give this a religious interpretation and to praise the activity of the priests in "pre-colonial Africa."

"Religion permeated the life of the African through and through. . . . African society was spiritual, not positivistic. Life had, essentially, a deeper, divine, dimension. The tribesman was very much at home with spiritual realities—these, for him, were often more real than material things." (p. 35.)

To what extent an egalitarian tribal system existed in Africa is still in dispute among his-

torians, archaeologists, biologists, and anthropologists. There is certainly ample evidence of communal societies having existed in many parts of the continent. They existed before Africa was divided in the 19th century between rival imperialist powers. But in many parts of Africa it had already given way to new forms, for feudalism was most prevalent in the northern parts of Africa and extended southwards even to the tropical regions.

There is evidence warranting the assumption that parts of Africa were at a higher level of civilization in the early Middle Ages than existed at that time in some European countries. Feudal states and kingdoms existed in Songhai, Mali, Oyo, Benin, Ghana, and Zimbabwe. Africans are justified in emphasizing their civilized past at a time when many parts of Europe were almost in a state of barbarism. But these medieval states have little in common with a communal and egalitarian system of society. In their joint work "A Short History of Africa" two noted African historians (Roland Oliver and J. D. Fage) claim that the "Sudanic" civilization (which embraced these early kingdoms) was far from the idyllic picture given by some African national leaders:

"The main concern of such administrations was the raising of tribute for the support of the king and of the urbanized inhabitants of the capital . . . external trade was always in some sense a royal monopoly . . . in a very real sense, therefore, the 'Sudanic' state was a superstructure erected over village communities of peasant cultivators rather than a society which had grown up naturally out of them." (p. 45.)

The truth is that the communal tribal system was beginning to break down long before Africa was divided among the imperialist powers. Colonial rule hastened this process. Together with feudal rule in northern Africa (including Morocco, Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, and Sudan) and in tropical parts of Africa like northern Nigeria and parts of Uganda, in other parts African land was annexed by European settlers. This applied to Kenya, Rhodesia, South Africa and other tropical regions. The former tribal communal system was rapidly breaking down, but it still persists in parts of west and east Africa—those countries where the African leaders lay so much stress on African traditional society. But even in these countries (Senegal, Kenya, Tanzania) the old communal system is rapidly changing its character.

A better understanding of the real place of the communal system in the light of the socialist perspective can be gained from the writings of Marx and Engels. Underlying all the arguments that "Marxism has no meaning for Africa" is the illusion that the founders of scientific socialism did not take into consideration the specificity of the pre-capitalist formations (excepting the classical feudal one), that they held that all societies must develop into capitalism before advancing to socialism. Nothing could be further from the truth.

True, Marx and Engels were not able to make a study of communal societies in Africa, which at that time was a closed book to the rest of the world. But Engels made a deep study of the works of famous anthropologists and historians, summarized in his classic essay "The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State." This is still an historical gem for the present day, and one which is also invaluable for Africans.

Marx, in a work now published under the title "Pre-Capitalist Formations," outlined the characteristics of early communal society, defined three types of it—Asiatic, Ancient, and Germanic—and thoroughly analyzed the character of individual land tenure in conditions of communal property. Both Marx and Engels recognized that these types existed in other parts of the world, that features of the "Germanic" community were found to have been present earlier among the Celts in Wales and in Ireland, and that they still existed in Russia in the middle of the 19th century. Engels wrote:

"Two fundamental facts, that arose spontaneously, govern the primitive history of all, or of almost all nations; the grouping of people according to kindred, and common property in the soil."

In stressing this aspect we wish to make clear, first, that early forms of communal society in Africa are by no means exceptional, and, second, to recall that Engels, for instance, pointed definitely to the socialist potential of the commune or "Mir" in Russia (in the event of a peasant revolution in that country being supplemented by proletarian revolution in the West), although this potential never materialized, largely because of the land reform of 1861 and the fairly rapid development of capitalism in Russia.

In the same sense the question can be discussed of utilizing, at a definite stage of the advance to socialism, the positive features of communal society still remaining in African countries, as in communal land ownership, state and cooperative farms, and self-help projects. But the advance towards socialism is not possible by attempting to retain all the features of former tribal society or by dependence on small village communities. Socialism today means modern methods of large-scale production in industry and agriculture.

With the rise of the socialist world the possibility has now arisen of bridging the historical gap between what remains of tribal communalism on the one hand, and on the other, the more advanced stage of society achieved by socialism. But this depends on united action by African and liberation movements throughout the world with the socialist countries against imperialism.

CAPITALIST IDEOLOGY

Advocates of "African Socialism" are most vociferous in their assurances that this concept has nothing to do with capitalism or with

countries of the socialist world, but it is conceded that Africa should learn from "both sides" and co-operate with both the capitalist and the socialist world. Tom Mboya, in an article in "Transition," a Uganda journal (March 1963), argues it must be different from "Socialism of the Western type" and the "Marxian type of Socialism."

In reality Mboya's definition is precisely "Socialism of the Western type," one to which no capitalist, Tory, Liberal or right-wing Labor leader in Britain would take objection. This is how it is defined:

"Socialism is a mental conditioning or an attitude of mind established in order to achieve rational relationships and harmony in society." ("Transition").

Substitute "capitalism" for the first word "socialism" and any capitalist tycoon in the world would accept this. Even when this definition is expanded it still means the same thing:

"Socialism stands for equality of opportunity, security of income and employment, equality before the law, individual freedom, universal franchise, state regulation of economic life, state control of vital means of production . . ."

There's not one word about "common ownership of the means of production" and "ending the system of production for profit."

The program set forth in the Kenya Government booklet on "African Socialism" is a program for a modified form of capitalist development in Kenya. No wonder a critic in the Tanzanian daily paper "The Nationalist" declared that he suspected the author was "neither an African nor a Socialist," and that:

"Far from being a policy for socialism, all the arguments advanced are AGAINST socialism and FOR capitalism."

The journal of the South African Communist Party "The African Communist" (No. 22. Third Quarter 1965) in an extremely critical review of this booklet, said it had "been influenced by many of the false theories of the British brand of social democracy."

Sharper still was the condemnation by Patrick McAuslan in "Venture" (September 1965), a moderate journal of the British Fabians. Serious doubt is expressed whether this policy outlined for Kenya "could lead to a socialist society, African or otherwise," and the conclusion is:

"The overwhelming impression one gains from the paper is that the Kenya government have opted for the capitalist direction of economic development."

The basic ideology behind the Kenya plan is echoed in the book by Father Bede Onuoha. He makes clear he is obsessed with the threat of communism and Marxism-Leninism, with all the old clichés that Communists believe "the end justifies the means" and that "the communist international offensive is always working to undermine legally elected governments in the free world."

Father Bede projects the Catholic view that workers should become shareholders, and so

become integrated with a "reformed" capitalist system—a basic feature of the Kenya plan. Describing as "ingenious" a scheme put forward by a colleague, the Rev. Father John Francis Maxwell, he points out:

"Following this plan we need no longer nationalize all industry. Private enterprise can prosper and at the same time be socially responsible. By bold and scientific legislation we can *take the sting out of capitalism* and render it harmless; we can turn capitalist corporations into a form of equitable co-operation between investors, managers and employees, reduce common shares to preferred shares with fixed dividends, keep membership in industrial companies open to all citizens and put an end to the selfish accumulation of unlimited profits." (p. 82.). (My emphasis—I.C.)

The author describes this as "socialized capitalism—the capitalist monster subdued, purified and rendered marriageable to socialism . . . it provides us with a brand new approach to socialism, away from class conflict and totalitarianism" (p. 83).

To some extent the illusion that classes do not exist in Africa arises from the obvious desire to maintain the same national unity in the new stage of the liberation struggle as was achieved in the fight for political independence. This accounts for the existence of one-party systems, which in reality are an expression of the national democratic front. On the other hand, these ideas serve as an ideological cover for capitalist development in many of the new states. Together with the vast capitalist investment from Europe and the United States there is an increasing number of African capitalist firms (mainly in trading, transport, and contracting) and a bigger proportion of prosperous African cocoa, cotton, and coffee producers. While foreign capital holds sway, avenues are provided for the growth of African bourgeois elements.

Still, the national bourgeoisie in the new states is small in proportion, and undeveloped, and not able to exercise a decisive grip on the economy or in political affairs. For this reason the new states are obliged to concentrate more on state and co-operative enterprises, whereas the consolidation of profit-seeking bourgeois elements often prompts them to seek closer ties with imperialism.

This makes necessary a change in the alignment of forces within the national democratic front, more reliance on the working class and the peasantry and less on the national bourgeoisie.

AFRICA'S WAY FORWARD

In view of the rapid advance of the African liberation struggle and the growing impact of socialist ideas it can be anticipated that we shall have more books purporting to give the true situation in that vast continent. In the long run what will finally decide the issue is the clear political understanding and organized strength of the African liberation movements.

What is now being waged is not simply a

physical battle (though this is also involved in the countries of southern Africa) or the organization of political struggle. More and more it is also becoming a "battle of ideas," a struggle for mastery of the science of social change, of scientific socialism as against "African Socialism."

Though the concept "African Socialism" is being used by skilful scribes of reaction this concept has many followers who look upon it as the way forward for Africa. Arising from their hatred of imperialism and neo-colonialism, their desire to achieve African continental unity, the recognition of the need to transform their old backward colonial economies, they look upon the concept from this positive standpoint.

Experience alone is the final test of the validity of "African Socialism" and the further stages of the struggle for unity and the advance to socialism are certain to reveal there is no other path but that of scientific socialism. It was never the Marxist view that the path to socialism is identical in all countries of the world. From the Marxist standpoint many new African states are in the process of transition, on the way to becoming national democratic states, completing the democratic revolution as part of the process towards the socialist revolution. Success will depend on close co-operation with liberation movements outside Africa, with the socialist world, and the anti-imperialist movement in the capitalist countries. The concept "African Socialism" would isolate the African struggle from the rest of the world and play into the hands of the enemy.

The ideological ferment now taking place in Africa is all the more welcome because it serves to widen the horizon of political strategy and to enrich Marxist experience and understanding. Not only do Marxist principles and strategy have a great deal to contribute to the advance of African countries towards socialism, but the specific character of the liberation struggle in Africa and the road on which they will travel to socialism can also assist Marxists everywhere to broaden their vision, deepen their understanding, and grasp more firmly the manifold forms in which the transition to socialism will be achieved.

* * *

Many of the people active in public life in the developing countries of Africa are assessing the processes now taking place on the continent and summing up the results of the liberation; looking ahead to the future, they are assessing their own forces and those of the adversary—international imperialism now acting in the guise of neo-colonialism.

An important contribution in this respect is the book by President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana *Neo-colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism*.^{*} Nkrumah's new work is an eco-

nomic study to which we shall devote a special survey. For the present we would like merely to draw attention to the main points of the book.

The idea running through Nkrumah's work is that the resistance to neo-colonialism takes the form not only of a democratic struggle for independence, but also against the entire economic and financial basis of imperialism in Africa. His purpose is to see clearly the strength of the adversary, the mechanism of his domination, so as to indicate ways of fighting him. He defines the new situation in these words:

"In place of colonialism as the main instrument of imperialism, we have today neo-colonialism. The essence of neo-colonialism is that the State which is subject to it is, in theory, independent and has all the outward trappings of international sovereignty. In reality its economic system and thus its political policy is directed from outside" (p. 9).

President Nkrumah then makes a careful, strictly documentary analysis of the economic aspects of African society and the forms in which neo-colonialism asserts itself. He describes Africa's economic resources and the obstacles to its economic progress. He examines the make-up and finances of the numerous foreign monopolies in Africa (such as the "Oppenheimer Empire"), the role and practices of international economic organizations and monetary bodies, the pattern of monetary operations, the emergence of new industries, the effect of this development on the countries where raw materials are extracted and undergo primary processing, and so on. A vivid portrayal is given of the scope of international finance capital and the gigantic trusts which extract gold, diamonds, copper, tin, nickel and other minerals, together with the profits from the widening gap between the prices of primary goods from Africa and the manufactured and capital goods African countries have to import.

However, the book is by no means confined to a penetrating and detailed analysis of the neo-colonialist economic and financial octopus which spreads throughout Africa and the rest of the world and whose head can no doubt be traced to the United States. Nkrumah shows that imperialism, in waging an "all-out effort to trail the developing countries as appendages", operates "not only in the economic field, but also in the political, religious, ideological and cultural spheres" (p. 239).

Neo-colonialism exercises its political pressure first and foremost through the system of economic domination by international capitalism. "The influence exercised by this domination," the author writes, "is carried into politics and international affairs, so that the interests of the overriding monopoly groups govern national policies. Their representatives are placed in key positions in government, army, navy and air forces, in the diplomatic service, in policy-making bodies and in international organizations and institutions through which the

^{*}Kwame Nkrumah. *Neocolonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism*. London, Thomas Nelson Ltd., 1965, pp. 286.

chosen policies are filtered on to the world scene" (pp. 76-77).

But Nkrumah is supremely confident that neo-colonialism can be defeated, for it "is not a sign of imperialism's strength but rather of its last hideous gasp" (p. 253). In the author's view, its defeat depends, first, on the unity of Africa itself, as well as on all the liberation movements in Africa, Asia and Latin America; second, on the recognition that this struggle

has "the support of the growing socialist sector of the world," and third, on the "support for liberation and anti-colonialism in the imperialist world itself" (ibid.).

These are the three main forces which, together, can end neo-colonialism. And Nkrumah's book is an invaluable ideological weapon in the fight to achieve this aim.

Idris COX

Political parties of Africa

Survey

For many reasons, mainly historical, the development of political life in Africa, especially in Tropical Africa, began later, and proceeded in a somewhat different way, than in Europe and North America.

The October Revolution in Russia, which weakened world imperialism and created favorable conditions for the struggle of the oppressed peoples, contributed greatly to the upsurge of the national-liberation movement in Africa. In the post-October period the people in many African countries began to pass over from isolated (mostly spontaneous) actions against the colonialists to organized struggle against the imperialists, to found their national parties and organizations. It was then that the first Communist parties appeared on the continent, and the masses were drawn into the political struggle.

The defeat of fascism in World War II, the rise of the socialist world system and the victories of the national revolutions in Asia further weakened imperialism and marked the beginning of the disintegration of the colonial system. During the Second World War and especially after the war the anti-imperialist struggle swept the whole of Africa, including Tropical Africa. Here, too, as in other areas of the continent political parties, trade unions and other organizations began to appear in the conditions of a rapid growth of national consciousness.

In many African countries political parties were formed not along class lines but on a national basis, or on the basis of a definite ethnic community of their members. This was because the social structure in these countries

was characterized by relatively little differentiation and intertwining of the main social strata which at the time of colonialism and in the initial post-independence years were still oppressed by imperialism.

The mass parties in Africa, as President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania has pointed out, "were formed to challenge the foreigners who ruled over us. They were not, therefore, political 'parties' but . . . nationalist movements. And from the outset they represented the interests and aspirations of the whole nation." In some of the countries these national anti-imperialist parties unite particularly the entire politically active population.

The parties have drawn on the solidarity and support of the working-class and democratic movement in the metropolitan countries, and primarily of the Communist parties which have contributed to the moulding of national revolutionary cadres in Africa and to the dissemination on the continent of the ideas of freedom and socialism. Aid to the patriotic parties in their fight for national independence and social progress has been rendered also by the socialist countries.

Depending on the correlation of the class forces in the African countries, the parties that came to power after independence were headed either by revolutionary intellectuals (or by patriotic Army officers), or the national bourgeoisie, or by representatives of the feudal-tribal upper crust, the comprador and bureaucrat bourgeoisie associated with imperialism.

A feature of the political setup in the newly independent countries is the trend away from any organized opposition to the ruling parties, towards establishing one-party systems of government.

This survey draws on material provided by the Africa Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

The experience of one-party regimes shows that in a number of countries they have proved effective in combating the tribal strife and regionalism inspired by imperialism, and hence have contributed to strengthening the independence won by these countries. In other cases the one-party system is used to oppress the working people in the interests of the ruling bureaucratic upper crust collaborating with imperialism. In these countries the Communist and other genuinely revolutionary parties are forced to work underground.

A struggle is being fought out both between the parties and within the ruling parties. Those parties which have become vehicles of neo-

colonialism and betray their people (even if at first they secured a definite political unity in their country) are gradually losing their influence as a result of the stratification of class forces. In their countries they rely on the exploiting classes and a tiny bureaucratic stratum in the service of colonialism.

The internal struggle in the parties, whose revolutionary democratic leadership relies on the working people and upholds their interests, is proceeding in a different way. Here the reactionaries, trying to divert the party and country from their chosen path and restore the colonial order in a new form, are being suppressed more or less consistently.

MAIN POLITICAL PARTIES IN AFRICA

ALGERIAN PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

National-Liberation Front (FLN) is a mass organization founded in 1954 from a number of nationalist parties. The main documents of the Front are the Tripoli Program adopted in 1962 and the Algiers Charter adopted in 1964. The FLN Program defines the ultimate aim of the Algerian revolution as the building of socialism. In foreign policy the Front advocates positive neutrality and African unity. After proclaiming the line towards building socialism the FLN was joined, individually, by members of the Communist Party. When Ben Bella was deposed on June 19, 1965, a number of Left-wing leaders of the Front took a stand in opposition to the new government.

ANGOLA

Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, formed in December 1956 through the merger of several patriotic organizations, unites the urban working-class, agricultural laborers and peasants under the leadership of the revolutionary intellectuals. An illegal party, it is persecuted by the colonial authorities. Its Program calls for unity of the patriotic forces on the basis of the demands of national liberation, for positive neutrality and social progress. Since 1961 it has headed the armed struggle of the people against Portuguese colonialism. It is led by Antonio Agostinho Neto.

Union of the Peoples of Angola was formed in 1954, in the northern part of the country, to uphold the interests of the numerous Bakongo tribe; it enjoys prestige also in other parts of the country. The UPA is a predominantly peasant party without a clearcut socio-political platform. Its leadership resists the unity of the patriotic forces, thereby hampering the development of the people's struggle

for independence. It is headed by Alvaro Holden Roberto.

BASUTOLAND

Basutoland Congress Party, was formed in 1952, and up to 1959 was known as the Basutoland African Congress. It commands the majority in the legislative and executive bodies. Its program is independence and economic progress and close ties with Britain. Its leader is Ntsu Mokhehle.

Communist Party of Lesotho, formed in November 1961, advocates independence for Lesotho (Basutoland) and comprehensive social reconstruction, the non-capitalist path of development with the perspective of forming a "socialist worker-peasant republic." Its General Secretary is John Motloheloa.

REPUBLIC OF THE IVORY COAST

Democratic Party of the Ivory Coast was formed in 1946 as a territorial branch of the African Democratic Alliance*, and is the ruling party, occupying all seats in the government and Parliament. It unites the national planter bourgeoisie, shopkeepers and intellectuals. The Party's program provides for planned development of state capitalism on the basis of free enterprise, enlistment of foreign private capital, and close cooperation with France. The Party stands for strengthening the so-called Council of the Entente** and is one of the

*African Democratic Alliance (RDA), a mass anti-imperialist movement, emerged in 1946 and headed the liberation struggle of the peoples of the former French West Africa. In 1958 it practically disintegrated owing to the treachery of some of its leaders, but no official announcement of its dissolution was made.

**The Council of the Entente, including the Ivory Coast, Dahomey, Niger and Upper Volta, was set up to coordinate the economic activity, plans and programs of member countries in close cooperation with France.

founding members of the Afro-Malagasy Common Organization*. Its leader, Felix Houphouët-Boigny, is President of the Republic.

KINGDOM OF BURUNDI

Party of Unity and National Progress of Burundi, now the ruling party, was formed in 1959 and headed the struggle for independence. Joseph Bamina acts as chairman.

REPUBLIC OF THE UPPER VOLTA

Volta Democratic Union, a branch of the African Democratic Alliance, was formed in 1946. It received its present name in 1958 after a merger with other groups. Since 1960 it has ruled as the only party in the country. Its program includes: national unity, planning without public ownership and cooperation with France and African countries within the framework of the Council of the Entente and the OCAM. Its leader, Maurice Yameogo, was President until the coup d'état of January 1966, which brought the Army to power.

GABON REPUBLIC

Gabon Democratic Bloc, founded in 1946 as a territorial branch of the African Democratic Alliance, controls the government and Parliament of Gabon and pursues a policy of suppressing all opposition and maintaining close relations with France and the OCAM countries. Its leader, Leon M'Ba, is President of the Republic.

GAMBIA

People's Progressive Party, founded in 1959 with a program of struggle for independence, has since 1962 controlled the government. Its program: economic progress, modernized agriculture and extension of transport facilities. The Party advocates close alliance with Senegal and less dependence on Britain. Its leader, David K. Jawara, is the head of state.

REPUBLIC OF GHANA

Convention People's Party, formed in 1949, is the only political party in the country, embracing workers, peasants, radical intellectuals and petty bourgeoisie, with a total membership of two million—practically the entire gainfully employed population. The Party works to consolidate the country's independence and to develop the economy on the basis of the state and cooperative sectors. In foreign policy it acts as an anti-imperialist force and is a firm supporter of peaceful coexistence and African unity. According to its program, scientific socialism is the ideological foundation of the CPP. Its leader, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, is President of the Republic.

*The Afro-Malagasy Common Organization (OCAN) was formed in February 1965 on the initiative of pro-Western leaders of former French colonies in violation of the decisions of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) which ruled out the formation of regional and other political alliances of African states except the OAU.

REPUBLIC OF GUINEA

Democratic Party of Guinea, formed in 1947 as a branch of the African Democratic Alliance, is the only political party in the country, representing a broad democratic, anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist front which emerged in the course of the national-liberation revolution. Its ranks include practically the entire adult population (about two million members according to the 1964 figures)—peasants, workers, intellectuals, small and middle bourgeoisie. In November 1964 some restrictions were introduced regarding admission to the Party. The last, Fourth Congress of the Party (held in December 1962) opted for the non-capitalist road of development. The Party's General Secretary, Sekou Touré, is President of the Republic.

"PORTUGUESE" GUINEA

African Party of Independence of "Portuguese" Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC) was founded in 1956 and unites different sections of the population of "Portuguese" Guinea under the leadership of revolutionary intellectuals. Since January 1963 it has headed the nation-wide uprising against the colonialists. Its program calls for complete liberation, and for rehabilitation and consolidation of the economy in the liberated part (roughly a half) of the territory. The First Congress held in 1964 adopted a number of decisions aimed at invigorating the political and armed struggle, and improving economic and educational work in the liberated areas. On the recommendation of the Congress, a regular national liberation army was formed in addition to the guerrilla units. The Party advocates alliance with the international working-class and democratic movements and with the socialist countries. It is led by Amilcar Cabral.

REPUBLIC OF DAHOMEY

Democratic Party of Dahomey, formed in 1963, united practically all the old political groups. Upon becoming the ruling party (the only political party in the country), it carried out a series of measures designed to put the political life of the country on a democratic footing. In December 1965, following the resignation of President Apithy and Prime Minister Ahomadegbe, the Party was dissolved. The political crisis continues and new parties are being formed. Power is in the hands of the Army.

REPUBLIC OF ZAMBIA

United National Independence Party, formed in 1959 on the basis of the Zambia African National Congress, is the ruling party, commanding a parliamentary majority. In 1960 its membership exceeded 300,000. In foreign policy the Party stands for non-alliance and for support of the Organization of African Unity. Its leader, Kenneth D. Kaunda, is the head of state.

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF THE CAMEROONS

Cameroon Union, founded in 1958, is the ruling party of East Cameroon and relies on the Muslim tribal chiefs of the northern parts of East Cameroon, the nascent bureaucratic bourgeoisie and intellectuals. Its leaders support the idea of "African Socialism." The ways and means to attain this are seen by them in attracting private foreign capital. The leader of the Union, Ahmadou Ahidjo, is President of the Republic.

Cameroon National Democratic Party was formed in 1955 and is the ruling party of West Cameroon. Its leader, John Foncha, is Vice-President of the Federal Republic. Political orientation is in the main the same as that of the Cameroon Union.

Union of the Peoples of the Cameroons was formed in 1948 and banned in 1955; since the ban it has waged underground struggle against French imperialism and the neo-colonialist regime in the country. Its program: abolition of foreign bases, restoration of democratic and trade union rights, and abrogation of unequal treaties with France. Headed by a Revolutionary Committee, it advocates close alliance with the revolutionary forces of Africa, with the international working-class movement and the socialist countries. Leader: Ernest Ouandié.

REPUBLIC OF KENYA

Kenya African National Union, formed in 1960, is the ruling party, embracing workers, peasants, national bourgeoisie and intellectuals. The policy documents of this party define its principal aim as the building of an "African democratic socialist Kenya." It encourages both state and private foreign investment. In foreign policy it subscribes to positive neutrality and non-participation in blocs. Its leader Jomo Kenyatta is President of the Republic.

REPUBLIC OF CONGO (BRAZZAVILLE)

National Revolutionary Movement, founded in 1964, is the only party in the country. Its Rules define it as a "mass voluntary association of all Congolese citizens: from rural inhabitants to townspeople, from peasants, workers and handicraftsmen to intellectuals." The Founding Congress of the NRM in 1964 ruled that the country should be developed on the basis of the principles of scientific socialism. Alphonse Massamba-Debat, General Secretary of the movement, is President of the Republic.

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO (LEOPOLDVILLE)

At present there are in the Congo over 150 political organizations, mostly small groups of politicians.

Bakongo Alliance (ABAKO) was founded in 1948 along ethnical lines. Its leaders maintain close links with the Catholic Church. The Alliance enjoys prestige mainly in the Lower Congo. Its General Secretary and ex-President

of the country, Joseph Kasavubu, has been under house arrest since November 1965. The Alliance has two ministerial portfolios in the government.

Congolese Democratic Alliance (RADEKO) was founded as a national party, with the tribal aristocracy and the bourgeoisie as its mainstay. Cyrille Adoula, ex-Premier, was leader of the Party. RADEKO has 12 ministers in the government.

Congolese National Convention (CONAKO) was formed in 1965 and based on the Confederation of the Associations of Katanga—a pro-colonialist reactionary party in the service of l'Union Minière. Its mainstay are the tribal chiefs of Katanga and Kasai. Leader: Moïse Tshombe. CONAKO has seven portfolios in the government.

National Liberation Council was formed in 1963 by representatives of the progressive parties and organizations as a center for coordinating the struggle of the people against the neo-colonialist regime. In response to the appeal from the Council an armed, guerrilla struggle was launched in the Congo. Later the NLC became less active, the result of sharp differences between its leaders. In 1965 a *Supreme Revolutionary Council* of the Congo was established which heads the struggle of the people.

REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA

True Whig Party, formed in 1869, holds all the seats in Parliament and government; represents the interests of the American-Liberian bourgeoisie. Leader: William V. S. Tubman.

ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF MAURITANIA

Hisb Chaeb (Party of the People) formed in 1961, is the ruling party. Its program: consolidation of national unity and of the economy, which should be "neither capitalist nor planned," financial independence, cooperation with the countries of the Maghreb and Tropical Africa, and non-alliance. In 1965 Mauritania officially withdrew from the Afro-Malagasy Common Organization. The Party's leader, Mokhtar Ould Daddah, is President of the country.

MALAWI

Malawi Congress Party, formed in 1959 to replace the banned Nyasaland African National Congress, controls the government and Parliament of the independent state of Malawi proclaimed in 1964. Its program: economic progress, based on close ties with Britain, and positive neutrality. The Party leader, K. Banda, is Prime Minister.

REPUBLIC OF MALI

Sudanese Union—RDA was founded in 1946 on the territory of the former French Sudan (now the Republic of Mali) as a branch of the African Democratic Alliance, and included the Sudanese Progressive Party and the Sudan Re-

groupment Party. It is the only party in the country and runs Parliament and the government. Its Sixth Congress held in 1962 adopted the Rules, which define the Sudanese Union as a mass party, membership of which is open to all citizens. Program: alliance of all sections of society for the attainment of genuine economic and political independence and for the country's advance along the non-capitalist road. Scientific socialism has been proclaimed as the ideological foundation of the Union. The party guides organizations such as the Youth Union of the Sudan, the National Union of Mali Working People, the Women's Union, and others. Its leader, Modibo Keita, is President of the Republic.

MALAGASY REPUBLIC

Social Democratic Party, the ruling party, was founded in 1956 and unites representatives of the bourgeoisie, officialdom and the Catholic clergy. Program: economic development based on private ownership, cooperation with NATO countries, and attraction of more foreign investments. The Party leader, Philibert Tsiranana, is President of the Republic.

Congress Party for the Independence of Madagascar, founded in 1958, is an influential opposition party, uniting representatives of the progressive petty-bourgeoisie, Protestant clergy, intellectuals, workers and peasants. Program: complete abolition of the remnants of colonialism, return of the land confiscated by the French, nationalization of large-scale European-owned enterprises, dismantling of French military bases, and non-participation in blocs. Leader: Richard Andriamanjato.

KINGDOM OF MOROCCO

The Front for Defense of Constitutional Institutions, formed in March 1963, has a majority in the Chamber of Representatives and upholds the interests of the local big bourgeoisie and feudal circles. Its leader, Ahmed Reda Guedira, is an adviser to the king.

Popular Movement, formed in 1959, has the biggest representation in the Council of Ministers. Consisting of representatives of the feudal Berber aristocracy of the Riff and Middle Atlas, the Movement upholds the interests of the monarchy. Chairman: Aherdane.

Istiqlal (Party of Independence) was formed in 1943. Since January 1963 it has been in opposition. Its membership (in the vicinity of 500,000) consists of the national commercial-industrial bourgeoisie as well as big and middle landowners. The Party also enjoys the support of a large section of the working people (fellaheen, small shopkeepers, handicraftsmen and workers). Chairman: Allal El Fassi.

National Union of Popular Forces, formed in 1959 by the Istiqlal Left, is in opposition to the King and government; it reflects the interests of the radical sections of the middle and small bourgeoisie, urban workers and intellec-

tuals. Among the points in its program are: renunciation of the capitalist path of development, positive neutrality and non-participation in blocs. Its program is supported by the Communist Party which has called the Union "an exponent of the interests of the broad democratic sections of the urban and rural population." Leader: Abdel-Rahim Boabid.

Moroccan Communist Party was formed in 1943 and since 1960 has been illegal. The Party stands for restoration of democratic rights, for the unity of the Left, and for transition onto the path of non-capitalist development. First Secretary of the Central Committee: Ali Yata.

MOZAMBIQUE

Mozambique Liberation Front was formed in 1962. It consists of workers engaged in forced labor, peasants and progressive intellectuals. Its program envisages building a strong militant party, extending its influence, and thorough preparation for the political and armed struggle for the liberation of the country from the Portuguese colonialists. In September 1964 the Front called for an armed uprising and has been developing successful military actions since then. It is a member of the Conference of National Organizations of Portuguese Colonies, and of the Executive Committee of the Organization for Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity. Chairman: Eduardo Mondlane.

REPUBLIC OF THE NIGER

Progressive Party of the Niger, formed in 1946 as a local branch of the African Democratic Alliance, relies on tribal chiefs, the young national bourgeoisie, officials and some trade union leaders. The Party holds all seats in the National Assembly and in the government; advocates close alliance with France and other Western countries. Leader: Boubou Hama.

Sawaba (Freedom Party) was formed in 1951 and derived from the Left wing of the Progressive Party; it is a party of progressives fighting for the complete economic and political independence of the country. In October 1959 the Party and the organizations led by it were banned. Since the beginning of 1965 it has headed the fight of the people against neo-colonialism and imperialism, and coordinates the actions of the masses; maintains contact with the revolutionary forces of Africa that adhere to positions of scientific socialism. Leader: Djibo Bakary.

FEDERATION OF NIGERIA

There are dozens of political parties in Nigeria, mostly without a mass following. At present most parties belong to one of the two main blocs: the Nigerian National Alliance (NNA) and the United Progressive Grand Alliance (UPGA).

Northern People's Congress, formed in 1951, has been the ruling party in that part of the

country since then. It has a majority in the federal government. Its program provides for preserving the rule and privileges of the feudal emirs and sultans. The Congress heads the NNA bloc.

National Convention of Nigerian Citizens, founded in 1944 (it was previously known as the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons), expresses mainly the interests of the national bourgeoisie. It headed the struggle for independence and unity, and is now the ruling party in the Eastern and Midwestern regions. The Convention is represented in the federal government and heads the UPGA. Leaders: Michael Okpara and Nnamdi Azikiwe.

Action Group—founded in 1950, influential in Western Nigeria, unites office employees and a part of the middle bourgeoisie, belongs to the UPGA. Its leader, Obafemi Awolowo, is in prison on charges of high treason.

Socialist Workers' and Farmers' Party of Nigeria, founded in 1963, is a Marxist-Leninist party, whose aim is to build a socialist Nigeria. The First Congress of the Party held in Lagos in December 1965 pointed out that at present the task is to deepen the consciousness of the masses and to build a broad democratic front. Chairman of the Party: Uche Omoh; General Secretary: Tunji Otegbeye.

UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC

Arab Socialist Union, formed in 1963, is a mass political organization—a kind of National Front—with an official membership of around five million. In accordance with its Rules, at least half the members must be workers and peasants. The task of the Union, according to its program, is to direct the efforts of the people towards building a socialist society. The Union is headed by President Gamal Abdel Nasser.

RHODESIA

Rhodesian Front, founded in 1962 to protect the interests of the white exploiting minority, controls both the government and Parliament. Program: consolidation of the rule of the exploiting minority, introduction of the system of apartheid, and cooperation with South Africa and Portugal. On November 11, 1965, the leadership unilaterally proclaimed the independence of Rhodesia, former self-governing colony of Great Britain. Leader: Ian Smith.

Zimbabwe African People's Union, formed in the beginning of 1962 to replace the banned National Democratic Party, was itself banned in September 1962. Program: struggle against all forms of racial discrimination, for universal suffrage, majority rule and genuine independence. Leader, Joshua Nkomo, presently in exile.

RUANDA REPUBLIC

Party for the Emancipation of the Bahutu, formed in 1959, is the ruling party; stands for cooperation with Belgium. Leader of the Party,

Grégoire Kayibanda, is President of the Republic.

REPUBLIC OF SENEGAL

Senegalese Progressive Union, formed in 1959 as a result of the merger of several political groups, controls the government and holds all seats in Parliament. Its program proclaims "Abolition of all forms of oppression, classes and castes . . . socialization of all means of production and distribution, establishment of a collectivist society," and "African democratic socialism." The Union denies class differentiation and scientific socialism, advocates "middle of the road" development, close cooperation with French imperialism and encouragement to capitalist trends in the country, and works actively in the Afro-Malagasy Common Organization. Its leader, Leopold Sedar Senghor, is President of Senegal.

African Independence Party, a Marxist-Leninist party formed in 1957 on the basis of a program manifesto signed by a group of advanced workers and progressive intellectuals in Dakar. Prior to 1960 it had branches in other countries of the former French West Africa. In 1960 the Party was outlawed. Its program envisages the building of a socialist society. Immediate aims: abolition of foreign military bases, democratization of social and political life through restoration of democratic rights and freedoms, full employment, genuine African unity, provision of conditions for building an independent state of national democracy. Social composition: peasants—35 per cent, workers—30 per cent, intellectuals and middle sections—35 per cent. General Secretary: Majhemout Diop.

REPUBLIC OF SOMALIA

Somali Youth League, founded in 1943 as the Somali Youth Club, is the ruling party advocating peaceful reunification of all Somali territories, a policy of positive neutrality, and the development of contacts with all countries. General Secretary: Sheikh Mohammed Farah.

REPUBLIC OF THE SUDAN

Umma Party was formed in 1945 on the initiative of the British colonial administration and has a majority in the coalition government. The Party expresses the interests of the feudal landowners, tribal chiefs and the comprador bourgeoisie; relies on the support of the Ansar religious sect and its followers from among the more backward sections of the fellaheen and nomads; favors cooperation with the Western powers. Leader: El Sadiq El-Mahdi.

National Unionist Party, formed in 1953, expresses the interests of the national bourgeoisie, and is represented in the coalition government. An agreement reached between its leaders and those of Umma on an anti-communist platform resulted in a crisis in the Party and a loss of many members. Leader: Ismail El Azhari.

Sudanese Communist Party—formed in 1946. Until the revolution of October 21, 1964, the Party was illegal. In the elections to the Constituent Assembly held in 1965 the Party emerged as the third largest in the Assembly. Its program calls for struggle for national democracy and for building a socialist society in the Sudan. In December 1965 a law banning the Party was promulgated. General Secretary: Abdel Khalek Mahjoub.

People's Democratic Party, formed in 1956 as a result of a split in the National Unionist Party, represents the interests of the Left-wing of the national bourgeoisie; is supported by the Khatmia religious sect, part of the peasants and some tribal chiefs; favors cooperation with all patriotic forces in the country, including the Communist Party. Leader: Ali Abdel Rahman.

SIERRA LEONE

Sierra Leone People's Party, formed in 1951, is the ruling party led by the national bourgeoisie and intellectuals and supported by some of the tribal chiefs. Leader: Milton Margai.

All-People's Congress, founded in 1960, is the opposition party supported by the trade unions; insists on accelerated economic growth, revision of the agreements with foreign companies on the mining industry, and better conditions for the working people. Leader: Siaka Stevens.

UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA

Tanganyika African National Union, founded in 1929, is the only party in the continental part of the country; its membership is about four million—from workers and peasants to former chiefs. TANU advocates a socialist orientation for the country. Its leader, Julius Nyerere, is President of the Republic.

Afro-Shirazi Party was formed in 1957 by way of the merger of the African Association and the Shirazi Association. After the anti-feudal revolution of 1964 it fused with the Umma Party and became the sole party in Zanzibar. Membership is around 100,000, and its aim is the building of socialism. Chairman: Abeid Karume.

REPUBLIC OF TOGO

Democratic Union of the Togo Population was formed in 1959 as a result of the merger of the Progress Party and the Union of the Chiefs and Population of North Togo. Dissolved in 1962, it was re-established after the coup d'état of 1963. The Union heads the government coalition. Its leaders, N. Grunitzky and A. Meatchi, maintain close relations with France and the Afro-Malagasy Common Organization.

National Unity Party (before March 1961—the Committee of Togo Unity) was formed in 1941 as a cultural and educational organization,

and reorganized as a political party in 1945. Between April 1958 and January 1963 it was the ruling party. Belonging to the government coalition today, the Party unites intellectuals, shopkeepers and officials.

Juvento Party—formed in 1951 and based on the patriotic youth movement; dissolved in January 1962; resumed activity after the 1963 coup d'état. Leaders: F. Abalo and G. Koussean.

REPUBLIC OF TUNISIA

Socialist Destour Party, founded in 1934, is the only legal political party of Tunisia, and the ruling party since the proclamation of independence on March 20, 1956. A party mainly of the national bourgeoisie, its membership (some 400,000, according to official figures) also includes large numbers of workers and peasants. The program for the "Tunisian way to socialism" proclaimed by the Party envisages a planned economy, consolidation and development of the state sector, and cooperative agriculture. At the same time it calls for respect for private ownership and free enterprise. The Party's leader, Habib Bourguiba, is President of the country.

Tunisian Communist Party was formed as an independent party in 1937. The Party advocates an independent national economy in the interests of the people, a far-reaching agrarian reform, nationalization of foreign trade, and development of the state sector in industry. General Secretary: Mohammed Ennafaa.

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF UGANDA

Uganda People's Congress, formed in 1960, is the ruling party headed by progressive intellectuals; expresses the interests of the small and middle bourgeoisie, peasants and working people. The Congress fights for national unity and consolidation of the country's independence. UPC leader and Prime Minister of the country: Apollo Milton Obote.

Kabaka Yekka founded in 1961, is a party of the feudal circles of the Kingdom of Buganda. Its avowed aim is loyalty to the throne and feudal traditions. At present it is in opposition to the government.

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Movement for the Social Evolution of Black Africa, founded in 1946, the only party in the country since 1963; favors cooperation with France. The leader of the Movement and President of the country, David Dacko, was deposed during a recent coup, when power was seized by the Army.

REPUBLIC OF CHAD

Progressive Party of Chad, formed in 1947, is the ruling party, relying mainly on the bourgeois strata and intellectuals; favors close military, political and economic alliance with France. Leader: Francois Tombalbaye.

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

National Party was formed in 1913. Upon coming to power in 1948 it proclaimed apartheid the official state policy of the country. Another feature is ruthless suppression of all opposition to the dictatorship of the white minority. Leader: Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd.

South African Communist Party, formed in 1921, the first Communist party to be formed on the African continent; membership consists of working people of all nationalities, regardless of race or color; banned in 1950 and has been working underground since then. The program adopted by its Sixth Congress in 1962 declares that the main task is the creation of

a state of national democracy in South Africa.

African National Congress, formed in 1912, is the biggest political organization of the African population. The Congress stands for unity of the African people, better conditions and against racial discrimination. It was banned in 1960. Many of its leaders fell victim to government repressions. Leader: Albert Lutuli.

Pan-African Congress was formed in 1959 as a result of a split in the African National Congress. Whereas the latter favors the creation of an equal multi-racial society in South Africa, the Pan-African Congress maintains that only Africans and colored people should have full rights, while whites should be regarded as an "alien minority." Leader: Robert Sobukwe.

Trade unions of Africa

Survey

IN AFRICA, TOO, trade unions are one of the basic forms of organization of the working class. There are trade unions in most countries of the continent, and total membership is in excess of *five millions*.

Agricultural laborers, who account for up to 50 per cent of the hired labor in Africa, are mostly unorganized. The same applies to the large force of mobile laborers who migrate annually from the villages to find jobs in the towns or on the plantations.

A feature of the African trade unions is the *emphasis on political points in their programs*. This is explained, partly, by the conditions in which the trade union movement has taken shape on the continent, and partly by the specific class structure of African society and the role played in it by the working class.

Historically, the trade union movement in Africa has from its beginnings been a component of the national liberation movement. In many countries the unions arose not only as labor organizations defending the economic rights of the working class but also as political mass organizations voicing the demands of the national liberation movement. In some countries they appeared even before some of the political parties did, and even facilitated the formation of the latter; in others they took shape under the leadership of political parties.

But in most cases the unions were active in the liberation struggle, headed the working class and, in the words of Sékou Touré, "have been a decisive element in African history."

In Africa where foreign monopolies rather than the weak native bourgeoisie were the backbone of capitalism and the main class adversary of the workers, nearly every trade union action in defense of wages and conditions invariably developed into a political fight against colonial and national oppression, against racial discrimination by the white minority. This circumstance contributed to the class struggle and the trade union movement becoming part of the anti-imperialist liberation movement.

Another factor that helped to enhance the role of the African trade unions was the fact that as a rule they united workers belonging to the different tribes and ethnic groups. This circumstance, particularly in the conditions of Tropical Africa where numerous tribal, national, religious, racial and other barriers are to be found in some of the countries, furthered the organization of the working people.

The widely varying conditions in Africa and the interplay of conflicting internal and external factors could not but lay their stamp on the African unions. Some of these factors have promoted the growth of the unions, enabling

them to become also an active political force;* others, on the contrary, hindered the establishment of genuinely militant trade unions, diverted them from the fight against the capitalists and imperialists and turned them, instead, towards reformism. Mention could be made, for example, of the systematic repressions by the colonial authorities, the imperialist and reactionary forces against the unions and their active members, of the disruptive actions of the Right-wing leaders of the TUC General Council, the AFL-CIO, International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) and International Confederation of Christian Trade Unions (ICCTU).

The foregoing factors also affected the influence the trade unions were able to exert on political life in the countries and also the tasks of the unions.

As noted in the documents and resolutions of the Second Congress of the All-African Trade Union Federation, held at Bamako on June 10-14, 1964, the tasks of the day are:

—In the countries fighting for political independence, to organize the workers on a mass scale; to deepen their consciousness by imparting a revolutionary social content to their concept of the national liberation struggle;

*See Introduction to "Political Parties of Africa."

—in the countries moving towards radical socio-economic reconstruction, they consist in running the economy and constantly improving production; in the revolutionary orientation of the country in close contact with the political machinery responsible for revolutionary action; in training competent political, public and industrial leaders; in enhancing the influence of the working class;

—in the countries still in the grip of neo-colonialism and the reactionaries, the trade union movement should counter subversion and interference by imperialist and neo-colonialist agencies by bringing into play the two tried weapons: workers' unity and independence of the trade unions from reactionary and counter-revolutionary regimes; deepen the revolutionary awareness of the workers and thus enable them to combat the demagoguery and intimidation traditionally used by the reactionary regimes in collaboration with imperialist and neo-colonialist forces; wage a struggle with all available means against exploitation and the falsification of the will of the people; rally all the democrats and patriots of the country around the genuinely revolutionary political parties whose policy corresponds to the needs of the movement and to the aspirations of the people at each given stage.

INTER-AFRICAN TRADE UNION CENTERS

ALL AFRICAN TRADE UNION FEDERATION (AATUF)

The most influential trade union body on the continent, with a membership of more than four million. It was founded on May 25, 1961, at Casablanca.

The AATUF upholds the idea of unity of the working people of Africa. Its primary task is to aid the unions in countries fighting against the colonialists, and to maintain solidarity and close cooperation with all the national trade union bodies on the continent.

In its programmatic documents the AATUF calls for struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism, against racial discrimination, for democratic and trade union rights and against African countries joining military blocs. In the economic sphere it stands for nationalization of foreign enterprises and the establishment of a strong state sector, agrarian reform and producer cooperatives.

Although the AATUF has declared itself to be independent of international trade union centers, it vigorously condemns all tendencies to isolate the working people of Africa from the

international working class. Its Charter states that its activity should be based on the principles of proletarian internationalism and international working-class solidarity. In pursuance of this the AATUF maintains contact with progressive international organizations.

President of AATUF: Mahjoub Ben Seddik (Morocco). General Secretary: John K. Tetegah (Ghana).

AFRICAN TRADE UNION CONFEDERATION

Founded at a conference held in Dakar in January 1962 of trade unions affiliated to the ICFTU and the ICCTU, the Confederation has a membership of about 700,000. The leaders of the ICFTU who participated in founding the Confederation had hopes of using it to split the African trade union movement. However, under pressure of the rank and file of the unions affiliated to the ATUC, the leaders of the latter attended a joint conference of representatives of the AATUF and ATUC in Dakar in October 1963. The conference called on all African trade unions to break with the ICFTU and form their own trade union center. A number of ATUC affiliates responded to this call.

BRIEF DATA ABOUT THE PRINCIPAL TRADE UNIONS IN THE AFRICAN COUNTRIES

ALGERIAN PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

General Union of Algerian Workers (UGTA). Founded in 1956. Fourteen unions with a membership of over 600,000, affiliated to it. Its program, adopted at its Second Congress in March 1965, calls for the rallying of the people to carry out the tasks of the National Liberation Front along socialist lines.

It is affiliated to the AATUF (until July 25, 1963, it was affiliated to the ICFTU). It also maintains friendly relations with the WFTU.

ANGOLA

There are no legally recognized trade unions in Angola. The two largest organizations are the *National Union of Angolan Workers (UNTA)* and the *General League of Angolan Workers (LGTA)*.

The first of these, formed in 1954, is affiliated to the AATUF. Secretary General: Pascal Luvalu. Aligned with the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola, UNTA's principal aim is abolition of the colonial regime.

The General League caters mainly to Angolan workers employed in the Congo. It is affiliated to the ICFTU and to ATUC.

BASUTOLAND

The country has a single trade union center—the *Basutoland Federation of Labor*, formed in 1961. It is affiliated to the AATUF.

REPUBLIC OF THE IVORY COAST

General Union of Workers of the Ivory Coast, formed in 1962, unites the legal trade unions in the republic. Approximate membership — 150,000. It is government-controlled and is affiliated to ATUC.

KINGDOM OF BURUNDI

The main trade union body is the *Burundi Federation of Labor*. It is opposed to the foreign monopolies and champions full national independence. Banned from functioning by the Government, it is affiliated to the AATUF. General Secretary: Augustin Ntamagara.

REPUBLIC OF UPPER VOLTA

On January 2, 1966, the trade unions in the republic declared a general strike against the Government's decision to cut wages. The strike brought things to a standstill throughout the area, and subsequent anti-Government

demonstrations were followed by a military coup on January 4. Martial law was introduced.

Before the coup there were several national trade union centers. The most progressive of these was the *National Association of Workers of Upper Volta*, affiliated to the AATUF.

In April 1964 the National Assembly passed a law prohibiting the unions from joining any international trade union body.

REPUBLIC OF GABON

The first trade unions in the republic appeared after the Second World War. A big role in their formation was played by the CGT of France. Alarmed by the growth of its influence among the working people the colonial authorities set about splitting the national unions. As a result there are now two trade union centers: the *General Federation of Workers* and the *Gabon Federation of Religious Workers*.

GAMBIA

The main trade union is the *Gambia Workers' Union (GWU)*, representing approximately 90 per cent of the organized workers. It belongs to the ATUC.

Another body is the *Gambia Labor Union (GLU)*. President: Kebbeh.

REPUBLIC OF GHANA

Trade union membership is concentrated in one national center, the *The Ghana Trades Union Congress (GTUC)*. Formed in 1957, it caters to factory and office workers, small tradesmen and farmers and has a membership of over 500,000. Its program describes the unions as an integral part of the Convention People's Party. An AATUF affiliate. National Secretary: Kwaw Ampah.

REPUBLIC OF GUINEA

Here there is a single trade union center—the *National Confederation of Workers of Guinea (CNTG)* founded in 1960. Membership is in excess of 200,000. Its aims are: to promote labor enthusiasm, educate the working class, help it improve its skills, and inspire it to carry out the policy of the ruling Democratic Party.

At the Fourth Extraordinary Congress of the CNTG last October, Sékou Touré, President of the Republic, stated that the trade union movement had become part of the revolutionary struggle of the people who have taken the road of independent development. The CNTG is a member of the AATUF. President: Mamady Kaba.

"PORTUGUESE" GUINEA

The chief progressive union in the country is the illegal *National Union of Workers of Guinea*. It was represented at the Second Congress of the AATUF.

REPUBLIC OF DAHOMEY

The trade union organizations in this republic are active in the national liberation struggle. In 1963 the Government was compelled, under pressure of the mass movement headed by the unions, to revise the Constitution and introduce a special section on workers' rights.

The leading national body is the *General Union of Dahomey Workers*. Formed in 1961, it has a membership of 5,000. Its leaders hold that the country's economic difficulties can be solved not by calling on the workers to "tighten their belts," but by putting an end to foreign influence. It is affiliated to AATUF.

REPUBLIC OF ZAMBIA

Trade Union Congress of Zambia. Formed in 1965 on the initiative of the Government, it is aligned with the United National Independence Party. The trade unions in Zambia are prohibited by law from receiving foreign aid and joining any non-African trade union organization.

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF THE CAMEROONS

Trade Union Federation of Cameroon—trade union center of Eastern Cameroon. Formed in 1963. General Secretary: Rafael Ngamby.

The other national center is the illegal *Cameroon General Confederation of Labor*.

REPUBLIC OF KENYA

Two rival trade union centers, the *Kenya Federation of Labor* and the *Kenya African Workers' Congress* were dissolved by Government decree at the end of 1965 and the *Kenya Central Organization of Trade Unions* formed in their place. The leaders are appointed by the President of the Republic.

REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO (BRAZZAVILLE)

In 1964 the unions combined in a single national center, the *Confederation of Congolese Trade Unions*. That same year the Confederation was accepted into the AATUF. Membership is estimated at 50,000. The Congo trade unions consider their basic task to be the fight for the political and economic liberation of the country, for more rights for the working people and a higher standard of living.

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO (LEOPOLDVILLE)

There are several national trade union centers in the republic. These include the progres-

sive *General Confederation of Labor* (Congo) which has a membership of 20,000 and is affiliated to the AATUF and the WFTU; and the dominant pro-government center, the *Congolese Confederation of Free Trade Unions*. The latter, strongly influenced by the ICFTU, is supported by the leaders of the AFL-CIO. It is affiliated to the ATUC.

REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA

The principal trade union center here is the *Congress of Industrial Organizations* with a membership of 7,000. It is an ICFTU affiliate.

KINGDOM OF LIBYA

The *Libyan Confederation of Trade Unions* is the largest trade union center. Formed in 1952, it has a membership of 40,000 and is affiliated to the ATUC. Secretary General: Saalim Shiitah.

ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF MAURITANIA

The trade union membership is united in a single center, the *Union of Workers of Mauritania* formed in 1961. Membership is approximately 10,000. An ATUC affiliate.

MALAWI

The main union body is the *National Federation of Labor*. It is in opposition to the Government. Supports the AATUF.

REPUBLIC OF MALI

All the unions in this republic are combined in the *National Union of Workers of Mali* (UNTM). Formed in 1960, it has a membership of 50,000. A resolution of its First Congress states that "the Mali trade unions fully support the choice in favor of socialism made by the Sudan Union—RDA; it reflects the striving of the working people for social progress and justice." It is affiliated to the AATUF. Secretary General: Mamadou F. Sissoko.

MALAGASY REPUBLIC

The main body here is the *Confederation of the Unions of Madagascar* (FISEMA). Founded in 1956, it has a membership of over 30,000. Is aligned with the Congress Party for the Independence of Madagascar. An AATUF affiliate.

Considerable influence is also wielded by the *Confederation of Workers of Madagascar and the Comores*, which is controlled by the Catholic Church. The Confederation caters mainly to bank employees and civil servants.

KINGDOM OF MOROCCO

With a membership of nearly 700,000 the *Moroccan Labor Union* (UMT) is the largest trade union center in the country. Formed in

1955. It is strongly influenced by the *National Union of Popular Forces*. At its Third Congress the UMT adopted a resolution calling for nationalization of the key sectors of the economy, for an agrarian reform based on the principle "land to the tillers," better conditions and social security. An AATUF affiliate. Secretary General: Mahjoub Ben Seddik.

The other national center, *General Union of Workers of Morocco*, has little influence in the country. It was founded in 1960 on the initiative of the Istiqlal Party.

MOZAMBIQUE

The *Mozambique Trade Union Federation* is illegal. It is affiliated to the AATUF and supports the FRELIMO party. General Secretary: Absalom Bahule.

REPUBLIC OF THE NIGER

The *National Union of Workers of the Niger* was founded in 1959. Membership is approximately 20,000. Controlled by the Government, it is affiliated to the AFTUC. General Secretary: René Delanne.

FEDERATION OF NIGERIA

The Nigerian trade union movement is split into different groups and centers. Some of the unions support the progressive *Nigerian Trade Union Congress* (NTUC) or the *Labor Unity Front* (LUF). Both centers stand for the complete liberation of the country and for its socialist orientation. The NTUC is a member of the AATUF and the WFTU.

A number of unions belong to either the Right-wing *United Labor Congress of Nigeria*, an ICFTU affiliate, or to the *Nigerian Workers' Council*, an ICCTU affiliate. The leaders of both bodies advocate non-interference in politics. As a result of a split in these bodies in 1965 a fifth union center was formed, the *Trade Union Supreme Council*.

There are also many unaffiliated unions.

On the initiative of the Left unions a movement has been started to unite all unions in a single national center.

UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC

General Federation of Labor of UAR. Founded in 1960 it unites all the unions in the country. The Federation supports the Government, the Arab Socialist Union and its program—the National Charter. It is affiliated to the AATUF. President of the GFL Executive Committee: Ahmed Fahim.

RHODESIA

Unions actively opposed to the racist government are united in the *Zimbabwe African Congress of Unions* which caters to workers of all races. Aligned with the ZAPU party. General Secretary: A. Ndlovu.

There are also some pro-government unions catering to whites.

SWAZILAND

The dominant union center is the *Swaziland Federation of Trade Unions*, affiliated to the AATUF. Secretary: A. Mhlanga.

REPUBLIC OF SENEGAL

National Union of Workers of Senegal. Formed in 1962 as a result of the merger of the two union bodies in the country, it is supported by the Government. The National Union, which is headed by Alioune Cissé, was one of the organizers of the Dakar Conference in 1962 at which the African Trade Union Confederation was formed.

Besides these national centers there are some illegal Left trade union organizations.

SOMALI REPUBLIC

The most important trade union organizations in the republic are the *Somali Confederation of Labor* (ICFTU affiliated), and the *Somali Federation of Labor* (influential in the northern part of the country).

REPUBLIC OF THE SUDAN

The *Federation of Sudanese Trade Unions* was formed in 1949. It has a membership of about 300,000. The Federation's Charter, adopted at its Fifth Congress in October 1965, states that its task is to fight for the establishment of a national democratic government that would put an end to imperialist domination in the economy, and direct development along socialist lines. The Federation is affiliated to both the AATUF and the WFTU. General Secretary: Shafi Ahmed el Sheikh.

At the end of 1964 a second center was formed, the *Tenants' Union*. This body unites several peasant and agricultural workers' unions. Estimated membership—250,000.

Shortly after its founding it signed a joint Charter with the Federation of Sudanese Trade Unions, calling on all political parties and organizations in the country to work for socialism.

SIERRA LEONE

Sierra Leone Federation of Labor. Formed in 1964 following the merger of the Sierra Leone Council of Labor and the Sierra Leone Trade Union Congress. Membership—28,000. It is not affiliated to any international organization. It was represented at the Second Congress of the AATUF.

UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA

National Union of Tanganyika Workers was formed in 1964 through the merger of all unions in the republic. Government controlled, it has a membership of 300,000. Its General Secretary,

Michael Kamaliza, is also Labor Minister in the Government. An AATUF affiliate.

The *Federation of Revolutionary Trade Unions of Zanzibar* was founded after the revolution in January 1964 when the two existing federations fused. It has a membership of about 25,000 and supports the policy of the Afro-Shirazi Party and the Government. It is affiliated to the AATUF.

REPUBLIC OF TOGO

The main center here is the *National Union of Workers of Togo* with an aggregate membership of 10,000.

The National Union cooperates with the Government and is a member of the ATUC.

TUNISIAN REPUBLIC

General Federation of Tunisian Workers has an estimated membership of 200,000. An autonomous member of the ICFTU; advocates promotion of national unity. It actively participated in the formation of the ATUC. General Secretary: Béchir Bellagha.

The General Federation is affiliated to the Socialist Destour Party.

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF UGANDA

Until recently there were two national centers in the country, the *Federation of Uganda Trade Unions* and the *Uganda Trades Union Congress*. The former derived from a split in the UTUC which was controlled by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

Preparations are now under way, on the initiative of the Government, to form a single trade union center.

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

The *General Confederation of Labor* unites workers and office employees in the state and

private sectors. It is an AATUF affiliate. President: P. Danga.

REPUBLIC OF CHAD

Most influential of the several trade union centres in this Republic is the *National Union of Chad Workers*. An AATUF affiliate.

ETHIOPIA

The *Association of Eritrean Free Labor Unions* was established in 1952. It is affiliated to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

General Secretary: Solomon Bayene.

SOUTH-WEST AFRICA

The main union center here is the *South-West Africa Native Labor Association*. Member of the AATUF. Secretary: Jacob Kuangha.

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

Racial segregation is legal in the trade union movement in this Republic. Not all unions, however, follow this practice. Among these are the *South African Congress of Trade Unions* which has publicly declared that it will combat racial oppression and apartheid. Founded in 1955, the Congress caters to workers of all races and has a membership of some 50,000. Is influential among African workers. An AATUF and WFTU affiliate. General Secretary: Mark Williams-Shope.

A section of African workers belongs to the *Federation of Free African Trade Unions of South Africa*. This body was represented at the Second Congress of the AATUF. President: John Nyaoase.

The biggest union center in the republic is the *Trade Union Council of South Africa*. Formed in 1951, it represents 180,000 workers, mainly whites. President: Thomas P. Murray.

The twilight of Gaullism

PIERRE HENTGES

DURING THE DEBATE in the National Assembly on April 24, 1964, Prime Minister Georges Pompidou, addressing the opposition, exclaimed: "It is not you, phantoms, who will inherit the future!" At that time all the signs pointed to Pompidou being de Gaulle's choice of successor. Now, after the presidential election of December 5, there is little likelihood that the Prime Minister will ever make such a sweeping statement again.

The results of the election were a surprise to the whole world. Generally speaking, many had anticipated another setback for Gaullism. Whereas in the 1958 referendum, held shortly after his advent to power, de Gaulle polled 79.2 per cent of the votes, by 1962 his vote had shrunk by five million; his poll then was 61.7 per cent, and in the 1965 municipal elections his supporters fared even worse. The surprise was occasioned not so much by the setback for Gaullism or the success of the opposition as by the magnitude of the changes and the blasting of the myth that this spokesman of the monopolies personified France. In March 1965, Roger Frey, Minister of the Interior, declared that the "hour of truth" would strike during the presidential elections at the end of the year and in the Parliamentary elections. And the hour of truth did indeed strike on December 5 and 19, 1965. In the first round, when the electors were offered a choice of several candidates, as in parliamentary elections (there were six candidates), de Gaulle failed to get the absolute majority needed for election, polling 43.7 per cent of the total vote for metropolitan France. And if he barely made it in the second round, receiving 54.5 per cent of the votes, this was because the election setup was more like a referendum, with only two candidates to choose from. Although the parliamentary elections which should put the seal on the defeat of the UNR are still to be held, it can safely be said that the presidential election shed a clear light on two important aspects of the French political scene: the narrowing of the mass base of Gaullism and the growth of the democratic forces.

There is no need to dwell here on the signi-

ficance of the nomination of Francois Mitterrand as the candidate of the Left. Francois Billoux, member of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party, spoke of this at some length in an article in this journal shortly before the elections.* This candidacy unquestionably ushered in a new phase in the fight of the Communists and all the Left forces in France against one-man rule.

In order that the candidacy of the deputy for Nièvre might act as a catalyzer of democratic opinion, Mitterrand was obliged to proclaim aims that could be endorsed by the entire Left. Of course, the parties supporting him, specifically the Communists, could disagree with some of his "practical proposals" or advance others, but in most cases Mitterrand's "options" coincided with democratic opinion as a whole. For example, the Communists, and the Socialists too, fully supported his demands for democratic planning with the participation of all the trade unions, abolition of laws restricting the right to strike, France's participation in disarmament talks and her adherence to the Moscow test-ban treaty of 1963.

The nomination of a common candidate made the Left confident of success. It made possible a more powerful concentration of forces than could be obtained by the simple addition of the Communist, Socialist and Radical vote. It engendered a striving for unity that opened new horizons to everyone. The democrats countered de Gaulle's oft-repeated cry that "victory for my opponents would signify chaos," by saying that after de Gaulle's reign the end of which he himself foresaw, democracy alone, relying on the people, could give the country stable institutions.

FURTHER SUCCESS FOR THE ALLIANCE

The results of the two rounds are most instructive. The number and percentage of votes cast for Mitterrand already in the initial round surpassed the most optimistic forecasts: 7,658,752 votes, i.e., 32.3 per cent of the vote

*World Marxist Review, No. 12, 1965.

in France proper. The votes of the workers and democrats generally amounted to 200,000 more than the total vote polled in the 1962 elections by the parties supporting his candidacy. Some four million voters of the non-Communist Left joined with the Communists. The scope of the alliance became even more apparent in the second round when the Left candidate polled an additional three million votes, giving him 45.5 per cent of the total vote and putting him ahead of de Gaulle in 24 departments.

People are already thinking of the parliamentary elections in 1967. The day after the December 19 balloting, many commentators, recalling the outcome of the 1962 general election (when the UNR polled 31 per cent of the votes as against 62 per cent for de Gaulle in the referendum), and the 1965 municipal elections, were unanimous in saying that it was doubtful if in a year's time the Gaullist UNR party would muster the vote now obtained by de Gaulle, whereas the Left was confident of winning over those who didn't vote for them in the presidential elections, for example, in towns with socialist municipalities like Lille or Arras. And since the present regime could not survive with a National Assembly hostile to the head of the state there is a general awareness that before long the one-man rule, in the words of General de Gaulle, "will have fulfilled its destiny." On the other hand, the Left alliance, largely responsible for this change, has grown stronger and more viable. Never before has unity made such rapid progress. Never before has it opened such perspectives. Never, it may be said, has it looked so far into the future.

"The success of Francois Mitterrand's candidacy," states the communique issued by the Communist Party the day after the second balloting, "is a success for an alliance that is growing. De Gaulle was installed in power because the working people and other republicans were disunited. The Gaullist regime has now been shaken and weakened because the Communist Party, the Socialist Party and other democratic parties and groups were able to agree on a single candidate and to come to an understanding on a number of political issues. Its defeat and the establishment of a new genuine democracy will now depend on the success of joint actions."

THE SOLE RULER

In order to gauge what is likely to happen in France in the next few months it is necessary to analyze the reasons for de Gaulle's defeat. If over 55 per cent of the French nation have shown him that they no longer give him their preference, there must be a very good reason for this. A contributing factor, no doubt, was the extensive explanatory work conducted by the Communist Party in its press, at thousands of meetings and in numerous broadcasts over the independent radio network (Communists are debarred from the official radio) as

well as by the opposition candidates on television. After seven years during which de Gaulle, his ministers and the official spokesmen of his regime had without the slightest fear of contradiction invoked the phantoms of the past and paid homage to the one and only god, there appeared flesh-and-blood men who for various reasons proceeded, on the basis of the evidence, to expose the weaknesses, contradictions and defects of that regime. This has nothing to do either with the impact of television or the unexpected appearance on the air or the TV screen of one or another candidate, nor is it a matter of the candidate's age or his silence. None of these factors would have been sufficient to explain the presence of an opposition so strong as to cause *Monde*, for example, to speak of a "profound hostility" and "a feeling of exasperation."

"The masses," Maurice Thorez said on October 4, 1958, "will never forgive us if we err together with them . . ." By the same token many Frenchmen cannot forgive de Gaulle for having mystified them, compelling them to place their future entirely in the hands of "the man of destiny."

During the election campaign opposition speakers often cited a statement made by de Gaulle at a press conference on January 31, 1964 which showed that the fundamental difference between the Gaullist regime and bourgeois democracy prior to 1958 consisted in the concentration of political power in the hands of one man, the President of the Republic.

Did not de Gaulle himself say: "It must be recognized, and it is correct, that undivided state authority has been vested in the President by the people who elected him, and no other authority, ministerial, civil, military or judicial, can be delegated or exercised without him" — a declaration of absolutism that can be matched only by the famous words of Louis XIV: "I am the State."

And indeed, did we not see the government of Debré, which had always enjoyed a majority in the National Assembly, disappear overnight in 1962 without explanation simply because it ceased to suit the President of the Republic?

Did we not witness that same year the Pompidou government remaining in power, although it found itself in the minority in parliament?

And indeed what does parliament really mean for the President of the Republic who at one time would not have it convened, although its convocation was demanded by the majority of deputies stipulated under the Constitution he himself had approved in 1958? Or take what is perhaps a more serious example. The United States, the Soviet Union and Britain, followed by other states, signed the Moscow Treaty in 1963 and invited France to follow suit. This is a vital issue on which the future of mankind might well hinge. Yet the question was not even debated either in parliament or in the Cabinet. The President of the Republic alone decided that France would not sign the Moscow Treaty.

The extremes to which the Gaullist concept of "undivided state authority" vested in one man and his ministers may lead can be observed in other spheres as well, witness the kidnapping in the heart of Paris, and perhaps assassination, of the Moroccan political leader Ben Barka. While undoubtedly the work of agents of the Moroccan Ministry of the Interior, it nevertheless casts doubt also on the role of the French police under Frey, not to speak of agents of similarly uncontrolled police responsible to the Prime Minister or the President of the Republic.

Seeking to impose its domination on all institutions, one-man rule impinges on the interests of large sections of the population. De Gaulle has as little use for the municipalities, the department assemblies or the Senate as for the National Assembly. Whether it is a question of establishing economic districts and appointing sub-prefects to head them, or of projects for limiting or abolishing the present power of the mayors in the bigger towns, and primarily in the Paris district, which have been under discussion for years, his desire to do away with representative bodies which are in the best position to consider and uphold the interests of the population is evident.

Moreover the elections gave de Gaulle an additional opportunity to demonstrate his contempt for the "parties." He recognizes only two principles: all that is good is personified by himself as the bearer of legitimate power in France since 1940, all that is bad is represented by the parties which, it is alleged, are responsible for all the misfortunes of the Third Republic, notably for the First World War (in which incidentally France was on the winning side), and for the defeat in the Second World War.

It is noteworthy that de Gaulle who condemns all parties in the name of the legitimacy of "divine right" is himself the leader of the UNR, now a minority party whose deputies, according to the General, owe their election to "reflected glory"; a party of no particular distinction, which, like any other party, expresses the interests and aspirations (albeit vague and illusory) of particular social groups and whose leaders moreover have always sought to subordinate the state and its institutions to the interests of the monopolies and the finance oligarchy.

In practice, de Gaulle considers the very existence of the parties, like the parliament, to be superfluous, or rather he holds that the parties, like parliament, should merely "adapt themselves to the role allotted them." All power is wielded by the Leader.

BEHIND DE GAULLE, THE OLIGARCHIES

In the course of its election campaign the Communist Party repeatedly drew attention to some of the basic features of the Gaullist regime. It is true that the French bourgeoisie helped de Gaulle to power at the time when the war in Algeria seemed hopeless and the

insurrection of the Algerian settlers threatened to plunge France into a serious political crisis. But even at that time it was de Gaulle who placed the future of the country directly in the hands of big capital. In order to strengthen state-monopoly capitalism de Gaulle considerably changed the process of accession to leadership of the state. Formerly members of the financial oligarchy had to face the vicissitudes of election campaigns and then obtain the agreement of a ministerial majority before getting into the government.

Since 1958, however, the ministers, exempted from all public control, are appointed directly from among the leaders of the capitalist monopolies and top officials associated with the finance oligarchy; this gives them unimpeded access to the political leadership of the state.

Thus, the real rulers of the country, in which 975 members of the boards of the hundred biggest companies dominate the economy and in which the system of personal ties between the monopolies, the government and the top administration is common, are the men who occupy the dominant positions in banks and big industry. It is they who ensure the subordination of the vast state sector to the interests of private finance capital, for example by selling the output of state enterprises at low prices to the private monopolies thereby making them a present of the surplus value.

In this sense the example of France fully corroborates the analysis made by the Moscow Meeting of the 81 Communist and Workers' Parties in 1960: "The contradictions of capitalism have accelerated the development of monopoly capitalism into state-monopoly capitalism. By tightening the monopolies' grip on the life of the nation, state-monopoly capitalism closely combines the power of the monopolies with that of the state with the aim of saving the capitalist system and increasing the profits of the imperialist bourgeoisie to the utmost by exploiting the working class and plundering large sections of the population."

The process of capitalist concentration in France, which was accelerated by the creation of the Common Market and which led to the elimination of large numbers of small and medium-sized enterprises, was intensified in the first seven years of de Gaulle's rule. This period is marked among other things by the participation since 1963 of the Belgian Empain group in Schneider-Creusot, the conclusion in 1964 of an agreement (after state intervention) between the Machines Bull Company, taken over in advance by the Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas and General Electric, a deal which increased American participation in the French electronics industry, and the partial merger the same year of two giant electrical equipment companies, Alsthom and SGE (Compagnie Générale d'électricité).

THE CHIEF VICTIM

Have the growing concentration of capital, the closer ties between monopoly capital and

the state, as well as the plans of the Fifth Republic aimed at ensuring a balanced development of capitalism, made the capitalist society more just and more rational, as the Gaullist spokesmen contend? Or, on the contrary, has all this not increased the inequality between capitalists and non-capitalists and the domination of the former over the latter? This question, along with that of one-man rule, was the chief talking point in the election campaign.

The most convincing answer perhaps is to be found in the fact that the day after the elections, when people were still dazed by the results, the commentators with one accord expressed the view that "the biggest defeat in the election campaign" was suffered by the stabilization plan. *Notre République*, organ of the "Left Gaullists," did not conceal its anxiety when it said that if the Fifth Republic was to win "bigger mass support" it would have to impart "a more social direction" to government policy.

The Left—the Communists, Socialists, Radicals—pointed out that the Gaullist stabilization plan imposed by the government with the support of the employers (but not of the trade unions) presupposes a permanent unemployed army of up to 600,000 in order to check the growth of wages, which in effect are already frozen, retard social progress and hamper the workers' struggle for their demands.

Nor was this merely an election campaign exaggeration. Some time ago *l'Année dans le Monde*, a bourgeois scientific journal, commenting on the stabilization plan, wrote: "The concessions made to capital, the restoration of self-financing, the increase in profits and the fixing of a ceiling on wages but not on profits—all indicate that the plan was an instrument of neo-liberal policy (a euphemism for an economic policy based on the drive for profit.—P.H.)."

The stabilization plan is in a sense the expression of a fundamental contradiction of state-monopoly capitalism, namely, the contradiction between what the Marxist journal *Economie et Politique* calls *popular consumption* (individual in the case of workers' income, and social in the case of capital investments in the interests of society or public services) and *capital accumulation*, production for profit, primarily, by the monopolies. This engenders frequent crises in all spheres associated with consumption: the textile industry, household goods, automobiles (an eight per cent drop in 1964, stagnation in 1965). Moreover, it is generally felt in France that too little attention is devoted to culture and the arts, and to housing construction where speculation in land is rife. All these needs are sacrificed to the "force de frappe." A propos of the plan, which has so many admirers abroad, it is worth noting that in the sphere of school construction, for example, the targets of the IV Plan which should have been fulfilled by December 31, 1965 will only be reached in 1972. When Michel Debré

cited these facts during a lively radio debate, he found nothing better to say than: "Of course, programs should be worked out in advance, but in economics and politics you cannot foresee everything, and hence agreement is usually reached in general outline; in the meantime reality may bring a social crisis or a foreign crisis, in which case agreement of the majority, the signed paper, would be worthless." We see that one Gaullist leader at any rate has no illusions about capitalist anarchy.

The monopoly bourgeoisie are encountering difficulties in their efforts to strengthen their domination and augment their profits.

In the first place they have to reckon with the resistance of the working class to any reinforcement of the capitalist social structure, to the alienation and exploitation by capital, wage reductions, the growing discrepancy in incomes, the dismissals, the lowering of skills, the nervous exhaustion which robs the worker even of his leisure. The massive support for Mitterrand by the miners, and also municipal workers and employees who conducted big strikes in 1963 and 1964 for better conditions, is significant. Nor can the struggle be expected to slacken when after the assurances made that in 1966 prices would not rise above 1.5 per cent, the government has raised rents, transport fares, postal charges, and all public services, and at the height of the election campaign hospital fees were increased by six per cent. Add to this an unjust tax policy which grants all sorts of exemptions and privileges to companies thereby reducing the taxes of the wealthy while adding three million low-paid workers to the new categories of tax payers. M. Debré had good reason to speak of the "realities." "Laws," wrote Balzac, "are like cobwebs, the big flies break out of them, the little ones get caught."

The reality is the dissatisfaction in the countryside over the designs of the regime to eliminate 800,000 small peasant farms considered unprofitable and to lower the incomes of the peasants. The Gaullist government made no few promises in the sphere of agriculture, but it did not keep them; and since 1958 prices for farm produce have lagged still more behind prices of manufactured goods.

The reality of the monopoly concentration, far from abolishing the contradictions of competition, reproduces them on another level. Up against the competition of other capitalist countries, of the state-monopoly capitalism of other countries, Gaullism, anxious to carry more weight in the capitalist alliances and to win greater economic and political prestige, concentrated on building up a "strike force" with the aim of arming France with the H-bomb and the means of its delivery. This of course suits the trusts down to the ground, for the "force de frappe" means primarily chemicals, electronics and aircraft. But many people in France have estimated how many schools and hospitals could be built with the money that will be spent on the Bomb, which promises

the country nothing but destruction. Suffice it to say that of the 35,600 million francs allocated annually for research, 24,000 million or more than two-thirds goes exclusively to finance military research.

DIM LIGHT, DARK SHADOWS

Did the people have weighty reasons for endorsing General de Gaulle's foreign policy? In some respects, yes. And although the positive aspects of the policy are determined primarily by the inter-imperialist contradictions and France's desire to take advantage of the difficulties encountered by U.S. imperialism, there is no doubt that the General's policy of rapprochement with the countries of the East, his recognition of the Chinese People's Republic and his statements with regard to U.S. aggression in Santo Domingo, and on numerous occasions on Vietnam as well, have contributed to peaceful existence.

Nevertheless there are dangerous aspects of French foreign policy that can hardly be overlooked. The "force de frappe," the refusal to sign the Moscow Treaty and to participate in the Geneva disarmament talks can hardly be seen as evidence of a progressive policy. For this reason alone it is essential to examine more closely the basic trends of Gaullist foreign policy.

There is no point in recalling some of de Gaulle's previous pronouncements with regard to the socialist countries. But what were the people to think when on December 14, 1965 the President of the Republic, speaking on television, said: "... If this Western Europe is attacked, who is likely to attack it? Hitherto, or rather until recently, it might have been assumed that the attack would come from the East, nor is this altogether excluded today. In that case, there is the solidarity of the Six in the sphere of defense, and I believe that this solidarity can and should be organized."

The elasticity and ambiguity of this attitude would not be disquieting in itself were it not for West Germany's claims to the main role—and moreover a nuclear role—in this "defense." What was the use of talking about solidarity when Bonn remembers only too well that on January 14, 1963 de Gaulle, speaking of nuclear rearmament, said "every country should be the master of its own house." A very unwise statement considering that all General de Gaulle's arguments to justify a French "force de frappe" have been seized upon by the very men in West Germany who are demanding nuclear "equality."

Nor could French public opinion make the mistake of over-simplifying de Gaulle's attitude toward the United States. Although the ties between France and the United States have weakened on the whole, it is none the less true that the solidarity of the two imperialist powers takes the upper hand at crucial moments such as, for example, the failure of the summit meeting after the U-2 incident in 1960, or at

the time of the Caribbean crisis in 1962. The average Frenchman looks askance at the aid de Gaulle renders reactionary African governments—whether Gabon or the Congo (Leopoldville)—and at his moral support for Franco as expressed in the agreement on cooperation, notably in the military sphere.

Few people in France are unaware of the painful consequences of the cosmopolitanism of monopoly capital. "Our doors have been thrown wide open to American capital," Paul Frayse, a Sorbonne professor, wrote in this connection. "Future historians will note that in the period of the Fifth Republic, the Chrysler Company took over SINCA, General Electric, Bull; and that Libby's colonized the garden of France" (Le Languedoc.—P.H.) "American capital in France . . . will cost us dearly: export of capital, sterilization of research in the applied sciences, not to speak of political dependence. And, last but not least, has the Fifth Republic denounced agreements granting the American cinema a monopoly in our country?"

Without disregarding the positive aspects of de Gaulle's foreign policy, the Left in France are aspiring to a genuine national policy, a policy of disarmament and peace, a truly progressive policy inspired by progressive ideology and the ideals of peace.

WHITHER FRANCE?

It is now clear that Gaullism cannot provide the answer to this question. A regime which no longer enjoys the confidence and support of the masses cannot remedy its inherent contradictions and deficiencies either by a change of personalities in government, or by modifying relations with the Common Market, nor yet by assurances that henceforth the government will "devote its attention to social problems."

On the contrary, the future belongs to that unity which, thanks to the elections and mainly to the efforts of the Communists, was created or reinforced among all working and thinking people in the country. In many departments the trade unions of various trends published joint appeals for support of Mitterrand. This also helped to bring the unions closer. On December 14, in the interval between the two balloting, a meeting took place between the leaders of the two trade union centers, the General Confederation of Labour and the Democratic Labor Federation, which unites the bulk of the members of the old "Christian" trade unions. At this meeting the CGT proposed to issue a joint declaration affirming, among other things, "the resolve of both organizations to continue the discussion with a view to working out a common program of demands and finding ways of ensuring their fulfilment." On January 10 the two centers reached agreement on joint struggle for better conditions, for observance and extension of trade union rights in the enterprises.

Shortly before the second ballot, more than a thousand intellectuals, members of the French Academy and the Academy of Sciences, prominent film, theater and literary personalities signed an appeal urging the public to vote for Mitterrand. This impressive action, the first of its kind since the days of the Popular Front, was evidence of a growing political awareness and militancy on the part of the intellectuals which is part of the broadly based movement of public opinion against the "force de frappe," against the nuclear ambitions of the Bundeswehr and against the war in Vietnam.

On the level of the parties themselves the question of unity has emerged with renewed force. Since 1935 Maurice Thorez taught the French Communists that in dealing with the middle sections it is essential to take into account, on the one hand, their traditions, their ideology which is marked by a genuine devotion to freedom and profound national feeling, and on the other, to bear in mind the changes these sections might undergo. The relations between Socialists, Communists, Radicals and progressive Catholics, especially after 1962, have become less inhibited and more friendly. The joint struggle being waged at the present time against the one-man rule has strengthened the ties among those waging it, has created a better climate for mutual understanding.

Some socialist leaders have more than once spoken in favor of unity. For example, the General Secretary of the Socialist Party, speaking on December 16, 1965 in Draguignan, declared: "Attempts have been made to embarrass me with the question: 'how could you have agreed to go along with the Communists?' Splendid! I am delighted. If things were really to change in France I should be very happy." And this from Guy Mollet: "Agreement, accord with the Communists on a joint program will not be difficult. We champion the same interests, the interests of the workers."

This is a far cry from what Gaston Defferre had to say before he was forced to withdraw his candidacy. "I shall neither talk nor debate with the Communists," he declared. "I shall not subscribe to any of those demagogic election programs drawn up for no other purpose than to please everybody." And so on.

Within the space of a few months a remarkable development has taken place in French politics: the polarization in the Socialist Party of two trends, one pro-unity, the other anti-unity, if not openly anti-Communist. A struggle is taking place between these trends in every federation, every section, and undoubtedly, in the minds and hearts of many Socialists, both leaders and rank-and-filers.

The meagre vote polled by the "centrist" candidate Lecanuet, with whom Defferre endeavored in 1964 to build a new political grouping to include the Catholic MRP and the SFIO, was undoubtedly an eye-opener for many socialists. This obviously pro-American candidacy is noteworthy insofar as it demonstrated the

inability of the Gaullist power—the power of the monopolies—to balance the interests of the various groups within the ruling class. At the same time the fact that this candidacy was advanced shows that a section of the bourgeoisie is searching for a reactionary solution to the problems besetting the Gaullist regime. It is quite obvious, however, that if Lecanuet, with 15.8 per cent of the votes, was so far behind Mitterrand who polled 32.2 per cent, there is little chance of a centrist combination.

Hence the failure of Defferre and his friends in the Socialist Party to defeat Guy Mollet's policy. And Defferre's defeat sounded the knell for the anti-unity policy. This point was stressed by the Socialist *Nord-Matin* newspaper: "What is the political purport of centrism if not the flagrant and categorical renunciation of any hope for working class unity."

This remarkable growth of pro-unity sentiment is highly gratifying for the Communists. For ten years they have worked to bring this about. At the Havre Congress of the Party in July 1965 the Communists, pointing to the common elements in the policy of the Socialist and Communist parties, recalled that according to Article 1 of the Rules of the Socialist Party the latter is a "class party for the conquest of power and the socialization of the means of production and exchange, i.e., for transforming capitalist society into collectivist or communist society." Emphasizing that the Communists and Socialists are champions of democratic rights, the Congress, anticipating the present situation as it were, noted: "Communist and Socialist groups in parliament often introduce identical or similar motions . . . Why not simplify their task and work together on the scale of the entire country?"

Today Communists and Socialists should fight together for the interests of labor, wages, social welfare, education, housing for workers, scientific research, for the rights of parties and deputies, the right to speak on radio and television, and for peace and disarmament. They should work jointly to create favorable conditions for the struggle of the working class in the European organizations. Together they can find forms of alliance between the working class and all social sections, all victims of the monopolies, in order to prepare and carry out far-reaching political and economic reforms with the ultimate aim of putting an end to monopoly domination.

With these tasks in view, the French Communist Party has drawn up a draft program providing for the abolition of one-man rule, for unrestricted democratic rights, a policy for disarmament and peace, and proposing:

—nationalization of the monopolies, which dominate the economy, and democratic management of the big state and nationalized enterprises;

—a democratic plan of economic and social development ensuring the expansion of production and higher living standards for workers and the population as a whole, among other

things by increasing wages and reducing working hours without cutting wages;

—*development of education and culture* through a democratic reform of the educational system and by increasing allocations for public education and scientific research;

—*construction of at least 550,000-600,000 new flats every year*, of which 300,000 with low rentals for low-income families;

—*a democratic tax reform* increasing taxation of capitalist firms and reducing consumer taxation, which raises the cost of living, as well as income tax, the burden of which rests mainly on wage earners and the middle sections;

—*an agricultural policy guaranteeing a fair remuneration of the labor of peasants and*

fostering the development of agricultural co-operation;

—*aid to industrially underdeveloped areas of the country.*

The Communists are convinced that only by multiplying united and joint actions will it be possible to create better conditions for elaborating a joint program. The recent election campaign is proof of this. The present situation in France is such that political initiative, the desire for unity, the common experience, the victories won, the mass struggle clarified and guided by ideological debate—all this, if fused in a single process, can accelerate the movement forward and, by eliminating one-man rule, ensure the victory of freedom and the triumph of socialism.

Imperialist intrigues around Cyprus

ALTHOUGH the independence of Cyprus was proclaimed more than five years ago as a result of the national liberation struggle against imperialist oppression, the Cyprus question has still not been settled.

The independence granted the islands is hamstrung by a multitude of restrictions imposed by the Zurich and London agreements. To list some of these restrictions:

a) the people of Cyprus are denied the right to determine the political future of their island country, i.e., they are deprived by "law" of the right to self-determination, a right recognized by international law;

b) they cannot alter a single basic Article of the Constitution, although this right is enjoyed by the peoples of all independent countries;

c) Britain has retained, in opposition to the will of the people, its principal military bases on the island and the right to use its airfields, ports and roads for military purposes;

d) Greece and Turkey have been granted the right, under the terms of a guarantee and allied agreement, to maintain military units on Cyprus and, together with Great Britain, to intervene jointly, or unilaterally, in our internal affairs in the sense of preventing any modification of the regime established under the terms of the Zurich agreement.

In December 1963 Turkish extremists on the island staged a revolt, engineered by the Western imperialists and by chauvinist elements in Ankara. The situation could have been remedied in a short time. However, intervention by Turkey, coupled with threats of military intervention, secretly supported by NATO, complicated

matters and jeopardized peace in this area. Here it will be in place to note that from the first day of the crisis NATO tried to arrogate to itself the role of judge and arbiter and thus gain complete ascendancy over Cyprus. To the NATO leaders Cyprus is the ideal location for a missile and thermonuclear base to be used against the young independent Afro-Asian states, the Arab countries and the Soviet Union.

In essence, the Cyprus question is a simple one. It is a matter of giving effect to the inalienable right to self-determination which is universally recognized and which forms the bedrock of the United Nations Charter. However, the Anglo-American imperialists succeeded in complicating this simple issue, in making it appear as a contradiction between Cyprus and Greece, on the one hand, and Turkey on the other, and on the island itself as a contradiction between the Greek majority and Turkish minority.

In order to bolster their position, the imperialists spread the myth about the "impossibility" of peaceful coexistence between Greek Cypriots, who account for roughly 80 per cent of the population, and Turkish Cypriots, who make up about 18 per cent. This myth is exploited by chauvinists in Ankara and by the corrupt extremist leaders imposed on the Turkish Cypriots through violence, terror and assassination of progressive Turkish figures.

All previous experience shows that the argument about the impossibility of peaceful coexistence between the Greek and Turkish Cypriots is an invention of the imperialists. For generations Greeks, Turks and Armenians in Cyprus

have lived and worked in harmony. Thousands of Turkish workers, peasants, handicraftsmen and tradesmen belonged with their Greek fellows to the same trade unions, peasant unions, cooperatives and other organizations. The Progressive Party of the Cypriot Working People (AKEL) numbered many Turks among its members. In those towns where the municipal councils were run by AKEL and other progressives the Turkish councillors invariably supported the actions of their Greek colleagues to free Cyprus of British colonial rule and to achieve national independence. The working-class movement, headed by AKEL, fought chauvinism and promoted the spirit of cooperation in joint struggle against colonialism and for freedom.

Alarmed by these joint actions the British colonialists suborned some of the Turkish leaders and used them as their agents among the Turkish Cypriots.

Resorting to the old imperialist gambit of "divide and rule," British colonialists succeeded in splitting the Greeks and Turks in their joint struggle for freedom. When the British crushed the fight for national independence and proclaimed that the island would remain a British colony, their Turkish Cypriot agents, with the backing of Ankara, advanced a political slogan to the same effect.

In 1956 the British Conservative government was compelled, under the pressure of the Cypriot people, the British working-class movement and world public opinion, to make a statement about the right of the Cypriots to self-determination. It hastened to add, however, that this right should be used by the Greeks and the Turks separately, and not as one people. Inventing the theory of two "separate national communities" with differing and even irreconcilable interests, and the right of each community to decide its own future independently of the other, the colonialists sowed seeds of discord among the people of the island. The Ankara chauvinists and the local agents of the British imperialists seized on this statement to demand the partition of Cyprus. This demand became the watchword of the Turkish extremists both in Ankara and in Cyprus. It cost the lives of many democratic Turkish Cypriots who had the courage to tell their countrymen the true meaning of this imperialist slogan.

However, when subsequent developments proved that partition found scant support, its British authors, the Ankara chauvinists and the Turkish extremists on the island, dropped it and called for a federal state with two

separate governments—one for the Greeks and one for the Turks.

AKEL emphatically rejected separation or federation, considering either proposal unfeasible for the following reasons:

a) The Turkish population is dispersed among the Greek majority on the island and does not reside in any one particular area. Hence there can be no question of setting up two separate state bodies. The same applies to the island's economy which for the same reason cannot be artificially divided into two separate economies.

A separate, economically independent Turkish national region could be established only through forcible resettlement and exchange of property. The UN mediator in Cyprus, Galo Plaza, therefore also considered federation impossible. In his report to UN General Secretary U Thant, he wrote that federation would necessitate forcible resettlement of the population, i.e., of thousands of people on both sides, and that this would be contrary to all the progressive principles of our time, including the principles embodied in the universal Declaration of Human Rights.

b) A federal state organization in Cyprus would make it possible for the Anglo-American imperialists to intensify, through their "divide and rule" policy, racial animosity and existing contradictions and to become, as a result, the real masters of the political situation.

AKEL's emphatic rejection of separation or federation does not mean that it supports infringements of the democratic and civil rights of the Turkish minority. On the contrary, AKEL has always been a staunch defender of the rights of national minorities, for it considers defense of these rights to be a matter of principle. Accordingly, it unreservedly condemns any violation of this principle, for this can only lead to fascist and racist tendencies.

The Cypriot question, which the imperialists have complicated out of all proportion and with such dangerous consequences for peace, could be settled in a perfectly normal way provided the principles proclaimed in the UN Charter and reflected in the recent resolution of the General Assembly were observed, namely: respect for complete independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity; respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination for the peoples; respect for human rights and the basic freedoms; recognition of the sovereignty of all UN member-countries; to refrain from threats and the use of force against the independence or territorial integrity of any country.

Andreas FANTIS

British communists in congress

THE MAIN TASK discussed by the 500 delegates to the 29th National Congress of the British Communist Party, held in London at the end of November, was how to generate in the country the widest possible united movement to secure a turn to the Left.

Congress met after a year's experience of Mr. Wilson's Labor Government, and while all the people on the Left, Communists and non-Communists, readily concede that Labor's tiny majority in Parliament has not meant smooth sailing for the Government, they are highly critical of its abnegation of anything even faintly resembling a socialist approach in home and foreign policy.

While the Prime Minister and his Cabinet colleagues delight in invoking the much abused "winds of change," in practice they give the impression of being completely becalmed in the traditional conservative continuity of British foreign policy.

What John Gollan characterized as their "verbal thunderbolts" are discharged not against the monopoly capitalists but against militant trade unionists in the factories who are denounced as "wreckers"; far from setting up trade union Commissions to investigate capitalist profits and halt the price rise, they have Commissions working to pin down wages and to curb the trade unions. And while there is no sparing of thunder and lightning against the Left both at home and abroad, the Right on the contrary is treated with velvet gloves, in a manner reminiscent of Munich appeasement.

In contrast to the entire Socialist world solidly ranged behind Vietnam and giving it military, economic and political aid, an inspiring example of Socialist international solidarity, Labor's Prime Minister has chosen to side with U.S. monopoly capitalism in its counter-revolutionary war against the people of Vietnam in their just fight for national liberation.

In Rhodesia, the gentlemanly appeasement of Ian Smith, the racist Prime Minister, now in open rebellion against the Labor Government, has so offended African countries that a number of them have broken off diplomatic relations with Britain. At the United Nations many delegates from African countries walked out of the hall when Mr. Wilson rose to address the General Assembly.

Congress did not close its eyes to the anxiety felt in the broad labor movement as a result of this depressing twelve-month record of the Wilson Government. It rejected the view expressed here and there by some Party members that the Labor Party, because of Right-wing domination, is no different from any capitalist party. It stressed that, by virtue of its mass trade union affiliation, the Labor Party was overwhelmingly working class in its composition. And it pointed to the growing rank and file revolt against the official policy.

It is with these forces that the Communist Party must work if it is to exert the much needed influence in the unions and in the Labor Party.

The Party sees the Left in Britain as consisting of not just the Left MPs and Left leaders in the unions.

It sees also the politically conscious militants in the trade unions, in the factories, in the Labor organizations, in the constituencies and in the cooperatives.

The Left includes the militant unions and the sizeable majorities in all the unions working for a change. An important role is played by the newer white-collar unions, and by the shop stewards in the factories. The Left extends also to the various peace organizations—the CND, the Vietnam Committees, Anti-Apartheid Committees, the British Peace Committee, and others.

"It is our view," Comrade Gollan said, that these "diverse forces and movements of the Left should have the aim of creating a broad militant alliance . . . based on the cooperation of the Communists, Socialists and militant trade unionists."

The Left should vigorously combat anti-communism, while the Communist Party on its part should get rid of any obstacles and actions that hamper unity.

About half a million copies of the Party's call to the Left, containing a nine-point discussion program, have been sent to all working class organizations, to peace and youth organizations and to men and women prominent in other progressive organizations.

Points in the proposed program include:

rejection of the Government's incomes policy; no anti-union legislation; pressure for higher wages and pensions a Government-imposed

price stop and resistance to rent increases; nationalization of the steel industry; rejection of the Government's White Paper on immigration; ending British support for the American war in Vietnam; no multi-lateral or Atlantic Nuclear Force; an immediate end to repressions in Aden and the war in Malaya and to white supremacy in Rhodesia.

This program is seen as a basis for a discussion throughout the Labor movement, a discussion in which the Party will talk with anyone right now, and consider any proposal designed to facilitate the aim of a united movement of the Left.

For reasons of age three veteran members of the Party, Palme Dutt, J. R. Campbell and Peter Kerrigan, did not stand for re-election to the Executive Committee. Younger comrades were elected to replace the outgoing veterans, each of whom is well known not only in Britain but also in the international Communist movement.

While the Congress, understandably, concentrated on the problems and issues facing the Party and the Labor movement in Britain, the spirit of internationalism also was well to the fore. Two African leaders, Nelson Samkange, representative in Britain of the African People's Union of Rhodesia, and Joe Matthews of the African National Congress of South Africa, were given a standing ovation when they addressed Congress.

Blaming the Labor Government for its policy of appeasing the racist Smith regime, Mr. Samkange went on: "Let no one underestimate the fighting spirit of our people. . . We shall fight to the bitter end until we regain our land and rule it under African majority rule."

"While the Britain of the imperialists and monopoly capitalists has always had relations with the white racist oppressors of our people," Mr. Matthews said, "we in South Africa have had for a long time fraternal relations with the working class and progressives of this country."

An emergency resolution unanimously adopt-

ed by Congress pledged complete solidarity with the African struggle for freedom and national liberation.

On behalf of the delegates, a telegram was sent to the Prime Minister of Sudan protesting the repressions against the Communist Party.

Congress was also very much concerned with the question of unity in the international Communist movement. To that part of the draft resolution which, after stressing the harm done to the advance of the international movement by the differences, reaffirmed previous Party decisions to do everything to strengthen unity on the basis of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement, a number of branches submitted amendments. Branch representatives who spoke to their amendments for the most part made constructive, if critical, speeches. No one questioned the sincerity of their desire to see a return to international unity and all were given an attentive hearing; but when put to the vote the amendments were defeated by overwhelming majorities. The main resolution was adopted by 494 for, 12 against.

Many messages of greetings were received from Communist Parties throughout the world; their number included the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Chinese Communist Party, the fraternal parties of France, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Austria, Holland, Greece, Japan, Iran, Ireland, Canada, Argentina, Australia and New Zealand.

Looking forward to the 50th Anniversary of the October Revolution, delegates instructed the new Executive Committee to begin now the preparations in order to celebrate this famous date in worthy manner.

The resolve of the 500 delegates to the 29th Congress of the British Communist Party was all out work to secure a united Left alliance in Britain, and to leave no stone unturned in the effort to restore full unity to the international Communist movement.

John GIBBONS

Party work in a new situation

IN THE PERIOD SINCE the meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSU last September which adopted decisions on improving industrial management and planning and new economic stimuli to production, much has been done by the Moscow Party organization in acquainting the people with these decisions. For one thing, meetings to discuss the decisions have been held in all Party branches in the enterprises and other institutions. Both the

opinions voiced and the steps taken show wholehearted approval of the decisions. Muscovites are confident that the proposed system of organizational and economic measures lays a solid groundwork for greater efficiency of production, increasing the national income and raising the material well-being of the people.

The people of Moscow have also welcomed the decision to convene the Twenty-Third Congress of the Party, and pre-Congress socialist

emulation is gaining momentum from day to day.

It is still too early to draw any detailed conclusions concerning the new features of Party work. What is obvious, however, is that many new elements have asserted themselves in the life of local Party organizations, and that their role and responsibilities in improving management in the enterprises have greatly grown.

Regardless of its importance, the new system of management cannot automatically solve all the problems posed by the projected economic reform. Solutions will be worked out by the people themselves. Hence it is clear that success will largely depend on how effectively the Party organizations guide and organize the work in a new way, how competently they tackle production problems and how they react to shortcomings. I should like to dwell on some questions of Party work in the new situation.

Party work, needless to say, is above all work with people. Each new stage in Party and economic building poses new tasks in this sphere. As we see it, particular importance is now attached to all-round preparation of Party and managerial personnel for transition to new methods of work. This is a matter not only of organizational and ideological but also, to a large extent, of psychological regearing.

The administrative methods of management which predominated for so many years have left a deep imprint on the psychology of production executives. Regulation of all aspects of economic activity, the setting of all tasks from the top, and endless consultations at the various rungs of the administrative apparatus, far from promoting initiative, tended to efface the personal responsibility of managers.

Principles of scientific planning were often violated and elements of subjectivism, causing disproportions between branches of the economy, slowed down the launching of new capacities.

Material incentives too were inadequately developed to encourage people to improve the performance of their enterprise or shop or to raise the quality of output.

Some managers, seeking at whatever cost to meet gross output targets, continued to turn out goods for which there clearly was no demand and which were bound to pile up in the warehouses.

The new measures call for a radical improvement in management, for the use of such economic levers as cost accounting, prices, profit, credits, and more incentives for workers.

Needless to say, economic levers will produce results only if they are properly used, if our cadres are well versed in economics. Otherwise they are apt to have a contrary effect, as, unfortunately, happened in the past.

In view of this an important place in the work of the Party branches and committees is occupied by more effective training of cadres—study of the scientific principles of production organization and management. The greater economic independence of enterprises and their

full responsibility for balancing outlays and expenditures with financial receipts place exacting demands on the managers, who must be able to run their enterprises with maximum efficiency.

Another consideration is that most of our factory executives are specialists whose training did not give them an adequate grounding in economics. As often as not they had to master the art of management from personal experience, and not always successfully, after appointment to the post of director, chief engineer or head economist.

To overcome these shortcomings, the Moscow City Committee three years ago established a system of advanced training in economics, new technology and organization and production management for industrial and construction executives. An important place in the system is occupied by advanced economics courses for factory managers, chief engineers and head economists at 18 Moscow colleges. Last year these courses were attended by 1,400 executives.

This educational work is effective to a large extent because the Party organizations pay constant attention to it. The Bureau of the Moscow City Committee regularly follows the progress made and lays down guidelines for the future. Every year two or three conferences of heads of courses and college departments as well as tutors are held with a view to meeting current needs of industry and correcting shortcomings in good time.

The new requirements have necessitated the introduction of some new features this year. It has been decided to arrange joint lectures for all the various courses so as to give them the benefit of the most highly qualified lecturers. The seminars and classes dealing with the specific problems of each branch of industry are of course held in the respective higher schools.

It should be pointed out that the course of lectures provides only the methodological groundwork, and that the emphasis is on independent study closely integrated with practical managerial work. This can be seen from the distribution of study time, of which 40 per cent is allocated for lectures and the remainder for seminars and classes.

Another detail: every student is expected to write a thesis at the end of the academic year.

Besides courses for heads of enterprises, there are also advanced technical and special courses at the enterprises attended by more than 27,000 people from all levels.

Large numbers of Party and government functionaries likewise study economics. The bureau of the Moscow City Committee has sponsored a series of lectures on economic theory and practice for secretaries and department heads of district committees, leading functionaries of the City Committee, the vice-chairmen and department chiefs of the Moscow City Executive Committee and chairmen of the District Soviets. The District Committees have arranged similar study facilities for the Dis-

strict Party and Soviet functionaries. Important work is also being done by the Moscow and district Universities of Technological Progress and Economics which have an enrolment of more than 22,000.

At the same time we realize that lectures, seminars and talks do not fully solve the problem of providing training in economics. Hence we are urging all Party activists to engage in systematic, serious self-study. Some may have to begin from the ABC's, but there is no other way. Our activists must be equal to the demands of the day when verifying economic activity, analyzing the work of the enterprises and giving pointers to the Party and trade union organizations.

Party and economic organizations are paying much attention to practical economics in the enterprises.

In recent years qualified head economists have been taken on by more than 100 large factories, and the personnel of enterprises are being increasingly drawn into this activity; this year Moscow industrial enterprises have more than 350 economic research centers and laboratories and rate-setting bureaus staffed by spare-time volunteer workers.

The financial, accounting and commercial departments at the enterprises, however, still experience a shortage of qualified personnel. Consequently, the Party organizations and administrations of enterprises are now working to improve the situation and raise the level of skills.

The Party committees and faculties of the secondary specialized and higher schools are keenly aware of their responsibility for carrying out the decisions of the Party and the government on improving the economic training of young specialists. At present there are 73 higher schools and 133 secondary technical schools in the capital which train more than 12 per cent of all specialists working in the national economy.

The higher schools propose to give their graduates a better knowledge of methods of economic analysis in order to ensure higher returns in planning enterprises and designing machines and technological processes. Another question now being examined is introduction in technical colleges of economic studies as part of the basic curricula.

Transition to the new economic system brings to the fore important questions relating to the ideological and educational work of the Party, trade union and other organizations.

Clearly, provision of greater material incentives to the enterprises and to each of their workers should be directly linked with work to deepen the Communist consciousness of the working people. A one-sided approach, undue emphasis on incentives and underestimation of the moral factor, can only retard Communist education and give rise to egoistic, self-seeking attitudes among people lacking in political maturity.

There is every reason to assume, for instance, that some workers will strive to move to enterprises where the incentives are higher. This

would make for still greater fluctuation of labor. The opinion has been expressed that administrative measures should be taken to prevent such fluctuation. One can hardly agree with this view, however, for this method of stabilizing the labor force has obviously outlived its time. The experience of the Party and trade union organizations of Clothing Factory No. 9, the Kapranov Shoe Factory and the Tryokhgornaya Textile Mills, to mention only a few, offers cogent proof of the effectiveness of public opinion in preventing excessive fluidity of manpower.

In their mass work the Party organizations lay emphasis on the idea that full satisfaction of the personal requirements of every member of society is possible only through a prospering economy and the growth of culture of the entire country, only if the common good is ensured. Using educational forms with the greatest appeal, we seek to enhance the role of the collectives in management and to channel the creative initiative of the working people to harnessing all the internal reserves.

Many questions pertaining to the functioning of the enterprises which formerly belonged to the competence of higher bodies will now be decided in the enterprises. But this does not mean that the manager himself will decide everything. The extension of the rights of the enterprises is primarily a matter of extending the rights of their working collectives. The manager will be able to cope with these tasks only when the decisions are taken together with the Party, trade union and youth organizations and in consultation with the best workers.

Proceeding from these principles, the Party and trade union organizations of many Moscow enterprises are devoting more attention to production, using, of course, their own specific ways of influencing economic activity and taking a direct part in discussing production plans and deciding matters of principle, especially if these affect the interests of the workers.

The projected measures presuppose more effective control over economic activity on the part of Party organizations. This, of course, by no means signifies that Party committees should take over the functions of economic bodies or exercise petty tutelage over them. This would be the other extreme.

Regrettably, however, some recent facts have decidedly undesirable connotations. For example, some managers, seeing that the Economic Councils are to a large extent winding up while the ministries have not yet begun functioning, are bombarding local Party bodies with correspondence concerning deliveries of raw materials or parts. Often all kinds of "expeditors" are used to raise these questions on the spot. As a result members of Party committees, especially in major industrial areas, are compelled to give a great deal of their time to these problems.

The Party and trade union organizations and the workers generally of Moscow industrial enterprises are now evolving a new approach

to socialist emulation. The point is that until recently the emulation commitments were based on gross target indicators. As often as not the pledges were to exceed the gross output plan by a certain percentage or ahead of time, by some particular date.

The new system of management provides economic incentives to adopt bigger output plans. Clearly, then, a new approach is needed to quantitative criteria as well as to the commitments undertaken by the workers of enterprises.

For example, a number of production teams at the First Bearing and Dynamo plants have undertaken bigger output tasks, and a movement is now under way in the enterprises of Kuibyshev district under the watchword: "Include reserves in the plan." This approach to quantitative indicators is becoming more and more widespread in Moscow factories.

The Party and trade union committees are urging the workers to reflect in their socialist emulation undertakings such economic indicators as returns, quality, introduction of new technology, skills, etc.

Quality is regarded as a basic factor making for better performance by the enterprises and, what is even more important, for a saving of labor on the scale of the economy as a whole. In 1962-64 Moscow industries improved the quality of 3,500 items of output, including more than 2,000 machines, precision instruments and other equipment. This gave the national economy an annual saving of about 350 million rubles. A case in point is the ZIL-130 truck. By increasing the load capacity and general efficiency of this model as compared with its predecessors, the workers of the Likhachev Auto Plant made a substantial contribution to the country's economy as a whole, for the trucks put out this year will effect an annual saving of nearly 40 million rubles in operating costs.

Experience shows that although increasing profitability is the chief criterion of performance, in a number of branches it is not the only one. Take, for instance, the city passenger transport system. Here the economic interests of the transport organizations and the interests of the public as regards quality of service do not coincide. It is in the interests of the former to have as few vehicles out as possible, whereas from the standpoint of the convenience of the public the number should be increased within reasonable limits. Because of this the Party and trade union organizations and the workers generally of the transport organizations are striving to combine bigger returns with better service. Similar situations arise also in the case of other service establishments, public catering, trade and other branches; the two sets of interests should be closely correlated.

The experience of enterprises which have gone over to the new system shows that in some cases there also arise problems of a social order.

For example, there have been cases of truck and taxi drivers working overtime and expending more physical effort in order to get bigger

premiums. We are against this kind of intensification of labor. Our way is mechanization and automation of processes, elimination of unwarranted expenditure of labor, introduction of scientific methods of organization of work. The Party and trade union committees and managements of transport organizations which have concentrated on improving their technical equipment have done the right thing.

Going over to new methods of work also involves solving many other problems.

For instance, the Bolshevichka Clothing Factories, which deal directly with trading organizations and textile mills, were able to improve their showing only after a thorough study of all the economic factors, ascertaining, with the aid of retailers, which types of output would find the greatest demand, and eliminating technological bottlenecks causing excessive expenditure of labor.

The Party branches and committees do not believe in adopting a wait-and-see attitude but play an active part in preparing the enterprises for transition to the new system of work.

This preparatory work, it should be said, is not a simple matter. First of all, competent analysis of the financial and economic standing of each enterprise is essential in order to ascertain whether all the conditions for going over to the new system exist: whether the returns are sufficient with wholesale prices remaining unchanged, whether the financial position is stable and the working assets on hand adequate, not to speak of coordination of production and technical supply plans, normal conditions for marketing output, a sufficiently high level of production organization, planning, etc. Needless to say, the absence of any of these conditions necessitates measures to remedy the deficiencies.

Inasmuch as many enterprises found it difficult to make this analysis and to prepare for introducing the new principles of work, the city and district committees of the Party came to their assistance, enlisting the aid of qualified economists and leading researchers of higher educational institutions.

Our main object in this work is to ascertain and to tap all the latent reserves in the enterprises, to introduce scientific methods of production organization and cost accounting, thereby laying the groundwork for the fulfillment of the state plan for 1966.

As is known, the measures worked out by the Central Committee call for going over to management by branches of industry. The importance of this can hardly be overestimated.

Guidance on a branch scale makes it possible to pursue unified technological and economic policies in the respective branches as well as in the spheres of research and technology. Moreover, this system combines centralized management with the independent rights, initiative and responsibility of the various republics and separate enterprises, and individual managerial responsibility with the heightened role of working collectives.

In this way the principle of democratic centralism is developed further.

The fact that Moscow will be the seat of the new administrative bodies in charge of the various branches of industry places a big responsibility on the city Party organizations.

The city and district committees make a point of bringing it home to the Party branches in the new ministries and other government departments that it is necessary to improve the style and methods of management and to eradicate such tenacious shortcomings as substitution of formal procedures for businesslike work, passing the buck, and so on.

There are no second-rate jobs in the state apparatus; much depends on each worker. This should be borne in mind in choosing and training personnel. The most important thing the Party committees of the ministries and other departments must remember in their educational work is that they should create an atmosphere of conscientious and competent fulfillment of duty, of dedication and awareness of their responsibilities on the part of all functionaries.

In influencing the choice of personnel for the ministries, the Party organizations seek to draw on both old and new cadres, bringing in young, capable specialists who have proved themselves good organizers and are well versed in the functioning of the enterprises.

The composition and status of planners, economists and finance workers should also be

approached from the standpoint of improving overall economic efficiency.

In view of the importance of the tasks facing the ministries and their Party organizations, the city and district committees are recommending for the posts of secretaries of ministry Party committees capable and experienced functionaries who have proved themselves able to give qualified leadership and to uphold the interests of the Party and the state.

It must be admitted that in the past the city and district committees did not pay enough attention to the branches functioning in the ministries, rarely heard reports from these committees, and in general attached too little importance to the specific features of Party work in this area.

The city Party organization is now called upon to exert considerably greater influence on members working in the sphere of economic administration.

We have dealt above with only a few of the questions of Party work in the new conditions of today. There is no doubt that in the course of carrying out the Central Committee decisions and in preparing for the Twenty-Third Congress, our Party organizations will evolve new forms of organizational and ideological activity. Continued study and generalization of the experience gained in this respect is one of our most important tasks.

Vladimir PAVLOV

Always with the sun

JACQUES STEPHEN ALEXIS, a member of the Central Committee of the People's Unity Party of Haiti, is no longer with us. The news of his death appeared in the newspaper *Ralliement* printed in Switzerland by an organization of the United Democratic National-Liberation Front of Haiti (UDNLF).

Jacques Stephen Alexis, a descendant of Jean Jacques Dessalines who proclaimed the independence of Haiti in 1804, was born on April 22, 1922. In April 1961 he and his four companions returned from abroad.

Haiti is a hilly country; eighty per cent of the population, mostly Negroes and mulattoes, is engaged in agriculture. Although the whites received property rights only after the First World War, they are the "haves" here. But the basic wealth of the country is controlled by foreigners. The United States controls two-thirds of the capital invested in Haiti. The remainder is shared between other imperialists and the local bourgeoisie.

Upon becoming independent, after a slave rebellion in 1804, the Republic of Haiti retained but nominal independence in the nineteenth century. In 1915 U.S. marines were landed and the country became a protectorate of the United States. Although the military occupation ended in 1934, the country still remained under U.S. financial and economic control. In 1946 this dependence was increased by the tax exemptions granted to foreign monopolies, thus enabling the American trusts to entrench themselves. During 1950-56 the dictatorship of Colonel Magloire was completely subservient to Washington, a subservience which became even more pronounced in 1957 when Duvalier was "elected" President. Duvalier ruled through terror, crime and plunder. Persecutions were launched against the trade unions, the Communists and the democratic movement generally. Even clergy have had their share of persecution. The press, muzzled, can only sing the praises of the dictator.

However, the Haitian democrats are not taking this lying down. The revolutionary victory in Cuba and the fight for freedom in the neighboring Dominican Republic which occupies the eastern part of the island, have had a profound impact on the political situation in Haiti. The ultra-reactionary policy of the government has alienated large numbers of people. People who hitherto had been inactive or had been taken in by official propaganda are begin-



ning to react to the situation created by Duvalier's rule. The repressions against the relatives and friends of the arrested patriots, far from making things easier for the dictator, are forcing people into the fight against his bloodthirsty regime.

Last year Haitians celebrated the second anniversary of the United Democratic National Liberation Front. "The formation of the UDNLF," wrote *Ralliement*, "was the first step towards unity among the genuinely revolutionary forces towards organic fusion of the Left."

Thanks to its program and to its political work the UDNLF is the heart of the opposition to the semi-feudal and semi-colonial regime.

The moment Jacques Stephen Alexis and his companions returned they were seized by Duvalier's police. And then came silence — the

silence of the graveyard, the death cells of the Duvalier dictatorship.

Alexis, writer and national bard, was a brilliant man of letters. He took up the struggle on behalf of the downtrodden and oppressed. While a youth, his name became known far beyond his native island.

People all over the world can learn from his books about the sorrows, sufferings and indomitable will of the people of Haiti. Three of Alexis' books, *Compère général Soleil* (The Good General Sun), *Les Arbres musiciens* (Trees-Musicians) and *L'Espace d'un cillement* (At a Moment's Notice), and a collection of short stories were printed in Paris.

According to witnesses of Alexis' death, before his execution the jailers gouged out his eyes so that he should not see the sun for the last time. The same thing happened to the hero of his *Compère général Soleil*, Hilarion, a young Negro from Port-au-Prince.

Hilarion was about to go to his death. "Suddenly something flashed before his eyes, it was as if ray after ray from glittering comets burst forth cascading the Heavens with billowing

waves of indescribable brilliance.

"'Claire,' he shouted. 'What is this? Is it the sun? So you've come to see me, my good friend. The sun has always been with me'...

"Claire sees only a narrow strip of brightness above the horizon. The voice of Hilarion, fading away to a whisper, murmurs:

"'The sun has always loved me. . . . When I was a porter on a long-distance coach and sat on the roof all the way, the sun used to look me in the eyes. When I worked in a tannery, it helped me to withstand the stench of the raw skins. Whether I turned the wheel of a lathe in a workshop near the Protestant cathedral, or blew the bellows in the blacksmith's forge or worked in other places, the sun was always with me. . . . The great truth is that in Haiti the sun is the guide that shows us what to do.'"

Jacques Stephen Alexis died, but he was not subdued because, in the concluding words of his second book, "the trees fall from time to time but the voice of the forest never loses its power. Life begins."

Jean-Louis SIQUET

THE WAR IN VIETNAM

With the guerrillas in the jungles

(A Polish writer's notes)

SOUTH VIETNAM—these words challenge us daily from the newspaper headlines, TV screens and radio broadcasts. There is no peace in the rice paddies of South Vietnam. Here two forces are engaged in deadly combat. On one side there are the steadily growing and heavily armed U.S. forces and the puppet army of the so-called "government" in Saigon which is melting away as desertions grow from day to day; they are conducting punitive expeditions to "pacify" the population, using heavy bombers, supersonic jet fighters and helicopters to spread toxic agents over fields and gardens, destroying irrigation systems and burning villages, crops and forests. On the other side are the people, far from being so well armed but offering determined resistance to the huge U.S. war machine.

For years the White House and Pentagon have produced annual "sure-fire" plans for crushing the Resistance and "pacifying" Vietnam south of the 17th parallel. But all have failed. The regime of terror instituted by the

USA and its puppets has but strengthened the Resistance. Today the liberated areas controlled by the National Liberation Front account for four-fifths of the territory of South Vietnam and have a population of ten million.

How has this come about, many European readers ask.

I saw for myself the war waged by the United States against the people of Vietnam, and I should like to share some of the impressions and observations I brought back from the jungles of South Vietnam. These notes, although they can hardly lay claim to being a full and photographic picture, are an attempt to answer the foregoing question. Why, indeed, has the Resistance gained momentum and asserted itself more and more? The answer is: because *the movement has a leading force—the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam.*

Once, during a mid-day halt for a meal, the commander of the Liberation Army unit I happened to be with drew my attention to a wild

root which was served as a side dish. "It's tasty and satisfying," he said, "but we now serve it only as a side dish. Yet only a short time ago it was our staple food, for we did not have any rice. Rice was a luxury. We had to do with this root and manioc."

A young member of the group that accompanied me had lost three fingers of his left hand, but this had not prevented him from remaining in the ranks. He told me the story of his life. He had been with the Army of Liberation for some years, and had been wounded several times. His left hand had been maimed in 1961 in an engagement with Saigon paratroopers; before he could be taken to a hospital gangrene set in and three fingers had to be amputated. The moment he was discharged from hospital he reported to his unit for duty. His three brothers have also joined the Liberation Army. There was no alternative, for the province of Mi Tho, where they had lived, had been repeatedly ravaged by punitive expeditions conducted by the troops of the puppet government under U.S. advisers.

Overcoming the shyness characteristic of all Vietnamese girls, a young despatch-rider who staunchly shared all the hardships of long marches told this about herself:

"I was nine when my parents placed me in service in a merchant's house in Saigon. You wonder how at that age I could do the washing, cooking and cleaning for a family of seven. Well, I had to, for the people at home depended on my earnings. I got up at four in the morning and lay down to sleep at eleven at night—on the kitchen floor, next to the dog. School? Nobody thought about school. That was only for the rich."

The stories one heard were reminiscent of the Nazi occupation of many European countries, in particular, Poland. As a matter of fact, I was struck perhaps most of all by the similarity of the struggle in South Vietnam with the struggle waged in a different historical situation and other climatic conditions by the people of Europe against the Nazi invaders.

During one of my interviews I asked my young companions: did parents not object to their sons and daughters going off to the liberated areas? Were they not afraid to let them go, knowing that participation in the Resistance meant exposing oneself to privation and danger? The answer in all cases was roughly the same:

"Parents approve of their youngsters' decision to go. They do not want their sons to serve in the puppet army or their daughters to roam the streets in search of a livelihood."

As I listened to these stories, I could not but recall how Dean Rusk, addressing U.S. TV audiences last spring, brazenly claimed that the people of South Vietnam supported the Saigon puppets and not the National Liberation Front. This lie, like so many others circulated by the U.S. rulers, has been nailed by the facts. Is there better proof of the confidence reposed in the people's power than the fact that the

people entrust what is nearest and dearest to them—their children—to representatives of this power?

A feature of the South Vietnam Resistance is its high degree of organization.

Today the peasants in the liberated villages keep the Resistance fighters supplied with rice and other produce. They know that by doing so they are helping their own people, for there is not a single peasant family whose middle-aged or younger members have not taken up arms and gone into the jungles.

The land reform has given these peasants land (the National Front has already distributed some two million hectares among the rural poor). And they have not forgotten who gave them their plots, all the more so since many of them have been the beneficiaries of a land reform twice. The first time was during the resistance to the French colonialists. But they lost their allotments after 1954 when the landlords returned with the installation of the U.S.-imposed Diem puppet government. Now many of these peasants have again been given plots by the National Liberation Front. As the leaders of the National Front have stressed, the struggle could not have acquired the scale it has without the support of the peasants. From the very beginning of the Resistance they sheltered and fed people active in the movement who were hounded by the Diem authorities.

The Resistance movement as it stands today is the result of the merging in 1960 of countless rivulets of popular feeling into a mighty torrent which assumed the organizational forms worked out by the National Liberation Front. It is rooted among the people and draws its strength from them.

The partisan areas pulsate with life. It is, of course, a life of Spartan simplicity. Leaf-covered huts in forest thickets; canteens under bamboo roofs; paraffin lamps and lanterns made of bottles; sandals made of automobile tires; the black shirts and trousers which the peasants of the South usually wear at home; blankets and mosquito nets; and, incongruously, transistor radios—these are the salient attributes of this life. So is the daily timetable everybody strictly observes.

The Resistance fighters now get three regular meals a day, with rice prominent in the fare. The times when it was considered a luxury have gone. The peasants supply the rice, while special details raise vegetables and other food crops in jungle clearings. The forest rivers yield fish. To ensure a regular supply of meat, the partisans raise pigs and chickens in the jungle and also hunt for game.

In the light of the foregoing I should like to say this to the U.S. anti-guerrilla experts:

Your efforts to cut the Resistance fighters off from their food supplies are in vain. You will not succeed, for it is impossible to isolate the freedom fighters from the villages and to starve the embattled patriots to submission. They have enough food, and of good quality. True, life in the jungle is hard, but people who

have sacrificed so much for so many years for their country are capable of the greatest self-denial.

I was impressed by the disease-prevention measures taken in the jungles. Wherever people congregated one could see posters popularizing elementary rules of hygiene side by side with slogans calling for all-out labor and combat effort to ensure victory. Nobody drank unboiled water. Care was taken that everybody slept under mosquito nets and underwent anti-malaria medication. Malaria incidence had dropped.

There are no telegraph or telephones in the jungles. But there is a smoothly operating field post office. You see young boys pedalling away on their bicycles and young girls, hardly more than children, hurrying along the forest paths to deliver parcels and letters to their destinations. Delivery routes and time schedules are carefully planned in advance, and there never is any doubt that the mail tomorrow will be delivered just as much on time as it was yesterday.

Patriotism and revolutionary enthusiasm, courage and readiness for self-sacrifice, discipline based not on formal orders but on honor, dedication and high political consciousness—these are the factors that have produced the unique situation in South Vietnam which has amazed the world: the rise of a powerful organized resistance movement on territory constantly subjected to “search and destroy” operations, in a land drenched with blood, among people the enemy is out to subjugate or wipe out at all costs. Despite threats and violence resorted to by a more powerful enemy, people’s rule has been established, rule recognized by the majority of the population and enjoying growing esteem and sympathy the world over. This rule is represented by the countless organizations and administrative committees which are the local authorities in the liberated areas.

Much attention is paid in the liberated areas to teaching both children and adults to read and write. This work is headed by the Education Committee, one of several committees of the National Front whose functions resemble those of ministries. Schools function and everything is done to enable every person to acquire an elementary education. There are not enough teachers but the shortage is made good by enlisting non-professionals with some sort of education in the work.

I saw these schools in the jungle and in the liberated villages many of which had been bombed. And I brought back with me textbooks, newspapers, pamphlets and books printed in the jungle, including a pamphlet on Lenin put out on the occasion of the 95th anniversary of his birth.

I visited the subterranean premises of Radio Liberation which goes on the air nine times a day to broadcast the truth about the struggle; I saw newsreel cameramen and artists with their sketch-books on their way to forward positions to record episodes of the struggle; I

talked with actors who had exchanged Saigon stages for jungle platforms and with journalists and writers who had dedicated themselves to describing the battle exploits of their people.

At National Liberation Front hospitals and dressing stations I saw victims of bombing raids and gas attacks, and people whose health had been ruined in concentration camps and prisons with torture regimes worthy of the Gestapo. I was shown medical preparations and vaccines produced in the jungles to protect the population of the liberated areas against epidemics of smallpox and cholera.

The conditions of life are equally simple and rigorous for all, from seasoned veterans who have grown grey in the struggle for their country to young people who have brought with them the fervor and inspiration of youth. Contrasted to the wages paid to the U.S. troops, the 40-piastre monthly allowance—enough for three packets of cigarettes—to which every fighting man and functionary of the Resistance is entitled tells an eloquent story.

The patriotism and self-sacrifice of the freedom fighters is something the U.S. aggressors from Johnson, McNamara and Rusk down cannot or do not wish to understand. Taking its cue from them, the Western and in particular the U.S. press continues to spread the big lie that the North has instigated the war in the South. They cannot see, or, to be more exact, deliberately close their eyes to, the inexhaustible sources from which the Resistance in the South—that “hallowed land of the revolution,” as the Vietnamese call it—derives its strength.

The Western bourgeois press calls the South Vietnamese Resistance fighters the “Vietcong,” investing the term with overtones of enmity and derision. Who, indeed, are the Vietcong?

They include both soldiers and civilians. Among them are many intellectuals educated in the West—professors, doctors, lawyers, engineers, men and women who could very well have found themselves a place in the comfortable milieu of the capital. Nobody compelled them to exchange the amenities of a well-to-do life for the hardships and hazards of the jungle. They did so because of their ideological maturity and enthusiasm, their ardent patriotism.

On the partisan trails I heard it said more than once that if need be everybody would take to arms regardless of age. And indeed, even the children are eager to join the fight, just as in Poland 12- and 13-year-olds wanted to do their bit against the Hitler invader. In South Vietnam 11- and 12-year-old children act as runners between fighting detachments. Most of the younger members of the Liberation Army were children when the Geneva Agreements were signed in 1954. Looking at them I cannot but recall the words of Adam Mickiewicz: “Born in bondage, fettered from swaddling-clothes . . .” But these young people did not allow themselves to be fettered. They joined the Resistance, became the second generation of freedom fighters.

The National Liberation Front has armed its fighting men with both rifle and book. They not only learn to fight the enemy in the most effective way, but they also acquire an elementary education. Participation in the Resistance, service in the ranks of the Liberation Army, gives these people what the corrupt Saigon regime backed by U.S. dollars and bayonets could not give. During bivouacs and lulls in the fighting men as often as not pull out a book to read. The range of the reading matter extends beyond Vietnamese authors to translations of Gorky, Tolstoi and Victor Hugo. When of an evening I see Resistance fighters poring over their books by the light of home-made lamps I know it is either Monday or Thursday; on these two days the evenings are devoted to study. Only those at action stations, on important assignments, or on the sick list are exempt.

The Resistance fighters include men who have traversed a difficult and tortuous path to the movement—these are the former soldiers and officers of the Saigon puppet army who have realized where their true allegiance lies.

The movement embraces both believers and

non-believers, Buddhists and Catholics, followers of the Cao Dai and other religious sects. The members of the Central Committee of the National Front include clergy of all faiths.

Among the Resistance fighters there are many whom McNamara's underlings and other experts in waging dirty wars wanted to destroy in the Poulo-Condore and Phu Loi death camps but who managed to escape to the jungle to carry on the fight.

The sooner the invaders and instigators of the dirty war realize that the entire people of South Vietnam have risen against them, the better it will be. It is high time Johnson and Rusk, McNamara and Westmoreland grasped the simple truth obvious to everybody else: that their savagery, patterned after Hitler, cannot stamp out the popular struggle. A people that has risen in arms cannot be brought to its knees! Despite the sacrifices, the fire and blood, the brutality of the U.S. invaders who are carrying on where Hitler left off—despite all this, superiority is on the side of those who, headed by the National Liberation Front, are waging a just struggle.

Monika WARNENSKA

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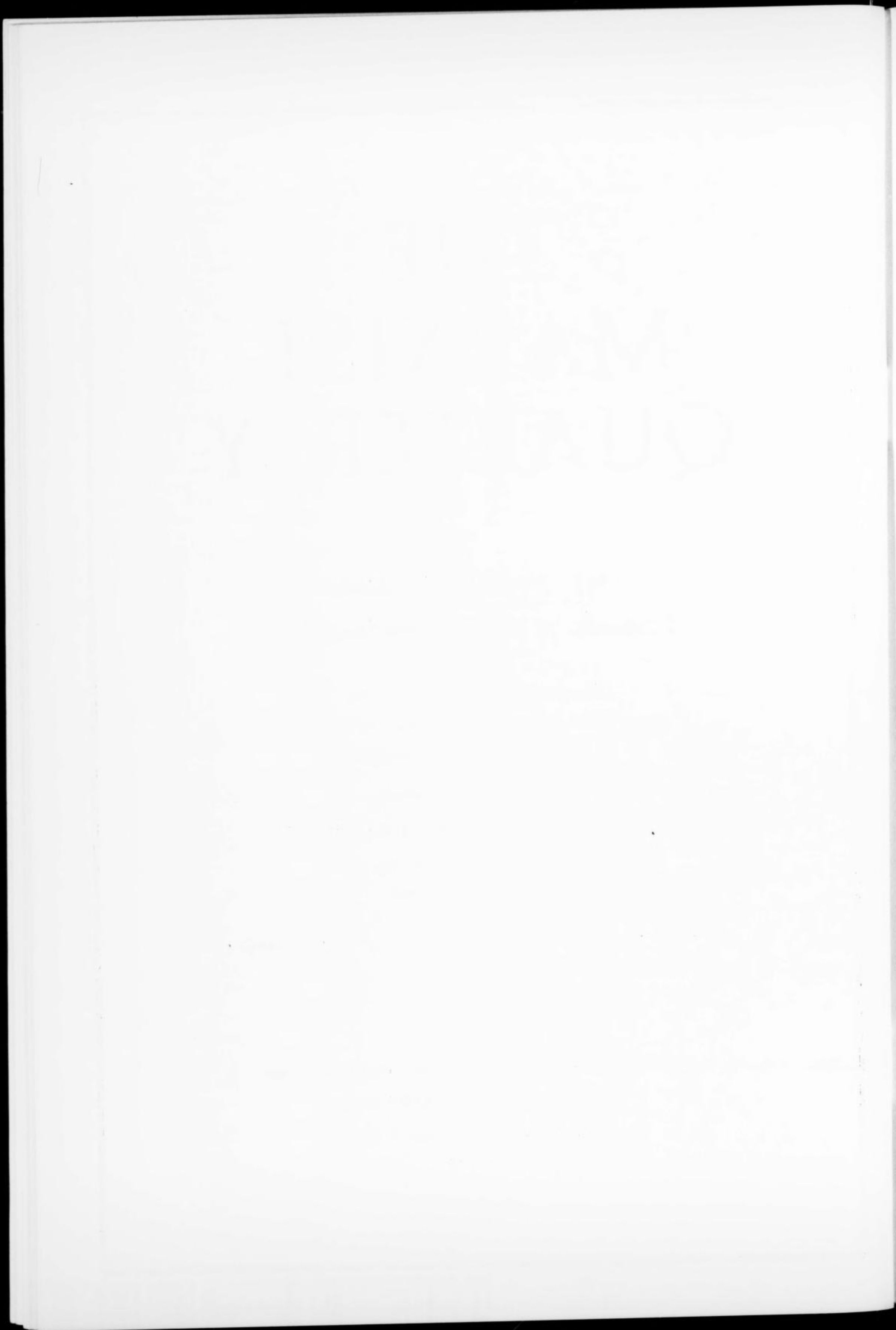
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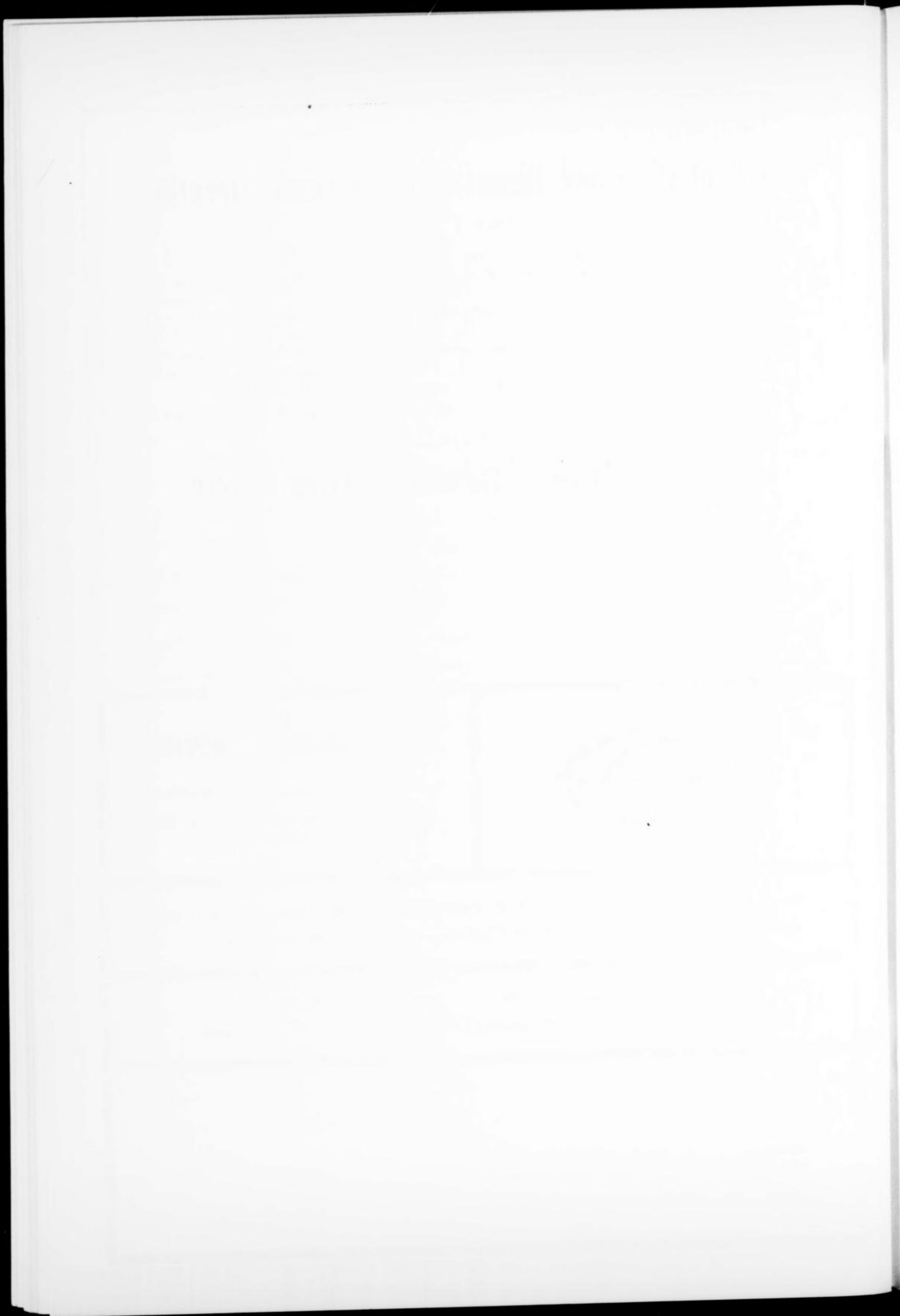
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