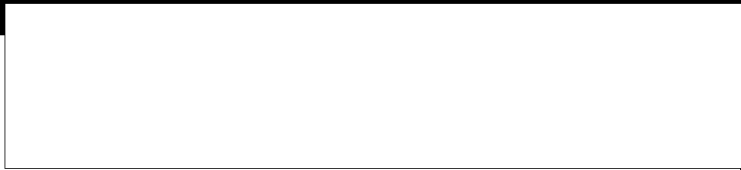


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FROM ALGERIA
TO THE
K A M E R U N

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TO THE
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FOREWORD

This booklet is published for the enlightenment of world public opinion which knows nothing of the reality of colonialism and military repression as effected by the French Government in the Kamerun.

We hope that it will help to mobilise the public towards influencing the French Government to put an end to the fire and carnage they are maintaining in the Kamerun. We are appealing to the whole world before it becomes too late to do anything.

This booklet does not pretend to depict a complete picture of the grave situation which prevails in the Kamerun, as it does not but touch on the salient aspects without exhausting the subject in its entirety.

Besides the alarm this booklet reflects, it tries to pay homage to that fraction of world opinion which was so indignant at the crimes committed in our country, took resolutions condemning these actions and expressed their sympathy and support.

The booklet further stresses, in particular, the responsibility of the United Nations which, while having supreme authority in our country, looks indifferently at the atrocities being committed there in its name, without making the slightest sign or action of protest. It also proves the extent

of the danger this attitude represents to the prestige of the United Nations. As a matter of fact, Mr. Mbida, the French Government's agent for repression, has declared on November 9th, 1957: "On two occasions, the founder of the U.P.C. has gone to the United Nations to demand independence but, what has he brought?" (The Cameroons Press, special issue, November 10th, 1957).

Finally, this booklet is an appeal to the whole world to extend moral and material help to the people of the Kamerun in the struggle for the unity and independence of their country as a contribution to the cause of world peace.



"Slavery is one of the most conspicuous causes of the deterioration of nations."

Prof E.A ROSS

"The history of the peoples struggle for their freedom and independence has not, in the least, a character of spontaneity; it does not manifest itself except after a long struggle."

If this thought, of the President of Egypt, was valuable for Egypt, it is equally valuable for all the countries who are struggling to gain their national sovereignty which is suppressed by colonialism. It is further, the best proof that no people have ever willingly accepted foreign domination. The struggle of the oppressed peoples for national liberation was born on the same day colonisation established itself by brutal force.

The struggle of the people of the Kamerun for the unity and independence of their country, comes within the frame of this historic process.

It is well known that the Kamerun was a German Protectorate (1884—1914) and was divided in an arbitrary way into two distinct countries, the day which followed the end of the first world war. It was put under the mandate of the League of Nations with France and Britain as the mandatory Powers. By the end of the second world war, which put the seal on the death of the League of Nations, the Kamerun passed from the mandatory regime to that of the trusteeship of the United Nations on December 13th, 1946.

Both under the regime of the protectorate or that of the mandate, the history of the Kamerun is resplendent with glorious examples of heroic battles waged for the restoration of their national independence.

Yet, the people of the Kamerun never folded their arms and bowed to the oppressors; but their conscientious organised political struggle does not date back longer than ten years, by the creation, on April 10th 1948, of the National Movement, known all over the world by the name of the Union of the Populations of the Camerouns (U.P.C.). The movement's slogan :

"Unity and Independence of the Kamerun" has rallied to its banner almost the whole of the population. To testify this fact, we quote Mr. Claude Krief who wrote in the "Express" of January 2nd, 1958 :

"This Party has re-united indisputably all the nationals of the Camerouns (Editor's note: 'it always unites them'). The intellectuals, for sure, and also the masses who discarded their tribalism, as well as the neo-proletarians of Douala and elsewhere."

The British weekly paper "The Manchester Guardian" where support of U.P.C. could never be suspected, carried in its issue of January 20th 1955 a leading article signed by Mr. Thomas Hodgkin. This writer said :

"The U.P.C. is undisputedly the best organised political party in the Camerouns; a good example of the 'new model' political party in West Africa with its pyramic structure based on the village committees in the interior, and on the district committees, in the towns."

The effect of the action of such a national movement having such a big influence over the masses of the people in a methodical organisation, is sure to be felt in colonial quarters. For the French Minister of Colonies, only a bath of blood could "draw such a party into the shade." Strong military contingents were brought from the Senegal and from France, under the usual pretext of "restoring order", and on May 25th 1955 fire opened and all repressive measures were put in to action. As Claude Krief put it, in an article which appeared in the "Express" of January 2nd 1958, "a brutal repression did the rest." Actually, it was a real "brutal repression" with a balance sheet of 5,000 killed, 200 dwellings set on fire in one single town, that of Douala, by reactionary elements, with doubtless intention to make French civilisation more appreciated; and 800 orders of arrest signed on May 28th by Cau, the French expert of colonial repression who thus opened the season of "chasing the Upecists" who overcrowded the prisons. A large number of political detainees were deported to Largeau (Oubanghi-Chari) and the dissolution of the U.P.C. and two other anti-colonialist organisations on July 13th, completed the picture.

Since then, the country has been under the complete rule of insecurity. After isolated incidents of the assassination of some patriots, French troops sacrificed 1,500 Kamerunians as a 1956 Christmas present and to celebrate the day of November 11th 1957, they killed 480 nationalists in Baham (cf. Doc. A/C 4/SR of the United Nations).

While the United Nations General Assembly met in its 12th session, at New York, and the Kamerun was the highlights, petitioners made representations at Manhattan to the Trustee-ship Commission in the name of the peoples of the Kamerun, regarding the vindictive measures taken against the nationals. They solicited the Commission to draw the attention of the

United Nations to the grave situation of the country and recommended the appointment of an inquiry mission to investigate on the spot

What then, is precisely taking place in the Eastern Kamerun ?

On November 9th 1957, Mr. Mbida, Prime Minister of the puppet government installed in Yaounde by France, addressed a proper ultimatum to the patriots of the Kamerun in which he gave them a grace of ten days during which they could choose between surrender, or, to fight till the end. Mr. Mbida announced the "severe measures" which his government would apply, in case his ultimatum obtained no response from the Kamerunian people. viz:— Re-delineation of the villages, the imposition of the curfew, the suppression of markets and public transport." These measures, the French newspaper "Le Monde", reported in its issue of November 22nd, 1957, do not exclude taking direct action against the agitators of the Union who are the instigators of the rebellion."

On December 2nd, 1957, a communique was issued in Yaoundé, by the Council of Ministers, which read :

"The High Commissioner and the Government of the Camerouns have once again declared their determination to suppress any actor of a minority which..." We made a special point in giving the title of the High Commissioner, because a section of the French press has tried, since the development of the situation in the Kamerun, to show the representative of France, more as a mediator between Mbida on one side nationalists of the Kamerun on the other. The purpose of this distorted picture was to show the grave political crisis now existing in the kamerun as a vulgar tribal quarrel, or a factional fight. Thus, many French journalists took the matter easily and slightly, while in reality it was quite the contrary. The High Commissioner, Pierre Messmer, who conducted the massacres of December 1956, thus continued his low business, this year.

In the December 17th 1957, issue of "L'Aurore", Mr. Henry Benazet stated under his name: "The ultimatum issued by the head of the government Mr. Mbida... has pitously failed."

Henceforward, the Kamerun patriots were at the mercy of the French Union Mbida went to Paris, the High Commissioner replacing him for some few days. According to the Radio-Paris news bulletin of December 12th, 1957 after receiving Mr. Mbida in audience, the President of the French Republic, Mr. René Coty, called for Marshal Juin. For those who know Marshal Juin, this was an ominous sign for the Kamerunian patriots. However, it was "Le Monde" of December 18th which shed light on the purpose of Mbida's voyage. "Mr. Mbida", this paper said, "has come to Paris to demand reinforcements for the siege of the zone of trouble." Mbida himself was more precise on the aim of his mission, as he declared : Public opinion in the Capital should understand that in working for the restoration of peace and security in the Kamerun, we work also for the interests of the French Union. As our country occupies a geographical position between the French West Africa and the French Equatorial Africa, the success of any subversive movement will rapidly overtake the two neighbouring federations."

Because of the efficient and prompt manner in which French journalists such as Henry Benazet insisted for the colonial regime, Mbida got the reinforcements he asked for.

"L'Express" published a long article under the heading of "French troops sent urgently to the Camerouns to re-establish order" in which it confirmed that: "Two rifle companies will arrive this week in the Camerouns. They were the reinforcements which Prime Minister, Mr. André-Marie Mbida, demanded from Mr Chaban-Delmas, the French Minister of National Defence, as the 1,500 men who keep order in a territory of sixty French provinces are insufficient."

Most of the French newspapers remarked that the despatch of such reinforcements was an indication of the grave situation actually prevailing in the Kamerun.

Under the headline : "The French Government intensifies repression in the Camerouns. L'Humanité" of January 4th 1958 carried a long article, in which it was said :

"The situation in the Camerouns is getting more and more grave and reports coming from that country are likewise getting

more and more disquieting. Parallel with the military repression which has been reinforced by the troops who came from French Equatorial Africa, imprisonment for the patriots and the syndicalists is taking place on a wide scale." The paper then gave a list of the names of responsible syndicalists and others who were arrested under notoriously illegal conditions, and deported secretly. Mothers of families were not spared from arrest and imprisonment.

The article went on to say: "Since the murder of Wanko, member of the Legislative Assembly of the Cameroun, the troops sent for reinforcement are working as the case may be some months now. Since the assassination of Dr. Delague in Sanaga-Maritime, people of the Camerouns live in a state of grave insecurity.

"A real state of siege has been established in the Bamiliké, a region which is the size of three French Departments with a population of 200,000 inhabitants."

In the same article one reads that all the meetings of the trade unions were under minute supervision.

The papers which dare to criticize the government of the Kamerun are confiscated, freedom of the press is suppressed.

On the other hand the "Figaro" of December 11th which fixed the date of September 6th, 1957 as marking grave development of the tension, which has actually reached its climax, confirms that:

"Since that date, no day, or night, passes without blood being shed, villages set on fire, or property being stolen. It is difficult to give accurate figures."

Yet, these are not the only exploits of the forces said to be set for keeping order. Other fresh reports flow in to confirm the opinion of the French press. In one little village, that of Batié, in the Bamiliké, 31 persons were shot dead by rifle fire. On November 22nd 1957, Sidje Nefeché, a patriot, was killed in his house; shortly after that, fire was set to his dwelling, making a most strange grave. It is always in this region that the French

mercenaries encircle the market of Balingsap where they make arrests en masse of the patriots who are submitted later to unimaginable tortures. Some are shot dead and thrown into the lake, others are flung alive into the river Noun with big heavy stones tied to their legs. Prisoners also are taken out of their cells and killed in the same way.

Finally, to those who still doubt the gravity of the situation in the Kamerun, we select the following passage from an important document which was delivered to the French authorities by Mr. Ruben Um Nyobé, Secretary General of the U.P.C. On page 20 of this document, one reads under the heading: "The True Solutions for a Political and Moral Settlement in the Kamerun":

"In Sanaga-Maritime, for instance, the people are invited to come out, then those villagers who are found inside their dwellings are tortured, robbed and arrested and driven to the concentration camps of Botmakak, Dibang, Maboub, M'bépe, Eséka, Tuma, Nkougua, Ndou, Nyanon, Ngambe, etc., where they are forced to work in most degrading jobs. They could, however, after 2 or 4 months of detention be liberated, after paying big amounts of money to the mercenaries, above that which had been looted from them. The detention camps are guarded by the gendarmes, or the military forces, and hundreds of patriots are kept prisoners in these unofficial prisons, where they are tortured without legal trial of any sort, they are simply "denounced" by a dirty spy as being an "Upeclist." These camps are maintained by the Head of the Region, and other killers of the patriots, who are well known to the authorities. All kinds of atrocities are committed there with the encouragement of the French authorities who cover themselves with the pretext of acting under orders of the Government of the Kamerun."

All indications point out that the fighting, which broke out in Algeria after Dien Bien Phu, is now extending to the Kamerun because French colonialism does not wish to die.

THE POSITION OF THE U.N. AND OF FRANCE

This is how the actual situation reigning over the Kamerun under French domination is particularly grave; it is of a nature to menace international peace and security; it is quite in conflict with the terms and aims of the Charter of the Trusteeship Agreements and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It is, above all, inhuman and represents a spirit incompatible with the French Republic tradition.

Before this drama, which the U.N. and France are enacting as parties contracted by the Trusteeship Agreement, what right had France to take over the administration of the Kamerun?

1. After the massacres of May 1955, the anti-colonial member countries of the U.N. expressed their profound sentiments and condemned this savage and blind repression launched against the defenceless people by the French Government. On the other hand, the visiting Mission of the Trusteeship Council of the U.N. thought it their duty to give their verdict — which was in favour of the administrative authorities — before having the objective material information, and without listening to all parties concerned.
2. During the 11th session of the General Assembly of the U.N. a resolution was passed 1064 (XI) "expressing the hope — after having regretted not a single law of amnesty has been promulgated in the territory — that by the enforcement of appropriate measures, and rapid promulgation of the amnesty law, conditions could be established in the Kamerun under French administration, which would favour the restoration of a normal situation in the near future."

3. The 19th session of the United Nations Trusteeship Council also voted, in June 1957, a similar resolution.
4. After the 4th Commission had found it impossible to reach a solution for the problem of the Kamerun following a debate of 15 days, the plenary session of the 12th session of the U.N. General Assembly voted for the resolution recommended by Peru, Venezuela and Equador calling on France to accelerate the promulgation of the law of amnesty in the Kamerun, as the condition most favourable for the restoration of the situation there, to normal.

Although this resolution was the result of compromise, yet it imposed a principle by making amnesty a condition for the creation of a normal political atmosphere.

It is interesting to recall here, that France herself had voted in favour of this resolution, explaining her attitude in these words: "With a spirit of conciliation, the French Delegation agree to the draft resolution submitted by Equador, Peru and Venezuela. This project, to our point of view, constitutes a compromise acceptable to all and will allow us to break the deadlock in which we find ourselves." (cf. Doc. A/PV. 729 of December 1957, pp. 43-45 in English).

Thus the United Nations and France were in accord as to the recognition of the fact that the only condition for the liquidation of the political vacuum in the Kamerun was the rapid promulgation of a law of amnesty.

But to what extent will this laudible intention go? It will not go beyond the lobbies of the United Nations, because the French Government will press their mouthpiece, Mr. Mbida, who will declare to us: "A general amnesty will be an encouragement to crime." In the course of his interview to "Le Monde", Mr. Mbida whom the French paper justly described as "a bit dictatorial," disclosed to us a secret. when he said: "There are things which the French Government cannot say publicly, but which we can say for him." ("Le Monde" of December 18th, 1957, p. 6).

Evidently, it is not Mr. Mbida and his Legislative Assembly who are opposing the amnesty, but the French Government through their spokesmen. According to the provisions of Art 4 (B) of the Trusteeship Agreement, it is France and not the "autonomous" Government who is responsible for keeping order in the Kamerun. On the other hand, the statute granted to the Kamerun confers on Parliament and the French Government wide legislative powers in what concerns matters of public liberties. Furthermore, Art. 41 of this statute lays down that the High Commissioner "is responsible for public security as well as the security of the French gendarmerie, stationed in the territory" and that he can "in cases of urgency, take all measures needed for keeping order and safeguarding public interests." Art. 2 of the same statute stipulates that no legislation should be made by the Kamerun Government, or any measures taken which may be contradictory to international laws observed in the territory. But, by force of the right of veto, Art. 49 of the above-mentioned statute, the French Government can oppose all legislations, or any other actions which conflict with the Trusteeship Agreement, the U.N. Charter, or the Universal Declaration of the Human Rights.

Thus, the responsibility for criminal actions committed in the Kamerun lies on the shoulders of France. But she tries to use Mr. Mbida as a puppet, exactly as she used Ben Arafa. This was the explicit view of "L'Express" of 2/1/1958.

This is the situation as it now stands in the Kamerun a situation which will lead to a real war as a result of the indifference and lack of decision on the part of the 83 States who constitute the United Nations. This is also the result of strange bargaining and miserable diplomatic combinations.

France is well under way, to use in a territory under United Nations trusteeship, the same method she is employing in Algeria under the eyes and ears of a world divided by egoist interests. Women, men and children are perishing and the most abominable crimes are left to be committed for no reason but that some people give more preference to the crops of coco and oil of the Kamerun than to human life, leaving the treasured principles of peace, security, equality, etc., to take care of themselves.

Why then should these poor people be deceived by Declarations and Charters? Why should they be left to be burned to ashes to make them believe in such principles? It is only history which will tell us the cause.

VERDICT OF INTERNATIONAL OPINION

Nevertheless, if the United Nations close their doors to the cries of the Kamerunians, there still exists a fraction of international public opinion who will contribute to the cause of the Kamerun and support their demands.

It should be said also that inside the United Nations there are some representatives who support our cause. We shall not name them, whether coming from the Philippines or from Mexico, from Ghana, or from Ethiopia; from Syria, or from Guatemala, from Liberia, or from the Yemen words can never express our gratitude to those countries who sponsored our cause as if it was their own cause.

In Damascus, the Afro-Asian Jurists Conference, held from 7th to 10th November, 1957, voted for the following resolutions:

"After taking knowledge of the actual situation in the Kamerun which situation is a flagrant violation of all international rights, especially that of self-determination

"And in consideration of the fact that this territory is a country under the trusteeship of the United Nations

"And in consideration of the United Nations Charter, Art 76 (B) in particular, which laid down that the ultimate aim of the trusteeship regime is independence.

"And in consideration of the fact that the German-Kamerunian Treaty of July 12th 1884, recognised by the United Kingdom and France, accepted the principle of the sovereignty and unity of the Kamerun territories

"And in consideration of the fact that the Versailles Treaty of June 28, 1919, which divided the Kamerun is contrary

to the German-Kamerun Treaty mentioned above, and that such division was unilateral and unjust.

"And in consideration of Arts. 1 (2) and 55 of the Charter, recognising the right of the people to decide their own destinies in full freedom.

"And in consideration of Art. 76 (B) of the United Nations Charter, providing in the particular case of the territories under trusteeship, that attention should be paid to the free aspirations of the populations concerned and of the vote passed by the General Assembly of the United Nations on February 26th, 1957 by a big majority calling on France and the United Kingdom to give independence to the Kamerun in an early date.

"And in consideration of the provisions of Art. 1 of the United Nations Charter, recommending the maintenance of peace and international security by the peaceful settlement of all problems, yet France continues to carry out her massacres of the population since May, 1955.

"And in consideration of the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the United Kingdom on her part has suppressed the public liberties and deported Kamerun nationals.

"Consequently, this Conference hopes that the actual session of the General Assembly of the United Nations will take account of the rightful and legitimate aspirations of the Kamerunian people by passing an adequate and firm resolution for the unity and independence of the Kamerun.

"This Conference express their solid support to the people of the Kamerun in their struggle."

On the other hand, the Afro-Asian Conference of Cairo, which brought together 500 delegates representing 3/4 of the population of the whole world, passed the following resolution over the Kamerun :

"The Conference hope that the United Nations would realise the grave situation in the Kamerun.

"The Conference call also on all countries of Asia and Africa to help by all appropriate means the struggle of people of the Kamerun who are fighting for their unity and independence.

"The Conference condemn the measures of violence taken by the French Authorities in this territory and appeal to French public opinion to demand their Government to stop such measures."

While this resolution was being taken in Cairo, the African Students Federation in Paris voted the following resolutions in the course of the meeting of the 8th Congress of their Federation.

THE FEDERATION OF THE STUDENTS OF BLACK AFRICA IN FRANCE

VIII CONGRESS

Kamerun—Togo

RESOLUTIONS OVER THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN THE KAMERUN

- Considering the situation prevailing in the Kamerun since 1955, which has become extensively grave since the elections of December 23rd, 1956, carried out against the will of the Kamerunian people
- Considering the motion of the Lgeislative Assembly tending to suspend a vote on amnesty and any policy of political clemency.
- Considering the wish of the Association of the Magistrates of the Kamerun to get special powers.
- Considering the measures adopted by the Government under trusteeship to reinforce repression by military action

- Considering the ever increasing number of the arbitrary arrest of patriots which shows the total absence of democratic freedom.
- Considering the fact that all these measures will greatly aggravate an already deteriorating situation.

The Congress of the Federation of the Students of Black Africa :

- 1) Vigorously condemns the policy of repression practised by the French Government and by the local authorities who are leading the Kamerun to the brink of catastrophe.
- 2) Reaffirms the resolutions taken by the preceding sessions, which resolutions conform with those of the General Assembly of the United Nations and suggests the following as the proper solution of the Kamerun crisis :
 - a) The prompt promulgation of a law of total amnesty with effect from May, 1955 up to December 1956.
 - b) The restoration of normal political life by respecting democratic liberties and the resumption of freedom of movement.
 - c) The recognition of the INDEPENDENCE OF THE KAMERUN.
- 3) Launching a vigorous appeal to French and international public opinion for the suspension of repressive measures under any form and for the respect and implementation of the legitimate aspirations of the Kamerun people

THE FEDERATION OF THE STUDENTS OF BLACK AFRICA IN FRANCE

RESOLUTIONS OVER THE EMPLOYMENT OF AFRICAN TROOPS IN REPRESSIVE ACTIONS IN THE KAMERUN

The VIII Congress of the Federation :

- Considering the fact that the Federation have always opposed the employment of Africans in colonial wars

- Considering the despatch to the Kamerun on the demand of the criminal puppet Prime Minister M'bidia, of African troops to besiege the so-called troubled zone.
- Considering that the despatch of African non-Kamerunian troops to the Kamerun is an irrefutable evidence that the whole people and the Kamerunian troops in particular are supporting the national Kamerunian movement.
- The Congress declare their resolute protest against the employment of African against Africans in a war designed by foreign French colonialism
- The Congress addresses a vigorous appeal to the people of France to awaken their conscience to the gravity of the Kamerunian problem.
- The Congress call on African parliaments and responsible people to work jointly to stop the brutalities committed against Africans.
- Pledging all trade unions, the youth and all African patriots to refuse being used as tools of repression
- Commissions the Executive Committee and the Federation of the Students of Black Africa in France to approach the authorities concerned in this respect
(Passed with unanimous vote).

THE FEDERATION OF THE STUDENTS OF BLACK AFRICA IN FRANCE

COMMITMENT AND ACTION

The Federation of the Students of Black Africa in France meeting in a Congress held from 27th to 31st December in the "Salle" of the "Sociétés Savantes" in Paris :

- After having studied the actual situation in the Kamerun and assessed the problem of the Kamerun as to its historic aspect.

— Considering that the struggle of the Kamerunian people for their liberation from the bonds of colonialism is a cardinal historic fact, the consequences of which will go far beyond the geographic demarcation of the Kamerun to affect the near future of the whole of Black Africa under French domination.

— The Congress decide :

- 1) To take up the struggle of the people of the Kamerun as their own struggle
- 2) Solemnly affirm their total solidarity with all Kamerunian patriots and commit themselves to act for their support.
- 3) Inscribe the problem of the Kamerun as the first point of action in their platform for 1958 and to organise a Solidarity Week.
- 4) Recommend to the Executive Committee to raise as a matter of urgency the problem of the Kamerun in all international conferences and students congress.
- 5) Asking the U.G.T AN. and the Council of Young Africa and the members of the U G E.A.O. to appoint committees of solidarity everywhere in Africa to maintain and mobilise public opinion in favour of the Kamerunian patriots.

All this go to prove that the cause of the people of the Kamerun has the profound sympathy of an important part of international public opinion and that France who is practising all this terror in our country has no such support. This should urge the French people to press their Government to save what remains of Franco-Kamerunian friendship. This is a more emphatic proof that colonialism has no longer any support, a fact which was pronouncedly evident in the speeches of the delegates of the Afro-Asian Conference in Cairo.

Addressing that Conference, the delegate of Ethiopia said :

"Our people have been through the experiences the people of Algeria, of the Kamerun and of Kenya are suffering today. The

memories of the cruelty of Fascist oppression are still deeply engraved in our minds and thus it would be inconceivable that Ethiopia could ever support an injustice which she had been fighting for a long time "

The Indian delegate, Mrs. Ramashwari Nehru, on the other hand emphasized : "People who are struggling for their liberties deserve to be honoured; they should know that they have our hearty support "

Speaking in Port-Said on the occasion of the Victory Anniversary, President Gamal Abdel Nasser declared :

"Since Port Said, we have been addressing the whole world reclaiming the realisation of the independence of all colonised countries."

All these resolutions and declarations one now should necessarily materialise. The gradually deteriorating situation in the Kamerun the increasing number of human lives sacrificed for the sake of liberty and independence, the urgent need of the Kamerunian people for moral and material help to achieve the independence of their country with as less human sacrifices, all these factors make it most essential that the above-mentioned resolutions and declarations be effected.

We demand of the whole world to organise meetings and demonstrations of protest as well as propaganda campaigns in the press. We appeal to the people of Africa and Asia to collect contributions to help us in our struggle. We appeal to them to approach the International Red Cross to come to the aid of the victims of repression in the Kamerun, to our students who are cut off from financial aid to continue their studies to graduate as lawyers to go to the Kamerun to defend the thousands of patriots who are waiting for capital punishment. In brief, we are launching an appeal to all brothers of Africa and Asia for a moral and material aid, an aid which should be effective and massive.

We rely on the people of France — our ally, whom we do not confuse with the gang of colonialists who are murdering us — in order to put into effect the resolution of the Afro-Asian Conference in Cairo over the Kamerun.

To the American people, who are mostly misinformed as to the reality of colonialism to whom the nationalists are always pictured as 'demons' and 'panthers', to the American people we dedicate the words of Abraham Lincoln :

"What I would like to emphasize is that no man is good enough to govern another without his consent. I declare that this is the fundamental principle, the saving anchor of American Republicanism..."

..."If the White govern themselves this would be autonomy; but, if the White were not content with governing themselves and govern some other people, this I call despotism." These are Lincoln's words uttered in the 19th Century."

This true fact has come to be a more urgent essentiality in our century in which freedom and independence are actually a vital factor.

THE ROLE AND TASK OF THE UNITED NATIONS

Yet, could it be said that the United Nations are really incapable of finding a peaceful solution for the problem of the Kamerun? The part played by the United Nations during the Suez Canal aggression, the fact that the Secretary General of the United Nations was commissioned to go to find out the fate of eleven American airmen detained in People's China, these two facts lead to the question why should not the same attention be paid by the United Nations to the fate of five million Kamerunians, tortured and murdered in a country which is actually under the trusteeship of the United Nations.

Under the headline: "The International League of the Human Rights against the Policy of the French Government in the Camerouns," the French daily newspaper "Libération" of January 9th, 1958, wrote: "The International League of the Human Rights have today expressed their deep anxiety over the action taken by the French Government by sending military reinforcements to the Camerouns in order to suppress an uprising.

"Mr. Roger Baldwin, President of the League wrote in his letter that in the course of the debate of the General Assembly, it was clearly established that the situation in the French Camerouns was in urgent need for prompt and vigorous action on the part of the United Nations to inquire into the changes concerning the suppression of the Human Rights in these mandated territories.

"We have conducted a comprehensive inquiry as to the existence of Communist influence in the French Camerouns and found out that it constitutes a minor element."

On January 30th, 1958, the Trusteeship Council will meet in New York to study the political situation in the countries under trusteeship. The Council will also study the declarations of the Kamerunians submitted to the 4th Commission of the 12th session of the General Assembly of the United Nations in which they denounced the criminal policy France has been following with them. This Council also will have to decide sending a mission to visit the Kamerun.

Will such a mission be an ordinary, or a special mission? The Colonial Powers were one voice in their refusal to send this mission, but, why?

However, the problem most difficult for solution is: How will the visiting mission accomplish its duty honestly and objectively in an atmosphere of terror and war prevailing all over the territory. This anxiety was expressed by the delegate of the Union of the Population of Camerouns (U.P.C.) in the United Nations who declared: "Under such conditions it is impossible to find the calm and security all of us are hoping for. We should ask under what circumstances and with what measures will this visiting mission perform their functions. They will have to choose to follow the injunctions of the administrative authorities as was the case in 1955, or to follow the opposite course in which case these authorities will refuse them the security and cooperation they need, in order to discharge their task properly. In either case, it will not be possible for your mission to see a true picture of the situation in the Kamerun and to draw up correct conclusions and decisions."

Now, that the illwill of France having clearly manifested itself, will the United Nations persist in their confidence in France? The United Nations have to choose between the principles of the Charter and the support of the colonialists. The United Nations should choose:

"Do not forget, Condorcet affirmed in his letter to the Gentlemen of the Tiers State, that if you tolerate the violation of national rights by other men, you are bound to recognise as just the principles of the policy which tries to justify violence... You will be legalising in advance the actions which the tyrants might one day take against you..."

"Your security as being the voice of humanity make you duty bound to abrogate all the laws which violate the rights of the foreigners, the black and the serf..."

"NO COEXISTENCE IS POSSIBLE WITH COLONIALISM"

This was President Soekarno's new year message to the whole world.

Actually, peaceful coexistence is only possible among independent people, as it is impossible to stand except on the basis of equality and reciprocal respect.

We have tried in vain to evade the war in our country, besides resorting to all juridic means, but, France has always refused to come to reason.

Thus, our people is standing against oppression and tyranny and according to the Charter of the United Nations and of the Universal Declaration of the Human Rights.

Nobody could ever reproach us for taking such a purely defensive attitude.

As President James K. Polk declared in his message to the American Congress on May 11th, 1846, we tell our people: "As war, in spite of all our efforts to prevent it — exists on the will of France herself — duty and patriotism call on us to defend with

energy and honour the rights and interests of our country." Nobody could be found in 1846 to consider James K. Polk as 'Communist.' Why then, do they persist in America to ignore such incidents in their history?

Even Gandhi, the protagonist of non-violence wrote on August 11th, 1920, to say: "Where there is nothing to do but to choose between cowardice and violence, I advise the resort to violence. I shall risk violence rather than the degeneration of a whole race."

"I much prefer to see India resorting to arms to defend her honour, than to stay cowardly watching the defamation of her own honour..."

If the French murder the Kamerunians as the troops of Santa Anna did in Alamo, our people are sure to come out victorious with the aid of the Afro-Asian countries, that of the democratic people all over the world. If the people of Thermopyles had their prophet of misfortune, the Kamerunians will have their Sam Houston to liberate them from Franco-British colonial oppression.

Thus the Kamerunians will play the part devoted to them in the society of free peoples.

Would the year 1958 be the year of the unification and independence of the Kamerun?

Would the year 1958 be the year of universal peace and bring to the Algerian people their aspired independence

Cairo, January 10, 1958.

Foreign Delegation of the Leading
Committee of the Union of the Populations
of the Cameroons.

9. Sharia El-Gabalaya, Zamalek

Real courage consists
in seeking the truth, and
telling it.

Jean Jaurès

-STAT

THE U. P. C. DENOUNCES THE PLANNED SYSTEMATIC TORTURES in the Kamerun

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**The U.P.C. denounces
the planned
systematic tortures
in the Kamerun**

To those who, by thousands, have died and die every day,

To those who, in the jungles and mountains, fight valiantly,

To those who, in concentration camps and coffin-like jails,
willingly accept the tortures and prefer death to treason,

To those who, without relatives or shelter, and deprived of all
means of existence, suffer the pains of a slow death,

To those whose lives have been sacrificed and to those whose
lives are about to end and who still struggle heroically,

for immediate unification and independence of the Kamerun

And to those also who, in France, in Great-Britain and
throughout the whole world believe in the equality of men
and in their unconditioned right to self-determination, irres-
pective of race, philosophy, creed or religion,

THE UNION OF THE POPULATIONS OF THE CAMEROONS
MOST RESPECTFULLY DEDICATES THIS PAMPHLET.

FOREWORD

On March 28th, 1958, the parisian newspaper « La Tribune des Nations » wrote: « The events in North Africa are not all for the benefit of the Kamerunian nationalists. For the Algerian war weakens France, but it hides from the world the fact that a rebellion is taking place in the Kamerun. If it were not for the Algerian war, there is no doubt that the underground struggle of the U.P.C. (Union of the Populations of the Cameroons) against French occupation would have made headlines long ago. As a matter of facts, the subversive movements in Algeria were given priority in the press at a time when they were far from being as widespread as the present uprising in the Cameroons.

« The leaders of the U.P.C. », the paper added, « are worried about this silence. They are apt to consider it as another aspect of the «colonialist plot» launched against them. They even go as far as blaming the French left-wing which openly positions itself in favour of the emancipation of the colonised peoples, accusing it of playing hand in glove with the colonial administration and of sharing its thesis by avoiding to report the struggle of the Kamerunian nationalists. »

It is this very conspiracy of silence which, once again, we intend to frustrate by releasing this pamphlet, which contains essentially a collection of testimonies—made by the victims themselves—on the arbitrary and the cruelty which the colonial war of reconquest has created in the Kamerun, mainly in the eastern zone.

This evocation of the coffin-prisons, the concentration camps, the summary executions, the deportations and other arbitrary condemnations, is presented in support of a letter, herewith enclosed, forwarded by the U.P.C. to the International

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Red Cross. But first and above all, it constitutes a vigorous denunciation of these cruel and flagrant violations of the elementary rights inherent to every human being. Thus, this pamphlet also constitutes a call for solidarity, for struggle against systematic injustice. This call is particularly addressed to the peoples of France and of the United Kingdom, in whose names so many barbarian acts are taking place. We hope that the peoples of these two nations, mothers of modern democracy, will immediately prove that they have not remained in the cradle of democracy, while entrusting to others the task of developing it. These «others» of course have their share of responsibility, especially all those who are committed by the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of the Rights of Man, and more particularly all those who have endured foreign domination.

That is why our publication constitutes an appeal to the United Nations, to the International League of the Rights of Man, to the International Red Cross and to the whole world, —and mostly to the Afro-Asian countries,—urging :

- (1) The creation of a team of really objective observers to be sent to the Kamerun in the nearest future.
- (2) Intervention amidst the Visiting Mission of the U.N. Trusteeship Council due to leave for the Kamerun soon, in order to check our declarations with the truth and reaffirm our aspirations for immediate Reunification and Independance, which is the only weaver to an end to the atrocities and inhuman acts performed in our Country.
- (3) The launching of an international solidarity campaign in favour of the people of Kamerun, martyrs of Freedom

Cairo, July 7th, 1958.

The Bureau of Leading Committee of the U.P.C.

N.B. — ALCAM means «Legislative Assembly of Cameroons».

Introduction



A few Kamerunian nationalists shot on August 18th, 1957 by French colonialists after suffering unhuman tortures, and thrown somewhere to serve as pasture for wild beasts and birds.

Another picture of « Civilised France ».

In order to understand thoroughly the contents of this pamphlet the situation in the Kamerun should be kept in mind.

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First, the judicial situation: The Kamerun is a territory under international trusteeship, and thus ruled by two fundamental principles contained in the United Nations Charter: Absolute priority to autochtones' interests (art. 73) and a necessary conforming of all policy to their freely expressed aspirations for independence or autonomy (art. 76 b). It is particularly upon these two principles that are based the clauses of the Trusteeship Agreements, aiming at guaranteeing to the Kamerunian people the full exercise of all their public liberties. Moreover both French and British-administered zones of the Kamerun enjoy the Universal Declaration of the Rights of Man, signed by France and Great-Britain, article 2 of which stipulates that « there will be no distinction based upon the political, judicial or international statute of a country or territory, whether independant, under trusteeship, non-autonomous or submitted to any limitations of its sovereignty.»

Now, the U.N. Charter as well as the Trusteeship Agreements and the Rights of Man, all constitute treaties between the UN and the signatory powers. On the other hand, treaties are more powerful than internal and even constitutional laws. That is to say that the administrative powers, France and Great-Britain, have solemnly accepted to recognise to the Kamerunian people, even against their own legislations, their full exercise of all democratic liberties and of all Rights of Man.

The second element which should always be kept in mind is the geographical position of the Kamerun: surrounded by countries closely controlled by imperialists.

As for the third element, it is the political situation: Faced with the firm determination of the people in favour of immediate Reunification and Independence, colonialists have

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started a « dirty war » in which the Information Service, the Postal Administration and the judicial services all closely cooperate with the armed forces (Army, Gendarmerie and Police).

The only regular sources of information are: The Radio and two agencies: Associated Press and the French Press Agency (Agence France-Presse), plus a few « trustworthy » newsmen admitted once in a while into the country. This explains:

- The silence over the Kamerunian tragedy.
- The lies concerning freedom fighters.
- The impossibility to fight efficiently against this conspiracy of silence, owing to the tremendous difficulties encountered in communicating with the patriots (geographical isolation, strict control of borders, severe mail censorship, a.s.o.).

The parisian newspaper « Le Monde » admitted in its issue of January 2, 1957, that informations were being censored. These difficulties in contacting guerillas grow more as the armed struggle amplifies, and more again as the solidarity between imperialists — particularly French and British — is consolidated. This explains why informations take some time before reaching us, and why we mostly report events which occurred last year.

THE JUDICIAL SERVICES

We encounter, or rather we SHOULD encounter justice at every step. However, its insolvencies and interventions are marked with the stamp of its colonial character:

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1. — It is a racial justice. A European deputy, M. Aujoulat, well-known for his hostile attitude towards the Kamerunian national movement, has stigmatized the discriminatory and arbitrary system in the Kamerun, in the following words: « In the Kamerun, « there is a white law and a black law, in other « words, there is one black justice and one white « justice.

« Look out! he says to the French justice and « administration, let your severities and demands « be the same for everybody! Do not abuse of « preventive detention (a recent circular has just « drawn attention on this point), or let it at least « be applied by absolute rules, without any dis- « tinction of rank or colour. Do not let the police « brutalities which so often accompany the « questioning of suspects go beyond the limits gene- « rally admitted at home.... »

2. — It is a partisan « justice », submitted to responsables of the politics, the Administration and the Police: This is irrefutably proved by a letter dated August 13th, 1956, in which the Secretary of Colonies gives instructions concerning political condemnations to his representative the Governor of Eastern Kamerun. Yet another proof is the revocation of Mr. Marinelli, Prosecutor of the Republic in Yaoundé, for having taken position against the massacres of May 1955. Finally, the so-called Prime Minister Mbida was flattered for having obtained a « justice adapted to circumstances » (Cf. « La Presse du Kamerun » No. 2298 of December 23rd, 1957).

This confusion of powers explains how the regime of the

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indicted and political detainees is aggravated relatively to the political and military situation, the more because magistrates themselves find repressive laws much too liberal.

3. — « Justice of exception », not to say ultra-colonialist. In the « Presse du Cameroun » of December 21st and 22nd, 1957 magistrates working in the Kamerun « protest against certain affirmations » published in « Le Figaro », accusing them of being indulgent! They mainly deplore together with the author of the article, the fact that they are tied down by laws incompatible with the local surroundings and the circumstances of the moment, while it would have been right to organise a swift and efficient law freed from an excessive formalism in the strict respect of the human being and of essential principles of western civilisation, as they had suggested many times before.

The Magistrates of Kamerun think it unfair to accuse them of being responsible for a regrettable situation, from which they suffer first having every day, in the exercise of their professional duty, to make an impossible conciliation between the exigencies of public order which are imposed upon them in their quality as citizens, and the respect of law which they are entitled to assure strictly. »

Following his protest against the « liberal character » of the existing laws and their application, the general prosecutor for judicial affairs at the French Colonial Ministry went to the Kamerun to give magistrates special instructions destined to aggravate the performance of military and exceptional justice. These instructions recommend, among other things, the use of torture and the increasing of concentration camps. France's

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representative did not deny these informations when Dr. Moumié, National President of the U.P.C., stated them at the United Nations.

I. — ARBITRARY ARRESTS

According to the French law applicable to the Kamerun, every arrest requires a warrant. In fact, however, it is sufficient to be suspected of subversive political activities in order to be locked up not only by the judicial police, but by the District Chiefs, the Administrators and the soldiers as well. Arrests are mostly performed in market places, so long as the quarter is considered as acquired by freedom fighters for their use. Following the nationalist demonstrations of the 25th of May 1955 (3rd anniversary of the Revolution), the Police raided the Deido quarter and carried off, without distinction, men, women, children and old people. The same thing happened on the 1st of June 1958 in all market places of Bamileké Country, still controlled by the administration through the customary chiefs (Bandjoun and Balengou). Again, same thing on the 10th of June at Mombo where a great number of patriots were arrested, mainly : Fotso Joseph, Mkoukam Dieudonné, Zangue Donard, Konga Frederick. These arrests on public squares and market places are, without any doubt, arbitrary, as also those perpetrated following illegal searches made without a previous court order, between 22h00 and 5h00 by soldiers.... It is useless, in such conditions, to mention the violations of the home. Sacred places have also been violated more than once. The Reverend Pastors Silas and Nlend were arrested inside their Temple. Rev. Akos Aboma, President of the Presbyterian Church was also arrested on account of a patriotic lecture. Abbey Jean Zoa saw soldiers surrounding him while preaching inside the Church of Messa, in Yaoundé. One of the Cheikhs of Ngaoundéré, Haman Selbé, was arrested in the Middle of a prayer, imprisoned then released on many

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occasions. Two factors favour very particularly these arbitrary arrests :

- First, the practice of « virgin warrants » inaugurated by Mr. Cau, judge of Douala, who on the 28th of May 1955, had delivered 800 of them to be filled by their users.
- Then, the decree of February 19th, 1955, allowing administrative authorities to arrest and accuse and then defer the indicted to a magistrate if however there should be one. But French Law magistrates of whom we are concerned are very rare. So, the administrative agents have judicial functions as well : The system of the judge-administrator, in theory suppressed in 1946, seems now restored in the Kamerun !

Finally, in the regions where underground struggle is most active, we find yet another factor : the « state of emergency » which the French Government has instituted while hiding behind the protective screen of the Yaoundé puppet Government. In fact, it is reported in « Le Monde » of November 22nd, 1957 that « the head of the Kamerunian Government » has taken the following measures : « regrouping of villages, night curfews, suppression of markets and common transports. These measures do not exclude a direct action against the agitators of the Union who are the promoters of the rebellion.»

This regime does not differ in its nature from the once instituted in Algeria and dubbed « State of Emergency ». But what is particularly serious here is that public liberties are being suppressed in a territory under trusteeship, in contradiction with international obligations, and even without the Chamber's intervention, though this be required for internal

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laws. Practical consequences are also catastrophic: In this country of widespread populations, the application of such an incomplete policy (it could not be and has never been completed) by the previous construction of large numbers of houses and by the installing of an equally satisfactory system of food-distribution around the smaller head-districts, it is clear that such a policy provokes numerous displacements at unseemly times, even if the whole population accepts to submit itself to it. Yet these measures resulted in a big failure, the echos of which one can still hear in reactionary newspapers such as the « Figaro » or « Aurore » in whose edition of 17/12/1957 is written: « The ultimatum sent by the head of the Government, Mr. Mbida... has failed pitifully... pitifully... » Also, starting in the month of December 1957, one can read in the colonialist press itself (e.g. « La Presse du Cameroun », ed. of 19/12/57, or « Aurore », ed. of 17/12/57), one can read, then, the official balance of « the Terrorism » in regions other than Sanaga-Maritime and the Bamileke Country. More proof that the fascist regime institute by the law of 19/2/55 and by the measures taken by Mbida, spreads then to the whole of the Oriental Kamerun, contrarily to all the international spoken treaties of above.

II. — ARBITRARY DETENTIONS

All those patriots who are arrested without warrants and have not been guilty of any branch of law, languish away under house arrest, which in fact resembles prison-life. To give the arrests a legal appearance, and to quell the protests of the people, the colonialists then take blank warrants and fill them up.

Such was the case of Mr. Mathip, national President of the J.D.C., among thousands of others. He writes: « I was abducted very early in the morning by armed forces of repres-

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sion who broke into my home and raided it, stealing many of my things. I was submitted to the most savage and cruel torture. These hordes intentionally bruised my feet, like unto a captured bird, his wings. So paralysed I was half-naked and half-dead, my face being deformed and bloody. I was transported and thrown into a cell in the premises of the judiciary police, which had previously been wetted with urine. I was laid down on the floor. I was in a desperate state. But until then, one must note, I was arrested without any warrant whatsoever; I was guilty of no crime and indicted with none, and, I was not even the object of any judiciary information to my knowledge.

The news of my kidnapping by the repressionist forces and of the cruelties graciously extended to me started to spread, not only in Douala, but throughout the country.

I was not killed or thrown alive in the common grave, thanks, no doubt, to the popular indignation at the treatment which I have just related briefly, but mostly because of the hope which the colonialists nourished in their breasts of making me, by means of torture, torments, pressure and humiliations of all kinds, a traitor to the National Movement, and to my Country.

It is certain beyond doubt that, of these two factors which enabled me to survive, the first one obliged the colonialists to resort to falsehood and forgery in order to justify my arrest. So they made a false arrest warrant bearing the date of May 25, 1955, under the signature but without the seal of the Judge of Douala, Mr. Georges Alexandre Cau, whose name will be connected in the history of the national struggle of our people with the most shameful and most ridiculous judiciary legalities which make up the gist of the French judiciary system in our country. This warrant bearing the number

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1695/652/PJ, was delivered to the police, on the 20th of May, that is after my arrest which was made, to be precise, at 6 o'clock, before the police station was open. This warrant was presented to me at 16 h. on the 26th of May. The second factor in my survival decided the colonialists deport me to the prisons of the North. They hoped that there the torments and humiliations, pressures and most inhumane treatments would get the best of my will to fight. Thus, on Sunday 29th of May, and by order of Judge Cau, I was deported together with many other like our good friend Marthe Bahida, then pregnant, Iloga Ngom Aron, Tehoupaniou Thomas, Um Libam Oscar, Nganko Michei, Job Samuel and Togue Christophe, to name only those, who were, like me, in a desperate state.

For a period lasting nearly four months, indicted as I was by virtue of the mandate of Judge Cau in Douala, I was yet maintained over 1,200 kms from the place of indictment. During these four months I endured tortures and torments in the Mokoli fortress as well as in the hell-like prison of Maroua, where I had to go on a six-day hunger-strike before being sent to Douala, by way of Kaele, Garoua, N'Gaoundere and Yaoundé.

In Douala, while still under the same treatment and stuck in a small, dark cell, I was the target of the judiciary apparatus: mandate of deposit for organisation of armed bands, for rebellion, for violence to agents of the public forces, for voluntary blows and wounds, for carrying arms (prohibited), for stealing correspondence, for murder, attempt to murder, armed robbery, for organisation of seditious reunions, all of these being issued by Mr. Cau for the same pretentious facts committed in the same period by the same detainee. But ridicule reached its highest point when I was extracted from my cell in the month of June 1956 by the Judge who notified

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me of a new indictment: this was the organising of the UPC and JLC while in prison, and for that the Douala tribunal honoured me with eight months of jail last March.

Must I specify that the indictments for which Judge Cau handed me deposit mandates were founded on mere informations fabricated and concerted by police informers, turned professional witnesses against whom I was not allowed to call for cross-examination? All these files dragged me in front of the Douala tribunal who often reserved for me two-year jail sentences, which is not in the least negligible. On the day of my release, the 2nd of July, 1957, I had totalled five years and two months of imprisonment.

So then without the fact that accumulation of sentences is illegal I would not have obtained my release before the 26th of July 1960.

The popular solidarity which was extended to me during my detention and the enthusiasm with which the popular masses greeted me on my release, and ever since, constitutes another proof of the strength of our people who observe and judge. I am very touched and very grateful.»

The arbitrariness of these « detentions » has been sufficiently underlined by Mr. Mathip. Yet, because the gravity and frequency of such facts one must cite yet one more example; that of Mr. Kameny Anatole and of Dr. Eyidi Bebey, delegate of the Notables' Associations at the 10th session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, in February 1957. In the course of their intervention they had protested against the anti-democratic and brutal policy of the administering powers. They concluded by affirming that their act of courage was going to cost them a very dear price on their return to the territory. The French representative hastily reassured them and the United Nations, saving that absolute freedom reigned in Kamerun. But no sooner had Mr. Kameny returned

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to Douala than his domicile was searched and an arrest warrant issued for him. On his return he was arrested then released three times. As for Dr. Bebey, they waited six months to indict him for « having published in Douala during 1957 in the Newspaper «L'Opinion du Cameroun», of which he is publishing manager, many articles upholding directly or indirectly the reconstitution or maintenance of the UPC, organisation dissolved by the decree of the 13th of July 1955, a fact foreseen and checked by art. 2 of the law of January 10, 1936. »

But after inquest and interrogation the judiciary authorities themselves recognised that the motive of indictment did not justify detention under any shape. Yet Dr. Bebey was kept under arrest for three months, in spite of his plea to be paroled in order that he tend to his family and mostly to his sick, growing ever numerous by reason of the political-military situation of the country. This, although he is himself a former Combattant des Forces Françaises Libres, (Fighter of the Free French Forces), decorated with the Legion d'Honneur, Croix de Guerre and many other military distinctions...

III. — THE « COFFIN » PRISONS

The arrests and mass-detentions have brought about the necessity of making more police premises: police stations, stations for preventive or temporary arrests, and jails proper.

We learn from a letter written by a high official, Mr. Hubert, dated from March 12, 1955, that this evolution started at the time of the letter and was even prepared and planned, in particular by the transfer to the « Police and Justice: Construction » section of sums initially destined to other sections. Also jails, waiting rooms, police stations and other police premises were enlarged and more were made at this period, to the loss of schools and hospitals, mostly in urban districts. As for rural centers, the chiefs, mostly those in

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Sanaga-Maritime and Bamiléké country, were granted authorisation, personnel and necessary equipment for the jailing of those for whom there is no place in premises directly controlled by the administrators and Judiciary Police.

In spite of the construction of more premises for imprisonment, one must note the promiscuity which exists there: political detainees mix with common prisoners; they are all treated in the same way; they are deprived of newspapers as well as all other publications; their visiting time is reduced to nil, even when they must communicate with their defence lawyer, if they are allowed any. They wear prison clothes: a small «boubou» and 50 cms-long pants or 2 yards of blue cloth, heads and feet bare. Only French citizens benefit from the political régime in the prisons of Douala and Yaoundé.

Housing conditions are of the least sanitary for non-citizens. From the Yaoundé prison, we get a letter: « Suffice it for you to know that for seven months now, we have been living in unsupportable conditions (narrow cells where live 60 people, piled upon one another; dark cells, both by day and by night, with only a few minutes' outing for natural needs, condthen, not every day) and you may get an idea as to the life we lead here. But from the very hour we first took sides and positioned ourselves, we know that the way to independence was strewn with prison and exile. So be sure that the moral is very high... » In Yaoundé, they are « lucky » to be let out for natural needs. Elsewhere, in Dschang for example, political detainees are only allowed to breathe fresh air one hour out of 24. That is, 30 minutes in the morning, and 30 in the evening. They urinate all together in a 100-litre trough. Their beds measure 16 bamboos in width and they get a woven rug 30 cms by 50 cms. Many die for lack of medical care; one must even get permission to be let into hospital. For food they get one big boiled carrot. It is impossible for them to wash. Dysentery and other illnesses abound...

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This is a terrifying picture to which we need only add a few words about the surroundings and the work of political detainees. The watch over political detainees is maintained by military elements of the French gendarmerie. It is under the orders of the gendarmerie that the prison guards work and also the «Kameronian guards», preferably recruited among elements of origin other than Kameronian. The «Kameronian guards» and, in some cases, the prison guards, are always armed. In any case they are subject to the strictest military discipline. The French gendarmes who care for political prisons relieve their usual military chiefs from their military authority and the region chieftain or subdivisionary chieftain, who as we know is a political official, from their political authority. The wardens and their aids use their arms to silence any who dare make any requests.

To all this are added the painful and humiliating tasks of constructing roads and jails, more jails... But more often, they prefer to transfert detainees from prisons directly controlled by administrators and Judicial Police to the East and the North, for harder work. And so, last June 3, they deported 27 prisoners and chained them in the East. They were not allowed to drink on the way. In Abong-Mbang, they were tied up and put in a long-abandoned hut. In the night two were bitten by snakes. From the morrow onwards they were given double their usual work: old or young; man or woman, they each had to weed a piece 100 ms log by 3 ms large, and cut down at least 10 trees. From Abong-Bbnag they were transported to Doumé, where they were forced to work without rest from 7 h. to 15 h. By order of the administrator's wife, Mrs Lecolley, they had to lift, two by two, a 100-litre trough then cut the grass down with their fingers and their teeth. All they had to eat was five pieces of banana. But this is the regime in official prisons. Worse is the political sequestration in torture camps of administrative chiefs or in gendarmeries. Patriots are sometimes maintained there for

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more than 3 months. They are given all sorts of tasks and only liberated after payment of sums of money to the pirate chiefs. These people sequestrated for political reasons in camps which are uncontrolled but which work in fact through the power of the French authorities, are watched by «dikokons» (a Bassa word meaning mercenary) who are invested with illegal and provoking power by the Administration. As a matter of fact it is these last who murder, arrest, search, rape women, burn huts and plunder the goods of patriots.

The greatest reward the French administration grants the «dikokons» is promotion of some of them to so-called superior posts and to colonialist immunity, which immunises them from any judiciary pursuit on the part of the regime. We know how precarious all this is.

We could not admit that the administrative and judiciary authorities ignore deeds perpetrated by themselves or at least with their permission. In any case, numerous letters of protest have already been submitted to them, one of which we reproduce here.

« The political detainees of the Douala prison, whose names can be seen herebelow, feeling the weight of a penitentiary regime, which weight cannot possibly correspond with that of the political regime.

« Conscious of their rights to life, as recognised in the Universal Declaration of the Rights of Man, and hoping that a government, appointing itself champion of human dignity, shall want to take its responsibilities towards such a situation.

« Have the honour of submitting the present memorandum to all useful ends to the judiciary and administrative authorities of the Kamerun, namely Messrs. the Procuror-General of the Republic at the Tribunal of Douala, and the Chief of the Wouri Region.

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How can men living in such conditions, and who are not even cared for medically for the detection of dangerous illnesses, enjoy a healthy life?

And yet the Douala Prison is big enough to incorporate an extra cell for our use.

« The undersigned have the honour of submitting to the knowledge of the above-mentioned authorities a series of questions, which necessitate an urgent solution.

« 1) NEWSPAPERS AND BOOKS. We are enclosed in the Douala prison like in a bell-jar. Not a newspaper, not a book worthy of that name ever reaches us. We rot away in a little enclosure, in which we are closed all day long. And these are human beings who are being jailed for having indulged in political activities, be they judged as subversive.

« 2) HEALTH. Even in the case where conditions of life and existence in the Douala prison should not be of a nature to undermine our health, which as shall be seen, is not the case, it is natural that medical care should be assured to all individual even if he be a prisoner. But the dispensary in the Douala prison is constantly in need of medicine, so that the man-nurse in charge writes little pieces of paper all day long, which he calls « dispensary tickets ». One only gets tickets, rarely medical care. If at least the serious cases were directed to the hospital one would have at least a little peace of mind. But the need of our dispensary is equalled by the carelessness of the sanitary service and that of the Prison Administration.

« 3) FOOD : QUANTITY. It is known that a law in 1933 prescribed nothing but « macabo », potatoes, innards, rice, fish oil and meat for Kamerunian prisoners. But the macabo is thrown with its skin directly into the pot, and not even washed so that it may at least boil with its skin; the rice is

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boiled dirty and comes directly from its sack; the meat or fish are cooked rotten, and in such dishonest conditions there can only be more aches of the stomach. One can also add to this chapter the condition in which our victuals coming from town are searched by the Prison Administration. The most repugnant objects are thrown in with them.

« QUANTITY. After lack of hygiene, we are submitted to lack of enough food. Even the prescriptions of the famous 1933 law are not respected. Instead of 100 grammes of meat or fish, 0 litre 03 of oil, 20 grammes of salt, 2 kgs 500 of macabo and 600 grammes of rice, we are given 60 grammes of rotten meat or rotten fish, less than 0 litre 02 of oil, less than 10 grammes of salt and less than 0 kgs of rice per day.

« One can imagine the ensuing indignation especially when we know that the 1933 law prescribes a different treatment for Europeans, this providing an anachronical effect in the institutions of a Kamerun under so-called « trusteeship ».

« 4) We are, at the time of writing, 81 persons living in cell measuring only 15 metres in length, 6 m in width, and 3m50 in height. This is aerated by 4 openings the total area of which measures only 8 m squared. We are piled upon one another, all 81 of us, over an area of square meters. We manage to live on a sleepless area of 79 cms squared. And since the boards are 2 ms long it is not difficult to guess what the reduced width is that is left for each individual to call his own; this gives us the impossible digits of 39 cms squared. If the 8 ms squared did not supply us with some air, we would have been surely asphyxiated by our 5,888 m cubed; in a very few days.

« 5) RESTITUTION OF OUR BELONGINGS. Although an order recently came through to our wardens to give each of us back his own belongings, which were confiscated, the

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wardens have thought it better not to obey these orders and keep our belongings (watches, shoes, etc.). Will they ever realise that we need those things ?

« 6) VISITS FROM OUR RELATIVES AND PARENTS. We had been told that we would have the right to 5 minutes' conversation with our families every Sunday and holidays. (although we were never allowed to speak to them on a holiday). Although this time is limited, as one can see, the time we are really allowed, astonishingly enough, hardly ever comes near to one or two minutes' time.

« On the other hand the weekly renewal of the « communication permit » which is delivered to our families is inconvenient in two manners. One, it is most hurtful to our families, and two, it leaves us famished on Saturday, which is the day of renewal by the Court. It would be most appropriate to render this permit permanent, taking care, if need be, to have it checked every week by the Prison Administration.

« The undersigned, convinced that prison is not made to kill people but to reform them when they are supposed to have committed a moral crime... keep up their hopes that Messrs. the Procuror and Chief of Region shall grant rights to their claims for the sake of public order.

« Made in Douala, June 16, 1957.

« High Commissioner
« Delegate of the High-Commissioner
« Lawyers. »

- | | |
|--------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Jean-Marie MANGA; | 7. Tajité Victor; |
| 2. Paho Djaman Marcelin; | 8. Njimafu David; |
| 3. Kom David Dagobert; | 9. Naoussi Zacharie; |
| 4. Lazare Lipem; | 10. Efomi Moise; |
| 5. Fozo'o Ekabé; | 11. Nkadzu Isaac; |
| 6. Ndje Mathurin; | 12. Kanga Joseph; |

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- | | |
|------------------------------|-----------------------|
| 13. Makon Martin; | 41. Bseyaga Simon; |
| 14. Ekwalla Robert; | 42. Ndoya Etienne; |
| 15. Konglog Benjamin; | 43. Wangué Albert; |
| 16. Dzukam Chrétien; | 44. Ndoch Isaac; |
| 17. Adji Bakary; | 45. Tonyé Martin; |
| 18. Makanda Jean; | 46. Kendek Joseph; |
| 19. Tcheffa Vincent; | 47. Ndeffa Etienne; |
| 20. Maouen Pierre; | 48. Ntoge Jean; |
| 21. Yapp Emmanuel; | 49. Potsu Maurice; |
| 22. Pouga Maurice; | 50. Ndefo Sebastien; |
| 23. Massongo Bernabé; | 51. Mandjen Samuel; |
| 24. BASSEG Elias; | 52. Essombo Elie; |
| 25. Tchuenkam Michel; | 53. Tedje Lue; |
| 26. Mbiga Jonas; | 54. Ngongo Yafet; |
| 27. Bell Jean; | 55. Massong Georges; |
| 28. Njiki Gilbert; | 56. Tadjé Christophe; |
| 29. Nokiya Mathias; | 57. Lowé Jean; |
| 30. Njel Etienne; | 58. Mbilla Marcus; |
| 31. Ngoy Samuel; | 59. Iban Jean; |
| 32. Billong Moise; | 60. Nangué Paul; |
| 33. Nyatchombé Ambroise; | 61. Nijomo Etienne; |
| 34. Log Zachée; | 62. Bayha Luc; |
| 35. Ioga Samuel; | 63. Njomo Etienne; |
| 36. Emock Thomas; | 64. Tchachoua Abel; |
| 37. Poungué Ndong Mathias; | 65. Baomog Adolphe; |
| 38. Baheten Jean; | 66. Tonyé Michel; |
| 39. Nkwaga Wanda Michel; | 67. Mandeng Joseph; |
| 40. Paglan Bitjoka Ambroise; | 68. Ngoué Raphael. |

IV. — NO DIFFERENCE BETWEEN POLICE AND OFFICE OF PUBLIC PROSECUTOR

Everybody knows that, according to French legislation, the Police have no right to question people. Yet, not only do they question them, make unwarranted enquiries, but also do they

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brutalise people in an awful manner, as we have already seen in the Mathip case (CF. II supra). Here is another typical case, that of Owona Simon-Pierre, detained in the jail-house of Sangmelima. In a letter to the Justice of the Peace, he declares : « I had always thought that accused were and still are at the exclusive disposal of the Judge, who must hear them out in ordinary or judicial hearings. But such is not my case : At the moment I thought I would be called and be confronted with those who accuse me, I was called by the gendarmerie to undergo a different kind of questioning. The Guard NDJANA came to fetch me without the usual extraction warrant. This worried me, for I knew what had happened to Owoundi and Abondo before me. I refused this illegal call. Then the brigade commander, together with two of his men, erupted into the jail and took me away, kicking and beating me. At the gendarmerie I was again hard beaten, and NDJANA dealt me a terrible blow in the stomach, which stopped my breathing for a while and nearly broke my ribs. »

Worse still, the magistrates act exactly like the police. Let us hear a detainee from Douala, DZUKAM Chretien. Last November 6, he wrote to the Procurator General, chief of the judiciary service of Kamerun : When they are taken to the Public Prosecutor's office, patriots think themselves protected by the law, but they soon find out the contrary. The instructor-magistrates of the Kamerun teach by menaces and various other forms of intimidation. They even go as far as hitting accused when they try and save their consciences. That is how Mr. Roquefort, judge of instruction of the 3rd cabinet of the Douala Office of the Public Prosecutor, on the 16th of October 1957 gave four slaps to the detainee NKOUAM Denis in the presence of Mr. NDEFO Sébastien, because NKOUAM refused to proffer charges against the latter in the course of a confrontation.

« On Monday, October 28, 1957, in the presence of pa-

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triot PAGLAN Bitchoka Ambroise and ADJI Bakary, the Procurator of the Republic, in his turn, slapped the political detainee NYATCHEBE Ambroise, to the contempt of the French law and people.

« On Sept. 25, 1957, patriot YEBGA Jean, was brought into prison his head covered with wounds, dying and chained and was thrown alone in a disciplinary cell. Instead of being hospitalised and cared for, he was left in this state till the night of Sept. 30, 1957, when he was brought to hospital, a little late, and died.



Here lies the kamerunian nationalist Yebga Jean, who was violently beaten with a thick stick on the most intimate parts of his body by French colonialists during the month of August 1957. This is a concrete proof of French fraternisation in this 20th Century.

« A graver case and one which passes our understanding, is that the gendarmerie and police are allowed to extract detainees from prison, to abuse them and extract from them

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so-called information, while these are placed under your authority. Such is the case of the patriotic instructor OWONO Simon, detained in the prison of Sangmelima.

« A new case, but as alarming as the previous ones, is the new method of the police or gendarmerie of kidnapping national patriots from their homes and taking them to destinations unknown even to their families. Such was the fate of Mr. NDOH Isaac, former political detainee. The latter was arrested in the night of the 17th October 1957 from his home in Koumassi (Douala) and taken to an unknown destination. After a long absence, he has just joined his family, on the 2nd of November instant. »

V. — RIGHTS OF DEFENCE AND ARBITRARY CONDEMNATIONS

In these conditions one easily understands that the rights of defence are ignored regularly. Not only do the police question but also do they go as far as to extract signatures. That is what happened in particular to DZUKAM Chretien and his co-accused. « After 22 h. », relates Chretien, « the hut was suddenly invaded by many Europeans armed with rifles and guns. They proceeded to arrest me and my companion NDEFO Sebastien, and his two brothers, who were already asleep. When we reached the judiciary police in Douala the Europeans, armed with sticks and black-jacks, threw themselves upon us and beat us very heavily, although we told them oft that we had just been operated ; but that proved of no avail. In the night, they took us out of our cells to question us separately, each in an office. They had us kneel on a file and again beat us, forcing us at the same time to acknowledge declarations they imposed upon us, and according to which we had been at Taboue to wait for cases of arms.

« Mr. Le Roux, police inspector, profited from the fact that we were unconscious and took us by the hand and made

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us sign a prepared document, the contents of which we still don't know. »

It, in such documents, established most often by the police in the absence of a council-lawyer, which serve as exhibits, either by themselves or coupled with the testimony of paid liars. What is more, the accused cannot regularly communicate with their lawyers, who rarely get the documents and files needed as should be by the law. The newspaper « France Observateur », No. 268, p. 3, states : « The greatest obstacles are placed in the way of lawyers who come from the metropolis to defend the accused militants of the UPC. » On the other hand lawyers who are hostile to their national struggle are put against them. These last few times, the authorities have pushed the arbitrary so far as to oust from the territory lawyers of patriots, such as Me. Lousia, and prohibit the right of entry in the country to others (e.g. Me. Colombe).

These blows aimed at the right of defence as well as at the free exercise of the lawyer's profession, naturally leave all patriots to the mercy of arbitraries. We have already publicised the wrongs and falsehoods, the hard regime of common right; let us just note now that the judgment days always come late, not only because there are too few magistrates for the ever-growing number of accused, but also because it is arranged with the political-administrative authorities to detain and delay judgments the longest possible.

A modest example : at the last Trusteeship Council session, the French representative admitted that of the 400 to 500 persons arrested in Dec. 1956, half of them had not been judged by Febr. 19, 1958 (Cf. Doc. N. U.T./PV 863 p. 26). These are long and illegal detentions which end most often in condemnations founded upon a law inapplicable in the Kamerun. Among the charges invoqued a posteriori in order to

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justify an arbitrary arrest, the following are most often cited : attempt against the safety of the State inciting Civil war, trooping or demonstrations on a public high way violence and rebellion against policemen, and mostly participation or upholding of dissolved leagues (U.P.C., U.D.F.C. or J.D.C. or any two of them).

The second of these motives, trooping, results from a law of the 19th of February 1955 taken by Governor Roland Pré (Cf. Journal Officiel du Kamerun Oriental, March 9, 1955, p. 379), giving the right to all authorities of requesting public force for the dispersion of all suspicious meetings (sic !) of more than two persons ! What a blow to freedom of reunion, though guaranteed by article 10 of the Trusteeship Agreements as well as by the Universal Declaration of the Rights of Man. One understands that the application of so fascist a law frequently put the people against public forces.

As for the other charges, they are founded mainly on the law of Jan. 10, 1936 (prohibiting combat groups, private militia, etc...). Now, article 4 of this law stipulates that it is only applicable in France, Algeria and in the colonies, not in a territory under trusteeship. How can one speak about attempts against the safety of the State while mentioning the struggle of a people for an independence which it is guaranteed by article 76b of the U.N. Charter ?

And does not the very Preamble to the Universal Declaration of the Rights of Man mention resistance to oppression as a right. All these arguments, the Magistrates know them or should try to get acquainted with them, but, decided as they are to safeguard a regime of oppression and exploitation they inflict, unscrupulously, very hard sentences. Here are some examples :

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1) On May 27, 1955, the corrective tribunal of Douala judged in a few minutes 15 patriots whom they sentenced to 3- years of prison.

2) On May 11, 1956, the same Douala tribunal also shared 30 years and 6 months of prison between 20 patriots.

3) On Sept. 28, 1956, again the same tribunal inflicted 23 years of prison upon 15 patriots.

Here are already three corrective judgments which total 83 years and 6 months of prison shared between 50 Kamerunian patriots.

A few decisions of the Criminal Court which we cite at random also come to frightening numbers. On October 22, 1956, the Criminal Court seated in Douala sentenced Kamen Sakeo to 20 years' hard labour, 10 years banishment and a 24,000 frs. fine. Nguenang Mathieu and Chembou André got 10 years' banishment and a 24,000 frs. fine. A three years' sentence also went to Um Abraham and Dominique Tchakoum.

In another session of the Criminal Court Mandjek Samuel and Ngoy Samuel got a total sentence of 7 years in jail as well as the banishment sentence.

So for these precise cases picked out at random, the total number of years given out in Douala alone, and let us repeat that not all of them have been cited, against 57 patriots amounts to 113 years and 6 months, plus another twenty or so for banishment and more than 72,000 frs. in fines.

For every one of the following regions : Mungo, Bamiléké, Sanaga-Maritime, Dja & Lobo and Nyong & Sanaga mainly, these numbers can be doubled and even trebled.

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Since the month of May 1955, the 4 leaders of the UPC, Ruben Um NYOBE, Felix-Roland MOUMIE, Abel KINGUE and Ernest OUANDIE have a total score of 32 years' imprisonment, always dished out by the same Douala tribunal. To this let us add 6 months' imprisonment which the Douala Tribunal reserved on the 6th of June 1955 for Um Nyobé.

As for the costs in suits, let us cite the one decision of the Court of Appeal, dated August 21, 1956, the expenses of which are shared by 16 patriots and amount to 137,654 frs., and the vasts in cassations must yet be added to that.

At the time of writing, the numbers of sequestered and political detainees held in concentration camps and official prisons reach the millions.

Here, more recent, are some cases signaled by DZUKAM Chretien in his afore mentioned letter to the Procurator-General. Let us hear what he says : « It is a question, say I, of kindling the hatred between Kamerunians and Franchmen, in order to throw the responsibility upon the shoulders of our country's nationalists. For it is hardly believable that I, who have accepted and firmly admitted in all truth to the Tribunal in November 1956, having participated to the maintenance of the UPC, was condemned to four months of hard prison-life, whereas the same instances condemn to 12 to 20 months of prison persons having never led any activity of reconstitution of dissolved party. A very significant case is that of nine patriots recently condemned to 16 to 20 months of prison for having adressed a petition to the High Commissioner of France in the Kamerun.

« On the other hand compatriots having appeared in court on August 22, 1947, saw themselves condemned from 12 to 18 months for reconstitution of the UPC.

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« Another fact which holds our attention is the delay in the execution of judgment. Such and such a patriot was acquitted while serving his 9th or 10th month of detention. So we have it that patriots having either lost their jobs or wiled away their time in jail while their business was rotting, are not covered by the judiciary authorities. Such another patriot was being held for long time, although the Magistrature knew full well that the identity on the arrest warrant did not correspond with the identity of the detainee. In that instance 12 patriots were acquitted either because they were found innocent or falsely identified. Such is the case of patriots Fotso Patrice and Kamdem Josep, actually accused while the description on their arrest warrant does not correspond to their own.

« In matters cocerning heavy and severe condemnations and mainly on matters of appeal, the Yaounde Court of Appeal has distinguished itself particularly in recent times. While we know that the role of this instance is to judge with equity the various cases brought to its consideration, we behold, not without regret, that the latter has not only approved the corrective tribunals, but has encouraged them in severely augmenting the condemnations. So the Court of Appeal, on the 9th of October 1957, increased the sentence of Mr. Mbilla Marcus, Secretary of the Forest and Agricultural Workers' Federation, indicted for reorganisation of the UPC, from 10 to 18 months, to cite only this case.

VI. — DEPORTATIONS TO UNKNOWN DESTINATIONS

One of the most current administrative and judicial sentences is deportation to unknown destinations.

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From October 29 to November 7, 1957, more than 150 persons arrested in Batcham (by Mbouba, Bamiléké region) disappeared, said by the authorities to have been deported. From Douala patriot Jean-Marie MANGA was led no one knows where after a hunger strike lasting 8 days, he was extracted from prison on Nov. 4 to go to hospital, it was said ; in fact he is not to be found in any hospitals. From Nov. 25, 1957, such deportations have increased, following kidnappings under particularly revolting pretexts.

During the night the police invaded the urban agglomerations mainly to proceed to the control of different pieces : identity cards or work permits, tax certificates. Anyone lacking these cards is immediately arrested and deported. The system is all the more arbitrary as the authorities themselves confess their incapability to provide everybody with :

a) an identity card : during the « elections » of the 23/12/1956, people were authorised to vote without identity cards. The reason given was the difficulty of listing the civil status in our country.

b) a work permit : one knows that the Kamerun, underdeveloped country, is characterised by an important unemployment, whether disguised or not, but actually reinforced by all the perturbations which the political and economical situation has brought to the economical life : an insecurity braking investments which were already weak ; a stop in production (this is a consequence of the underground and the judiciary arbitrary) ; a stop or slowing down of transports and port management in particular... In the town of Douala alone, the authorities evaluate the registered unemployed as making up 25% of the active population... (Cf. also supra I in fine). Whence a rarifying of means of payment and also therefore of tax certificates all the more since,

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e) the repressive forces and lackeys plunder systematically the patriots : the taxes are increased four times for the nationalists who must, what is more, pay to the mercenaries an average of 70,000 frs. per annum. If they cannot get this sum — which is most frequently the case, because they are left unemployed, their fields and houses are burned, and finally they are condemned unjustly to heavy fines or exorbitant damages — the little that is left to them is confiscated and sold by auction.

In short the pretexts for arbitrary deportations are not at all lacking, the more so since all the patriots arrested and detained in the above-mentioned conditions (Cf. supra I and II) are subject to deportation at the will of the administrative and judiciary authorities. Here are some of the most famous cases of deportation to unknown destinations : in Douala, November 25, 1957,

1	Kandem Michel	6	Pegui Moise
2	Taka Louis	7	Guifo Pierre
3	Wochun Jean	8	Kandem J. Marie
4	Moyo Michel	9	Teguiaten Pierre
5	Wagla Joseph	10	Noumo Louis
		11	Tebu Maurice

Between December 15, 1957 and January 15, 1958 :

Point of departure	Number of people
Bagangte	4 persons
Makak	20 »
Badjock	22 »
Eseka	10 »
Baham	48 »
Matomb	13 »
Nong	9 »
Edea	15 »

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More recently, we are told of the case of Kanneny Anatole, arrested and released many times before being finally detained in Douala, from there transferred to Eseka, from where he was taken to an unknown destination, in a very disquieting and precarious state of health. An identical case is that of Mbila Marcus and 6 other patriots detained with him in Douala till last June.

Always headed for unknown destinations, 20 patriots were extracted from the New-Bell jail on May 10, 1958; from Bamiléké country, more than 150 particularly dynamic militants were headed for unknown destinations; among them were:

Nzessi Eloi	Wassi Jacques
Tchola Salomon	Kezeta François
Nzolis Daniel	Kom Gabriel

A disquieting factor in these deportations is that bodies were found floating in the water, which bodies belonged to patriots who were thought to have been deported to unknown destinations. So on the date of November 29, 1957, were fished out from the Midom river, situated between Batie and Fouban, in the subdivision of Bouda, in Bamiléké region, the bodies of the following patriots, who came from:

a) <u>Bayangam</u>	b) <u>Badenkop</u>
1. Bouwa	11. Zuale
2. Kacah Emile	12. Sidje
3. Zukotse Gabriel	13. Kamdem
4. Zu Tamea Abraham	14. Dioko
5. Butawayi	
6. Nghin Paul (whose eyes were torn out)	
7. Butekuo	c) <u>Bangou</u>
8. Kuitukam	
9. Foopopsi	15. Ngonpooh
10. Taffo Toukam	

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to which can be added the traditional chiefs of the Bouda subdivision:

16. Nkevenin (of Palepo),
17. Tsas Pierre (of Babadjou),
18. Tuo Menkam Joseph (of Batozem),
19. Tchentjen Tchinda (of Batcham),
20. Tuwa Moise (of Batcham).

Imagine the anguish of the wives, children, parents and friends who have to stay for months on end in these conditions, without news of their dear ones. Conditions aggravated by the fact that the colonialists, have, since February last, started to post soldiers along certain waterways for the recuperation of bodies!

On February 10, 37 schoolboys who were going fishing were arrested and thrown into the water. That night, the soldiers of the Franco-African community guarded all the quarters to stop the families from crying over their dead... How human and hygienic! There is worse yet: in certain localities, such as Bandjoun, the authorities throw patriots alive in precipices, from where they cannot get out in any way.

Deportation to an unknown destination is therefore, by euphemism, a symbol of death sentence, a death which could not be more brutal and cruel!...

VII. — CONCENTRATION CAMPS AND PENTENTIARIES

The administrative as well as judiciary authorities take pleasure in deporting patriots to concentration camps or penitentiaries, the main ones being:

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IN THE NORTH

- 1 Mokolo (big fortress with annexed torture camp),
- 2 Maroua, penitentiary-fortress in the Bongor quarter, controlled by Lamido,
- 3 Yoko, site constructed in 1955 at great expense.

IN THE EAST

Doume and Yokadouma (where the chief of Baham, Pierre Ninyim Kamdem is detained in particular),

Bamlléké Country : Baham, Bafoussam, Bamoungoum, Bansa, Dschang.

The administration, naturally can move these centres at any time. But a mission of enquiry would find them easily with the help of the population. The emissaries could then pick up more scandalous and detailed facts than the ones which we dispose of at the moment. In Sanaga-Maritime, for example, while pretending to invite the people to « come out of the brush », the villagers found in their homes are tortured plundered, arbitrary arrested and taken to torture camps in Botmakak, Dibang, Matomb, M'Bepe, Eseka, Pouma, Nkongga, Ndom, Nyanon, Ngambe, etc... where they are submitted to hardships and most degrading tasks. They can be « liberated » after 2 to 4 months of sequestration after payment apart from what has been plundered of large sums of money to mercenaries. The sequestration posts are guarded either by gendarmes or militaries, and these camps where hundreds of patriots are tortured are not official prisons and the people sequestered in them are not the objects of any judicial pursuit.

They were simply denounced as members of the UPC by

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some informer. The camps maintained by canton chiefs and other patriots killers, cut for some favours, are known by all the authorities, all their crimes are committed with the encouragement of the French authorities who pretend they are acting under cover of the « Cameronian Government ».

From many sources we know already that the regime is much harder still than in the « coffin » prisons. In Yoko, detainees are given nothing but salt water and two macabos per day. Even the 75-year-olds receive electric charges in their genital parts. The military airfield in Ngambe was built by these political detainees... Here is what victims of this regime have written to us from Lomé on July 5, 1957 : Every doorway of the prison is occupied by 10 guards under the watchful eye of Chief-Sergeant Kélégwanké Jacques.

« After our exit from the cells the guards started to ill-treat us with black-jack blows till noon-time, which we reached only by the grace of Almighty God ; afterwards, we were presented with salted macabos, which we ate with much pain. At 2 o'clock in the morning a rain of blows descended upon us, administered by 5 guards, armed with 5 loaded rifles. The corporal, named Nanké David ordered the soldiers to unload their rifles so they can ask for new bullets.

« Until this period we were as naked as on the day we were born; we did not get any money which annoyed us more, the soldiers find a good way of ill-treating us naked. Until this period we had no rest.

« In the month of February the Subdivision chief ordered the Chief Sergeant to make us carry a bag of cement between two of us : the transporting began. We left Lomé at midday, for a destination 33 kms away, each two of us carrying one bag of cement; which makes it actually 66 kms, going and back on

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foot, and loaded, because there were two trips to the site.»

Is it possible not to succumb to such hardships? We have reports of 200 dead in the Yoko camp between May 1957 and February 1958. The more resistant prisoners are shot to death or hanged like André Claude Nyobé and André Demaison Djock.

We are already revolted to see that French colonialists violate cynically article 9 of the Universal Declaration of the Rights of Man : « No one can be arbitrarily arrested, detained or exiled. What to say then, now that these patriots are killed without judiciary decision, in spite of the presumption of innocence which all accused is entitled to until a regular condemnation, and in spite of the golden rule of every modern justice : « Nullum crimen, nulla poena sine lege ». It is hard to believe that this be the doing or civilisers, sons of this nation which, first propagated throughout the world the principles of liberty, the sacred rights of Man. A sad reality, but however : we are sure that an enquiry commission, bent on doing its work properly, would reap armfuls of facts more numerous and revolting, mainly on tortures.

VIII. — THE TORTURES

« No one shall be submitted to torture, or pains or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment », article 5 of the Declaration of the Rights of Man. Yet, all along this pamphlet, we have recollected numerous cases of torture, of inhuman and cruel treatment : a crippled Mathip, Dzukams and Owonos beaten to unconsciousness, our friends in Lome forced to work till they collapsed completely.. Here is a mouthful sent by Dzukam Chretien in his letter to the Procurator General,

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« These mass arrests throughout the country are most often followed by awful, savage and inhuman tortures in police stations, gendarmeries and concentration camps.

« This is how throughout the Kamerunian prisons one meets political detainees whose backs are covered with awful scars, whose nails are torn off, whose genital parts are bruised from electric shocks, whose heads are covered with scars and wounds, etc... For example, in Douala's judiciary police-station, patriot Tcheufa Vincent had his lips burned by acid which policemen poured into his mouth ; Tcheunkam Michel and Kamga Joseph were bitten by a dog directed upon them by Leroux and Feuillat in Yaoundé ; the cases could not be more revolting. Patriot TAMO Henri was arrested in the whereabouts of Sangmel'ma, and, after being submitted to the most disgusting tortures, was led to the river, where he was hung over the side by a rope and lowered many times into the water by militaries. Patriots KAGNE Lucas, SANDO Raymond, NGOY Isaac, NTAM Simon, to cite only these, were submitted to really inhuman tortures. And, as for the particularly grave case of patriot TIKA Jean, arrested in Sanaga-Maritime and transferred to Yaoundé, one cannot find an adjective for it. In Dschang, patriot FANKAM Emmanuel and many others have had their skins spotted like a panther's by scars following unthinkable tortures in the concentration camps in BAHAM and BAFOUSSAM. In Nkongsamba, Edea, Eseka, in Bafia and elsewhere in the Kamerun, the situation is identical.

« It is under such measures of coercion, such grave hardships, that persons arrested here and there because they are found in guarded zones, are forced in advance to judgment on unfounded facts. »

Who can ever depict the horrors of Elkite, small village of 300 inhabitants, in Sanaga-Maritime, which was system-

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atically invaded, then bullet-riddled and burnt by « forces of peace ».

The soldiers of the Franco-African Community turned a deaf ear upon the pleas of women who joined their tears to those of their children, and they sprayed gasoline and lighted the fires.

In a few hours 250 persons perished in unthinkable tortments. Like vultures, the soldiers stood guard and shot any who dared approach the place to dig up their deads.

Raping women, then applying electrodes to their genital parts, for days on end, pulling their breasts till they faint, such are the small pleasures which the « soldiers » of the Franco-African Community indulged in ; they were so cruel and cynical as to force the spouses to watch the martyr of their mates. Two cases are particularly famous : those of Martha Bahida and Monique Kamen, Vice-President of the Democratic Union of Kamerunian Women. The latter, before undergoing the electrical shocks, received blows in the stomach, so strong that she nearly had a miscarriage, and had everyone of her hairs on her body pulled out by hand ; finally she was dragged, naked, over a distance of 45 kms, from Loum to Nkongsamba. As for Martha Bahida, one cannot forgive her for having survived the tortures : she was deported to Mokolo where she lived for two weeks on nothing but salt water and gave birth in prison. The two heroines then spent long months in hospital, more dead than alive.

Ngoy Marguerite, actually exiled in Cairo, spent 2 years of prison without judgment, sleeping on the very floor, with a daily hot-water-bath lasting 5 hours, while her co-detainees weer forced to go on a hunger strike for 8 days in order to obtain a more human regime. She is alive only due to her

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strong constitution, although she received many blows in the stomach. On the other hand many of her co-detainees had accidental miscarriages caused by the hardships they underwent, the strong heat and compression of a narrow room, unaerated and dark : 4x6 ms for 37 men and 35 women, 12 of which having babies from 1 to 3 months-old. After their their hunger-strike, there was slightly more room : she and some others were sent to Douala New-Bell, where 95 children under 15 years of age are kept prisoners, and some others were sent to Douala Akwa, to « live » with 35 children less than 5 years of age. To say that prison sentences ranging from one to six years are given to these children ! Some try to escape ; only to die electrocuted from the wires surrounding the camp... The Central-Police Commissariat in Douala Bonandjo, rival in cruelty with the prisons : the judge, Mr. CAU, declares that he finds it natural for an accused to receive 100 blows a day from a heavy stick. Some accused are forced to spend every day from 5 h. to 8 h. kneeling on files and nails ; some others are plunged in a trough full of people who died from chest diseases. Me. Matarassi sends in vain a letter of protest. Only the strikes started by the prisoners themselves succeed in the punishment of the warden.

In Yaoundé, pincers are used to extract, hair by hair, the beards of political detainees. Mbanga is synonymous for death. Girls are raped there, and urine is directed into their mouths.

Kamen Sakeo, member of the Leading Committee of the UPC, now exiled in Cairo, was beaten with a nailed stick till blood poured from his body.

On May 18, 1958, in the course of a raid by French soldiers on the village of Bamoungoum, 5 persons were killed (Tatcheu, Tesso Kengne, Matus and Touchoukoua Ndengue), 18 were

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arrested and beaten with rifle butts till they collapsed entirely, and 10 huts were destroyed. In the same day 11 huts were damaged in Bansa, and goods evaluated at 10 million francs were stolen by French hords...

In Lium, the Reverend Father Bernard shot a pregnant woman and some schoolchildren who came to him when he called them in an extremely paternal fashion; neither the French Government nor the Church could ever deny these facts or protest them.

One understands easily the cries of the women of Ndogbessol (Sanaga-Maritime) : Missionaries, you who have never ceased to

« soothe the troubles which assail the feminine world in this country, what say you ?

« Your silence here, is more than treason. Have you ever learnt that Bitjoka used the most inhuman means to torture and cut the throats of Church-goers, and pastors, even that of his own village ? Bisso Paul, an evangelist, had his fingers cut off, his genital parts pulled off before finally succumbing to death ? What the mothers want are not lying promises or so-called compliances, which are really the quiet before the storm what they want is the election of a chief, by the people and in a democratic manner. »

Here, in a purely indicative purpose, is a list of victims of torture in Sanaga-Maritime alone, and that only for the first half of November 1957 :

- | | |
|------------------|----------------|
| 1. Pé-Pé Perre | 4. OUM Antoine |
| 2. Nsoga Antoine | 5. MAHI Njijol |
| 3. BOUM Missan | 6. Djon Dimahi |

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- | | |
|---------------------|----------------------------|
| 7. NYEMECK Joseph | 23. Etod Daniel |
| 8. LISSOM Jacques | 24. Miken |
| 9. Hibang Vincent | 25. Losbé Bilélel |
| 10. OUM Baki | 26. Batche Babisson |
| 11. Njem Mong | 27. Nyb Rebecca |
| 12. Mwing | 28. Met Mum |
| 13. DYANI Joseph | 29. Njen Hoyo |
| 14. LIBOBI André | 30. Poykoi |
| 15. Mbong-Mbong | 31. Men and his 3 children |
| 16. Mben Samuel | 32. Nbiteg |
| 17. Djom Gustave | 33. Nduga |
| 18. Bassom-Mbika | 34. Mom Nujium |
| 19. Maje-Mabaméa | 35. Thak André |
| 20. Njock Job | 36. Téga Mirabeau |
| 21. Nyobé Madeleine | 37. Mboy Etienne |
| 22. Nyobé Christine | 38. Nyobé Boog |

IX. — GENERAL SURVEY OF THE EASTERN ZONE

At the end of a survey on the eastern zone, we draw many conclusions :

1) We caught a glimpse which is the least to be said, of the consequences brought about on humanity by the state of war installed in the Kamerun since May 1955 : we did not review the two armies, but their deeds are constantly crossing our road. « La Presse du Cameroun » of June 13, 1958, reports that here and there the militaries have been obliged to service the population with ambulances. We also know that civilians are no longer admitted in public hospitals, mainly Yaoundé, Eseka, Edea, Douala, Nkongsamba and Dschang...

2) This war is led by imperialist to the contempt of the

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most elementary rights of the human being : we have reported the mass and arbitrary arrests and detentions, we have recalled the regime of the prisons and concentration camps, and particularly the tortures. We have been confronted with the fact that no more does there exist even a semblance of justice, since there is violation of the most elementary rules imposed by the civilisation and habits of our time upon Common Right detainees : right of defence, *nullum crimen, nulla poena sine lege*, individualisation of sentences, arrests in public places, in markets, in sanctuaries and schools, the lack of space in various prisons and jails, the fires and raids and the forced regrouping of villages, etc., all this constitutes nothing less than generalised genocide, in the strictest meaning of the term.

3) That is in fact so because this war is waged against a whole people : the atrocities change forms and proportions according to the regions where our glorious freedom fighters are active, but actually the target is a whole people, as is proved by the different measures taken by the authorities (cf. mainly the state of emergency, see *Supra* I) and the origin of the victims of the war : the national character of the Kamerunian Revolution must have already appeared to us in our many references to localities and personalities ; but one can take a quick, englobing look when examining, in any region, the partitioning of prisoners according to their ethnical, social, confessional origin, etc. Here is an example from Douala prison. Among the 74 patriots imprisoned since May 1956 one finds natives of the Diamare regions, of Maroua, Moslem faithful, natives from the regions of Mbam, Bamoun, Bamiléké, Mungo, Nkam, Wouri, Sanaga-Maritime, Nyong, Sanaga and Ntem. One finds there Protestant Christians and Catholic Christianises, traditionalists and faithfuls, of the Bantoue religion, which was revived under the initiative of Professor Thong. These 74 patriots are fathers of more than 200 child-

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ren. There is there an ancient combatant, sergeant in the French colonial army, one also finds a customary village chief, a Protestant Evangelist and a Bantoue Evangelist, there are the agricultural agents, one male nurse, peasant farmers, planters and one seaman ; there are 5 accountant clerks, 4 office workers, one customs officer, one electrical worker, one shoemaker, one painter-designer, three journalists and two officials, 9 merchants and one transport-man. This proves, if proof still need be, that it is not a matter of a tribe, a religion or an ideological or religious philosophy, or even a matter of social importance, but truly a matter of a national struggle which judicial repression can never suffocate.

Women and even minors are detained for reorganisation of the UPC JDC, or the UDEPEC.

In fact, the enrolling of women is one of the most noticeable phenomena in the Kamerunian Revolution. Their contribution has often been the determining factor, either in saving the lives of patriots or purely and simply to impose our will upon the colonialists.

4) A last feature which must be particularly well underlined : the conscious character of this revolution.

One can have noticed in the stories of detainees objections and precise claims founded judicially (and not vague appeals to sentiments, or even to Reason and Justice), a clear analysis of the acts of the enemies and the firm conviction that the victory of the patriots is unavoidable, that their cause is worthy of all sacrifices : « We all expect to be arrested, but the Kamerun is worth it », is the answer currently given in « Afrique Information » (No. 38) in an on-the-spot enquiry...

Certainly, imperialists will spring up, of all different

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colours and shades to doubt these assertions : some will say that they are due to a certain mythical exaltation, and what not else ? others will remain sceptical, because they value our people, its party and its leaders, who are too young, too inexperienced, not to say fundamentally incapable of leading such a heroic struggle.

All these imperialists, all these peace-loving, kind-hearted men, we invite them earnestly to organise and send on the spot serious and objective enquiry teams : we shall see whether those teams small not judge that the preceding and coming affirmations are beyond reality.

X. — REFUGEES IN WESTERN KAMERUN

Until this time British-administrated zone is growingly insecure, a reflection of the equally growing opposition between the imperialists and a people determined to reconquer immediately its Unity and Independence. Because the war has not started in the British zone with all its atrocities and damage, because the Kamerunian people, on one side and the other, ignores the artificial frontier traced by the colonialists inside our country, because our people wants to erase as soon as possible this frontier and re-establish its national independence, many patriots from the Eastern zone have, since 1955, found shelter with our blood-and-struggle-brothers of the Western zone. The movement has been growing these past few months. Naturally ! The colonialist paper in Douala « La Presse du Cameroun » (8/4/57) reports : the inhabitants of Bahain find refuge in neighbouring villages, then, scared by the man-hunt (underlined by us), cross into the English territory through the Bamenda savannah. Go to Bahain now, it is desolate country ! the cattle are dispersed, without owner or shelter ! Because of the intensification of the « man-hunt »

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in the Eastern zone the number of refugees in the other zone is estimated actually at 15,000, 2,000 of which are women.

The importance of this number and other reasons render the living conditions of the refugees more difficult.

1) Of all these reasons, the first one is the particularly low and precarious living standards in this part of our country.

The report of the Trusteeship Council for the period lasting from July 23, 1955 to August 14, 1956 (Supplement 4/A/3170) supplies us with the following indications : « The workers with regular salaries constitute only a small minority of the population. In 1954 they numbered 42,800 in all in the Southern Kamerun.

« As for the living standards, the visiting mission of 1955 expressed the opinion that those did not always rise above the vital minimum » (p. 13).

« At the end of 1954, the medical personnel numbered 23 doctors and surgeons in all (i.e. one for approximately 63,000 inhabitants. N.D.L.R.) . The number of hospital beds reached a total of 1,007.

« In its report to the Trusteeship Council, the Visiting Mission studied in detail the medical service in the territory. In general, it estimated the hospitals, dispensaries and maternity wards to be too few to deal with all the diseased. The Mission also noted that the brush tribes were sure victims of certain diseases. » (p. 144.)

« The Visiting Mission reported that the authors of almost all the complaints it received complained, rightly, about the lack of good roads. » (p. 134.)

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In order to be convinced that the Visiting Mission was not too harsh on the administrative power, one only needs to know that even an American observer said of the Mission : « Had the 1955 Visiting Mission been able to carry out the work it was sent for, the ulterior disorders would certainly not have occurred. » (Cf. «Africa Weekly», No. 15, 4/12/57.)

Yet this Mission states clearly that the living conditions are particularly hard in Western Kamerun : living standards very low, sanitary possibilities very insufficient. We also know that the racial discrimination which is essential overseas, especially in British controlled countries, reduces still further the possibilities which are effectively within reach of the autochtones. The particularly high insolvency of the means of transport hinders still further the best use of these already reduced possibilities. This should not be the case, because of numerous tropical diseases, the worst of which are the following, according to a governmental publication. (Cf. La Documentation Française, Notes et Etudes Documentaires, No. 1920, 14/9/54, p. 10.)

- malaria, (in some villages 70 % are struck with it ; this is the maximum rate, and in the more favourable regions this rate falls to 16 %).
- sleeping sickness, leprosy, bacillic and amebic dysentery ;
- the most current diseases are : cerebro-spinal meningitis, which develops mostly in dry climate, and all the lesser diseases: measles, mumps, whooping cough, varicella and even sometimes small-pox. »

One can see what material difficulties our millions of refugees must encounter ; they are « dead-weights » as regards

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production : no available jobs but still they must live.

2) Yet the material difficulties are soon coupled with political difficulties. The puppets quickly perceived the danger to their regime constituted by the UPC, suddenly reinforced by worthy people. Three out of the four members of the Office of the Managing Committee, many leaders, officials or militants of the UPC, the JDC or the UDEFEC. Master in the art of dividing to rule, the British imperialists soon sheltered behind the fascist conspiracies of their own lackeys, all the more because they were strongly solicited by their accomplices of the Eastern zone.

So, very quickly, insecurity for the refugees developed in the Western zone.

Upon their arrival to the Territory, Kamen Sakeo and Nje Gabrielson were arrested.

The nearing of the March 15, 1957 elections only made the atmosphere more tense, the colonialists wanting to make sure of the election of their lackeys. They authorised French police and gendarmes to come in to the Western zone. These were easily recognisable by their dresses and the number plates on their cars. During this period many attempts were made on the lives of UPC leaders. At the time of the attempts, and as by coincidence, the vigilance of the police slackened : the complaints by the interested parties still remained unanswered... Yet the troop reinforcements did not stop coming from Nigeria, using the pretext of enforcing order, but really to search the houses of the members of the National Movement and keep an eye on its public meetings in order to impress its militants and sympathisers. In short the operation went as far as the shooting to death in Bamenda of two members of the UPC: M. Tafo Irenée and his four-months pregnant wife ;

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before she died the latter declared having been killed by Europeans... The complaint filed in Court against this vile murder in April 1957 has not yet been considered to this very day. Worse still, the U.K. delegate to the twelfth session of the United Nations found this murder quite normal « because, he said such things happen in all the countries of the world. »

Not only did the colonialists make life impossible for the refugees, but they also went as far as to dissolve their movements, the UPC and its faithful allies the JDC and the UDEFEC, and 13 leaders, officials and militants of these movements were deported to the Sudan, together with two very small children...

While it contributed to the intensifying of the popularisation of the Kamerunian problem to a world-wide scale, this illegal measure enraged its authors. The more so since in 1960 Nigeria will be independent and the Trusteeship on Western Kamerun, which the colonialists wanted to integrate, shall be lifted.

Without encountering opposition by the United Kingdom representative the Belgian delegate to the Trusteeship Council declared in February 1958 : The authorities of Her British Majesty's Government have proclaimed that they had no intention of integrating against their will the populations of British-administered Kamerun in an independent Nigerian State, and that they would make sure previously by the appropriate democratic methods that this integration would meet their aspirations. » (Cf. Doc. N.U.T./PY 869, p. 47). These « appropriate democratic methods » consist of denigrating and persecuting the partisans of Immediate Reunification and Independence, whether they be natives of the Western zone, or, worse still, of the Eastern zone.

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3) In a press conference, the so-called Prime Minister. Mr. Endeley, declared that he was bent on neutralising the nationalists and their movements by all means within his reach.

This is a particularly disquieting decision when one knows that since last March many patriots were arrested and condemned to prison sentences ranging from 6 to 8 month ; here are the names of some of them :

- 1 Fotso Joseph
- 2 Fongang Mathias
- 3 Kamdem Justin
- 4 Kanto Donas
- 5 Tanda John

The only crime of these patriots was to have carried on them documents of a movement, yet legal, called ONE KAMERUN . They are now serving their arbitrary sentences in the « coffin » prison of Bamenda. Graver still is the menace which hangs over them of being delivered to the French authorities.

- 4) Strong Imperialists Solidarity.

In fact, Mr. Endeley's decision finds an excellent recipient in the " co-operation of the Franco-British imperialists colonialists. Certainly the « Entente Coloniale » » has always been concrete between them against dependent peoples ; but it has just been boosted thanks to the coming to power of the imperialist General de Gaulle. His representative in Eastern Kamerun, Mr. TORRE, met not only his British counterpart but even the Colonial Office in order to carry out with all the

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necessary authority and desirable help a plan of attack against the Kamerunian patriots. This duplicity is made concrete mainly on two factors :

a) The strictest control of the artificial interior frontier. On May 24, 1958, their combined forces cowardly murdered 24 patriots, among whom one woman and a 3-months-old child, who were crossing into Western Kamerun by a rarely frequented path. Ever since this disgusting murder took place, we have proof that the smallest paths between the two countries are guarded by militaries. We have even been told by letter that the customs officers are armed to this effect ; this is also one of the reasons for the reinforcing of the troops called up from Nigeria, the exact numbers of which we still do not know.

b) The repelling to the Eastern zone of patriots who come or are said to originate from that zone. Effectively, by virtue of a Nigerian law, a delay of 40 days was given to some Kamerunians who did not originate from Kumba, to leave this region. After this delay the wrongdoers would be sentenced either to a Lstg. 25 fine or six months in jail or both. These are absolutely unjust laws and that for many reasons. It is a Nigerian law and the Kamerun was never given to Nigeria, but entrusted to the United Kingdom. Let us suppose that, by an extraordinary fact, the Kamerun had been entrusted to Nigeria ; now, the Government of that country, i.e. the British Government, has signed different agreements which do not permit the application of such a law in the Kamerun. The first agreement is the Universal Declaration of the Rights of Man which is obligatorily acceptable, by virtue of its 2nd article, in all countries, without exception. Now article 13 of this Declaration stipulates expressly that : « All persons have the right to circulate freely and choose their residences inside a State. » Therefore the expulsion under discussion is abso-

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lutely unjust, since it is a menace to all Kamerunians, whereas non-Kamerunians, particularly Nigerians, are allowed to live in the Kamerun, on the condition that they assure Mr. Endeley of their total support especially at the time of the elections.

We have never been, are not, and never shall be against our brothers of Nigeria. We fight only those of their children — and they are not numerous — who let themselves be blinded to the extent playing the game of the imperialists, our common enemies. We ask these brothers to be conscious of their responsibilities as Africans and to pool their efforts immediately to squash the common enemy. This attitude is the only one conforming both to the common interest and to the regime of international trusteeship from which the Kamerun benefits. In fact, articles 73 and 76b of the U.N. Charter stipulate that the authorities of the Kamerun must promote primarily the interests of the autochtones according to their freely-expressed aspirations. This requires first that the Kamerunians be granted the right to live in their own country, even to the loss of the non-Kamerunians ; secondly and consequently, that they may settle anywhere in the Kamerun according to their free aspirations.

Contrary to the engagements of the British and the legitimate aspirations of the Kamerunians, the law invoked opens the way to the arbitrary and constitutes an intolerable provocation. That is so, because the vagueness of these terms makes law applicable even against the autochtones of the same zone, on condition that they be living away from their birth-place. Then, applied in the framework of the fight against the patriots, it conceals flagrant violations of other British laws. Let us take the well-known case of our compatriot EBODE Engelbert actually living in Kumba and affected by this law. He is not reproached anything. Better still, having lived for more than three years in Kumba and paying his taxes

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in that district, he automatically becomes, in the eyes of British law, a member of the autochthonous community. To pursue him would then be violating principles which we have already recalled, principles which demand equality before the law, respect of the right of free opinion and expression, of meetings and associations. In short, it would be violating the international agreements and the spirit of corpus which has made the reputation of British democracy. That is the result of wanting to act against the will of a whole people. The most solemn engagements become as vile as the paper on which they are written.

b) Despite its flagrant irregularity, this menace has already been endorsed, alas! On the day on June 9, 1958, the Franco-British authorities arrested masses of patriots in Tombel. Present were English policemen and French militaries come from the Bamiléké and Mungo regions; commanding them were subdivision chiefs and the Kumba District Officer. The French colonialists carried with them a list of names and photos of our comrades chased after since 1955. After this operation, two patriots were handcuffed and taken to Nkong-samba.

Alas! So then the British colonialists could not oppose their will to that of their sanguinary French accomplices. In the name of what principle was all this done? Apart from wartime when allies would deliver common enemies to each others, extradition does not apply either to freeing slaves or political refugees. Yet, most surely, the Kamerunians are not slaves but detainees or political refugees fighting for political objectives.

Does the United Kingdom then want to declare a regular war upon the Kamerunian people? If so, in the meantime let the French imperialists have the honesty and decency to

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recognise judicially this state of war which, alone, can justify their extraditions.

As things go, we continue to repeat that extraditions and even war are unjust, contrary to international engagements undertaken between France and Great-Britain towards the Kamerunian people.

5) The result of all these factors is the lamentable situation in which the refugees live, either in prisons, forests, in shacks, where they are the prey of weather conditions, lack of food, and at least one of the afore mentioned disease. (1)

Unfortunately it is not astonishing that the refugees number many dead among their ranks. Let us cite as examples the names of Kanga Elias, Taté Abraham, Notake Michel Ngassa Calice, Nana Martin

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

After this parade of millions of patriots arrested, detained, arbitrarily deported, inhumanly tortured, tracked down to their very shacks by the authorities as well as by misery, disease and death, one understands easily if we share the... emotion of so many patriots in the Reverend Pastor AKOA Abomo exclaimed in his Easter sermon of 1957 :—

« Who can enumerate the victims of Sanaga-Maritime and
« of the whole of the Kamerun : the dead, the prisoners, the
« escapees in foreign lands, the freedom fighters? How many
« huts burned, hamlets partly or totally set afire? Plundered
« goods, plundered and stolen and destroyed, cattle stolen and
« killed? Who can enumerate the bereaved, the widows and
« the orphans? How many innocent people have found death,

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« have been falsely accused by enemies or brothers wanting to get rich quickly, these sons of Judas? Who can evaluate the hatred the lies and the false testimonies against the neighbours? Who can write about the tortures practised on the detainees, during this odious and savage killing of people, even of great sons of the nation? Who can tell now and who will tell in the future this story without crying out and gritting his teeth ?

« How and with what can one soothe the woman of Saganaga-Maritime or the one elsewhere, the woman whose husband is somewhere dead, or in prison, or fighting in the underground, or one knows not where, who can soothe the woman who drinks and eats uneasily? If thousands of francs are not enough to pay for the thousands of damages, then hundreds of thousands or even millions are by far insufficient to soothe these miseries, even for one hour's time. » (At these words, relates « L'Opinion du Cameroun » in its edition of May 6, 1957, the emotion was so high that one could notice people wiping their tears.)

Naturally, we would be very glad to see all the world admit the legitimacy of all liberating struggles, especially those which, like ours, are performed within the framework of particularly clear and precise international agreements; we would be very glad to see that everybody understand that the movement of independence of a people is irreversible, that a people such as ours is invincible, fighting united for an unrecognised right, its liberty ravished and its future menaced in a country 33 % of which is forest, and which it knows better than anybody else.

Even if, unfortunately, we do not succeed in attaining all this, we hope at least to provoke the minimum reaction in a normal man. We hope that there will not be imperialists

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too paternal or greedy to refuse to examine objectively these facts, to provoke or organise serious enquiries and the active solidarity propaganda which is needed with these facts. But let us hope that everyone may realize more and more concretely this phrase by Juvenal: « I am a man and nothing that is human is unknown to me. » In fact, at a time of artificial satellites, the earth has shrunk so much that the prolongation of so barbarious a drama may easily endanger the whole world... This is why we launch a world-wide appeal in favour of the principle so magnificently formulated at the very start of the UNIVERSAL Declaration of the Rights of Man: « The recognition and dignity inherent to all members of the human family and their equal and unalienable rights constitute the foundation of liberty, of justice and of peace in the world. »

Cairo, July 10, 1958.

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Cairo, July 4, 1958.

Request for the
sending of an
enquiry mission
to the Kamerun.

E.O/I.P.

Mr. Secretary General of the
International Red Cross

GENEVA

s/c from his representative in Cairo,

8, Abdel Khalek Sarwat Street,

CAIRO.

Mr. Secretary General,

Since its creation your organisation has not ceased to care for the many victims which have accumulated through the tragic events which have for more than quarter of a century upset the human conscience. At the time of the last World War, as at the time of the war waged for eight years by France against the valiant Indochinese people, at the time of the Korean war, as at the time of the war which led to the independence of the Tunisian and Moroccan people, the International Red Cross was able to succour tens of thousands of wounded. The Red Cross was mobilised also at the time of the unfortunate situation created by the Hungarian counter-revolution. Barely yesterday she was on the job again at Sakiet Sidi Youssef. She continues to do all she can to help in Algeria.

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Taken up as she is by the multitude of these bloody dramas, this international organisation has certainly not had the time to consider the painful tragedy which, since May 25, 1955, has made millions of victims in the Kamerun, particularly in the part under French administration. Yes, since May 25, 1955 the French Government has been piling up the horrors in the Kamerun, the horrors which she administers to all the people who, tired of bending under the yoke of her colonial regime, demand that they be treated as free men, rather than eternally vanquished.

Till lately, the great French press has accorded only relative importance to this situation. « Police operations », « enforcing of public order », etc., such are the terms used by the papers of the regime to designate the poignant drama which the Kamerunian people have been living for the past three years.

But how and why did one arrive to the present drama? This is easy to understand. In fact, the American writer, C.L. Sulzberger, wrote recently :

« The abandon of an empire is a process nearly as cruel and bloody as its formation. This ancient truism of history has been learnt successively by Rome, Madrid, Vienna and Constantinople. It is now the turn of London and Paris to get acquainted with its sad and sour truth. »

On the morrow of the second World War, a war which was waged and won by all the freedom-loving men of the world, the Kamerunians did not remain indifferent to the manifestations of anti-colonialism which were carried out in Asia and Africa, by the people who were still oppressed by a foreign despotism. They then organised themselves, on April 10, 1948, in a powerful movement of national liberation : The

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UNION OF POPULATIONS OF THE CAMEROUN, with a very precise programme of action.

Naturally such a programme with interests diametrically opposed to those prohibited by the masters of the hour in colonised countries, would soon become the « nightmare » of these latter. And yet the new international statute under which the Kamerun had just been placed left no doubt as to the political future in store for the populations of territories under trusteeship. The Kamerunian people, more and more awake to the national consciousness, proved by its firm determination that it put a price — not too high, of course — on the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of the Universal Declaration of the Rights of Man.

Here, we should cite again the writer Sulzberger, to allow you to understand easily the origins of the drama which for three years has been tearing the people of the Kamerun. In the article from which a passage has been cited before, the American author wrote, in fact :

« When Woodrow Wilson, a coldly reasonable man, opened, 40 years ago, the Pandora box of nationalism, he did not foresee that cold reasoning would count least in solving the difficulties which would present themselves, when one after the other new groups of peoples would demand their rights to nationality and their ancient masters would fight to delay the rythm of the imperial dissolution. »

So then, despite good right and reason being on their side in the emancipating struggle already frankly engaged, the Kamerunian patriots had to face bloodshed ; France, feeling the ground giving way from under her, had to make them pay the heavy ransom which the struggle for Independence carries with it. That is the origin of the massacres which in May 1955 made at the very least 5,000 dead. At the same time as

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unconsoled widows and orphans, misery installed itself as master in the country. This serious social plague toorned lager with the impressive development of the tragedy ; the prisons were filling up at a disquieting pace. For a year although reduced to clandestinity, the National Movement continued to organise itself while making offers of negotiations to the administrative authorities.

But the more it launched appeals, the less it was taken notice of ; the summary executions continued to grow in number as if to invite the nationalists to be less naive. In December 1956, date of the semblance of elections organised in application of a law conceived by the Paris Government for the integration of Kamerun in the French colonial empire, the war came into the open. Intervening before the IVth Commission of the 12th session of the U.N. General Assembly, where he was testifying in the name of the populations of his country, a Kamerunian petitioner reported 480 dead-alone in the very small village of Baham. (Cf. Doc. A/C 4/SR 715 of the United Nations.) A no less authorised testimony, because made by a sworn enemy of the Kamerunian people ... we are talking now of Mr. Louis-Paul Aujoulat — assures in an interview with « Témoignage Chrétien » (Feb. 2, 1957) that on January 10, nearly a thousand persons had died by French bullets. Other newspapers « L'Effort Camerounais » (No. 68, 13-19 January 1957) and « La Presse du Cameroun », (March 14, 1957) who bore no suspicion of sympathy for Kamerunian nationalism did not forget to stigmatise the killings of December 1956. The last-cited newspaper affirmed, on the basis of authoritative information, that : « more than 10,000 human beings are without shelter and live in the worst of penuries ». And since then the situation has only worsened. On Dec. 11, 1957, the special correspondent of « Le Figaro » was able to write: « From this date (i.e. September 6, 1957) there has not been a day or night without bloodshed, without the burning of

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villages, without the plundering of huts. A balance would be difficult to establish.»

From the first days of 1958 important troops reinforcements left for the Kamerun. On January 7, 1958, the « New York Times » reporter reported 29 persons killed and 17 kidnapped within a period of seven weeks.

One, then, cannot continue indefinitely to conceal and minimise an operation which has ceased to be a commonplace call to order. It is a question now of real war waged by France against a people to which she was supposed, through the engagements subscribed in the U.N., to grant autonomy or independence according to the freely expressed aspirations of the said people. It is this flagrant violation which has brought many member-states of the U.N. to condemn the policy of France towards its ward, in the debates of the IVth Commission (1957) as well as during the 21st session of the Trusteeship Council. The intervention of the Indian delegate is particularly significant. He did not just condemn France's attitude. Intervening in the debate on the grave situation created in the Kamerun by the policy of strength of the French Government, the honorable delegate, Mr. Ajoy Kumar Mitra exclaimed : « For the first time in history arms have been used in a territory under U.N. trusteeship in order to master the popular will. » He then requested the sending of an on-the-spot mission of judicial enquiry to examine the situation in order to bring back the peace... His suggestion, conforming with the wishes of the Kamerunian populations, was unfortunately rejected because in the U.N., instead of principles, it is the policy dear to certain powers which prevails.

Mr. Secretary-General,

We think that where the U.N. has failed because of its political preoccupations your specifically humanitarian organ-

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isation will succeed. Therefore it is in all confidence that we have the honour of addressing ourselves to you. The veil which hangs over the French crime in the Kamerun must be lifted. The International Red Cross must benefit the orphans, the wounded and the widows.

How can you efficiently come to their help? That is a cause in which you have been well versed for years. We can only here make certain suggestions for certain precise cases.

No judicial text can be invoked by the administrative authorities to stop you in your work for the Kamerun is under U.N. trusteeship, and therefore does not come under the 2nd article of the Charter. The terms of this article are very helpful to certain countries, in that they allow these countries which still exercise arbitrary administration over their territories to do so without being watched by the U.N. Thus it is that by relying on the particular status of the Kamerun, certain international organisations outside the U.N. like the « International League for the Rights of Man » have been able to condemn the use of armed force in a political conflict and, what is more, in a territory under U.N. trusteeship. We are trying to obtain from your organisation an assurance that it will send a mission to the Kamerun which would enquire upon :

- a) the number of concentration camps
- b) the living conditions of prisoners
- c) the living conditions of political detainees
- e) the fate of the detainees taken from prisons or concentration camps and led to unknown destinations.

As regards the Kamerunian underground resistance, we are ready, in the case of an agreement, to do all we can so that

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an eventual mission of enquiry may be able to contact the 6 French prisoners captured last March.

Alsa, faced with the gravity of the situation in our country and faced with the atrocious misery which has become the sole fate of those Kamerunians who have survived the shootings, we have launched an appeal to many countries and organisations in the world in order that they may help our people. Already one country and one international organisation have done something to help our people. Important amounts of medicine, provisions, clothes and books have been collected and the generous donators await only our signal to direct this help to wherever we wish. We aim also to ask you to take charge of all these gifts and to make sure that they will get to the beneficiaries living in the two zones of our country.

Your organisation must intervene, for this is a real war which is going on in the Kamerun. France must respect the Geneva convention, to which the Kamerunian revolutionary army is ready to submit itself.

One would be gravely mistaken in saying that the Kamerunians are only « terrorists ». The French colonialists, even if they do not declare it outright, recognise that they, in the Kamerun, are faced with an army of national liberation. Thus they follow a colonial tradition dear to them. For eight years in Indo-China, the Vietnamese were known only by the pejorative noun of « rebels ». They lost this nickname with the hard pill they administered the French. Same thing in Tunisia and Morocco. Same thing today, in Algeria, as it has been in all colonial wars. But for the particular case of the Kamerun, if the officials are not ready to admit that they face an organised adversary, there are, all the same, certain political men, who have been forced by reality to confess as to the real quality of our revolutionary army. The first one to do so is Mr. Louis-

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Paul Aujoulat, who states : « 'undergrounds' have been constituted ; from the month of July it was reported that the UPC was collecting its « liberation tax » ; she went even further by mobilising men and forming skeletons. » (Cf. « Témoignage Chrétien », 1/2/57). But from high on the benches of the French National Assembly, on February 7, 1958, Deputy Ninine, the man from the Antilles who prostitutes his great intelligence to the benefit of the colonialists, was to praise highly the organisation of the revolutionary army of the Kamerun. In its intervention he recognises the greatness of the work accomplished clandestinely by the UPC, than remarks : « ...but on the side of what we can actually call a political organ, which is rather a para-military organ, called the National Committee for Organisation, or in short, the N.C.O. »

« Since August 1957, he adds, the NCO has consolidated its organisation, which started in December 1956, was strongly shaken following the events of the same month, on the eve of the elections of the Territorial Assembly of the Kamerun. »

Finally, to support his statement, the orator recalled in these terms the differences in structure between the UPC and the NCO : « In the UPC, there is the Office of the Managing Committee, in the NCO there is the staff for the whole territory. In the UPC we have the departmental section, in the NCO the regional grand quarter. In the UPC there is the central committee, in the NCO the sector. In the UPC we have the base committee, in the NCO, the section. »

In conclusion, let us cite the article by « Figaro » (Dec. 11, 1957) which also recognises the military organisation as equal to the political action of the UPC.

This is high proof that in the Kamerun one is not in the presence of rebels, or terrorists, but well and good in the presence of a revolutionary army which faces war in the full

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meaning of the word. It is a fact that the essential aims of the trusteeship regime should have been accomplished without conflict. For many of our years of political struggle this was our firm conviction. But since the administrative authorities have forced us to fight, we shall fight as long as they do not return to reason and recognise the Independence and Unity of our Country.

Accept, Mr. Secretary-General, with our anticipated thanks, the assurance of our highest consideration.

For the Office of the Leading Committee of the UPC.

THE PRESIDENT :	THE VICE-PRESIDENT :
Felix-Roland MOUMIE	Ernest OUANDIE

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Complementary note.

Cairo, July 8, 1958.

E.O./I.P.

Mr. Secretary-General of
the International Committee
of the Red Cross
Geneva.

Mr. Secretary-General,

Straight after handing the first letter over to the Delegation in Egypt of the International Committee of the Red Cross, alarming news reached us about the fate of political detainees and prisoners of the Kamerun, in view of the passage of the Visiting Mission in this country in October 1958.

Because of the seriousness of the situation, we thought it useful and necessary to send you a complementary note in which we take up and comment, unbiasedly, the information received.

We would like to hope that this new aspect to the problem will be justly appreciated when you will examine the Memorandum which we have had the honour of sending to you.

We beg you to accept, Mr. Secretary-General, the assurance of our highest consideration.

Dr. Felix-Roland MOUMIE
President of the U.P.C.

Ernest OUANDIE
Vice-President of the U.P.C.

COMPLEMENTARY NOTE

It is a well-known fact that the United Nations Visiting Mission, due in Kamerun this year, was already supposed to be on the spot in July. However, suddenly and without giving the least possible justification, the date of departure of the said Mission has just been delayed four months. When one knows the anomalous composition of the United Nations Trusteeship Council, where colonial powers know so well how to «lead the game» and oppose themselves to the legitimate aspirations of dominated populations, it is easy to understand that the back-stage manoeuvres have once more prevailed over rights and reason. All through our initial letter and its enclosed documents addressed to the International Committee of the Red Cross, we have emphasized the war conducted by France in the Kamerun, since May 1955. This war, although very dear to colonialist France, constitutes a flagrant violation of her international obligations towards our country. But the United Nations are not involved in this war, and that explains why whenever this confusing question is brought before the United Nations, the French Government tries — although not with much skill — to plead «not guilty» and to put the blame on those who are nothing but the innocent victims.

An international Visiting Mission, awaited, as it is, with the most formal reserves by the Kamerunian people, could perhaps contribute in situating responsibilities the tragedy which is taking place in our country under the cover of the United Nations, and thence be able to «corner» France.

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But French authorities, will not listen to reason. They do not want to be unmasked. This explains the backstage manoeuvres which brought the reactionary majority of the Trusteeship Council to grant her... four months of «preparations». But what do they mean by «preparations»? France intends to take precautions and attempt to give the Kamerun an aspect of normal life just for the stay of the visiting mission. But France has made a mistake; for the present political situation in the Kamerun is not one which can be momentarily hidden from sight.

In any case, the first hand information which we have just received from home dramatically picture the administrative authorities' plans on the eve of the coming of the U.N' Visiting Mission to the territory. We have denounced on many occasions the tortures endured by the political detainees inside the walls of the prisons and concentration camps.

France's reaction only aims at aggravating the tragic fate of our martyr-people: She is now building secret prisons in the remotest spots of the Country, which will surely escape the eye of the Visiting Mission. Chief districts are also erected as prisons, and our informers state for example that three such prisons have been built in Dschang, one of them being run by M. Djoumessi Mathias, deputy to ALCAM. According to our informers, there are three other prisons in Bagoussam. Gradually, as the construction work goes on, detainees and political internees are transported from concentration camps in Chigt district towns to the new hide-outs, without paying the least care to dying people who are thrown into the waterways.

In these conditions and since the Visiting Mission has the habit of only listening to the injunctions of the admi-

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nistrative authorities and say later that it found itself « between the devil and the deep sea », what can the Kamerunian people expect from the visit of the international envoys?

More than ever, the Red-Cross must consider seriously the Kamerunian drama.

STAT

if you wish to know the up-to-date situation
in the Kamerun, read
« THE VOICE OF KAMERUN »
Central monthly organ of the U.P.C.

AHIDJO'S BLUFF

by

Abd Ul-Bag'hi Maw'ndi Muhammadu Raji

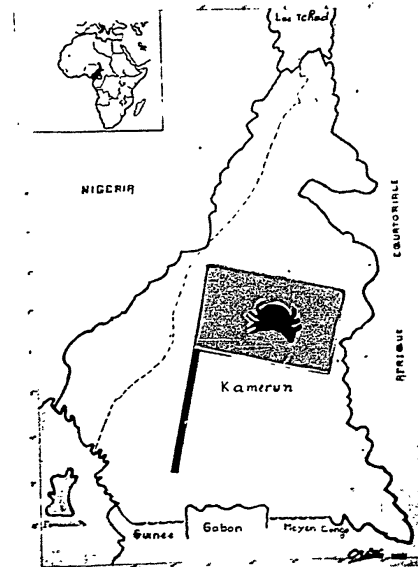
SAHARA... AFRICAN HIROSHIMA

By Ossendé Afana

Kamerun's Representative at the
Permanent Secretariat of Afro-Asian Solidarity

THE CAMEROONS DEMOCRATIC YOUTH

VANGUARD OF THE KAMERUNIAN REVOLUTION



The French stamp is for us a necessity
But the hours of patience are now counted.
Ruben UM NYOBE

Edited by the Bureau of Leading Committee of the Union
of the Populations of the Cameroons
(U.P.C.)

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CAIRO — JANUARY 1959

**THE CAMEROONS DEMOCRATIC YOUTH
VANGUARD OF THE
KAMERUNIAN REVOLUTION**



FOSSO FRANCOIS
General Secretary
of the C.D.Y.



NDOJG ALOYS-MARIE.
Propaganda Secretary
of the C.D.Y.

INTRODUCTION

Kamerun like all other countries of the world disposes of a potential of rare quality, which constitutes an inexhaustible source of wealth, that is its youth, officially known under the name of the Cameroons Democratic Youth abbreviated by CDY.

This Youth which has long been submitted together with its people to an awful regime of tyranny, plunder and extermination, has for some years now resolutely decided to fight heroically by the side of its people in order to protest against the abominable exploitation of man by man, and in order to express clearly its will for independence, and its hatred for anything that will hinder it.

This modest pamphlet will show to us step by step the different stages of its struggle, and its determination be put an end to oppression and shame.

May the Youth of the whole world who fight for peace and friendship, and in particular the Afro-Asian Youth understand the righteousness and the legitimacy of our cause and support it concretely and materially.

KAMERUN — AN AFRICAN COUNTRY

Some situate Kamerun in America and even think of us as Americans. No Kamerun whose surface is 525.000 sq. km. and whose populations amounts to 5 millions inhabitants is essentially on African soil. It is situated between the 9th and 16th meridians East longitude and the 2nd and 13th meridian North latitude, at the extremity of the Guinea Gulf. just between Oriental and Occidental Africa.

The population of Kamerun is ethnographically heterogeneous. On the South and on the West we find the Negroides including Bantous and Semi-Bantous, most of them are Christians. On the North we find the Hamites including Kirdes Peuls, and Foulbes, of new-Sudanese origine. These are mostly Moslems.

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JURIDICAL STATE OF KAMERUN

Kamerun is one of the oldest African nations and was at its origin a sovereign and independent state, then named Biafra. Since the VIth century it made contacts with the kingdom of Egypt and the mediterranean civilisation then in full bloom. At the XIVth century it was divided in two kingdoms, the North part was named Adamaoua and the South, Biafra. The North kingdom made relations with Tunisia, Lybia, and other countries while South kingdom started commercial exchanges with Europe.

On July 12th 1884, a treaty was signed between Kamerun and Germany, according to which Kamerun became a German protectorate. Germany was to make with us economical, cultural and political relations for a period of 30 years, but at the same time would respect our sovereignty, and particularly our former agreements with other European powers, and our territorial integrity. This treaty was therefore a treaty between sovereign and independent states. France and England recognised the legality and the validity of this act.

ARBITRARY DIVISION OF OUR COUNTRY

The year 1914 which was to see the end of the Protectorship regime when Kamerun would regain its right to independence coincided with the First World War which proved to be disastrous for Germany. The French and British, Conquerors of Germany considered our country as a German colony, occupied it and wanted to make of it a colony of their own. But their ambitious plan was stopped by General Wilson, who considered that the people of Kamerun had not yet given their opinion on the subject. As a compromise a regime of International Mandate was instituted under the Association of Nations, by which our country was divided in two parts, against our will. France took for herself the oriental part a surface of 435.000 sq. km. and England secured for herself the occidental part a surface of 90.000 sq. km.

With the second world war the Mandate regime was replaced by an International Trusteeship under the protection of the UNO at the end of which we shall regain our independence.

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This last regime obliges the administrating authorities to safeguard the priority of the Kamerun's interests and to give their freely expressed aspirations absolute priority.

But instead of carrying out the realisation of the stipulation of the UNO's charter to which they have agreed and signed, then administrating authorities have by all means tried to prolong as much as possible their power over our territory so as to exploit freely and for their own account the considerable and inexhaustible wealth with which our country has been favoured.

ECONOMICAL RESSOURCES OF KAMERUN

Mineral Ressources. There have been discovered up to now, gold, rutile, molybdene, tungstene, brass, manganese, colombo-tantalite, uranium, bauxite and iron whose exploitation has just started as is the case for bauxite and caussiterite.

ENERGETIC RESSOURCES

Researches on energetic reasures remain yet rudimentary. However, there have been found petrol and (very valuable), hydraulic reasures in the regions where the reasures have been going on.

Concerning petrol, in the rudimentary bassin of Campo (50,000 square kilometres approximate) it is believed that there are important underground fields that continue those of Gabon. The same is believed for those of Victoria, in the Occidental Kamerun, which are the continuation of the bassin of Douala and of which the dropping petrol has been used for years by the autochtones. Systematic researches which have begun since 1950 in a small region of Logbaba, have led to a springing in 1956 January, offiically evaluated to 750 — 1 million cubic metres of gaz a day.

This spring of petrol has only been mastered after 38 days by an American expert, Myron Kinley, called on emergency from Karachi.

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Concerning hydraulic energy the possibilities are great. There have been discovered in Kamerun more than fifteen water falls of which the most important are those of Edea, South of the country, and those of Befang, West.

Only the Edea fall has been exploited since 1953. The Hydro-electric Central of Edea, of which the productive power is evaluated, according to the Aluminium Review No. 946, to one milliard 360 millions of Kws., is considered as being one of the most important realisations of this kind in Africa. And yet, according to the calculations of Germans Experts, the fall of Befang in the Occidental Kamerun, known as the "Mentchen Fallo" represents a power even more superior to that of Edea.

These facts explain the immense possibilities of Industrialising and Electrifying Kamerun, unfortunately they remain non-exploited. The overawed reserves of natural gas and oil of the Douala region have only been broached by a small degasolisation factory which will allow the daily treatment of 150,000 cubic metres of gas and an annual output of 2,000 tons of butane, 1,000 tons of propane and 10,000 tons of gasoline for cars.

Referring to our factory of Edea, it will not be able to produce but 900 millions Kwts. in 1959.

At 45 Kms upstream of Edea, and chiefly in the West zone other falls (the Manchen falls) may develop energetic power even more important than the ones just mentioned. If to those falls we add a dozen others of the power of Edea we may have an idea of the hydro-electric possibilities of Kamerun. These possibilities have attracted the first Aluminium plant installed in Africa. It will produce from next year, about 40% of French Consumption. The current obtained at Edea is about 3 to 5 times cheaper than in France.

Besides this important plant of Aluminium in Edea, Kamerun has also some industries of transformation for forest and agricultural products, steel plants and factories for household goods, oil-works for ground-nuts, and palm oil, manufactures of tobacco, the most modern and powerful rubber plant of Africa, the most important factory for rice "Rizeria" in Africa, Bonded-Warehouses and frigorific slaughter-houses, dairies and breweries.

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To the hydraulic energy we have to add the coal of the Kumba (West Kamerun) region.

PROFESSIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION

Since "man is the most precious capital" we may have a good hope that the autochtones population will participate to the improvement of its country. A country which the Economic Government Documentation service places among the richest in Africa. Its latitudinal stretch allows it to be in the scale of African climates. The more temperate are found in the long mountain chain which cuts it from South West to North East and in which it was possible to acclimatize vineyard and other Mediterranean cultures. Regions with great equatorial rains are found on the feet of Mount Kamerun (the most rainy region of the world after Tchérápundji): Douala receives about 4 metres of rain per year (Tchérápundji: 4.1 metres) which allowed the development of forest disposed in tiers consistings of essence trees: mahogany, sapelli, asic, iroko, ebony, azobe, dabema, doussic, ayons, ilomba, abol and so on.

The iroko is particularly appreciated for naval constructions and vessels, for the treatment of chemical products. The azobe, not liable to putrefaction, is used for sleepers and other uses which need hard work.

This forest which covers more than 33% of the total surface of the country is exploited only at 16% and the East zone alone, furnished last year 19,000 tons of laboured wood, 18,000 tons of cut upwood and 81,000 tons of squared wood. French experts estimated that the Center of Edea could produce a daily quantity of 200 tons paper paste out of the 50 million tons which, according to the F.A.O.'s evaluations, will constitute the world's needs for 1960.

Agricultural Resources. Through this professional distribution of the population, we see clearly that the Kamerun is an essentially agricultural country. The arable land occupies more than 25% of the East zone. Alimentary cultures are obtained (only the subdivision of Yagoua: 80,000 tons of rice per year) 380,000 tons of mil, 110,000 tons of maize, 400,000

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tons of macabos, 550,000 tons of manioc 100,000 tons of ignomes, 300,000 tons of ground nuts, 9,000 tons of beans, 400 tons of potatoes, 450,000 tons of bananas, and so on...)

Beside the alimentary cultures, the proportion of exportation culture is continually increasing :

Cocoa : 53,000 tons — 2nd producers with an increasing in quality since 1953.

Bananas : 85,000 tons — 2nd producers also.

Coffee : 17,000 tons — with a unique kind in Africa — the very fine Arabica.

Oleaginous : Coco, grounds-nuts and especially palm-oil annual exportations mount up to 30 millions of tons for the palms and 5000 tons of oil. The Kamerun palm-oil is known for its exceptional concentration in carotene: 1,25 grs. per kilo against 0,6 grs. per kilo for the Malesia oil or the Congo oil under Belgium tutorial.

Cotton : Efficiency attaining sometimes that of the USA 600 — 900 Kg/ha of Allen cotton useful for fibers and even more useful for the grain and oil-cakes. The factory of Kaele must treat precisely more than 10,000 tons of grain to extract between 1,200 and 1,400 tons of oil, and 4,000 tons of oil-cakes. Annual production increasing : 17,000 tons of cotton grain, which gives 5,700 tons of fiber — the third of the A.E.F.

Rubber : The most modern factory of Africa is in Dizangué (Sanaga Maritime): Capac. 14 000 tons. Total production of East Kamerun: 4,500 tons, although the greatest plantation (7,000 ha) be only dealt with to 65%.

Tobacco : Export industrial production: 800 tons ; only source of supply to France in Tobacco of.

All this information concerns unfortunately, only the East Kamerun, not knowing the exact numbers for the West part, which comes up to the same productions, plus some others such as tea.

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The same goes for our informations on cattle and forest.

Cattle : Our country nourishes about 1,200,000 cows, of which particularly 800,000 zehu akou heads, excellent for slaughtery (600 kilos per foot), 300,000 horses and 40,000 donkeys; 2 millions of little ruminative animals and 600,000.

In spite of the lack of modern needs (frigorific slaughter houses) the Kamerun is the first Export country for meat towards Equatorial Africa and the Congo so-called Belgium. With the cattle, follows immediately the Commercial fishing. 2 tons of fish come every day from the fish-houses of Kribi, while those Douala produce 200 tons a month, leaving out the River fishing particularly intense in the North.

Of all these considerations, we come to the conclusion that of all the Black Africa Territories, the Kamerun, as it is acknowledged by Economic Documentaion Office (20, rue de l'Arcade, Paris) is one of those that possess the biggest natural resources. Beside that, Kamerun has a handicraft and regulations in remarkable proportions : Density of the Population: About 9 to the sq. Km. against 6,7 in most of Tropical Africa. 15% of learned against 10% at the Ghana, 7% in Nigeria, 6% in Sierra-Leone.

And this population can rapidly adapt itself to the rythm and complications of a modern economical life. A proof to this is the success of the Edea factory (using a majority of Kamerun workers) or even better, the banana plantations (cf. the French Union Review No. of 2/7/53 page 51). Although the Europeans are neatly inferior at the Kamerun (15,000 europeans of which 10,000 French) it is they that occupy the key-jobs in all activities of the country: 87% employees are Kamerun, our peasants produce 2/3 of the Banana Export, almost all the cocoa production, and yet, it is the colonisers that cash the biggest salaries, almost all the profits and they accumulate them, having all sorts of fiscal privileges, economical and social (subventions, fiscal exonerations, road constructions, bridges, Port comforts for the Export trade, water aductions, domestic electricity...). Which means that in the Territory under Trusteeship, the Colonialists behave exactly like anywhere else — as exploiters. The Ka-



The C.D.Y. office in Cairo,

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merun Youth and people could not suffer any longer such a cold exploitation of all the classes of the population by a foreign minority.

And that is why they showed their will to live freely.

KAMERUN'S YOUTH AND COLONIALISM

Colonialism being by definition a regime of robbery, of repression and of extermination, our youth could no longer bear it. Colonialism was not losing from sight that this youth was constituting the precious stone of the country and that the goods they robbed with impunity was its inheritance. So in order to secure this wealth for themselves they decided to exterminate it by any means. Sometimes they used our young men in their conquering wars. Sometimes also they sent them to risk their life in defending the independence of these colonising countries whenever they were attacked. But every time the victorious return of our young men did not resolve the problem. To kinder this youth who was excited by the thirst of knowledge from becoming conscious of its rights they decided to keep it in ignorance. The system of having very few schools with more or less qualified teachers was put into practice. And so illiteracy was the fate of many of our young men in the North of Kamerun for example 94% of the children of school age linger in the street not knowing what to do with their time. In a country whose population amounts to 5 million inhabitants only 15% of them are learned. It was necessary for some of us to go abroad to hear about Universities, Youth clubs, holiday camps. At home all this is unknown. Why should one tire oneself for small negroes. They need neither sports nor games, useless to think about them.

Our young men missed not only education but even a simple handcraft work. The unemployed numbered to hundreds not to say to thousands. Those whom they wanted to occupy were brutally taken among from their parents and sent to dig railway, roads and air-ports that have remained famous in the history of our country. Others were destined to work in big plantations belonging to the colonialists with impossible conditions of living. But fed up with suffering the people of Kamerun and its youth could no longer refrain their indignation.



The Young Kamerun's openly manifesting in the streets their will for independence and their hatred for anything that will hinder it.

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They revolted and went on strike hundreds and hundreds of patriots riddled with the shots of the French colonialists lay on the ground. That was the massacre of September 1945, which also saw the dawn of our national consciousness. That is how the participation of Kamerun's Youth to the defeat of Hitler's fascism was rewarded.

KAMERUN'S YOUTH IN STRUGGLE

This historical event revealed to all those who were moaning without hope under this regime of terror the black intentions of the Anglo-French colonialists. In 1948 the people organised itself in a powerful movement aiming to liberate, by any means, the country from foreign rule. In 1952 the women's will for liberation became concrete by the creation of the Democratic Union of Kamerun's Women.

These two organisations already constituted for the imperialists an extremely serious obstacle.

So they have done their best to suppress them to hush them up, but in vain. To add to their bad luck, in August 21st 1954 the Cameroons Democratic Youth came out of its cradle amidst the applause of thousands of Kamerunian who applied to it and offered to place themselves at the vanguard of the struggle for national liberation. By its program on top of which can be seen in big letters the word of order "Immediate Independence and Unity" Elimination of colonialism and Feudalism under all its forms. The young movement because of its young ardour after only a few months of organisation and education succeeded with an astounding swiftness to mobilize all the young mass around its program and to re-enforce more than one conviction. By its attractive dynamism it overthrew all the small movements forged by the colonialists to fight it. The youth of the French Union, just to quote this one, was hushed up on the day of its birth.

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KAMERUN'S YOUTH AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Immediately after its birth the Cameroons Democratic Youth made itself known to the United Nations Organization, from which it asked an audience, that was granted without discussion. The Democratic Youth's organisation was heard, it defended with rare skill the specific interests of Youth and pressed with all the weight of its force those common aspirations of the whole country: Unity and Independence of Kamerun.

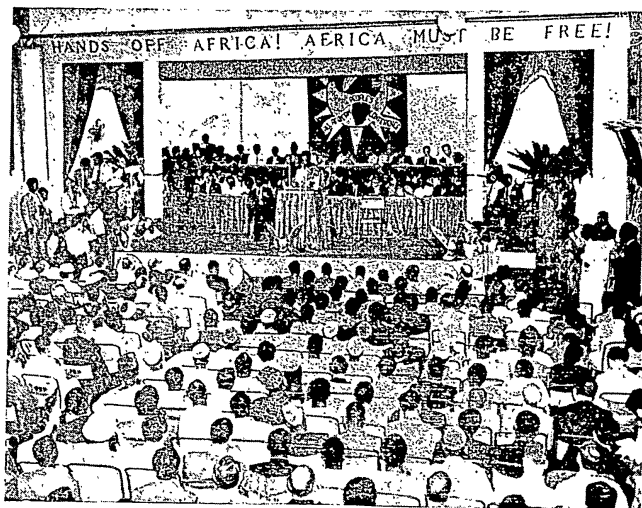


Our Friend KINGUE ABEL, Member of the National Council of the CDY talking on account of the Cameroons Democratic Youth, at the United Nations in 1954.

Its promising return from the United Nations tempered all those who had sworn to struggle until death for the effective and total liberation of the country. The organisation became stronger and stronger. Public conferences were multiplied in all the Territory of Kamerun, in the towns as well as in the villages; and even in the depths of the woods. The newspaper of the CDY "La Vérité" by its perspicacity its dynamism and its political sketches played an important role in the education of the Youth of Kamerun. Its campaign of popular mobilisation was animated by appropriate songs against the colo-



Our Friend Nguenbus Williams, Vice President of the CDY pronouncing a speech on the occasion of the 3rd Anniversary of the Kamerun's revolution May 25th 1957.



The thing is simple and clear
They confuse it intentionally
It refers believe me to no african
To expel from the country all the sons of France
We know how to honour gratefulness
But we want to hold our reins.
We have enough of bending our Knees.

nialists policy, incanted by Roland Pré, and his symbolic cry "Go home". Our young students from everywhere, greeted the determination of the Cameroons Democratic Youth and whether near or far assured it of their full support. The colonialists could no longer remain indifferent and hush their rage in front of such national consciousness, from the future class. To break their young enthusiasm soon tried to create family opposition, by describing their parents who were leading the struggle for national liberation as lost old men jealous of the young generation wishing to precipitate it in a catastrophe before dying. Not being discouraged the colonialists took at times the way of corrupting the unemployed. Some of our friends sadly withdrew from our ranks to turn against us. Finally the colonialists openly carried out suppression under all its forms. They started by dissolving the militant organisations and by illegal searches. In this political madness our students were severely attacked many were dismissed from their schools, others had their scholarship withdrawn. But all this only strengthened the struggle of the youth and the people of Kamerun. On April 22nd 1955 the Cameroons Democratic Youth together with the other popular Kamerun movements signed the common proclamation for:

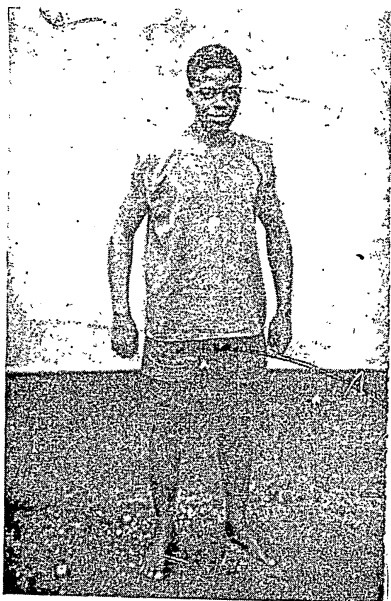
- the end of the regime of Trusteeship.
 - the building of a Sovereign State preconcizing.
- General elections before December 12th 1955 for:

- 1) The creation of a National Constituent Assembly.
- 2) The creation of an Executive Committee under the form of a provisional government called on to organize the General elections.
- 3) The sending on the territory of a commission of the United Nations to look after the sitting up of the organs of the New Kamerun State.

But the French colonialists fearing to be surpassed by the impetuous current which moved all the living forces of the nation round the program of common struggle for the common objectives, waged war.

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That was on May 25th 1955 a historical date for our country in struggle for its national unity and independence. And this war goes on till this day, doing ravages throughout the country. The victims? No one can tell their numbers. But



Our Friend MAYI MATIP Theodore, former responsible for the press of the CDY — imprisoned at Douala in 1955. To-day President of the CDY.

it is sadly impressing. Students and their parents live in the forests, but most of them are found in prisons or in concentration camps. More than 120 Kamerunians students in France.

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have seen their scholarship withdrawn. On July 13th of the same year a treacherous decree was published dissolving the Cameroons Democratic Youth and the other anti-colonialist movements. From then on all simple meetings between friends was suspected as being a meeting for the reorganization of the dissolved movements. Circumstances such as marriages, birth etc. needing the grouping of men, women and children were severely controlled because they could hide a reorganisation of the dissolved movements. But when meditating on the example given to the world by the Youth of Indonesia, Morocco, Tunisia, Cyprus, Algeria, and Egypt in the heroic struggle of their people against imperialism and colonialism, and moved by their confidence in the final victory the Youth of Kamerun in mourning on the dead bodies of their brothers, made an oath never to deny the cause for which their friends have found death. Resistance to oppression now went underground in Oriental Kamerun. While the organization campaign still goes on legally in the region of Kamerun dominated by the British Colonialists.

Everywhere in the so-called British zone the word of order of "Unity and Independence is cheerfully received by all the young people anxious for liberty. Popular meetings were organized in every corner of the territory on the demand of the young ones and the whole population. New movements pretending to be political ones but forged by the colonialists when denounced lost all the prestige they were enjoying until then.

The demands claimed by the nationalist movements became so popular that all the organizations and even certain political personalities made them their own, especially after the massacres of 1955 and even more so during the year 1956. But the French government despising the popular wishes saw that the "loi-cadre" was the only solution to this problem and wanted to impose it upon us. But the Cameroons Democratic Youth in order to successfully hinder the application of this law, whose aim was to integrate our country to the French colonial empire, joined in the great popular current called : National Union which was animated by other progressist or-



During the elections of December 23rd 1956 Kamerun's Youth condemned the "Loi-Cadre" and asked for the Reunification and the Independence of its country.

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ganisations and whose congress was held in Dibombari in the beginning of November 1956, and decided the abstention from the elections for the abstention from the elections for the Territorial Assembly if a total amnesty for the events of May 1955 did not precede these elections at least two months earlier.

But instead of favourably answering to the aspirations of the Youth and of the people of Kamerun for a negotiated solution for the problem of Kamerun the French government has aggravated the situation by occupying the most nationalist regions of the country by armed forces brought from F.E.A. and other parts of Africa. It is in this atmosphere of terror that the elections of December 23rd 1956 took place, which gave birth to the so-called "State of Kamerun under Trusteeship." And this state of siege goes on until to-day. The British colonialists in their turn fearing to be brushed off by a violent current of nationalism, undertook measures of repression thus following the example of the French colonialists. They underlook illegal searches in the building of the National movement, taking away all the important documents, the money and at the end arrested the leaders such as the case of Sende Jean Paul, member of the National Council of the CDY, who was arrested and was to be delivered to the French authorities. But he was released after the staunch protestation from the population. Worst than that they favoured the assassination of our friend Taffo René member of the Bamenda Section and of his wife who was 3 months pregnant. Then seeing that the progressist movements were going to have the upper hand in the elections which they had organized they sunk in the mud of electoral fraud.

The Kamerun's population could not but ask justice for all these illegal acts. So seeing its coming condemnation the British authorities proceeded purely and simply to the arrest of the political leaders whom they deported abroad, after having dissolved their organisations. In doing this the British colonialists thought they were for ever done with, the Cameroons Democratic Youth and the other anti-colonialist organisations. But they were mistaken, it is then that the problem of Kamerun became widely popular.



The Cameroons Democratic Youth participating to the works of the World Council of the WDFY, after its intervention follows with attention the interventions of the other delegates.



Kamerun, member of the Preparatory Committee of the Internatioanal Congress of the Afro-Asian Youth, having been elected vice-president, presides a session of a sub-committee for the organisation and the administrative affairs.

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**THE ACTIVITIES OF THE C.D.Y. ABROAD
AFTER THE DEPORTATION OF JUNE 1957**

After its deportation the Cameroons Democratic Youth has had the possibility of participating to many international meetings where it made useful contacts, started and developed friendly relations. It was able to explain fully the meaning of its country's struggle, that is how in March 1958 the Cameroons Democratic Youth was invited to take part in the words of the World Council of Peace of the WFDY at Stockholm where it brought forward the discussion on the tragic situation in Kamerun. On the months of December of the same year the World Council of Peace met at Colombo the Capital of Ceylan and again gave its particular attention to the actual problem of Kamerun. Having heard the intervention of our delegation and having thus taken cognizance of the brutality with which the French Colonialists wage war in Kamerun took an important resolution which we reproduce here and in which the youth of the whole world condemned the war of the French colonialists and invited UNO to help stop this unjust war by realising the legitimate aspirations of the Youth of Kamerun and of its people.

A week ago we participated to the work of the Preparatory Committee of the Afro-Asian Youth's Congress, where a motion was approved and sent to the United Nations in favour of the Kamerun problem.

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THE RESOLUTION ON THE KAMERUN

The Executive Committee of the WFDY that met from December 7th to Dec. 10th 1958 at Colombo faithful to its principle of supporting the legitimate aspirations of the Youth of colonised countries.

- Considering that the war waged by the French colonialists since 1958 against the Youth and the people of Kamerun fighting for its immediate Unity and Independence has now-a days become more violent.
- Considering that the most authentic and representative organizations have been dissolved and their leaders deported.
- Reaffirms its full and entire solidarity with the Youth and the people of Kamerun in their fight for the immediate unity and independence of their country.
- Condemns the colonialist war in Kamerun which is a country under the UNO's Trusteeship and repeats its appeal to the French and British governments to negotiate directly with the UPC, seeing that the French government recognizes that it represents 85% of the popular opinion.
- Supports the compromise made by the people of Kamerun by accepting a referendum preceded by a total and unconditional amnesty, the restoration of all political liberties, followed by general elections. All this being organized and controlled exclusively by a representative international commission.
- Asks the Visiting Mission of the United Nations to receive all the petitioners and all the petitions, to visit the most important places, prisons, concentrations camps and to make an objective report according to the wishes of the Kamerun population and their own mandate.

Colombo December 10th 1958.
Executive Committee of the
W F D Y



Our delegation, after its intervention is carefully preparing a project of resolution on the Kamerun problem, which will be submitted to the Assembly

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THE COMING CONFERENCE OF THE AFRO-ASIAN YOUTH

At the Congress of February 2nd 1959 that will be held in Cairo, the Youth of Asia and Africa will have a very important role to play in the solution of the Kamerun problem. The Conference of the peoples of Africa that was held in Accra from December 8th to December 12th 1959 has given a historical example which the Youth of both continents should follow. This all-african has in fact after having considered the aggravated situation in Kamerun and referring to the fact that the 13th session of the United Nations' General Assembly will take up its work again on February 20th 1959 in order to study in all details the Kamerun problem and find for it an adequate solution, thus confirming the decision concerning the Kamerun problem taken by the Conference of the African Independent States held in Accra in April 1958, which appealed to all African organizations and to all anti-colonialist countries, demand from the United Nations to take the necessary democratic measures so as to put an end to the Kamerun crisis. It would then not be understandable if the Afro-Asian Youth which has long been a victim of colonialism would not seize this opportunity to prove to the whole world its anti-colonialism and its full solidarity with the struggle of the Youth and the people of Kamerun.

The measures which we have been asking for up to now are in absolute agreement with the aims and the dispositions of the United Nation's Charter. In order then to come to a peaceful solution of the Kamerun problem we propose the following measures:

- 1) Complete and unconditional amnesty, with the restoration of all the democratic liberties such as free expression of all the political opinions, and this by the abrogation of the decrees on the dissolution of the political parties.
- 2) The return of all the deported and exiled political leaders.
- 3) The organization under the sole control of the United Nations of a Referendum on the question of the Reunification of Kamerun, and then real and democratic elections for a Constituent National Assembly.

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4) The election by the 13th Session of a commission largely representing the Afro-Asian group of the UNO's General Assembly, destined to organize and control all the electoral operations, aiming to secure democracy and political stability in this territory of Africa.

The Conference of the Afro-Asian Youth should according to us take up as its own the following resolutions adopted by the leading Committee of the UPC and by the Conference of the peoples of Africa and fix the date of February 20th 1959 as the "Day of Kamerun".

This measures consist in :

- 1) A series of press articles, broadcasted talks, and meetings on the heroic fight of our people, on the atrocities done by the colonialists, on the immense economical possibilities of our country.
- 2) Silent walks before the Embassies and the French and British Councils, as well as the UNO centers, for the immediate peaceful and democratic solution of the Kamerun problem.
- 3) Collection of money, clothes, books, medicine for the victims of the colonialist war. The funds should be sent to the Office of the UPC in Cairo.
- 4) Individual and collective petitions addressed to the President of the General Assembly, supporting the propositions of the CDY, in agreement with all the other anti-colonialist organisations of Kamerun, defended at the 13th Session of the General Assembly of UNO.

Such are the measures which the Youth of Kamerun ask their friends of the whole world and in particular the Afro-Asian Youth to support with all their power and ask for the application of all the resolutions which have been adopted up to now on the Kamerun problem, resolutions which obtained the unanimous approval of one milliard and 600 million men, so that the Youth of Kamerun and its people may be allowed to enjoy a decent life of free men.

REMEMBER THAT

- (1) On February 20, 1959, an extraordinary session of the U.N. General Assembly will take place, with the only task of deciding the Kamerun's Reunification and Independence.
- (2) FEBRUARY 20, 1959 has been unanimously adopted by the All-African Peoples Conference as :

KAMERUN DAY

ON FEBRUARY 20, 1959

- Press and Radio campaigns
- Fund collecting
- Public meetings and demonstrations of protests

IN FAVOUR OF MARTYR-KAMERUN

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WE DEPLORE THE DISSOLUTION OF
 PROGRESSIVE ORGANISATIONS IN THE
 KAMERUN AND THE DEPORTATION OF
 THEIR LEADERS."

The Nigerian delegates
 at the Accra Conference

THE KAMERUN AT ACCRA



RED: for the blood of Patriots
 who died for the National
 cause.

CRAB: of Rio dos Cameroes
 original name of the Ka-
 merun.

*The Hammer
at Accra*

INTRODUCTION

Accra, capital of the newly-born state of Ghana, has just been for the second time in eight months, the scene of a Pan-African Conference. If the first one, held in April, was attended by the representatives of all independent states, the second Conference assembled from the 5th to the 13th of December 1958, more than 400 delegates representing the whole continent.

Of course, imperialists tried hard to deny the representativity of many delegations, but in vain: Every African country was represented by its ruling party or by those who obviously represent the people's aspirations, as is the same for the U.P.C. and the F.L.N. Even territories known to be pacific, such as the "Belgian" Congo, Angola, Zanzibar, had sent representatives to Accra. For to everyone's opinion, this conference was really important. And so it is, for it is but an expression of a whole continent's aspirations. In spite of the numerous efforts of imperialists, the Conference had sealed the will of all African peoples to unite in order to hasten their liberation from all sorts of oppression. It would be easy to convince anyone of this, by just reading out the resolutions adopted unanimously. Thus, the resolution on colonialism and imperialism stipulates: "Whereas world opinion unequivocally condemns oppression and subjugation of one race by another in whatever shape or form. Whereas all African Peoples everywhere strongly deplore the economic exploitation of African peoples by Imperialist countries thus reducing Africa to poverty in the midst of plenty. The All-African Peoples Conference condemns colonisation and imperialism under all their forms, and declares its full support to all fighters for freedom in Africa, to all those who resort to peaceful means of non-violence and civil disobedience as well as to all those who are compelled to retaliate against violence to attain national independence and freedom for the people. The Conference condemns all legislations which consider those who fight for their independence for freedom as ordinary criminals".

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The other resolutions condemn with the same firmness racial discrimination, religious divisionism, and artificial boundaries between the different African states. Finally, in order to realise the different resolutions, the Conference warmly recommends the formula of a GENERAL FRONT of anti-imperialist struggle, and decides to create a permanent Secretariat.

A VICTORY FOR THE U.P.C. :

This Conference is therefore a great victory for the anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist forces. And this victory appears to be even more particularly a triumph for the Kamerunian people now struggling for reunification and independence of their Country. In fact, the U.P.C. was warmly welcomed in all circles despite the efforts of the Reaction. This sympathy was expressed in many ways: Cheers during the speech delivered by the head of delegation, Vice-President Ernest Ouandié, key jobs of responsibility offered to members of our delegation (it should be noted in this respect that the UPC is a member of the Managing Committee), and the adoption of almost all draft resolutions presented or supported by the UPC. It should be also emphasised that the UDEFEC was the only women's organisation officially permitted to attend the Conference, and to be represented in the Assembly of heads of delegations

This very special sympathy reflects the importance of the Kamerunian problem all through the continent. For the first time in history, a population under a trust regime, had to undertake an armed struggle for its independence and national unity. Its will and determination to be free actuates those of its children who have been living abroad for many decades. This is the case of the Kamerunians established in Ghana. They have addressed a memo to the Accra Conference, reading: "We, the 600 Kamerunians of Ghana, who belong to all the ethnies of the Kamerun with different feelings for the various political parties now existing in the Kamerun, we have constituted ourselves as a Kamerunian National Union, the motto of which is: The supreme law of the welfare of the people. Our organisation has nothing to do with the political parties here in Ghana, or in the Kamerun. It is

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absolutely independent, but not the least uninterested of what affects our destiny. We believe it is our duty to submit this memo, to take into consideration our feeling and aspirations as to the proposed referendum. It should be handled by the United Nations, simultaneously in both British and French zones. . . It is high time for the Kamerunian people to have their own government. . . The question of unification and independence is of major importance in our demand, for our people have all through history been united by the same culture, same traditions, same habits, in a continuous development.

"From the bottom of our hearts, we appeal to our brothers and sisters from home, to understand that the destiny of our Country is in their hands and that the danger than threatens it, lies in the plan elaborated by administrative powers, Britain and France, the first in order to have the Kamerun integrated in Nigeria, and the second in order to absorb eastern Kamerun in the French Union. We firmly oppose the idea of dividing our Nation in three zones, and any good observation would show that there should not exist any impossibility to reunify a population sharing the same culture, the same ideas, habits and traditions, who before World War I used to live in a happy and harmonious community".

Therefore, all Kamerunians, no matter where they are, struggle for the same objectives: Immediate Reunification and Independence. This is a particularly significant sign, in spite of the powerful means of propaganda of imperialists and their agents, in spite of all their efforts, before and during the Accra Conference, to supersede the UPC; despite the fact that they have sent to Accra six of their agents, some of which even claimed to be representatives of the UPC armed forces; in spite of all that, it is the programme of the UPC that everyone supports, it is the proposals submitted by the UPC that have been adopted by the Conference, and it is also the UPC that, in the eyes of all African peoples, represents the Kamerun.

With such evident and important data at hand, who shall dare pretend that it would be possible for the Kamerun to obtain effective independence without, and even against, the UPC? Such a state would only be ephemeral to the great confusion of those who would have created it.

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ONE WAY OUT: The U.P.C. plan.

It is true that until now, official spokesmen have not revealed the heroic deeds of our glorious freedom-fighters. However, forced to do so by the events themselves, they have now started to confess. "Le Monde" of December 19 writes: "... It is true that the UPC resorted to revolutionary terrorism only after the creation of the National Committee of Organisation in December 1956. Before that, it had organised, in May 1955 at New-Bell, African quarter of Douala, riots that caused the death of 25 people, mostly Europeans, while 200 others were seriously wounded. A phase of electoral intimidation, on the occasion of the December 1956 consultation, had also caused many political murders.

"... A certain tension still prevails, though, in Mungo and Bamileké, on the Western borders, as well as in Douala, where the 100,000 "untribalized" constitute a mass of discontented people, very sensitive to the words of the extremists' orders. The incidents of November 26 in the economical capital of the Cameroons, on the occasion of the arrival of the U.N. Visiting Mission, have proved it.

"... In 1956, about 1 million francs CFA in cash were deducted by the U.P.C. in the Bamileké region, while the 30,000 inhabitants of Baham pay 400,000 francs CFA monthly to this party. During the night of the 13/14 December 1957, young deputy Wanko, from Bafoussan, was attacked and killed in spite of his progressive tendency, and on the night of the 24/25 December 1958, just before the arrival of the U.N. Visiting Mission, (who was so impressed that it shortened its trip), a UPC commando made another armed exhibition in Dschang."

In fact, the sojourn of the U.N. Visiting Mission was marked with many atrocities committed by the Franco-African soldiery. Naturally our comrades have firmly retaliated. For more information, refer to our pamphlet on this Visiting Mission. We will only state here a few examples: In Douala, on November 26, the comrades shot down two European policemen. They also stole two rifles and wounded two other European policemen who died a little later and were buried on the 29th of the same month. Also on Novem-

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ber 26, this time in Penju, the comrades stole 7 rifles, killed three soldiers and seriously wounded 4 others.

All these acts were successful in spite of the reinforcements which took place during the Mission's sojourn. Thus Mission will really be in no position to deny or say anything in its report about the force of our movement. It is clear that if it were not for the presence of foreign troops, the UPC would have assumed power long ago. In order to put an end to bloodshed, colonialists should therefore allow the UPC to play the game of democracy by accepting our "preambles" and the organisation of really free elections under the exclusive supervision of the United Nations. Among these "preambles" is, first, the re-establishment of the UPC, incarnation of Kamerunian patriotism. British imperialists have, so far, pretended to hide behind our Nigerian brothers in order to fight us. But since the Accra Conference, the Nigerians have publicly denounced such policy in the Common Statement published at the end of this document.

Of course not all the Nigerian delegates signed the statement in question, but this is only due to the fact that many of them left Accra immediately after the closing session. As a matter of fact, they all want the Kamerunians to decide alone and in full liberty their own future. The evidence?

- 1) The Conference's resolutions concerning the Kamerun, reproduced in this pamphlet, have been unanimously adopted;*
- 2) In reply to a correspondent in a press conference held on December 12, the NCNC ruling party in Eastern Nigeria, expressed his full support of an immediate, peaceful and democratic solution to the Kamerunian problem, in conformity with the measures recommended by the UPC;*
- 3) the "Action Group", ruling party in Western Nigeria, have already adopted a very clear position, expressed in the speech delivered by the head of its delegation. His Excellency the Minister and Leader Anthony Enahoro, said: "Some of our borders in West Africa, which divide peoples like the Kamerunians and the Togoese, are nothing but artificial boundaries, and we suggest to this Conference to ask for their abolition as soon as possible".*

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After the adoption of such definite, clear and authoritative positions, the British Government would really be dishonest if it would again refuse to re-establish immediately the U.P.C., and to allow a permanent commission of the U.N. General Assembly to organise popular consultations on immediate Reunification and Independence of the Kamerun.

In either way, after this Accra Conference, the U.N. delegates would have once again realised how popular is the U.P.C. They must certainly understand that the interest of peace and the very reputation of the United Nations Organization call for the immediate, peaceful and democratic solution which we propose. So, we hope that every Government will give instructions to its delegation for an unconditional support of our proposals, during the extraordinary session of February 20, 1959.

FOR A MILITANT ANTI-COLONIALISM.

In order to prepare for this new victory, we hereby appeal to all the anti-colonialist forces, and in the first place to our own compatriots in the Kamerun as well as abroad. More than ever, the enemy redoubles its rage and trickery, and more than ever, we must unite our ranks, for this is the pledge of our final victory. All those who play the game of imperialists should understand that the African oppositions and the campaigns for influence necessarily end up to a dead-lock. Anxious to maintain themselves in the vanguard of the anti-imperialist struggle, our people will soon destroy all those who intend to use them for their own personal ambitions, all those who oppose the proposals (although very modest and realistic) of the U.P.C.

To all anti-imperialist organisations fighting in Africa and elsewhere, we transmit the pathetic call of the Second Accra Conference in favour of the Kamerunian people: By reaffirming the resolution adopted by the governments conference, the Conference has once again recognised the U.P.C. as sole qualified representative of all the Kamerun. And before parting, its Steering Committee has unanimously adopted the suggestions published in the last pages of this pamphlet, concerning the day of February 20, 1959. We

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Therefore hope that the independent African states shall generously subscribe to finance a trip to the United Nations H.Q. for the delegation charged with the mission of submitting to the Secretary General the Accra Conference resolutions concerning the Kamerun. We also hope that the progressive organisations all throughout the world will hold on the day of February 20 subscriptions, and popular demonstrations, in favour of the U.P.C., to hasten the final victory of the Kamerunian martyr-people.

Such is the formal vow of 200 millions of Africans, of which will more and more depend the balance of world peace.

Cairo, December 31st, 1948.



Our photo shows Mr. Ernest Ouandié, Vice-President of the U.P.C. (extreme right), on his arrival at the Accra airport, coming from Cairo via Rome. With him is a delegate from Basutland (middle) and Mr Diop Majhmout, First Secretary to the African Independence Party, who also went to Accra to attend the All-African Peoples Conference.

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**SPEECH DELIVERED BY Mr. ERNEST OUANDIE, VICE
PRESIDENT OF THE U.P.C. AT THE ALL AFRICAN
PEOPLE'S CONFERENCE HELD AT ACCRA**

5th to 12th December 1958

Mr. Chairman, Dear brothers and Friends :

On behalf of the U.P.C. the immortal soul of our people I bring you greetings from those who for many years have been struggling to fit Kamerun in her proper place among the nations of the world. It goes without saying that at this critical moment we are opening a new page in the history of the struggle of the oppressed African peoples for their national Independence. Henceforth the 15th April and 8th December should be given the same significance as those of the French, English and American Revolutions. Africa in effect has long remained a question mark, this dark continent which has suffered adverse criticism, her fate depending on the goodwill of a handful of colonialists. For a considerable period of time, Africa has remained that dark continent where colonial powers have set a veritable iron curtain by infusing and instilling tribal hatred into the people to justify a cruel domination. The true significance of the first conference held on a governmental level at Accra was to examine the strength behind the African forces thus setting milestones leading to the Renaissance of Africa. This new birth and the establishment of the African personality will be impossible so long as two thirds of the Continent remains under the Imperialist yoke. That is the main object behind the minds of those who have taken the initiative in summoning this historic Conference of African Peoples.

I believe we are unanimous in thanking the Government and the people of Ghana who have honoured the African tradition through their hospitality to this Conference. Indeed this is a gesture of deep, historical significance. From the very moment that the slave traders were amassing fabulous fortunes by selling human heads, Accra was the port through which thousands of our brothers and sisters who were snatch-

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ed from their fields, from their dear ones, packed, chained, were shipped to the American sugar plantations. We are aware that more than 150 million Africans i.e. 3/4 of the present African population were victims in this ignominious trade. Accra had been the embarkation port in the dark ages of slavery; it is fitting that in the new era of liberty, Accra is the port of refuge to all those who undertake today the perilous and yet noble voyage on board the political ship sailing towards national independence in spite of violent tempests of the colonial regime.

Kamerun has also responded to the call of the Accra Conference. She is still languishing under the heavy weight of the colonial yoke. A German protectorate from 1884 to 1914, the French and the English took possession of Kamerun on 16th February 1916 after the defeat of the German troops. She was, at first administered jointly by the two colonial powers; then on 4th March, under the pretext of ending the difficulties inherent in this form of administration, the Governments of France and England decided to divide the country into two distinct territories. Of the division France took the greater portion being the 4/5 of the total area of the country while England was content with the remainder. The terms of the division of the country by the two colonial powers was simply and clearly confirmed at the Versailles Convention of the 28th June 1919. The Convention took decision that France and England should henceforth administer their respective portions of the country under the mandate of the League of Nations.

On December 13th 1946, the mandate regime disappeared to the benefit of the Trusteeship Status under the United Nations. Unlike the inefficient mandate system which was based on colonial principles, the new system was based on principles which offer the people the right of managing their own affairs. The main object of the United Nations Trusteeship Regim as laid down by Article 76 (b) of the UNO Charter, is either autonomy or independence following the aspirations freely expressed by these people themselves who are concerned.

Brother delegates, having taken this international legality for granted, the people of Kamerun started organising them-

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selves since 10th April 1948 under the flag of the Union of the Populations of Cameroun to seek the re-unification and independence of their country. We have just seen the circumstances that brought about the cruel vivi-section of Kamerun. It must be noted that when our people raise the question regarding the country's unification they do neither mean to hurt the interest of any community nor those of other countries. They do only seek to undo the serious prejudice they have suffered at the hands of the colonialist, a prejudice which is inherent in the colonial system.

Not having taken part in the first world war, the very cause which led to the division of the country, Kamerun cannot play the part of a warfaring state which alone could provoke such serious measures from her conquerors. It is therefore very unfair that Kamerun was penalised instead of the Imperial Germany. All along in history we find Heads of states, historians and ethnologists who can testify to the unjust nature of the balkanisation of our country.

To begin with we shall quote an outstanding French civil servant ,and this is a citation which concerns the government of Jules Repiquet who himself served in Kamerun in the thirties. In the preface of a sketch, he relates "The setting up of the interior frontiers of the country is arbitrary." The French ethnologist Vossart also remarks: "The choice of the Kerawa State as the frontier between the French and the British territories has nothing to do with the historical unity of the Mandara State wich has been parcelled into two portions". (from Etudes Camerounaises No. 33 pages 34 et 35).

The opinion of the UNO visiting mission of 1955 in Kamerun could be freely quoted since the said mission was not suspected of partiality for U.P.C. Discussing the question of unification of the Kameruns the Mission states:

"All that they (the masses) see in it for the moment is the reunion of the tribes which have been divided by incomprehensible barriers" (from Rapport, page 16, par. 122).

If necessary we shall cite further, the opinion of Prince Doualla Bell given on 26th February 1958 at the U.N.O. Trusteeship Council :

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"..... on the coast, the little tribe of Douala which does not count even 30,000 inhabitants, and on the other side the people of Victoria, the Sao and the Bakweri, read the Bible in the Douala language. The sermons in the Catholic and Protestant churches is preached in Douala. Higher up in the Bamileke country, one dialect predominates whether the people are in the British or the French sector" (Doc. 7/PV.869, pages 25 and 26).

In the course of this very session, the Belgian delegate, explaining his position on the necessity of consulting the populations on the question of reunification, said: "From this consultation, one could determine, in my opinion, if the populations of the British Cameroons wish association with Nigeria or if reversing in away the course of their recent history, they wish to retrace the more ancient ties with the states of Kamerun under French Trusteeship with whom they have ethnic ties" (Doc. 7/PV. 869, page 47). It is not superfluous to cite lastly the opinion of a high British Official Mr. J. O. Field special representative of British at the Trusteeship Council. He declared these on 27.3.57.

"There is no doubt that all political parties have pronounced themselves for the reunification of the two Cameroons".

Dear Brother delegates: it is therefore clear that the fight of the Cameroons people for reunification is at the same time just and popular. But in place of satisfying this legitimate aspiration the administering authorities have resorted to the law of force of the stick, the iron and fire.

The interdicts are crushing the U.P.C. since 13th July 1955 in the eastern Kamerun and 30th May 1957 in the western zone where the british colonial pressed forward the cynicism by exiling 13 of movement's militants and leaders.

Since 25th May, 1955, blood has ben continually flowing in Eastern Kamerun — where France continually sends military re-inforcements. Tortures are meated out to institutions. The most barbarous methods are used in order to obtain by force so-called avowals. Electricity is applied to the tongue and to the genital organs, etc. The prisons are full of compatriots arbitrarily arrested and thrown there for the crime of fighting

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against colonialism. In October 24th this year, 17 patriots were condemned to death at the issue of a judicial parody. Most of the political detainees were sent by night to unknown destinations and executed. That was also the fate which was reserved for 5,000 unfortunate partriots between the 1st November 1957 and the 31st January 1958. More tragic still is the situation in the concentration camps where over 50,000 persons of all ages suffer slow death.

But all these atrocities, all these inhumane acts committed by the French colonialist have by no means disarmed the combativity of the people of Kamerun. They have rather sharpened further still their will to fight which recently compelled France and Great Britain to think of the Independence of our country as from 1960. A special session of the General Assembly of U.N.O. has been called for the 20th February 1959 in order to discuss once more the problem of Kamerun in the light of the report of the visiting Mission at present in Kamerun. That is a victory won owing to the steady effort of our people supported by the international solidarity. And I would like on this occasion to thank the independant states of Africa, Asia and Europe, which have applied themselves to our problem with much solicitude.

But it is imperative for the Kamerun problem to get out of its present dead luck where it has been plunged by the administering authorities using policies of force. In fact our Movement representing more than 85% of the populations at present finds itself illegalized. It is therefore difficult under these conditions to think without certain apprehensions about the future of Kamerun as envisaged by the administering authorities for 1960. We think therefore that is it urgent :

1. to examine favourably the conditions necessary for a return to normal political life.
2. organize a referendum on the burning question of reunification.
3. organize, as soon as the results of the referendum are known, general elections after which the Parliament and Government of Kamerun shall be established, before the country attains independence.

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It is necessary as a precondition to obtain the abrogation of the decrees of 13th July 1955, and 30th May 1957, banning the nationalist organizations, to be logically followed with a general, unconditional political amnesty. Then the concentration camps must be shut down, the foreign troops withdrawn and hostilities stopped.

For what regards the western Kamerun, the British authorities declared at the U.N.O. that nationalist movement were banned and 13 of their leaders deported at the advice of Nigeria ministers council. We wish to believe that this was merely a by-pass. Our brothers, the Nigerians would have done harm if they challenged such a craft in order to justify their innocence. At the moment when one talks of the unity of Africa, it cannot be appropriate for Africans to allow themselves to be the tools of imperialists, since we may then doubt the sincerity of the protagonists of the UNION.

Concerning the operations of the referendum and general elections, it is necessary that the U.N.O. General Assembly appoint, not only a Commissioner, but a large Commission highly representative of all the public opinion divisions of the world, and emphasize that it shall conduct all the phases of the consultations outside the participation of the administering authorities. We are demanding nothing more than what has taken place already in Togo, and nothing prevents the UNO to grant the right to our people.

I am persuaded that the people of Africa, gathered in Accra for the first time, shall by rallying themselves to our suggestions, assure the martyred people of Kamerun, of their total solidarity. The Liberation of Africa, has that as its price. But Africa, isolated shall fall inevitably under the weight of imperialist solidarity. We shall also wish that the Conference reaffirms in totality the principles of the Bandung, Cairo, and Accra Conference. This Conference must translate into concrete action the words recently pronounced by President Nkrumah at the meeting of the Independent States when he said:

"If in the past, the Sahara divided us now it unites us." Not far at all from here, the Algerian patriots have been falling since five years ago, under the shots

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of the mercenary Frenchmen because they have rightly refused to become pure Frenchmen. These patriots are in want of our total solidarity because, firstly they are Africans and secondly another solidarity, that of the Imperialist is being played against them. The Independent African States and the people of Africa could have placed at their disposal funds, arms, and other materials, because we are in a time where moral aid alone is insufficient. Above all, the temporal Algerian Government should be recognised. It serves nothing by fall to the argument that it is merely an exiled Government. Because as it was declared to me by an Indian Parliamentary member at New-Delhi, under the colonial regime the true representatives of the oppressed people are those who are either in prison, or in the concentration camps or in the maquis, or in exile. That is historic truth. Any mistake of refusing to recognise this Government to help the right solution which the Algerian national problem commands would oblige our compatriots to continue the fight with arms, and we would be in bad position to talk of non-violence, because colonisation itself is based on violence, and there is no other equal means whereby you can set rid of it.

At last against our will, the Africans, the negroes are fighting in Algeria side by side with the French colonialists. We should in these days prove honestly that the people of Africa do not approve of this practice.

Otherwise we shall be accused of racialism and division and shall plead guilty. However, I hope in ending, that the United Africa, here, shall be cautious of this danger and shall find herself at the high level of her responsibilities.

To conclude, I have but to say with Dessalines:

"Independence or death May these sacred words rally us and be the signal of our fight and of our re-union" Long live free and Independent Africa!
Peace for Ever.

Long Live the solidarity of the People!

Down with Colonialism and Imperialism!

ACCRA. 9th December 1958



The Conference Hall Delegates listen carefully to Dr. Kwame N'Krumah, Prime Minister of Ghana, as he delivers the opening speech. Behind him are members of the Conference Bureau.

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RESOLUTION ON KAMERUN ADOPTED BY THE FIRST COMMITTEE — ON IMPERIALISM AND COLONIALISM — OF THE ALL AFRICAN PEOPLES CONFERENCE.

The All African Peoples Conference gathered in Accra from the 5th to 12 December 1958

After having taken note of the situation which exists at present in Kamerun, that the 13th session of the General Assembly of the UNO shall be reconvened on 20th February, 1959, uniquely to study in all detail the Kamerun problem in order to find an equitable solution to it, of the fact that this African territory is called to achieve independence in 1960, and also that a politico-military repression is used there by the French authorities with the complicity of their local supporters.

1. Reaffirms the decision taken by the Conference of Independent African States gathered in Accra in April, 1958, on the Kamerun problem.
2. Invites all African organizations in particular, and all anticolonial countries in general to solicit from the UNO the following measures for resolving the Kamerun crisis, being measures which conform with the aims and dispositions of the Charter of the United Nations :

(a) a full, complete and unconditional amnesty together with the exercise of all democratic liberties and the free expression of all political opinions, through the abrogation of the decrees dissolving political parties and deportation orders (b) the return of all those deported or exiled to their country. (c) Organisation under the sole control of the UNO of a referendum on the questions of the reunification of Kamerun and of truly democratic elections for a national constituent Assembly, (d) The election by the 13th session of the General Assembly of the UNO of a Commission, representative, on a grand scale, of the Afro-Asian group, designed to organize, conduct and control all these electoral operations, with the aim of assuring democracy and political stability in this African territory.

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3. Decides to send a delegation of the Secretariat of this Conference to present itself at the United Nations on 20th February 1959, to affirm our solidarity with the Kamerun people and to watch the debates on that coun-
4. Demands all African countries to use all appropriate means to see to the application of this resolution during the debates on Kamerun.
5. Makes an appeal to all African organizations to manifest, on 20th February, 1959 by all the means that are adequate and appropriate, their solidarity with the Kamerun people.

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EXTRACT FROM THE REPORT OF
THE IVth COMMITTEE

The Committee took note that the 20th February, 1959, will be an important date in the history of the Cameroons, when a special session of the United Nations General Assembly will discuss the question of the unification and independence of the territory, and suggests that in sympathy with the people of the Cameroons that date should be observed as Cameroons Day.

The Committee proposes the following resolution :

"The All-African People's Conference denounces arbitrary frontiers drawn by imperialist powers to divide the peoples of Africa and calls for their abolition or adjustment at an early date. The Conference calls upon the Independent States of Africa to support a solution to this problem founded upon the true wishes of the people.

"The Conference notes that a Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly will discuss the question of the unification and independence of the Cameroons on the 20th February, 1959, and invites all Africans to observe that date as Cameroons Day."

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DECLARATION BY THE NIGERIAN DELEGATES TO THE ALL AFRICAN PEOPLES' CONFERENCE ON KAMERUN, AND A CALL BY THE SAID DELEGATES ON THE NIGERIAN PEOPLE TO VIEW WITH CONCERN THE SLANDER DIRECTED TOWARDS NIGERIA BY THE COLONIAL POWERS ADMINISTERING KAMERUN

In the United Nations and everywhere else, British representatives state that it is we in Nigeria who do not appreciate and who combat our brothers of Kamerun struggling for the reunification and independence of their country. This campaign which presents us as African imperialists desiring the annexation of Kamerun, is dangerous and likely to sow artificial discord between the friendly peoples of Nigeria and Kamerun.

We the undersigned, representing the undermentioned Nigerian delegations at the All African People's Conference, wish to express our concern over the growing impression of Nigerian complicity in the victimization of Kamerun nationalists, and Kamerun progressive organisations.

Here at this grand meeting of African peoples for solidarity in the struggle for freedom and national sovereignty, we wish to assure Kamerun delegates at the Conference, and all Kamerunians at home:

- a) that we believe in Nigeria having a strong, viable and friendly nation as her neighbour.
- b) that to that end we support the struggle of Kamerun people for unity and independence.
- c) that we regret the dissolution of Kamerun progressive organisations and the deportation of their leaders, especially as the impression has been created that Nigeria has been responsible for this when we are not yet in control of foreign policy and

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- d) that believing in African solidarity we do not appreciate that these people are up to now still barred from entering Nigeria and seeking moral and material aid for their struggle against colonialism and imperialism.

We wish further to state that we wish the Kamerun problem to be democratically resolved by a popular referendum organised and supervised by a Commission of the United Nations General Assembly at the same time in all the whole country as was the case in Togoland — which was admitted by the United Kingdom representative at the United Nations himself.

We are subscribing to the resolution of the Conference to the effect that February 20th 1959, be declared all over Africa as "Kamerun Day", and wish that on that day, when a special United National General Assembly Session is meeting to discuss the Kamerun problem, all organisations in Nigeria as everywhere else in Africa, express their solidarity with Kamerun people by :

- a) sending messages and memorandums to the Assembly,
- b) organizing demonstrations and giving press and radio publicity to the problem with a view to mobilizing world opinion towards an equitable settlement,
- c) protesting against the employment of Nigerian police and armed forces for the express purpose of suppressing genuine Kamerun, nationalism and
- d) allowing Kamerunians free access to all sections of the territory administered as part of the Federation during the referendum campaigns.

Accra, 12th December 1958

Signatures

- 1) The All-Nigeria Trade Union Federation :
W.O. GOODLUCK.
- 2) The Zikist National Vanguard : *O.O THOMPSON*
- 3) Movement for Colonial Freedom (Nigeria) Servants of Africa .
Lateef B HUSASIN
- 4) Nigerian Study Group *Abdul G.H DABIRI.*
- 5) NEPU Youth Association :
Mallam E.A. TANKO-YAKASSAI

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SUGGESTIONS FOR THE KAMERUNS DAY
20th FEBRUARY 1959

Dear Brothers,

"Down with Colonialism, down with Imperialism!" It still vibrates in all ears... this cry which was launched by the African Peoples' Conference which has just been held in Accra. This historic Conference which has marked with more force than ever before the will of Africans to unite and to liberate themselves immediately from all forms of oppression.

To help the Kamerunian people in their struggle for unity and independence which is an integral part of the struggle led by Africa as a whole, the Conference has unanimously decided to celebrate the 20th of February 1959 as the "Kamerun Day". Such a decision proves first of all the failure of the manoeuvres of African opposers led by Imperialists, especially the French and the British. In fact, they have been claiming that the brotherly people of Nigeria oppose by every means the reunification of the Kamerun. However, this unanimously adopted decision has in fact been presented to the Conference by a Nigerian delegate. It also proves the gravity of the situation in the Kamerun: while pretending to approve a democratic referendum for the reunification of the Kamerun and while promising independence in 1960, Imperialists persist in their merciless war against those who have always struggled for their national unity and independence and who are driven for this very reason underground, their leaders exiled and their militants thrown in prisons and concentration camps. This is the scandalous situation which the United Nations are going to study in their special session that will be held on January 20th 1959.

To witness an effective solidarity with the people of the Kamerun, to force the imperialists to leave them decide freely their own destiny and to put the U.N. face to face with its heavy responsibilities, the immortal incarnation of the Kamerunian people, the Union of the Peoples of the Camerun, asks



The delegation of the Union of Populations of the Cameroons to the Accra Conference is shown here with Kamerunian residents in Accra. Mr. Ernest Ouandié, Vice-President of the Party, is seen sitting between two Kamerunian women residing in Accra. M. Félix Roland-Moumié, President, is also seen (3rd. from the right, standing). Osendé Afana, Kamerun's representative to the Afro-Asian Permanent Secretariat (3rd. from the left, standing), and M. V.A. Forsey, Secretary General of the Kamerun National Union (extreme left, standing), is also seen in the picture.

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all African organizations and all anti-colonialists in the world to carry out the following manifestations on the occasion of the 20th of February 1959:

- 1) A series of press articles, radio broadcasts and meeting to deal with the heroic struggle of our people and the atrocities and treachery of colonialists and the immense economic potentialities of our country.
- 2) Peaceful demonstrations before the embassies and consulates of France and the United Kingdom as well as before the centres of the U.N. for the immediate peaceful and democratic solution of the Kamerunian problem.
- 3) Collections of funds, clothes, books and medicines for the victims of the colonialists war. The funds thus collected should be forwarded to the office of the Union of the People of the Camerun in Cairo.
- 4) Individual and collective petitions addressed to the President of the General Assembly asking for:
 - a) The immediate establishment of a normal political life in the Kamerun through the withdrawal of foreign troops, the issuing of a law of total unconditional amnesty, and also the re-establishment of the U.P.C. and all other organizations which were previously dissolved.
 - b) A totally democratic Referendum in the two parts of the Kamerun simultaneously on the following question: "FOR or AGAINST the Reunification of the country?"
 - c) General Elections in the two parts to elect a Constitutive National Assembly.
 - d) Sending a Commission of the United Nations, to be elected by the General Assembly to organize and supervise this popular referendum.

We shall be very grateful if you would inform us of the steps which you would take for the realization of this programme.

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We hope that these suggestions will meet your kind approval and that they will be the object of your sympathy. Do rest assured dear brothers of our best sentiment.

Accra 17th of December 1958
For the Bureau of the Leading Committee

Felix-Roland MOUMIE
President of the U.P.C.

Ernest OUANDIE
Vice-President of the U.P.C.

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**CAMEROONS UNDER FRENCH ADMINISTRATION
THE CONFERENCE OF INDEPENDENT
AFRICAN STATES**

Having examined the Memorandum on the situation in the Cameroons under French Administration submitted by the Union of the Populations of Cameroons, and the statement made by the Representative of this Party during the hearing granted to him in the Conference.

Bearing in mind the objectives of the International Trusteeship and the objectives proclaimed by the Bandung Conference,

- 1) **Condemns** the use of military forces against the unarmed people in the Trust Territory of the Cameroons under French Administration as contrary to the spirit of the United Nations.
- 2) **Calls** upon the Administering Powers to comply with the Charter of the United Nations and satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the people concerned by opening direct negotiations with their rightful representatives,
- 3) **Appeals** to the United Nations to intensify its efforts in helping the people of the Cameroons to achieve their legitimate political aspirations.

"MONDIALE PRESS" — 16, Darih Saad Street — Cairo.

REMEMBER THAT

- (1) On February 20, 1959, an extraordinary session of the U.N. General Assembly will take place, with the only task of deciding the Kamerun's Reunification and Independence.
- (2) FEBRUARY 20, 1959 has been unanimously adopted by the All-African Peoples Conference as :

KAMERUN DAY

ON FEBRUARY 20, 1959

- Press and Radio campaigns
- Fund collecting
- Public meetings and demonstrations of protests

IN FAVOUR OF MARTYR-KAMERUN

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Colonised peoples can elaborate neither the policy of a party or that of a State, and with greater reason the policy of a man. Colonised peoples elaborate their own policy which is the policy of liberation from the colonial yoke, and in their struggle for the realisation of this noble objective they observe and they judge. They observe governments, parties, individuals, newspapers, not that they observe their ideology or programme, but only their attitude towards the aspirations of our countries, populations. Such is the position of the U.P.C. at the service of the Kamerunian People.

RUBEN UM NYOBE
Secretary General of the U.P.C.

THE U. N.

and the

KAMERUNIAN PROBLEM

RED - for the blood of Patriots who died for the National cause.

CRAB - of Rio dos Cameroes - original name of the Kamerun.

*The U. N.
and the Kamerunian
Problem*

FOREWORD

Many people in the Kamerun and abroad have started to believe that the United Nations Organisation has not always honourably respected its obligations as regards trust territories. Protagonists of this opinion do not hesitate to affirm that the U.N. has even totally failed in its task, and that it is only an instrument to the service of Imperialists whom it helps to make up colonialism and to extend a little bit more their domination over these territories. They think it is worthless to waste time in sending petitions to the U.N.

However, it should be noted that a great number of the propagators of this opinion, are persons more or less badly informed, and hasty in their judgment. Others, on the contrary, are persons who are simply ill-disposed. They are opportunists, agents of imperialism who, to please their masters, keep saying that the U.N. has no authority whatsoever, and that anyone has the full right to ignore its resolutions, however firm they may be.

The "Voice of Kamerun", organ of the Union of Populations of the Cameroons (U.P.C.), has already consecrated many articles to this problem, the importance of which is not to demonstrate the efficiency or unefficiency of the U.N. in general and in particular, as regard the trust territories, to which problem the question of the agency's prestige is linked.

This pamphlet, whose ambition is to expose to public opinion the debates which, during almost one month, the IVth Commission of the 13th session of the U.N. General Assembly has consecrated to the Kamerunian problem, will say a few words on the issue and will show that if, in fact, in a certain measure and until a certain time, that was the standing situation, since the Togolese elections of April 27, 1958, which constitute an example to the procedure of ending a trust regime, and now with the Kamerunian problem before it, the U.N. seems to have decided to get rid of the colonial powers influence, to consider the trust problems with objectivity and impartiality, and try to find just solutions for them,

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in conformity with the spirit of our time as well as with the spirit of the Charter.

It should not be surprising to find in this pamphlet the speech delivered in the name of the Kamerunian Women's Democratic Union (UDEFEK) by the representative of the U.P.C. This should not indicate that UDEFEK is a branch of the U.P.C. The speech was delivered by the U.P.C. representative in the framework of the solidarity that links anti-colonialist organisations in the Kamerun. Asked to speak in the name of the Kamerunian women, our friend Martha Ouandié had difficulties to make the trip, and since it was not a question of personal cause to defend before international courts, she did not hesitate to ask the U.P.C. representative to deliver the speech in her name, say in the name of the Kamerunian women who are gallantly struggling side by side with the people of their country.

We would have liked very much to pay tribute here to all delegations who have taken position on the drama that is tearing our Country apart for nearly four years. The best way we could have done this was to reproduce here the texts of their speeches. However we could not do that for technical reasons. In any case, these countries and their peoples may rest assured that the Kamerunian patriots have taken their attitude in consideration and only wait for the opportunity to express their deep gratitude.

We should not be accused of regionalism for having in this pamphlet emphasised the African solidarity. We are convinced that after the All-African Peoples' Conference which has openly dealt with our problem, and most of all taking into account the unanimity obtained in this issue, the solidarity of the 9 independent African nations will be felt, even more, during the extraordinary session of February 20, 1959, in New York.

We have been very sensitive to the comprehension expressed by certain South American delegations who have supported without any hesitations the fair position defended by the Kamerunian petitioners. Their position is the more praiseworthy that it has been expressed in spite of all the hidden and public pressures from the part of France in particular.

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Naturally as usual, the majority of Asian countries headed by India, the Philippines and Ceylon, have raised high the flag of Afro-Asian solidarity.

Finally, we praise the IVth Commission's executive headed by Mr. Boland, representative of Ireland, who is well aware of the historic role he would be called to play in the liberation of the Kamerunian people from the yoke of foreign domination.

Debates of the IVth Commission of the 13th session of the U.N. General Assembly have been important in themselves and with respect to the two resolutions that it has adopted, and the reader will agree after having read the texts contained in this pamphlet.

An important delegation such as the U.S. delegation did not hesitate to state that "the Kamerunian problem is extremely complicated". It is true that another delegation replied that if the problem was complicated, it was thanks to France and the United Kingdom that have made it complicated. France, by dissolving the political organisations, the most representative in the Country, by throwing certain of their leaders and members in prisons and concentration camps and by exiling some others, by concentrating in the Country 60,000 soldiers, forcing the population to take the underground, and by instoring into power a puppet Assembly and a puppet government. And the United Kingdom, by dissolving the same political organisations, by dividing unilaterally and without previous consultation of the U.N., Western Kamerun, in order to have Trusteeship Agreements modified, by integrating this zone of the Country to the Nigerian Federation, and finally by taking no step to elaborate an autonomous programme for the end of the trust regime in this part of the Kamerun, without any consideration to the future of the Nigerian Federation.

As to the two resolutions that ended debates, we should first point out that these resolutions have been presented following a great defeat of the colonialist bloc, when a draft resolution submitted by the U.S. delegation was rejected by 34 votes against 29 and 9 abstentions. The draft resolution recommended to submit the issue to the 14th session of the

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General Assembly, considering the fact that it was not so urgent as to necessitate an extraordinary session. This, in fact, was contradictory to the same delegation's previous statement whereas "the Kamerunian problem is extremely complicated". We should also note that the French delegation, who also voted for the two resolutions after a few amendments, had previously considered them as absolutely unacceptable and provocative to the French government.

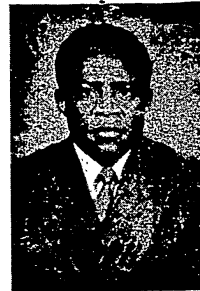
In any case, the impression of any neutral observer to the debates, would be that the U.N. possessed all data and all the necessary elements to take all measures as regards the preamble questions to the problem of ending the trust regime in both zones of the Kamerun.

Nothing will justify and nothing will permit to free the responsibility of the member-nations of the IVth Commission, as to the catastrophic consequences of any contrary measures they would eventually adopt during the extraordinary session of February 20, 1959. We wish now to express our deep gratitude to all delegations that showed very remarkable sympathy, friendship and objectivity towards our problem.

Cairo, January 3, 1959.



Ruben UM NYOBE
Secretary General of the U.P.C.



Abel KINGUE



Ernest OUANDIE

Vice-Presidents of the U.P.C.

STATEMENT MADE BY MR. FELIX-ROLAND MOUMIE,
representative of the Union des Populations du Cameroun,
at the 775th meeting of the Fourth Committee on 28 October 1953

(see A/C.4/SR.775)

Mr. Chairman,

On behalf of the Kamerunian people and its imperishable embodiment, the *Union des Populations du Cameroun*, and of the *Jeunesse Démocratique du Cameroun*, which has authorised me to represent them, I thank your august Assembly for having so kindly granted us a hearing in this particularly difficult period in my country's fight for freedom and at the very moment when a United Nations Visiting Mission is in Kamerun.

The French delegation made a very important statement this morning on the policy which France intends to put into effect in Kamerun. Until the text of this statement has been circulated and carefully studied, I shall content myself with describing the situation as it exists in Kamerun — a situation which is not altered by the French delegation's statement. However, while I intend to analyse the French statement and present our views on it, I must point out that the dogged and courageous struggle of the Kamerunian people has none the less led France — whose policy until now has been to deny the justice of our national demands — to take an important step towards the solution of our country's problems.

Having been educated by France and having savoured the subtleties of the language of Voltaire, we know just how important the exact meaning of the words and expressions in a statement of such great import as the one made this morning can be. This is by way of justification for the reservations we shall make in commenting on the statement just referred to.

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While it is true that the Assembly, following its established practice, has once again respected the right of petition accorded to the inhabitants of Trust Territories by Article 87 of the Charter, we take pleasure in laying particular emphasis on this attitude in view of the numerous violations of the Charter which are causing suffering to our people and so many others across the world. We would like to see in the hearing which you granted us an indication that the United Nations is setting its face against serving the interests of any Power whatsoever and is placing itself resolutely at the service of law and justice, as well as of peace in no matter what part of the world. That is why we shall speak in all sincerity, first, about the situation in Kamerun since the last regular session of the General Assembly and, then, of the ways and means which we advocate to ensure respect for the Charter in our country.

The situation since December 1957

On 13 December 1957, the United Nations General Assembly unanimously adopted a resolution calling on the administering Powers to restore normal political life in Kamerun through a series of measures which were specified during the debates and which we shall here merely allude to :

- (1) The withdrawal of foreign troops from Kamerun ;
- (2) The reinstatement of all the political parties which had been dissolved, namely, the UPC, UDEFEC and JDC ;
- (3) The restoration of all political freedoms, and, in particular, freedom of assembly, speech, association and the like ;
- (4) A complete and unconditional amnesty in respect of acts of a political nature giving rise to penalties and persecutions since 1955, and the return of deported persons and political exiles ;
- (5) As a natural corollary, expressly laid down in paragraph 5 of that resolution : "The realization in both

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Territories of the final objectives of the Trusteeship System, in accordance with the free expression of the wishes of the populations concerned, taking into account any alternative relative to their future status".

Although the representatives of France and the United Kingdom also voted for this resolution, they have carried out a policy which is totally opposed to it.

In a twelve-page memorandum which I delivered to the United Nations Visiting Mission on 16 October before it left New York, I listed a number of acts committed by the Administering Authorities in Kamerun which are in flagrant violation of the letter and spirit of the United Nations resolution of 13 December 1957. As that document has been widely circulated both inside and outside this building, I can see no point or advantage in repeating here the arguments which it contains. It will be enough if I merely recall some of the more striking aspects of the situation which has prevailed in our country since the twelfth session of the United Nations General Assembly. They are sufficiently impressive to need no comment.

- (1) Instead of the full and complete amnesty unanimously urged by all Kamerunian petitioners and recommended by the United Nations, France has decreed a "*grâce amnistiante*" (remission of sentence by way of amnesty). The expression itself reveals that the true intention of its author is to deceive world opinion by a pseudo-liberalism and to present itself in a favourable light while at the same time engaging more fiercely in repression and massacre. The French delegation had done its utmost to prove to the Trusteeship Council that the application of the "measures of clemency" recommended by the United Nations has been hampered because of the existence of "terrorists", or common criminals, who do not deserve to benefit from the measures taken in respect of political offences. This is an over-simplification, for these "common criminals" are none other than the patriots who are being arrested, beaten and jailed with impunity because of their political activities and convictions. Last year, before this very Committee, Mr. Soppo Priso —

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the keeper of Mr. Ahidjo's conscience — said that the identity of Dr. Délangué's murderer was not known. Some months later, although there had been no fresh developments, nine patriots were condemned to death for that very crime on the mere evidence of mercenaries and paid informers. But the procedure followed was worse than the sentence. Quite apart from the absence of evidence of guilt, the judges deprived the accused of their defence. Mr. Louisia and Mr. Kaldor, French counsels for the defence, were expelled from the Territory because their presence on the side of the defendants was proving an obstacle and an embarrassment to that summary justice which has become the recognized practice in Kamerun. In April 1958, of 364 political prisoners in Dschang prison, 324 were officially charged with "terrorism". Among these were young children who had been arrested at Douala during the periodic round-ups and released in the Bamiléké region only to be subsequently re-arrested and charged with "terrorism". The proportion is almost identical in other prisons of the Territory, and they are as numerous as the districts and villages of Kamerun.

As a matter of fact, the word "terrorism" has been used so often by the French judges in Kamerun that it has lost all meaning, and there is every justification for wondering whether during its forty-five years in the Territory France has been doing anything else but training Kamerunians in "terrorism". Thus, even to carry a UPC publication is regarded as "terrorism". This has all come about because the Administering Authorities and their menials, being anxious to keep a puppet government in office, would like to get rid of everyone who does not think as they do and who fails to obey their injunctions or accept their demagogic policy. There is, above all, the fear on the part of the Administering Authorities that after the experience in Togoland a popular vote taken under United Nations supervision would show that those who have frequently been described as "minorities" would turn out to be big majorities of 70 per cent. This would seem to explain why Ruben Um Nyobé was murdered. As proof there is the fact that on the day following the announcement of his death, Ahidjo, jubilant and no longer able to control his joy, lost no time in announcing in *La Presse du*

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Cameroun, "Mr. Ruben Um Nyobé has reaped what he has sown...".

The very nature of this "*grâce amnistiante*" proves that the intention of the Administering Authorities is to get rid of all the "undesirables". The enjoyment of the benefits provided by the measure is subject to the following conditions :

- (a) The remission of sentence applies individually and not generally, precisely in order to prevent the "undesirables" from taking advantage of it ;
- (b) Individual applications signed by the offenders are required ;
- (c) The applicants must undertake not to take part in "dissolved political movements" ;
- (d) The remission of sentence is at the discretion of the Administering Authorities.

Those who have agreed to surrender in this way are today holders of cheques given as bribes ; they are provided with every material advantage and are in possession of full powers, including the power to destroy the "rebels" and the "black beasts". "The "black beasts" are the members of the UPC, and this is part of the psychological campaign arranged by Colonel Lacheroy in connexion with the "revolutionary wars", a campaign in which mobile cinema performances and "re-education" meetings are being held throughout the country at the expense of the taxpayers and for the obvious purpose of getting rid of the UPC. We have photographs of this campaign in our possession.

(2) The total military strength, which in November 1957 was 30,000, has been increased to 60,000. On 6 May 1958 Radio Brazzaville announced the dispatch of additional reinforcements to Kamerun. These troops come from what is known as French Equatorial Africa ; the parachutists come from France. Modern arms and munitions were sent at the same time to ensure the success of the campaign of genocide that is intended to make Kamerun a politically reliable area. This undertaking is especially "necessary" in view of the un-

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doubted UPC victory that would result if the people were permitted to express their genuine opinion.

(3) In a concerted action, the United Kingdom authorities have since 1957 been repeatedly violating both their own laws and the Charter. A message which reached us in New York on 23 October reported the execution on the night of 4 to 5 October of five patriots who had been arrested by the United Kingdom authorities and handed over to the French police for that purpose. Among these were Sowe Christophe, Somo Pierre and Kangué Ferdinand.

The summary executions are without number. There is the case, for example, of certain patriots whose throats were cut after they had died by hanging in the open market at Bafoussam and Baham. Here, too, the gallows and this savagery are resorted to in the hope of winning over patriots who believe in the UPC and are loyal supporters of its policy.

(4) There are at present more than 50,000 persons in the concentration camps, including pregnant women, old men and children. They live in wretched conditions and many of them die of hunger or of the consequences of torture or of diseases contracted in the camps.

That, in broad outline, is the situation as it has existed in Kamerun since we were granted a hearing by this Committee last year. Not a single incident has been exaggerated; they all reveal the truth and nothing but the truth. How, in these circumstances, is it possible to reconcile such a state of affairs and the "desire" of the Administering Authorities and the "Ahidjo Government" to recognize the independence of Kamerun? The secret is revealed to us by a French newspaper, *La Tribune des Nations*, in the following passage:

"All the efforts of the French administration are designed to make the UPC lose its status as a genuine spokesman. A wide variety of measures has been employed to this end, but not one appears to have been effective". (issue of 28 March 1958).

These methods having failed, it was necessary to find a panacea.

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The irresistible will of the inhabitants of Kamerun for national unity and independence is so strong that none dare check it. Since, therefore, it cannot be conjured away, independence would be granted to us on condition that, in the last resort, it would serve only the puppets and not the Kamerunian people.

This explains why the "Ahidjo Government", which is supported by Mr. Soppo Priso and the Rue Oudinot, fiercely opposed Mr. Amougou's motion for independence in 1959. Early independence would, they think, prevent the total elimination of the "undesirables". Independence therefore had to be delayed so that in the meantime all the "undesirables" could be killed, with the United Nations unconcerned and others aiding and abetting.

In my statements of 20 and 22 October 1958, I explained the attitude of the UPC to the Franco-Kamerunian Government's decision to "advocate" independence for the Territory in January 1960. I emphasized the procedural difficulties which might arise and the demagogic nature of such a statement. Apart from these procedural and demagogic aspects, two important facts have to be pointed out:

- (a) The invincible longing and will of our people have forced the administering Powers and their lackeys to admit that the independence and reunification of Kamerun is necessary and an inalienable right. We ourselves are morally satisfied that we have held high the banner of principle in this hard and tragic struggle despite all the moral and physical pressure which was brought to bear to make us abandon our noble aims, for you will recall, Mr. Chairman, that last year in this very Committee the French delegation in particular bitterly opposed the mere choice of the Kamerunian people for independence. We would like to think that this trend will not be confined to certain fields but will continue to advance so that the wounds caused by a tragic situation, unique in its kind and in the history of the International Trusteeship System, may be healed. I mean that France should take a step in the direc-

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tion of a peace that is genuine — not a peace like that which it claimed to have restored but which was built on dying embers and sand.

- (b) Any termination of trusteeship before the attainment of independence, as was announced in *The New York Times* of 20 October 1958, is viewed by us with fear and apprehension.

As we see it, trusteeship should not be terminated until certain preliminaries have been recommended by the United Nations and carried out by the Administering Authorities, until harmony has been restored and the citizens have been assured of their freedoms and until independence has been reliably established by a *democratic* transfer of powers.

These are conditions that are in complete accord with the spirit and letter of the Charter. In addition, they are in accord with the practice of the United Nations in trusteeship matters, as illustrated and confirmed by the case of Togoland.

It may be well to cite, before this august Committee, certain facts which led up to the decision — albeit a demagogic decision — of the "Ahidjo Government" and the "Legislative Assembly of the Cameroons".

A. The decision by which in February 1958 the puppet assembly of Western Kamerun asked for independence by 1959.

B. The Assembly of traditional chiefs of Western Kamerun decided on 5 April, with only two opposing votes, in favour of separation *at all costs* from Nigeria with a view to the reunification of our country. The strength of the feeling in favour of reunification will be better appreciated if it is remembered that the British colonialists set up that Chamber in June 1957 for the precise purpose of reversing the trend towards union.

C. *The Union Nationale des Associations Traditionnelles du Kamerun* (UNATRAKAM) considers unity and independence to be a requisite of its non-political programme. Last year it sent two notables to this august Assembly, one of whom, Eyidi Bébéy, was arbitrarily detained, while the

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other, Kameny Anatole, is still in prison despite all the assurances given in this very chamber by the representative of France. Despite this persecution, UNATRAKAM held a special congress in April 1958, at which its adherence to the national programme was reiterated, and a day of mourning in homage to the victims of the colonialist war was proclaimed for 2 May. Unfortunately, however, this demonstration was prohibited.

D. In August, the *Union Nationale des Etudiants Kamerunais sous Domination Française* signed, together with their compatriots and fellow-students of the United Kingdom, a resolution in which they:

"Resolutely condemned any Government, person or organization whose policy is designed to perpetuate the present division or to foil the aspirations of the Kamerunian people.

"Denounced the attitude of certain Kamerunian leaders who, in order to aid their electoral campaign or increase their prestige with the masses, profess themselves in favour of unification without seeking to achieve it.

"Called for a meeting, to be held before 1 December 1958 and to include all traditional organizations, of all political movements without exception and of the representatives of the Governments of the two zones of Kamerun for the purpose of considering the procedure for effecting unification.

"Solemnly appealed to the United Nations, which on more than one occasion has recognized that the Kamerunians desire the unification of their country, to make arrangements for a referendum on the unification of Kamerun to be held in the first quarter of 1959.

"Reaffirmed their attachment to the unconditional independence of Kamerun and asked for the attainment of independence by both zones of Kamerun before the referendum.

"Called for the ending of the repression in the zone under French trusteeship and for the proclamation of a general amnesty so that normal political life may be restored in the country before any consultation of the people is held."

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(8) Lastly, some Frenchmen find it so difficult and so painful to detach themselves from the idea of colonialism that, in order to live in real peace or maintain long-lasting friendly relationships with France, the best course is to live in independence at a distance from the country.

There are obviously various other reasons which there would be no point in mentioning here.

For all these reasons, I therefore consider entirely relevant the request that full and effective independence be granted to the Cameroons within a very short time.

From now on I shall urge my political supporters to take this new position.

Although Mbida actually represents nothing more than his own family and certain colonial circles, the position he has taken is still of some interest. In the first place, it develops some of the arguments which we have always stressed such as the opposition of French colonialists to the independence of colonized peoples (arguments 1 and 8) and the maturity of the Kamerunian people even by comparison with countries which are already independent or about to become so. The change of position on the part of Mbida and his followers testifies above all to the force of the popular current which is directed toward goals that no one dares any longer to fight openly.

F. This truth was again manifested at the Constitutional Conference in London last September. Opponents of reunification had to resort to a lie and claim that Eastern Kamerun was already integrated into the "French Union". On the other hand, the Chiefs, who in the words of *West Africa* (issue of 27 September 1958, page 921) are the traditional guides of the people forcefully reaffirmed their opposition to Nigeria. This opposition was all the stronger because the colonialists this year gave an institutional stamp to their integrationist designs by the fact that in preparing for the celebration of Nigerian independence, they set up a committee to choose the emblem, the anthem and the motto and to carry out the preparations — a committee which,

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despite serious popular opposition, included puppets from Western Kamerun.

The Fourth Committee now has at its disposal two important factors which were necessary for understanding the Kamerunian problem. They are :

First, the policy followed in Kamerun by the administering Powers from the time of the resolution of 13 December 1957 up to the present time.

Second, the reaction of the Kamerunian people in spite of the increased intensity of repressive measures, a reaction which has obliged our fiercest opponents to recognize facts which they have always fought against, often with fire and sword

In addition to these factors, we have thought it advisable to stress a further matter which has passed unnoticed by some persons who are otherwise well informed

The Economic Possibilities of Kamerun

If the Administering Authorities insist on fighting the UPC for the benefit of a few puppets, there must be some underlying reason for this attitude. This was given in the French newspaper at Tunis, "*La Presse*", which is the counterpart of the great French daily "*Combat*". It recently wrote that France is more than ever determined to keep Kamerun in order to draw from that country the wealth which it lost in Guinea when the latter became independent. This statement, which expresses a dazzling truth, was not denied by the French Government. The Government department for economic documentation (20, rue de l'Arcade, Paris) wrote : "The Cameroons is one of the richest territories of all 'Black Africa'".

Its wealth lies in its agricultural and forest resources. In the Eastern Zone alone the arable land represents more than 25 per cent of the total land area as against 4 per cent in other countries. This land makes it possible to produce under very profitable conditions not only food crops (rice,

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peanuts, yams, etc.) but also, and in particular, export crops. The output of the two zones gives Kamerun a very prominent place among the African producers of cocoa (third after Ghana and Nigeria), coffee (second) and bananas (third). Kamerunian palm oil is particularly rich in carotene: 1.25 grammes per kilogramme as against 0.6 gramme in the oil coming, for example, from the so-called Belgian Congo. The cotton yield averages 400 kilogrammes per hectare and sometimes as much as 900 kilogrammes per hectare, thus reaching the United States level. Kamerun is the only African country to supply France with tobacco for cigar-wrappers. As to rubber, the factory at Dizangué is the most modern in Africa, and ours is the only country still supplying rubber to the French colonialists since Indo-China attained its independence. With regard to tea, the possibilities appear good, although production has thus far remained rather low. Although, as regards animal husbandry, modern equipment (slaughter-houses, cold-storage plants, etc.) is either insufficient or non-existent, we supply meat to Nigeria, French Equatorial Africa and even the so-called Belgian Congo. What can be said about timber resources? Forest covers 33 per cent of the land area in the Eastern Zone, and although production is only about 16 per cent, it already yields large tonnages of assorted valuable woods, such as *iroko*, which is very much in demand for shipbuilding, *azobe*, which is practically rot-proof, etc. French experts estimate that the Edéa centre alone can produce 200 tons of pulp for paper per day. All that is needed is the investment of capital and hydroelectric power to the extent of 10,000 kilowatts. As from next year, the hydroelectric station at Edéa will be able to produce 1,360 million kilowatts, which is more than the total consumption of Morocco and Algeria at the present time. In addition, there are about a dozen waterfalls in Kamerun with a production potential equal to that of Edéa and at least two which are much more powerful, one about forty-five kilometres above Edéa, and the other Menchem Falls in the Western Zone. These hydroelectric resources have the great advantage of being obtainable at almost no cost: the price per kilowatt-hour is from two to five times cheaper in Kamerun than in France. That is why, starting next year, the Pechiney and Ugine Trusts will be using Edéa to produce about one-third

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of the French aluminium requirements. The process is proving so profitable that aluminium produced in Kamerun and rolled in France costs even less than that produced entirely in France. Up till now, however, bauxite has had to be imported. What will happen when mining is begun in the rich deposits of Dschang (in the western part of Eastern Kamerun)?

Although very little prospecting has been done, our subsoil shows great promise: bauxite, iron, manganese, uranium, columbite and tantalite, molybdenum, tungsten, rutile, tin, gold and diamonds. The authorities expelled a French engineer from the country merely because he had stated that the investigations of his team had from the start, and in spite of limited resources, showed the existence of exceptionally large deposits, particularly of iron and manganese.

As regards petroleum, the sedimentary basin of the Campo indicates the existence of large sheets, representing an extension of those of the Gabon. The same is true for the Victoria Basin (Western Kamerun), an extension of the Douala Basin where the seeping petroleum has been used for decades by the indigenous inhabitants. Systematic drilling that was begun around 1950 resulted in 1956 in a gusher officially estimated at 750,000 to 1 million cubic metres of gas per day with an oil density of 0.860 and the exceptional pressure of 300 kilogrammes per square centimetre. The flow could not be controlled for thirty-eight days. Other sheets of gas have been discovered around the first well. In addition to petroleum and gas, there is also coal in the Province of Bamenda (Western Kamerun).

This would indicate that the economic possibilities of Kamerun are considerable. This is particularly true as the population, although unevenly distributed, shows great vitality. The annual rate of growth is 2 per cent, and the density per square kilometre 9 per cent, against respectively 1.2 per cent and 6 per cent in Africa as a whole. All observers acknowledge the endurance of the people and their capacity to adapt themselves to modern techniques of production and organization. To cite only one example, there is the case of the Kamerunian banana producers. The magazine *L'Année*

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Française, in its issue of 2 July 1953, page 51, contained the following statement :

"African banana production is a recent development dating from 1946. The current belief up to that time had been that the market risks and the rigorous and delicate operations of caring for, gathering and shipping the bananas would discourage the African farmers; the producers would be content to sell their crops to their European neighbours. In the past few years, however, the small planters have made the adjustment. Working in producers' associations or with the *Société de prévoyance*, they have been expanding their sales, which rose from 4,380 tons in 1947 to 16,700 tons in 1951, and increased from 13.8 per cent to 34 per cent of the total tonnage."

Today they are well past the two-thirds mark in the export of bananas.

I wish to apologize, Mr. Chairman, for having stressed this first part of the report. This emphasis on the economic aspect is a necessary condition for understanding our difficulties and the obstinacy of certain Powers who disregard the opinion of the United Nations when they are not trying to prevent it from exercising its supervision over the administration of Kamerun. Businessmen and countries interested in investing capital in our country should understand that, without political stability, both productivity and a return on their investments will always remain precarious and risky. Capital investments in our opinion — and many persons agree with us — are useful only to the extent that the country being given these funds or techniques is politically secure and only to the extent that the Governments or businessmen concerned are negotiating, not with puppets with an uncertain future, but with representatives of the people who really have the confidence of the people. This is good business logic

Our Proposals

In this chapter we shall discuss :

- I. Our offers to negotiate with General de Gaulle ;
- II. The Gerig Visiting Mission and the possibility of its being replaced by a General Assembly Commission



Miss Angie Brooks, delegate from Liberia, is seen here chatting with the President of the U.P.C. and delegates of the National Union of Kamerunian Students, during recess.

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I. — *Our Offers of Negotiation.*

On 10 October 1958, through the Swiss Embassy at Cairo, the UPC submitted offers to negotiate with General de Gaulle, whom the French people had supported in the plebiscite of 28 September 1958.

These offers were not made for propaganda purposes, nor did they indicate a readiness to surrender on our part... On the contrary, they reflect our constant concern to spare the lives of our people and to live at peace. In fact, it was before this very Committee in 1954 that Ruben Um Nyobé, my friend and comrade, expressed our desire for a policy based on agreement and co-operation with the Administering Authority. The latter, instead of coming to an understanding with us, has constantly resorted to a policy marked by severity and harsh repressive measures.

I referred in this Committee last year to the letters which our party had sent to the French authorities. No reply has yet been received unless murder, as recently perpetrated against Ruben Um Nyobé, the General Secretary of the UPC, constitutes a reply.

All this is evidence of our sincere desire for peace and harmony.

The UPC, although severely ostracized and the victim of a massive genocide campaign, has not deemed it desirable or advisable to reply in kind, even though it could have done so. It has refrained for the time being from acting in this way in order to exhaust its store of patience and to resort to every means of action available to it because its principle is that of the prophet Ezekiel who said in the Bible: "For I have no pleasure in the death of him that dieth... wherefore turn yourselves, and live ye". (Chapter 18, Verse 32).

We have addressed ourselves to General de Gaulle in the belief that he, by breaking with the traditional, degrading policy of his predecessors, will seek to establish in or restore to the France which we love so dearly that grandeur which, in other things, has made it one of the greatest nations in the world.

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As we have already said, de Gaulle has certain advantages at the outset :

- (a) He is not responsible for the present situation in Kamerun. It exists by the will of those against whose colonial policy and inflexibility, which very nearly caused France to become a dead weight, de Gaulle and the French people rebelled.
- (b) De Gaulle also has a very solid legal argument as article 4 of the Act of 10 January 1936, pursuant to which the UPC and other democratic organizations were dissolved, states that "this Act shall apply to Algeria and France". Since Kamerun is not France, and much less Algeria, it would ill become de Gaulle, who has professed his faith in the law and in democracy, to lend his authority to a legal monstrosity of this kind.
- (c) According to an old French saying, "One only destroys what one rebuilds. The French Constitution of 27 October 1946 is dead, and that of the Fifth Republic has been erected on its ruins. To fly in the face of history and facts in order to uphold a decrepit, antiquated prestige would be a backward step. The power and representative character of the UPC are no longer challenged by anyone, not even in official quarters. In order to avoid the irksome set-backs which occurred in Togoland, de Gaulle would do well not to take any action until he has negotiated with the UPC or restored it to legal status. Any action of this kind initiated by him would greatly enhance and indelibly seal that French prestige which he wants to be vigorous.
- (d) De Gaulle has said that he would grant independence to the territories which asked for it, but the UPC has been outlawed for the very reason that it is fighting for independence. It would be inconsistent to accept or to advocate independence for Kamerun while denying independence to its people, whose immortal soul is the UPC.

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- (e) Moreover, by accepting our offers, de Gaulle would magnanimously express his gratitude to those who, in France's darkest hour, helped him to rebuild an army which marched from Douala through Chad, the Fezzan and Italy to liberate France from the clutches of Hitlerism. De Gaulle knows that our experience is not new in history. He himself came from abroad to lead a campaign which enabled his country to be independent. Unless he accepts the principle that there should be one law for the rich and another for the poor, it would be wrong for him to argue that we cannot know what is happening in Kamerun because we are far away.
- (f) We have clearly stated in our letter that we do not consider independence as necessarily entailing a severance of relations with France. We realize that we have economic and cultural ties, not to mention others, with France and the United Kingdom and that these relations have existed for forty-five years of colonization. In this connexion, my friend Ruben Um Nyobé wrote that "the stamp of France is for us a necessity" (*La Dépêche du Midi*, 14 December 1956).

We understand and appreciate this relationship to the extent that it is characterized not by subordination but by co-operation resting on a solid and strengthened basis of equality and mutual respect.

It is even possible that our future relationship will be based on the new French Constitution. It all depends upon how the others, our partners, behave towards us. The *New York Times* said on 18 October 1958 that "the French High Commissioner in Togoland has stated that he gets along better with Olympio than with Grunitzky". Yet in this very Committee last year a certain delegation called Olympio a subversive . and all the other things we are being called today.

- (g) Lastly, General de Gaulle has enormous powers under article 92 of the new French Constitution. He can make laws on many questions for and on behalf of the French Parliament

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In view of this favourable background, we venture to believe that General de Gaulle will not cause his country to lose the trust which the Kamerunians might place in it and that, by taking a bold step, he will order a return to peace and harmony. When this has been done, France and Kamerun will be in a position to form a new community built on mutual trust.

II. -- *The Gering Visiting Mission and our opinion.*

We have expressed our views on the role of a true visiting mission in the memorandum, referred to at the beginning of my statement, that we submitted to the United Nations Visiting Mission which left for Kamerun on 18 October.

Our opinion was based on the following facts and documents :

- (a) The 1955 Visiting Mission made some serious mistakes, so much so that an American magazine, *Africa Weekly*, said that "Had the 1955 Visiting Mission done the work for which it was sent, the subsequent disorders would certainly not have occurred". (*African Weekly*, Nov. 15, 4 December 1957).

The Mission's conclusions were condemned not only by the Kamerunian petitioners but also by a considerable segment of world public opinion and by the Kamerunian people. On 25 February 1958, the International League for the Rights of Man, reflecting this public indictment, asked the Trustee ship Council to revise its attitude towards the UPC

- (b) The administering Powers in the Trusteeship Council are attempting to abolish the right of petition by contending that if a party is dissolved, even arbitrarily as ours was, the United Nations must no longer take into account the views expressed by these organizations even if they reflect the aspirations of the inhabitants of the Trust Territories. Need I point out the danger of such a procedure if sanctioned by the United Nations ?

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(c) Article 87 of the Charter and the tradition of the General Assembly, the supreme authority in trusteeship matters, authorize the nationals and organizations of Trust Territories to request oral hearings and to submit written petitions. Where the powers of the Trusteeship Council conflict with those of the General Assembly, the latter's decisions prevail, particularly if they are consistent with the Charter.

(d) In Trusteeship Council resolution 1907 (XXII), in which the terms of reference of the present Visiting Mission are set forth, it is stated that :

It should receive any petition or petitioner who expressed the wish to be heard ;

It should take into account the "observations and suggestions" made at the twelfth session of the General Assembly and the statements of petitioners at that session.

The events which have occurred since then compel us to submit new proposals. While they in no way differ from those already known, they have been adapted to the times and circumstances :

1. France has proposed that Kamerun should receive its independence on 1 January 1960.

2. The Constitutional Conference in London has recommended that Nigeria should receive its independence on 1 October 1960. (*New York Times*, 26 October 1958).

In view of the unanimity on the principle of granting independence to Kamerun in 1960, it would seem that the transfer of authority must take place not later than September 1959 so that the General Assembly may, at its fourteenth session :

Recognize or confirm the choice of the Kamerunians ;

Terminate its trusteeship over the Territory after that has been done, not before or at the same time.

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We are therefore requesting the General Assembly to decide at its present session to send a commission to consult the Kamerunians on :

The question of unification and independence in accordance with Article 76(b) of the Charter ;

The election of members of a constituent assembly, which will elect a government having the capacity and competence to negotiate with the proper authorities.

We feel that the administering Powers, who it would seem have finally decided in favour of our legitimate aspirations, will, in recognizing the futility of the present Visiting Mission, be the first to support our proposal that the General Assembly should elect a commission at its present session.

We ask that, as a first step, order should immediately be restored either by the withdrawal of all foreign troops or the dispatch of an international police force responsible for the protection of life and property until the results of the referendum are made known. Such a force should certainly not include troops from any of the colonial Powers but should be representative of the numerical strength of the Afro-Asian Powers both in the United Nations and throughout the world (three-fifths of the world population).

(2) In conjunction with the restoration of order, all political freedoms, particularly freedom of association, assembly and speech, should be restored. This would mean the abrogation of the 1955 decree empowering the authorities to arrest citizens or to cause them to be arrested and to use the police force in order to disperse meetings. It would also mean the abrogation of the decrees providing for dissolution of progressive movements, the return of deported and exiled persons, and unconditional amnesty in respect of political acts for which persons have been prosecuted or sentenced since 1955.

(3) Among these freedoms we would particularly stress the freedom of movement of journalists from all States Members of the United Nations.

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(4) The keystone of these measures would in the normal course be the setting up of a commission responsible for organizing the referendum, from the preparation of the electoral lists to the proclamation of the results. The referendum would be held in both zones on the same day, the only question put to the voters being whether they were "FOR" or "AGAINST" immediate reunification and independence. The commission appointed by the General Assembly would have to be large in order effectively to organize and supervise a referendum in a territory as large as France. This would ensure an equitable geographical representation of all the States Members of the United Nations, particularly the Afro-Asian and Latin American Powers.

The United Nations, by thus facilitating the end of the trusteeship by peaceful and democratic means, would save the huge sums it has to spend on trusteeship each year (translation, printing and discussion of thousands of written and oral petitions; translation, printing and circulation of resolutions and records of meetings; visiting mission; etc.). Above all, the United Nations would considerably enhance its prestige in "Black" Africa, for it must be realized that the African people are closely watching our vanguard struggle and that a failure by the United Nations to ensure observance of the Charter in Kamerun as everywhere else would be very hard for them to understand.

As for the administering Powers, their opposition to our proposals would provide striking evidence of the degree to which their policy in our country is unpopular, their determination to continue to violate the Charter, and their bad faith. The United Kingdom Government accepted an international commission to organize the elections which were to terminate the Anglo-Egyptian condominium over Sudan. Likewise, the French Government takes credit for having been liberal in its African referendum which was held to allow the African countries to decide whether they desired immediate independence. If the French and United Kingdom Governments are true to their word and are determined to ensure observance of the Charter and the right of self-determination, they should by that very fact redouble their efforts so that the referendum that we have been requesting since 1953 may be held without delay.

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Before concluding, we should like once again to thank this august Assembly for having granted us a hearing and for the kindness with which we have been treated. We remind the representatives that we have at their disposal a number of publications which contain additional information on our country, movement and activities and on the atrocities and crimes perpetrated by the colonialists in Kamerun.

We trust that we shall be given the floor again if there should be further need for doing so. The situation is becoming more tense in view of the patent bad faith of the administering Powers. This has not escaped the attention of world public opinion which is becoming more indignant every day. For over a year, every conference we have attended has taken a position against the use of armed force by the French Government and in favour of immediate negotiations between the UPC and each administering Power. This is true not only of people's conferences, for we know that the people everywhere support our legitimate aspirations, but also of conferences at the government level, such as those held by the independent African States and the States members of the Arab League. The positions taken at these conferences are an indication of the world's increasing concern over the dramatic events in Kamerun. It would indeed be unfortunate if the United Nations alone were to fail to be disturbed, and refrained from making every effort to put an end to this situation, when its basic purposes are precisely to ensure peace and the right of people to independence. In view of the recent efforts by the United Nations to restore or preserve peace and harmony among peoples, we hope that every Member of this Assembly will consider our proposals and take them into account with a keen sense of responsibility to its own people and to history.



The IVth Commission of the U.N. General Assembly. Sitting at the parallel tables are Kamerunian petitioners, on one side, and permanent correspondents at the U.N., on the other.

STATEMENT MADE BY MR. FELIX-ROLAND MOUMIE,
representative of the Union des Populations du Cameroun,
at the 779th meeting of the Fourth Committee on 31 October 1958
(See A/C.4/SR.779)

Joint statement of the Kamerunian petitioners before the Fourth Committee of the United Nations General Assembly Mr. Chairman.

Before replying to the questions to be put to us by the representatives of this august Committee, we consider it both useful and necessary to make certain preliminary remarks which in no way constitute a reply, and far less a retort, to the French statement of 28 October 1958.

These observations are useful and necessary for the following reasons:

- (1) They will enable the Committee better to understand the statements we have made before it:
- (2) In certain United Nations circles, propaganda is being carried on to the effect that "independence being the prime objective of the Trusteeship System, there is no need, once independence has been proposed to a people, to ensure that the conditions necessary for the enjoyment of that independence exist".

We regard this as a somewhat improper interpretation of the Charter, since the essential purposes of the United Nations are:

- (a) The maintenance of international peace and security,
- (b) The safeguarding of public freedoms,
- (c) With regard in particular to the Non-Self-Governing and Trust Territories, respect for and safeguarding of the rights of the indigenous inhabitants (Article 73), and promotion of the political advancement of the people concerned.

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Such are the purposes of the United Nations. As the Organization has intervened in certain independent countries in order to ensure respect for these principles, it should with much greater reason make sure that the country to which it promises independence fulfils the conditions laid down in the Charter before trusteeship is terminated. This does not by any means imply that we are opposed to the immediate independence and reunification of our country.

Having said this, we ask you, Mr. Chairman, to allow us to illustrate our point by making these preliminary comments on the French statement of 28 October 1958.

Preliminary comments of the Kamerunian petitioners on the French statement.

In view of the statement made by the French representative in the Fourth Committee to the effect that "France intends to present to the United Nations General Assembly, at its present session, a "memorandum" in which it will elaborate its statement of 28 October 1958 (document A/C.4/381, page 3), our comments cannot be anything more than the brief preliminary remarks which we feel compelled to make in order to demonstrate the spirit underlying that statement. We shall therefore confine ourselves to taking the French text such as it is, while reserving the right to comment on it when the memorandum has been published. Even at this stage, however, we can express our satisfaction that owing to the persistence we have displayed in our struggle and the wide popular support it has received, the French delegation which always denied the validity and even the existence of a Kamerunian national problem, should at last recognize that it is indispensable for the Kamerun again to become independent and unified.

The French document may be regarded as consisting of :

- (1) An introductory part,
- (2) The resolution of the so-called "Legislative Assembly of the Cameroons",
- (3) The statement of the French Government,
- (4) The French conclusions.

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I. -- THE INTRODUCTORY PART

In the introductory part, the French delegation makes a number of affirmations

(1) It maintains that the present Assembly is the representative body of the Kamerunian people. Nevertheless, last year all petitioners, including Mr. Assalé (Minister of Finance in the present Government of the "Trust Territory of the Cameroons") and Mr. Soppo Priso, whose parliamentary group is part of Mr. Ahidjo's governmental majority, proved that these elections were not properly conducted (Cf. Official Records of the Trusteeship Council, Nineteenth Session, page 246; Official Records of the General Assembly, Eleventh Session, Fourth Committee, pages 437-439, pages 449-453, page 487 *et seq*; and Official Records of the General Assembly, Twelfth Session, Fourth Committee, pages 363-365). As early as 11 February 1956, the newspaper *Figaro* amply proved that this was so

Mr. Kosciuszko-Morzet, the representative of France, stated at the 776th meeting of the Fourth Committee on 29 October 1958 that he had represented France when Mr. Deferre had been Minister of Overseas France and that he had shared the views of that Minister. The truth is, however, that Mr. Gaston Deferre, under whose authority these elections were organized, condemned them himself, inasmuch as he affirmed in August 1956 :

"An amnesty law will be passed by the Parliament before the elections so that this electoral consultation may be a truly popular one" (Cf. *La Presse du Cameroun* of 20 August 1956).

As it happened, no such amnesty bill was ever passed to give the consultation that truly popular character which, on the admission of the French Government itself, it could not have without a prior amnesty. There was no amnesty because the French Government feared that the true representatives of the people would come to power. It has been said in the Upper House of the French Parliament (Cf. *Journal Officiel, Conseil de la République*; proceedings of 22 April 1957, page 1.003) that the passage of the amnesty bill was postponed at the request of Mr. Deferre, but *Le Monde*, in its issue No. 3,690 of 4 December 1956, stated that :

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"According to certain sources, several Cameronian parliamentarians, while favouring the principle of an amnesty law, which they have always advocated, fear an amnesty before the elections, because they might thus be challenged on 23 December by 'die-hard' nationalist candidates campaigning for immediate independence".

In a report on the Kamerun, *France-Soir* wrote on 26 September 1956 :

"If, as is probable, the Cameroons is to have a 'Government Council' with wide powers next year, the directing spirit will be Um Nyobé 'taken out of bond' or acting through an intermediary. The 'non-UPC' are fully aware of this".

Lastly, according to the French authorities themselves, the UPC represents 85 per cent of the Kamerunian population. The weekly *La Tribune des Nations*, in its issue of 28 March 1958, wrote as follows :

"We cannot contradict Mr. Ernest Ouandje, vice-chairman of the UPC when he states that his movement has a following comprising 85 per cent of the Cameroonian population. This is the estimate of the French authorities".

This article, of which the French Government must be aware, has never been contradicted. In this matter, French law prescribes a *time-limit of three months* from the date on which an item is published, and after this no action can be taken. The views thus attributed to the French authorities were reported more than seven months ago.

(2) "France has always taken the most scrupulous care not to do anything which was not in keeping with the wishes of the people" :

- (a) French armed forces have killed and continue to kill Kamerunian patriots. Can anyone assert, without stultifying himself, that this is in keeping with the wishes of the people ?
- (b) The French Government has disbanded the organizations in which the Kamerunian people have

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placed their confidence. Is this, too, in keeping with the wishes of the Kamerunian people ?

- (c) In 1956, the Kamerunian people opposed the application of the *loi-cadre* in the Kamerun ; they asked for an unconditional general amnesty, to be proclaimed and applied before any electoral consultation, and for the independence and territorial unity of the Kamerun. Did France act in accordance with this request in 1956 ?
- (d) Everyone, both in the Kamerun and outside it, desires a return to normal political life. Is this what France was accomplishing by such acts as the murder of Ruben Um Nyobé and its refusal to consider the UPC's proposals for reducing tension ?

This introductory part explains why, in the body of its statement, France tries to compel the United Nations to remain inactive while the powers of government in the Territory are transferred to an Assembly of persons who, representing only themselves, are completely out of touch with the Kamerunian people, and who, feeling insecure in the midst of these people, seek protection from France, which in consequence provides them with arms. The French delegation's attitude at the 776th meeting of the Fourth Committee on 29 October 1958, when it tried to prevent a debate between the United Nations and the "Prime Minister of the Trust Territory of the Cameroons", is very significant in this connexion.

II. — THE RESOLUTION OF THE "LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF THE CAMEROONS"

This Assembly says that it is "aware that it is expressing the unanimous feeling of the people of all the regions of the Cameroons". After everything we have said, the inaccuracy of this assertion is obvious. Moreover, if this Assembly expresses the wishes of the Kamerunian people, why is it advocating a further consultation of the people in order that it may be completely free to arrive at a decision on reunification before 1 January 1960 ? Only the people of the area under British administration should be consulted.

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The Legislative Assembly asks the United Nations for the "abrogation of the Trusteeship Agreement concomitant with the independence of the Cameroons". It also wants the Kamerun to "participate in a free and amicable association with France". Why does the Legislative Assembly not leave it to the Government of the independent State of the reunified Kamerun to ask for the termination of the trusteeship and what is this association with France which it already advocates in the name of a reunified Kamerun that it is far from representing?

Madagascar calls itself independent in the Franco-African community of de Gaulle. Can it really be said to enjoy even internal self-government?

III. — THE STATEMENT OF THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT

A number of points stand out in this statement :

(1) It speaks of consultation "under United Nations supervision". After the discussions held in this very forum last year on Togoland, we know what the expression *under supervision* means. We need merely recall an analysis made in this connexion by Mr. Pépy, *maître de requêtes* in the French *Conseil d'Etat*. He showed that when a consultation is organized under United Nations supervision, the United Nations simply plays the part of observer : it does not participate in the impartial organization (drafting of the questions to be submitted to the electorate registration of candidates, etc.) or in the indispensable and effective control (the normal functioning of the elections, the settlement of disputes, the announcement of the results) which ensures that the result corresponds to the wishes of the people consulted.

(2) According to the French statement, only "the principle" of the conditions under which the consultation is to be held "may be decided by the General Assembly", the specific forms of application to be "determined" by the Trusteeship Council, account being taken of the report of the Visiting Mission which is to go to the Cameroons in November next".

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The French view of the functions of and the relationship between the General Assembly and the Trusteeship Council is, to say the least, surprising. Under Article 87 of the Charter, the Trusteeship Council is clearly subordinate to the General Assembly. According to that Article "the General Assembly and, *under its authority*, the Trusteeship Council, etc." It is accordingly quite inadmissible that the General Assembly should have power merely to *study the principle* of so serious an issue as the future of a Trust Territory and that the Trusteeship Council, which is subordinate to it and in which the views of the administering Powers often prevail, should alone be competent to determinate the specific forms of application, i.e. to debate the important aspects of this problem.

Similarly, the French statement implies that the Visiting Mission of the Trusteeship Council should, without having any power to do so, take the place of a Commission of the General Assembly. In the case of Togoland, a General Assembly Commission was sent to that Territory after the Visiting Mission had gone there in 1955. It will be remembered that during the discussions in the Fourth Committee last year, the Administering Authorities opposed the dispatch of a General Assembly Commission to the Kamerun!

IV. — THE FRENCH CONCLUSIONS

In the opinion of France .

(1) Trusteeship should be terminated, and power should be transferred to the present Kamerunian Assembly.

(2) Consultation would take place only on the problem of reunification :

(3) Everything is going well in the Kamerun, because France does not appear to be concerned at the tragic situation now existing in our country (the French statement does not refer to it) which we have fully reported on in our statements before the Fourth Committee.

STATEMENT MADE BY MR. FELIX-ROLAND MOUMIE,
representative of the Union des Populations du Cameroun,
on behalf of Mrs. MARTHE OUANDIE (Union Démocratique
des Femmes Camerounaises) at the 792th meeting
of the Fourth Committee on 10 November 1958

(see A/C.4/SR.792)

Mr. Chairman.

It is rather embarrassing, not to say difficult, for me to speak here on behalf of the women of the Kamerun, authentically represented by the *Union Démocratique des Femmes Camerounaises*, to which your august Committee has granted a hearing for the second time in his history.

My task is the more difficult as I completely lack the great qualities of charm, grace and competence with which Mrs. Marthe Ouandié defends the interests of the UDEFEC. It is thus with this double handicap, happily offset by my willingness to defend the interests of our women, that I accept the task which Mrs. Marthe Ouandié has asked me to undertake.

The women of the Kamerun remain grateful and profoundly devoted to all the delegations which, by their votes, have ensured that the voice of our women would not be stifled. Words are powerless to express to them the profound gratitude of the *Union Démocratique des Femmes Camerounaises*, particularly as the irony of fate has sent a man in place of a woman to tell what a woman could have said with all the subtlety and eloquence characteristic of Kamerunian women.

I shall speak first of the origin, programme and activities of the UDEFEC up to the time of the dissolution decrees of July 1955 and May 1957 and thereafter of the repressive

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measures of the Administering Authorities and their attempts to justify those measures after the event.

Lastly, I shall show that the problems remain unsolved and call for urgent action.

I. — *Origin, programme and activities of the UDEFEC up to the time of the dissolution decrees of July 1955 and May 1957.*

The *Union Démocratique des Femmes Camerounaises*, which is the only women's political association in "Black" Africa under French domination, was founded in 1952. There was an obvious need for it in a country where women and children have no rights and where, despite the express recommendations of the United Nations Charter calling on the Administering Powers to promote the interests of the indigenous inhabitants, which are to be paramount, no effort is made to emancipate women and to make them conscious of their rights and duties. It was necessary above all to enable the women of the Kamerun to take their place beside the men in the political and social struggles. Immediate independence and reunification, the material and moral welfare of women and children and the family — these are the goals which the UDEFEC has set itself. So clear and just a programme could not fail to attract all Kamerunian women to the UDEFEC.

They follow the UDEFEC the more readily as it is an absolutely democratic movement. In just a few years, it has enabled women to achieve great political advances.

In his recent work "The Burden of Africa" (*Le Poids de l'Afrique*), Mr. Jean Favrod does not hesitate, in speaking of the political consciousness of Kamerunian women, to say that in the Kamerun "the UPC has succeeded where the Administration and the religious missions have failed and that Kamerunian women have a very deep political consciousness".

Side by side with the UPC, the UDEFEC has participated in all the struggles to achieve national aspirations ever since the signature on 22 April 1955 of the Joint Proclamation which laid down a minimum joint programme for the political parties, the women's and youth organizations and the trade

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unions with a view to the immediate satisfaction of the national aspirations: immediate reunification and independence.

Thus, in particular, it embarked on a very active campaign to explain to the Kamerunian women, both on the towns and in rural areas, how important for the satisfaction of national claims were the petitions which they were to hand to members of the Visiting Mission of 1955, so that the latter should learn and report to the United Nations what Kamerunian men and women wanted.

The Administration, which had never ceased to harbour integrationist designs on the Kamerun, could not tolerate the UDEFEC any longer because, as Mr P.F. Gonidec says (cf. *Annuaire français de droit international*, part III, 1957, *Centre national de recherche scientifique*, page 599).

"The French invariably pursue the dream of an integration of the overseas countries into the metropolitan territory; . . . and those who govern France have an invincible distrust of nationalist movements and oppose them to the utmost at the risk of losing everything".

There can be no doubt as to the intention of the French leaders to integrate the Kamerun into what is now commonly called the "Community of Free Peoples". In this connexion we need only cite the recent telegram, dated 25 October 1958, which Mr. Atangana Adalbert, Chairman of the Co-ordinating Committee, sent to the Chairman of the Fourth Committee at the current session of the General Assembly. Mr. Atangana is a member of the party of the *Démocrates-Chrétiens*, which is led by Mr. Mbida, the former Prime Minister of the "Trust State of the Cameroons". He is, as France has always asserted, a man of undoubted intellectual integrity. In this telegram, to which I will have to refer again later, he says *inter alia*:

"Chairman Fourth Committee General Assembly United Nations, New York. Honour inform you behalf Co-ordinating Committee that French Government, wishing to integrate the Cameroons under trusteeship into the French Community, has through Cameroonian Government introduced a draft resolution in Legislative

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Assembly asking, on behalf of the people, for termination of trusteeship without simultaneous proclamation of independence accordance Article 76 of United Nations Charter".

Let me now cite the statement made by Mr. Mbida to the Press on 16 September 1958, in which he said :

"Lastly, France is a nation some of whose citizens find it so hard and so painful to free themselves from colonialism that those who wish to live in real and genuine peace with France or have lasting friendly relations with it, must live at a distance from that country and in independence".

It is also significant that, on taking office in the Territory, Mr. Roland Pré, High Commissioner of the French Republic in the Kamerun, said :

"The Administration has the means to thwart the efforts of the nationalists". (cf. *Le Cameroun de demain*, issue of March-April 1955).

The savage measures of repression of May 1955 did not spare the women. Thousands of Kamerunian women perished, several hundreds shared the fate of the men and were imprisoned, deported to unknown destinations and incarcerated in concentration camps and in the *maquis*. Some families have thus remained separated since that exodus, the men having gone one way, the women another and the children yet another

In the Eastern Kamerun alone, more than 2,000 women were thrown into concentration camps. Four were deported with two very young children.

According to recent reports it would seem that after the assassination of the General Secretary of the UPC, the French authorities killed Mrs. Um Nyobé and her children in order to reinforce their efforts to discourage the people and to convince them that since the UPC is finally extinct, it is useless to press for the realization of its programme.

It is painful to recount in detail all the horrors of the persecution to which the women of the Kamerun have been

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and still are subjected. However, the *Union Démocratique des Femmes Camerounaises* is proud to state that all these atrocities have not succeeded in stifling its aspirations. The women of the Kamerun may rightly boast that if ancient Rome, the France of the Revolution of 1789 and of the period after the Second World War and other countries have had their heroines, they too have had theirs throughout the tragedy enacted in the Kamerun since May 1955, heroines such as Marthe Bayida, Monique Kamen, Marguerite Ngoyi, and many others.

For these reasons, the UDEFEC has not escaped dissolution and deportation either in the Eastern or in the Western Kamerun.

As regards the Eastern Kamerun, let me recall that the Decree of 13 July 1955 was issued in pursuance of the Act of 10 January 1936, which, as I pointed out in my statement before the Fourth Committee on 28 October 1958 and in my reply to a question from the distinguished representative of Yugoslavia on 31 October 1958, was quite inapplicable to the Kamerun in law and in fact. It would be tedious to repeat this argument here in full.

With regard to the outlawing of the UDEFEC, the arbitrariness of that decision is laughable. Who would believe that the UDEFEC was a para-military organization, to mention only this one of the many reasons advanced, all equally fantastic ?

In the Western Kamerun, it was said that the UPC had been dissolved and its leaders deported because, having failed in the elections of 15 March 1957, it might constitute a threat to public order. I shall not dwell on the shocking aspect of that measure which I have already had occasion to emphasize several times from this very rostrum, because in no country of the world are persons or organizations sentenced for an intention they are alleged to hold, by virtue of the principle *nullum crimen sine lege, nulla pena sine lege*. One thing, however, must be noted, inasmuch as women cannot at present either vote or be elected in the Kamerun under British administration and as the UDEFEC consequently could not take part in the elections of 15 March 1957, on what grounds

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was it dissolved and were its leaders expelled under the Decree of 30 May 1957 and the expulsion order of the same date ?

Even if, by some extraordinary means, it could be shown that the leaders of the UPC, the UDEFEC and the JDC had been guilty of the offences with which they were charged, the principle of modern positive law, recognized by many countries, that none but a person can commit or be punished for an offence, should have precluded the dissolution of these movements.

Indeed, the Penal Code of the Federation of Nigeria contains a provision under which no organization can be prosecuted as such for an offence committed by one of its members, even if a leader. The French Penal Code contains the same provision.

II. — *Attempts by the Administering Powers to justify the repressive measures.*

To justify the tortures, murders, acts of genocide and persecution of every kind perpetrated in concentration camps and prisons in defiance of all laws and international conventions on respect for the human person, the Administering Powers of the two parts of the Kamerun produce all kinds of specious arguments. It may be useful to scrutinize the more important and topical of these.

(1) We are said to be agents of the Arab League. It is interesting to note, first of all, who created the Arab League. It is common knowledge that it was Mr. Lawrence, a Minister of the United Kingdom Government, who brought the League into being. While the League served their interests, the British had no objection to its supporting certain countries. Today they criticize us for supporting the Arab countries, as though it was us who created the League. The Arab States, like the other States exposed to this campaign, understand the situation very well, so that there is no need for us to labour this point unduly.

Incidentally, was it the Arabs who asked the Franco-

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British Administering Authorities to expel the UPC, the JDC and the UDEFEC ?

(2) We are also accused of being terrorists. We confine ourselves to stating that none of the articles in French and British newspapers that we have found it necessary to study for our own information has published a list of our victims. On the other hand, the names of terrorists and lists of meetings are prominent everywhere. One would have to be of notorious bad faith to continue to give any credence to this kind of calumny. Is it not significant that Mr. Sylvanus Olympio, with whom the High Commissioner of the French Republic in Togoland asserts he has collaborated more harmoniously for the past six months than he did with Mr. Grunitzky for two years, was also labelled a terrorist in the days when he had our present status of petitioner ? One might even ask whether the Administering Authorities have no twinges of conscience when they make these charges. In entire agreement with us, Commander Douglas V Duff, British author and radio commentator, said on 9 December 1955 :

"The Cypriot fighters are not terrorists. They are fighting for the preservation of their country. The people we call terrorists we would call patriots and martyrs if they fought on our side. The terrorists of today become the honourable nationable leaders of tomorrow, like George Washington, de Valera and Pandit Nehru".

The true reasons, it would seem, lie elsewhere. They are essentially economic and explain the efforts made by both sides to integrate the two parts of the Kamerun in the Administering Powers' respective economic zones of influence.

Frenchmen are better qualified than we are to define the economic interests which keep France in Kamerun. Let them speak for us.

On 10 August 1954, Mr. Buron, then Minister of the Colonies in the French Government, said with regard to the independence of the Kamerun :

"It is impossible to set a date for the end of trusteeship in the Cameroons. The Republic is indivisible. Metropolitan France and Overseas France are an entity.

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But we do contemplate a certain administrative decentralization : *our subsequent policies will depend on economic developments*".

The economic possibilities of the Kamerun are in fact tempting for France. At the opening of the 1957-1958 session of the "Legislative Assembly of the Cameroons", Mr. Daniel Kemadjou, its President, said :

"The Cameroons have natural and mineral resources permitting the establishment of a fairly large industry".

A French newspaper published by businessmen confirmed this statement in its issue of 3 October 1958 with the words : "An independent Cameroons is no doubt economically viable" (cf. *La Vie Française*).

It is sufficient to note the size of the profits made by French companies established in the Kamerun. To cite merely one example, the difference between the sums received from France by the private sector and the sums sent back to France should be estimated at 7,500 million francs (according to an estimate made in 1956 by the Director of the Bank issued at Douala). To these advantages must be added those inherent in the fact that Kamerun belongs to the franc zone :

(a) The prices at which France sells its goods to us are much too high. It is true that it also buys our agricultural products from us at prices above the world-market rates, but the balance of profits in this system is in favour of France. A recent study, which appeared in the newspaper *Le Monde* in September 1958, under the title "The *status quo* in the Franco-African economic system cannot be maintained", contains the following passage :

"The first and most definite of the economic advantages that France derives from the overseas territories is an appreciable saving in hard currencies. A substantial proportion of the 540,000 million francs' worth of goods we bought last year in the franc zone would have had to be paid in dollars or in sterling, if we had had to obtain them elsewhere : cocoa, oil seeds, tobacco, copper, textile fibres, timber, phosphates, nickel, lead, zinc, manganese a total of some 300 to 400 million dollars, which we would

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have found it particularly difficult to spend in recent years when our adverse foreign exchange balance was the Achilles heel of our economy.

"Our overseas territories are customers as well as suppliers. In 1957 they bought 655,000 million francs worth of metropolitan products, mainly metal goods (76,000 million), automobiles and tractors (65,000 million, machinery (71,000 million), textiles (50,000 million), chemical products (62,000 million) and petroleum (32,000 million). *For the industries which supply these goods, the franc zone provides a guaranteed reserve which makes it unnecessary for them to seek other outlets which would be more difficult to obtain.*

"Conversely, it is true, the overseas territories sell France some of their products at prices above world market rates as a result of various bonuses and of the protective tariff they enjoy vis-à-vis competing foreign commodities. As a result, metropolitan consumers paid 58,000 million francs too much in 1953

"In sum, the balance that year was about 20,000 million francs in favour of France and to the disadvantage of the overseas territories. Since price fluctuations have more or less cancelled one another out during the past five years, the excess in favour of France must still be of the same order (a net surplus of about 3 per cent on the average)". (cf. *Le Monde, Sélection hebdomadaire*, issue of 25 September to 1 October 1958, page 4).

Le Monde concludes :

"If France spends thousands of millions of francs to operate the franc zone, it saves in return a sum in dollars far greater than the sum it spends to balance the trade of the overseas territories with foreign countries. In addition, in its overseas territories, France has an assured market which it could not so easily find elsewhere, and enjoys priority in the exploitation of African mineral wealth. The game is therefore worth the candle, at least in principle". (*ibid.*, issue of 9 to 15 October 1958).

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According to that study, the balance of current payments between the Kamerun and foreign countries shows, for 1956, a surplus for the Kamerun estimated at \$1,004,000 with the dollar zone and at \$3,073,000 with the European Payments Union (EPU). The balance of capital transactions was \$542,000, making a total of \$4,661,000 earned by the Kamerun for France. The Kamerun, according to the same study, was the only country of "Black" Africa (including Madagascar) administered by France which earned dollars for France in 1956.

(b) The installation of the aluminium plant at Edéa in the Kamerun under French administration is to the sole advantage of France, which thus consolidates its monetary zone. Mr. Jean Lecert, special correspondent of the *Le Figaro* in Kamerun, wrote the following in an article published in that paper on 15 March 1957 and entitled "Edéa, test of the industrial possibilities of Africa":

"Should it be concluded that this plant will make a decisive contribution to the economy of the Cameroons? No... it is important for other reasons. *In the first place, it supplies us with aluminium, of which the franc zone is very much in need. We export aluminium for hard currency. We shall soon have to import it, because its consumption doubles in ten years. Above all, Edéa is a test. Because of its success, we can plan with confidence larger undertakings requiring international financing.*"

It is because of these "larger undertakings", which our resources in bauxite, iron, manganese, petroleum, uranium, etc., have made possible, that France insists on giving us a fictitious independence, fully aware that once trusteeship is terminated, our independence will become mere internal autonomy.

Moreover, the French Government's documentation service acknowledges in a pamphlet that "*the Kamerun is one of the richest territories of all 'Black' Africa.*"

We have said that economic considerations explained the efforts made by each of the Administering Authorities to integrate the part of the country placed under its administration into its economic and financial zone of influence.

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(A) *First, the efforts of the British authorities to integrate the Western Kamerun into the Federation of Nigeria.*

We must, in this connexion, emphasize that we are fervent advocates of African unity. We therefore mean this unity to be built by the Africans themselves and above all without friction. As members of the Preparatory Committee of the forthcoming Conference of Accra, which is intended to seek peaceful means to obtain this African unity, we cannot at the same time appear at it as the Balkanizers of Africa. We are happy to note, moreover, that the Nigerian leaders have never formally expressed a desire to see the Kamerun integrated into Nigeria. On the other hand, there is abundant proof that this integration is a permanent aim of British policy in the Kamerun.

The United States paper *Towards Freedom*, in its issue of 11 December 1957, said on this subject:

"The history of past decades demonstrates that integration was Britain's own idea, execution of which the UN felt powerless to stop". (*loc. cit.*, page 2).

A great variety of specious arguments has been used to camouflage this policy. In the opinion of some, for example, the Western Kamerun, after having been under the influence of British civilization for forty-five years, is more closely tied to Nigeria and hence much less close to the Eastern Kamerun under French administration. This argument is odd, to say the least, and is devoid of all foundation.

(1) If forty-five years of the British presence had enabled the civilization of the United Kingdom to assimilate the Kamerunians of the Western zone, we should find a very high literacy rate in that part of the Kamerun, as in Great Britain. Yet official statistics show that only 6 per cent of the Kamerunians in that zone know how to read and write — and there is no indication whether the language is English or a local vernacular. Accordingly, would it be right to integrate into the United Kingdom or into Nigeria, a population 94 per cent of which does not share in the culture in the very name of which it is to be integrated?

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Even if — and this not the case — a greater number of Kamerunians administered by the United Kingdom shared in English culture would this destroy all the other affinities existing between the Kamerunians of the two zones ?

To cite only two examples : Should India have renounced its territories of Pondichery and Goa on the pretext of French influence over the one and Portuguese influence over the other ? Similarly, why is Belgium, the majority of whose inhabitants speak French and which had been linked to France much longer than the Kamerun has to Nigeria, not integrated into the French Republic ?

(2) On either side of the Franco-British frontier which divides the Kamerun live identical peoples, speaking the same language, sharing the same traditions and having little in common with the Nigerian peoples to which they are to be joined.

The indigenous inhabitants of Victoria, Tiko and Buea, the capital of the Kamerun under British administration, belong to the same tribal group as the indigenous inhabitants of the Wouri region in the Eastern zone under French administration. The Balis of the Western Kamerun are simply a prolongation towards the west of the Bamouns of the Eastern Kamerun. In both parts of the country there are Bamilékés (at Bafang and Babadjou, for example). Prince Douala Manga Bell said the following on this subject on 26 February, 1958 in the United Nations Trusteeship Council :

"...On the coast, the very small tribe of the Douala, which has less than 30,000 members, and elsewhere the people of Victoria, the Sao and the Bakweri read the Bible in the language of Douala. Sermons in both Catholic and Protestant churches are preached in the Douala language. Higher up, however, towards the Bamiléké country, there is a dialect which predominates among the people of that region, and the Bamilékés, whether on the British side or in the French zone, have common dialects, with a few minor differences." (T/PV.869, pp. 25-26).

Further North, the Adamoua extends on both sides of the frontier, with the same type of country, the same fauna, the same people. The problems arising in the administration

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of the Adamoua region in the British zone, for example, which are illustrated by the frequency with which the Lamidos have been deported, are directly due to the fact that the inhabitants of that region have not resigned themselves to the existence of an illogical frontier. Nor would the Moslem religion be any justification for integrating the Northern Kamerun under British administration into Nigeria, since Islam is also the religion of the Northern Kamerun under French administration.

Mr. Vossart, a French ethnologist, has rightly said :

"The selection of the Kerawa country as the frontier between the French and British Cameroons disregards the historic unity of the Mandara country, which is thus cut in two" (cf. the Governmental review *Etudes Camerounaises*, No. 33, pages 34 and 35).

The Visiting Mission of 1955 said with reference to the problem of the unification of the Kamerun that all that they (the people) saw in it at the moment was the reunification of tribes divided by incomprehensible barriers.

At the last regular session of the Trusteeship Council, the representative of Belgium, considering a referendum in the Western Kamerun to be imminent, asserted :

"As I see it, this consultation will make it possible to determine whether the people of the British Kamerun wish to perpetuate their association with Nigeria or whether, reversing to some extent the trend of their recent history, they wish to renew *their older ties with the Trust State of the Cameroons to which they are ethnically linked*". (cf. document T/PV.869, page 47).

Since English is not spoken by 94 per cent of the Kamerunians under British administration, which disposes of the language factor as a serious argument for the integration of the Kamerun into Nigeria ; since, moreover, there are older ties, including ethnic links, between the Kamerun under French administration and the Kamerun under British administration, the only real problem is that of the reunification of the Kamerun, not that of its integration into Nigeria.

The United Kingdom, however, persists in its desire to integrate the Kamerun. During the Constitutional Confer-

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ence of May and June 1957, the Secretary of State for the Colonies declared :

"Before Nigeria becomes independent, the people of the North and South sectors of the Cameroons would have to say freely what their wishes were as to their own future. Among the options open to them would be to continue under the Trust Administration of the United Kingdom. I must in fairness add the warning that you would not thereby be given the golden key of the Bank of England ! But many of the best friends of the Cameroons do not foresee a destiny more likely to promote her happiness and prosperity than a continued association with Nigeria". (cf. report of the Trusteeship Council covering the work of its twenty-first and twenty-second sessions, volume II, p. 67).

In other words, what the United Kingdom proposes to the Kamerunians is either independence by integration into Nigeria, or the maintenance of trusteeship, and in this case the Kamerunians will not receive, in the United Kingdom's own words, the "golden key of the Bank of England". To put it differently : the Government of the United Kingdom is repudiating the obligations of assistance imposed upon it by the Trusteeship Agreements. There is no better way of bringing pressure to bear on the Kamerunian people to accept integration into Nigeria.

More recently, at the London Conference, the execution of this project was very clearly decided upon. Speaking once again of the same problem, Mr. Lennox-Boyd, the same Secretary of State, "made it plain that he thinks the interest of the Kameruns would be best served by integration with the Federation of Nigeria" (cf. *West Africa*, issue of 25 October 1958, page 1,001). In fact, the London Conference laid down that the Southern Kamerun should become the fourth region of the said Federation (cf. *New York Times* of 28 October 1958).

In this commentary on the work of that Conference, the correspondent of *West Africa* reports :

This obviously does not mean that the people of the Northern Kamerun are so strongly in favour of integration.

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But the British authorities know that if the results of the referendum were to be considered together, they could arrange the "unanimity" of the Northern Kamerun in favour of integration into Nigeria. Whenever the authorities organize an election in that part of the Kamerun, they import Nigerians to participate in the vote. At the same time, they prevent Kamerunians from the zone under French administration, who have long been settled in the Western Kamerun and regularly pay their taxes, from standing as candidates for election or even from voting. It is therefore probable, as the article in *West Africa* hints, that the British Administration will ask for the results of the referendum to be taken together.

It is mainly for economic reasons that the United Kingdom places such emphasis on the question of integration, although according to some reports the Nigerians themselves are not very interested in it. Speaking of the finances of the Southern Kamerun, the above-quoted article in *West Africa* says frankly that the country has great economic potentialities and is therefore "Nigeria's favourite child".

On 27 March 1957, Mr. J.O. Field, the Special Representative of the United Kingdom in the Trusteeship Council, said that there was no doubt that all political parties had come out in favour of the reunification of the two Kameruns. Accordingly, if the Government of the United Kingdom opposes the reunification of the Kamerun, is it not acting directly contrary to the wishes of a people with which under the United Nations Charter it has a duty to comply ?

B. — *The efforts of France to integrate the Kamerun into the "Community of Free Peoples"*

It is evident that integration is a basic aim also of France's colonial policy in the Eastern Kamerun.

This is demonstrated firstly by the fact that the growth of public freedoms and the expansion of democracy which had to come in the period following the Second World War have affected the Kameruns under French administration only superficially.



At the cocktail given by the Moroccan delegation at the United Nations, are petitioners from the Kamerun and Mr. John Kale of the Uganda National Congress, having a chat with Mrs. Simon Malley, permanent correspondent at the U.N. of "Le Progrès Egyptien". Also appearing in this photo is Mr. Georges Houser of the American Committee on Africa (3rd to the left).

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It is also demonstrated by the fierce opposition of these same Administering Authorities to all nationalist organizations. We have only too many proofs from which to choose in support of our assertions.

If it can be argued that progress was achieved :

"...the path taken led to ever-closer integration of the Cameroons into the French Republic. It would no doubt have been possible to achieve as much progress without disregarding the individuality and personality of the Kamerun. Whatever else may be said, the policy pursued did not tend to promote independence but assimilation to part of the national territory". (cf. Mr. P.F. Gonidec, *Annuaire français de droit international*, part III, 1957, *Centre national de recherche scientifique*, page 607).

While French colonial policy under the Fourth Republic was thus openly integrationist, that policy changed its form under the Fifth Republic established by the Constitution of 28 September 1958, to recognize some kind of verbal self-government or independence for the colonial territories.

I do not wish to dwell in any detail on the clearly unrepresentative character of the puppet "Assembly" and "Government" of the Eastern Kamerun, established following the election-massacres of December 1956, though it is to these bodies that France wishes to transfer authority in defiance of the United Nations. One point, however, must be emphasized. If this "Assembly" and this "Government" are representative, why is there such fear of dissolving them and organizing completely democratic elections, leaving it to the Kamerunian people to choose between them and us, the dissolved organizations? The truth is that the members of this "Assembly" and "Government" and the Administering Authority are afraid to repeat in the Kamerun their failure in Togoland. The truth is that the independence promised to the Kamerun for 1 January 1960 cannot be regarded as true independence, if it is to be accomplished by a transfer of power to the puppets without general democratic elections preceded by a return to normal political life. After all, if it to be a true independence, why the persistent attempt to

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obtain the termination of trusteeship before it is proclaimed by a democratically-elected Assembly ?

In this connexion reference may be made to Mr. Atangana's telegram of 25 October, which I have quoted above and which says :

"People opposed termination trusteeship before proclamation independence country pursuant Article 76 United Nations Charter."

Reference might also be made to an article in the French Government newspaper *Paris-Presse l'Intransigeant* of 30 October 1958, which says that the Administering Authority would seek the termination of trusteeship in order to integrate the Kamerun into the "Community of Free Peoples" by means of elections held solely on the issue of association with France. Lastly, the article in *West Africa* of 25 October 1958, page 1,011, might also be cited.

III. — CONCLUSION.

The problems remain unsolved and call for urgent action.

It has thus been shown that the Administering Authorities in both the Eastern and the Western Kamerun have not only been guilty of breaking forthwith the democratic organizations, including the UDEFEC, but also envisage the future of the country in a manner completely incompatible with the spirit and the letter of the United Nations Charter (Articles 73 and 76(b)).

The UDEFEC considers :

1. That the injustice committee against the political organizations and through them against the Kamerunian masses, which have placed their confidence in them, must be redressed as a matter of urgency by :

- (a) The revocation of the Decrees of July 1955 and May 1957 dissolving those movements ;
- (b) The application of a law of general and unconditional amnesty.

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On these points, we completely agree with the following statement by the French jurist, Mr. Gonidec, whom we have already several times had the honour of quoting :

"...Moreover, as the Visiting Mission pointed out in 1955, the dissolution of the UPC cannot be regarded as the final solution of the Territory's problems. It is essential that a normal political climate should be restored by a general amnesty and by the unconditional exercise of public freedoms" (*loc. cit.*, page 624).

2. That the settlement of the situation which has existed in the Kamerun for three years requires the following measures :

- (a) The organization in 1959 by a Commission of the United Nations General Assembly, from which the colonial Powers would be excluded while the African, Asian and Latin American States would be fairly represented, of a referendum to be held simultaneously in both parts of the Kamerun on the following question : "Are you FOR or AGAINST the immediate reunification and independence of the Kamerun ?".
- (b) The organization by the same Commission of general elections for a Constituent Assembly of the Kamerun at last reunified, to proclaim independence and give the country a Government which might then ask for the termination of trusteeship.

On behalf of the UDEFEC I thank you, Mr. Chairman.

**STATEMENT MADE BY Mr. FELIX-ROLAND MOUNIE,
UPC, JDC AND UDEFEC REPRESENTATIVE AT THE
807th SESSION OF THE IVth COMMISSION
On November 18, 1958 (See A/C/4/SR.807)**

Mr. President,

I am happy to note that all delegations, starting with the delegation of the U.S.A. admit that the Kamerunian problem is a hard one, which therefore deserves most particular attention. I am also favourably impressed by the statement of the honourable representative of the Philippines, whereas the kamerunian problem will have serious repercussions in Africa because, whether a good or a bad solution is found by the United Nations this will affect the success or the failure of the trust regime in the other trust territories.

It is in order to help, to the best of my ability, to clarify this complicated problem that I have, once again, asked to make this address. I therefore thank you, Mr. President, for having allowed me to do so.

An analysis of the situation in the Kamerun shows that three dominant elements constitute a solution to the standing problems:

- a) The "preambles" allowing the return to a normal political life
- b) The organisation of a referendum on the question of unification
- c) The organization of elections destined to give the Kamerun a Parliament and a representative government, this before the Kamerun obtains its independence.

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I. THE PREAMBLES

In my opinion, seen the reasons which we have already exposed on many occasions in our petitions and which you would be kind enough to forgive me for not repeating, the Kamerun cannot enjoy a normal political life unless: 1) calm returns to the Country by an ending to the repression which has been lasted there since 1955. This indicates the cessation of hostilities and the withdrawal of military forces, the stopping of judicious acts against Kamerunian patriots, the closing of concentration camps, and, last, a political amnesty, total and unconditional, permitting the return of the exiled for political or other reasons as well as: 2) the free expression of all movements of the Country by the cancelling of the ban on the UPC, the JDC and the UDEFEC, dissolved by French decree on July 13, 1955, and by British decree on May 30, 1957, which decrees should be abrogated. On the other hand, M. Doise, presently member of the French delegation at the IVth Commission, stated on July 14, 1955, at the 16th session of the Trusteeship Council, that :

"The administrating authority has no right to dissolve a political party" (Cf. Doc.T/C.2/SR.275, page 11).

And if we insist so much on the re-establishment of parties, it is because this return is of vital importance if real freedom of opinion is to be expressed. For, even when the law on amnesty would be unconditional and total, as long as the banning decree is not abrogated, a judicial subtlety on the French part permits the administrating authority to arrest and imprison for reconstitution of dissolved leagues persons pardoned by amnesty who would be carrying out a political activity.

It goes without saying that on the same line of ideas, new legislative elections should be organised. We shall deal with this question later on.

It is however said that calm has been re-established in French-administered eastern Kamerun. Apart from facts, as numerous as they are exact, which were related to you in our previous statements, and which prove absolutely to the contrary, a cable, dated November 10, 1958, signed MEKOU

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and dispatched from Kumba, attests that "Repression seriousness eastern Kamerun particularly Fondanti and Bafang". Yesterday I received a letter the original text of which I place at the disposal of any delegation for perusal. I shall read out the full text of this letter :

"FB/SP

November 7, 1958

"Dear Comrade,

"We start now to bring to your knowledge the acts undertaken by the colonialists as regards the arrival of the Visiting Mission in French dominated Kamerun.

On the very day when the Mission was about to cross the border from the British zone to the French zone, the latter authorities sent troops to chase populations off the road. Having cleared the way, servicemen then disappeared before the passage of the Mission, so as to show that nothing abnormal was going on. These alignments of servicemen on the road-side start at Toumaka and finish at the border. Small markets have been suppressed (as was the case for the Babadjou market on November 5th, 1958, because of the Mission's passage). Severe raggings are administered under the name of tax and identity controls, and yet, when documents are submitted, authorities destroy those of certain people (as was the case for Nkoué-gou, head of a family in Babadjou).

In the same region, many friends were arrested, as for instance Tadjong Thomas, employed at the Mbouda Drugstore, Tachemtchi, Kaffo Boniface son of Kouening, and many others.

In other regions they start on prisoners first. In the prisons, where there are too many detainees, colonialists send a certain number of them elsewhere, mostly to torture-prisons. For instance in Douala, Eséka, not much of them are left for, lorries Nos. 0618 C2 and 9812 C2 are specialised in this kind of trips.

That is how, dear comrade, started the reception for the Visiting Mission in french-dominated Kamerun."

It is also alleged that there are many deserters from the nationalists ranks, and that these deserters support the Ahi-

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djo Government. If this is true, then why has the administrative authority not published the statement delivered behind closed doors at the "Cameroon's Legislative Assembly" by Mr. Mayi Matip Theodore, President of the Democratic Youth of the Cameroons, who was said to have rallied the government?

Finally, it is said that kamerunian authorities have offered their hand in friendship to the UPC. As far as I'm concerned, I notice should be referring only to statements made by me here — that the UPC also offers to shake hand with those whose policy, whether they want it or not, is however inscribed in history as tied up to colonial oppression.

Despite all that, as the UPC in this great Commission has promised to do its utmost in order that harmony should prevail in the Kamerun, may I express my hopes that, on the others' side, the firm promise will be made also before this Commission that the preambles in the absence of which the good will of the UPC would be unrealisable, will be taken into consideration. It is by acting this way that the administrative authority shall show proof of its spirit of conciliation.

A "Committee of amnesty and national reconciliation" was recently created in the Kamerun. This Committee is directed by high kamerunian personalities such as Dr. Eyidi Bebey, the Rev. Akoa Abomo, Secretary General of the Presbyterian Church of the Kamerun, Mr. Mbarga Philippe, President of the National Union of Traditional Associations of the Kamerun. This committee, which meets with the choice of the kamerunian populations also, requests the return of a normal political life through the application of the measures which we preconise.

II. REUNIFICATION OF THE KAMERUN

I am happy to note that we, the petitioners, are not alone in requesting you to be kind enough to consider the will of the kamerunian people to have our Country reunified. Some people, who share our point of view in this matter, abstain however from making clear just how they see this reunification. One is content to demand it before a date which, they say, should coincide with the independence of the Country. Curiously, they indicate already that the colours of the flag

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of the reunified and independent Kamerun should be those of the "Trust Territory of the Cameroons", as if at this stage of its evolution, our country will continue to be administered by the Assembly and the Government of this "Trust Territory".

One affirms that the reunified and independent Kamerun should associate itself with France. Not that we are hostile to association with a country the culture of which most of us share, but, precisely because of the fact that a reunified Kamerun is the point where French and British cultures meet, it would be harmful to our unification if one of the two cultures should be put aside to the benefit of the other. We think, as far as we are concerned, that the Kamerun should be associated to both France and Britain, in the framework of a cultural association, without prejudice to any economic relations it could have with all other powers.

One even says that if a certain procedure which one will not forego, were not retained, the administrative authority would proclaim the Kamerun's independence, and would go through the Security Council to have the new "State" admitted by the United Nations, as a way to put an end to the trust regime. Article 12 of the Trust Agreements for the Kamerun under french administration, as well as articles 79 and 85 of the Charter forbid such a procedure. But if by an extraordinary coincidence the UNO should give up its prerogatives, the kamerunian people would not allow their rights to be usurped.

III. GENERAL ELECTIONS BEFORE KAMERUN'S INDEPENDENCE AND THE ABOLITION OF THE TRUST REGIME.

In my humble opinion, general elections should be organized after the referendum, to give the Country a real representative assembly. To these elections should participate "all spiritual families" of the Country, to quote an expression already used here. And in order to render this consultation really democratic, we insist on the necessity to entrust, not to a commissioner, but to a large commission of the United Nations the task of conducting all electoral operations : Preparing the lists, announcing results, elaborating the electoral law, separating of the electoral quarters.

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I quote Sir Andrew Cohen's statement made here at the time of the debates on french-administered Togoland, last year:

"It is clear that these elections organized at the universal suffrage and in presence of observers from abroad, would put into function an assembly the representative character of which could not be contested. It is obvious that all those who have to take for granted the new elections results." (Cf. Official documents of the General Assembly, 12th session, IVth Commission A/C.4;SR.705, par. 41)

Petitions have arrived at the United Nations, contesting the representativity of the Ahidjo Government and protesting against its audition at the United Nations (Cf. Doc. T, PET 4 and 5/L.27/Add.3 page 3) while others support the viewpoint which is pleaded before you in the name of the UPC.

We think, Mr. President, that we need not say more in order to be understood.

The attention and care that you administers to the Kamerunian problem constitute for us, as well as for world opinion, premonitory signs of the well-thought-out resolution which your Commission shall adopt at the end of these debates. We are convinced that it will take into consideration the priority of the Kamerunian populations' interests.

Awaiting to speak again if you would permit me to do so Mr. President, we wish to thank, from deep in our hearts, all those who have worked to make justice and equality triumph, notwithstanding certain pressures. Our people and history will register this to the credit of the United Nations' accomplishments. Nothing more is left than the crown this gesture with another, more magnanimous which will consist, as I have clearly stated, of taking into account, above all, the interests of our people and to consider the consequences which could result from a contrary attitude.

I thank you, Mr. President.

New-York, November 18, 1958

REPORT OF THE TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL

Burma, Ghana, Guatemala, Haiti, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Liberia, Libya, Mexico, Morocco, the Philippines, Sudan, the United Arab Republic, Venezuela and Yugoslavia : revised draft resolution

The General Assembly,

Having considered the memorandum dated 12 November 1958, of the Government of France concerning the future of the Cameroons under French administration,

Noting the statement made by the representative of the United Kingdom to the Fourth Committee on 15 November 1958, concerning the future of the Cameroons under United Kingdom administration,

Noting the statements made by the representative of France and the Prime Minister of the Cameroons to the Fourth Committee on 11 and 14 November 1958 and the wishes expressed by the Legislative Assembly of the Cameroons in its resolution of 24 October 1958,

Having heard the petitioners on the conditions in the Trust Territories of the Cameroons under United Kingdom and French administration,

Recalling that a Visiting Mission of the Trusteeship Council is now in the Trust Territories, in pursuance of the Trusteeship Council's resolutions of 1907 and 1924 adopted at the Council's 22nd session and the ninth special session respectively,

1. *Notes* the declaration of the Government of France that the Cameroons under French administration is to achieve independence on 1 January 1960, thus fulfilling the objectives of the Trusteeship System ;

2. *Notes* the statement made by the representative of the United Kingdom Government that the Cameroons under

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United Kingdom administrative is expected to achieve the objectives set forth in Article 76 (b) of the Charter of the United Nations in 1960 ;

3. *Requests* the Trusteeship Council to examine, at the earliest possible time during its twenty-third session, the reports of the Visiting Mission and to transmit the same with its observations and recommendations to the General Assembly not later than 20 February 1959, to enable the Assembly to take, in consultation with the Administering Authorities, the necessary measures in connexion with the full attainment of the objectives of the Trusteeship System in the two Trust Territories.

REPORT OF THE TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL

Ghana, Haiti, India, Iran, Iraq, Liberia, the Philippines
and Yugoslavia: revised draft resolution

The General Assembly,

Decides to resume the thirteenth session of the General Assembly on 20 February 1959 to consider exclusively the question of the future of the Trust Territories of the Cameroons under French administration and the Cameroons under United Kingdom administration.

REMEMBER THAT

- (1) On February 20, 1959, an extraordinary session of the U.N. General Assembly will take place, with the only task of deciding the Kamerun's Reunification and Independence.
- (2) FEBRUARY 20, 1959 has been unanimously adopted by the All-African Peoples Conference as :

KAMERUN DAY

ON FEBRUARY 20, 1959

- Press and Radio campaigns
- Fund collecting
- Public meetings and demonstrations of protests

IN FAVOUR OF MARTYR-KAMERUN

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No 1

THE ALGERIAN
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PAKISTAN AND MIDDLE EAST

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The Permanent Secretariat has the greatest pleasure in placing before the Afro-Asian peoples and our National Solidarity Committees this first issue of the **AFRO-ASIAN QUARTERLY**.

The problems of Afro-Asian countries, exploited for long by the tyrannical imperialists, are varied and complicated and deserve close study. It would be the humble effort of the **AFRO-ASIAN QUARTERLY** to be the forum for such a study.

As the freedom battle of the resurgent African peoples surges forward and as the thick veil placed upon these countries by the vile imperialists is being torn asunder, to the world are revealed the ghastliest tales of exploitation and butchery which have been perpetrated by the foreigners over these hoary lands. It would be the effort of the **QUARTERLY** to reveal these tales, and tell the world of the heroic freedom battles of our African brothers.

Having long suffered under imperialist rule, the Afro-Asian countries are today faced with tremendous problems of economic and social development and are tackling them in accordance with their wisdom, tradition and genius. These questions will naturally draw the attention of the **QUARTERLY**.

The Afro-Asian peoples are the proud inheritors of great and glorious cultures, and as they march forward, they also revive their ancient cultures and add higher forms to them. It is a fascinating saga and the **QUARTERLY** would make humble effort to study and report on them.

These are difficult tasks, not easy of achievement, and we can not hope to do justice to them without the active aid of all our National Solidarity Committees and the scholars and intellectuals who inhabit the vast Afro-Asian world. We appeal to them to help us by their advice, suggestions and contributions.

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INTRODUCING THE QUARTERLY

by

Mrs. RAMESHWARI NEHRU

PRESIDENT

INDIAN ASSOCIATION FOR AFRO-ASIAN SOLIDARITY

The *Afro-Asian Quarterly* is coming out after a lapse of practically one year. During 1957, four issues of the journal were published from Delhi - the last one in the month of December. After the historic Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference in Cairo, the set up of our organisation changed and its construction was laid on new and surer foundations. A Permanent Council has started enthusiastically working at Cairo and this Council taking up the threads from where they were left at Delhi is now issuing this journal. It was this change in management which caused the delay, but I can assure the readers that in future the *Quarterly* will serve them faithfully and regularly.

It is most heartening to note that during the course of this year, our movement has made great strides. It has assumed big dimensions covering practically

the whole of the two big continents. None of the Asian-African countries stands alone now. The interests of one have become the interests of all. The slightest sight of danger to any one country alerts the rest of them who raise their powerful voice of protest as one unit. The *Quarterly* will henceforth regularly bring to the readers the news of our movement as well as that of the different countries which this movement of solidarity has linked together with friendship and love.

Many important events have taken place during the course of the year after which we are again appearing before our readers. On the whole the Asian and African countries are steadily on the march to progress and freedom, but we cannot ignore the dark clouds which in some countries have appeared on the horizon and which are causing us anxiety.

Since our last issue was out, Indonesia has successfully recovered from the internal troubles which were partially created by the interested interference of certain foreign powers. The rebellion has now been quelled and President Sukarno has succeeded in bringing his country once again to peace and constructive work. We wish his Government success.

Iraq has brought into existence a liberal Government through a successful and practically bloodless revolution. The foreign policy of the new progressive Government is now more in line with the wishes of the people. Its declaration of non-alignment to any bloc and non-participation in any military pact has taken the life out of the Baghdad Pact. We are very glad to note that the helm of Government is now in the hands of the most advanced section of the people. The majority of the members of the delegation which represented Iraq at the Cairo Conference and whom we had the honour of meeting on that occasion are now holding responsible positions in the Government. We offer our hearty congratulations to them and wish them great success.

It is a matter of great satisfaction to us that Lebanon and Jordan have successfully emerged from a great danger. The shocking news of the sudden

landing of foreign troops in these sovereign and independent countries alarmed all the Asian and African countries causing a wave of indignation and anger. The people all over arose in protest demonstrations holding mass meetings and rallies. The scenes witnessed at the Stockholm Disarmament Congress where 1,235 delegates from 74 countries enthusiastically and unanimously passed a resolution of protest demanding the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops from these countries can never be forgotten. Delegates were burning with anger at this interference in the internal affairs of independent countries. It is a matter of satisfaction that U.N. Assembly gave its verdict for the withdrawal of those troops and ultimately they moved out unconditionally. We wish both the countries success and a peaceful time undisturbed by outside interference for the much needed reconstruction of their internal affairs.

We give our felicitations to the newly formed independent Government of Algeria in exile which has received recognition from all progressive peoples and several governments. It is painful to see that the troubles of brave Algeria peoples are not yet over. The De Gaulle Government have not yet recognised the right of the Algerians to freedom and independence — the only basis

on which reconciliation between the two countries can take place. This basic factor is missing in the new deal offered by Prime Minister De Gaulle and therefore it cannot solve the problem. We all know the inside story of the « referendum » taken by the French Government and no amount of favourable figures however high can under the circumstances help. The French Government therefore will have to renounce their desire to keep this country under their rule. No people can be kept in subjugation against their wishes much less a determined people like the Algerians who have kept up the spirit of resistance in spite of the *flood of blood* and tears through which they are going. We only hope that this chapter of suffering will soon be over and the French Government will realise the truth and put an end to this already much prolonged tragedy. The Algerians have proved by their sacrifices and unity that they fully deserve to be independent which can no longer be denied to them.

Uganda, Kenya, the Cameroons and all other African colonial countries under the imperialist powers are continuing their struggle for freedom. Our sincere sympathies are with them and we wish them success. We appeal to the U.N. Assembly to exercise their influence for giving them

their birth right of freedom. The U.N. Assembly is proposing to send a fact-finding Committee to the Cameroons on whose report the Assembly will decide the future fate of that big country. We hope that the members of this Committee will not be content to play as tools in the hands of that country's Government but will exercise their right to see for themselves the real conditions of the people and will also hear all sides particularly those who are demanding independence for their country.

On the problems of nuclear weapons tests and disarmament no progress can be recorded. The Governments are still adamant and all the old nuclear powers are continuing the tests and France desirous of entering the nuclear arena is preparing to have her tests in the Sahara desert. The Governments refuse to relax. But public indignation against both the nuclear tests and the race of armament is mounting up. This was clearly evidenced at the Stockholm Disarmament Congress held in July this year and the 4th World Conference against A and H-Bombs held in Tokyo in August in the same year. Both these assemblies particularly the one at Stockholm were well represented by delegates from all parts of the world who unanimously decided to stop the tests forthwith and to make a beginning with disar-

mament with the ultimate aim of its complete abolition.

We have great pleasure in welcoming Guinea to the fold of the Afro-Asian independent countries. As a sequence to the verdict given by them in reply to the French referendum, they have got back their freedom from the

foreign yoke. I hope this new country will join the Afro-Asian Solidarity family and will follow the policy of peace and *Panch-Shila*.

In the end, I appeal to all our branches to patronise our little *Quarterly* and make it their true representative and messenger.

THE ALGERIAN PROBLEM

By

AHMED TEWFIK EL MADANI

MINISTER OF CULTURE IN THE ALGERIAN PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

On the night of the 24th August, while De Gaulle was conducting his futile tour in occupied Africa which is aspiring for independence and while French Military Commanders and Imperialists were spreading lies about the Algerian revolution and expressing false optimism about its near end, the Algerian Liberation Front transferred the war suddenly to France itself and conducted in one day and one hour large-scale military actions and destroyed military and economic targets of first-rate importance.

Oil tanks and Refineries were the first objective hit by Algerian fighters. The results of the first operations were the destruction of the biggest oil refineries near Marseilles as well as tens of depots in different parts of France. More than one hundred million litres of refined oil were burnt. In some French ports tankers were also burnt. Several Police stations were attacked which resulted in the death of many.

This surprise Algerian attack on French targets has shed a new light on the Algerian Revolution and has convinced people inside and outside France of three facts which no propaganda can conceal:

The first fact: that the Algerian Revolution is still developing, spreading and gaining strength everyday and that it holds the initiative.

The Second fact: that the command of the revolution can at the time and place it chooses, hit Metropolitan France itself and strike the strategic and economic targets however difficult these may be.

The Third fact: that the Algerian Nation which rose as a whole against French Imperialism in a great revolution led by the National Algerian Liberation Front and whose plans are executed with great precision and heroism by the National Algerian

Liberation Army — this nation has decided to attain complete liberation and independence no matter how the battle may prolong and irrespective of the cost.

The Algerian war of liberation has completed its fourth year. From the first of November 1954, and until this day, the Algerian people have started a fight, the like of which never took place in any colonized country before. It rallied around the flag of freedom fighting several battles which almost resemble fables of the ancient Greeks in which women, men and boys participated. Thus the nation became like a beehive in Spring time in which everyone does his or her duty with wonderful co-ordination.

This is not a revolution of one party or one side of Algerians. It is truly the revolution of the people as a whole. The idea of parties has died in Algeria; so have political and social differences which were in the country before the revolution. Every one joined up, in all sincerity and with complete self-sacrifice in this great organization which called itself « The National Algerian Liberation Front ». It drew up a general programme for action in which it specified its aims and objects. This programme can be summarised in the following short sentences:

« Total elimination of French

Imperialism in Algeria. Establishing an independent Algerian Republic with a democratic social system, in which there would be no feudalism and no distinction between classes and sects; all the wealth in it would be for the people and all the power would rest with the people; it would not be a satellite of Moscow or Washington, but would have a liberal independent national policy within the North African frame; it would have peace with those who would have peace with her, it would extend its hand — within the limits of its national interests — to all those who extend the hand of fraternity and friendship to it; it is to depend in its development on its sister Bandung countries that were liberated before it and the countries of Africa and Asia in general ».

The people have mustered all their potentialities to serve this revolution and are spending the last farthing, and shedding the last drop of hot blood for its success. An observer would marvel at this revolution and its order; for this Algerian Nation so largely destroyed by the French and which suffered hunger, illness, deprivation, unemployment, and illiteracy for more than a hundred years, this nation has been able through natural genius to form a trained army wonderfully disciplined and

made up of 120,000 soldiers. French Military experts described it, in an article published in the Parisian *Le Monde* newspaper, as the strongest army in Africa at present. It has a general command, a general staff, a local command, military grades, monthly salaries, family compensations, hospitals and supply centres. Over and above that it has faith, valour, an incomparable urge for adventure and heroic sacrifice which made it counter the biggest armies in number and arms. With its modest weapons it faces a force eight times its number possessing 3,000 airplanes, tanks, armoured cars, inexhaustible ammunition stores.

France has mobilized against the National Algerian Liberation Army about 800,000 men who form the largest colonial army of all times. It has been equipped with the most modern weapons; France even intends to explode an atomic bomb in the Western Desert in the near future thus attempting to demoralise the Algerian Liberation Army.

On this occasion we wish to say the following frankly... we record it for history.

« The colonial war against Algeria is being carried out and fed by the U.S.A. ».

« France which is spending on this war £ 700 million per

annum over its normal military expenditure could never continue this colossal financial effort while on the verge of bankruptcy were it not supported by the U.S.A. which is granting it an inexhaustible supply of dollars. The last lot granted to France was \$ 650 million.

« The arms used by France against us, the arms that destroy our villages, burn our farms, murder our old people, women and children are not French arms but NATO arms given to France by the U.S.A. in preparation of a conflict with the Soviet Union. Yet France uses all these arms against the Algerian people who are fighting for their right of existence and who insist on living a free independent life like all the nations of the world who do not exceed them in vitality, strength or readiness ».

« In international political circles, in general conferences and in the meetings of the United Nations we do not see the strength of France or the influence of France but the strength, influence and intrigues of the United States ».

« Thus we see the U.S.A. against us with its money, arms, and political influence ».

Yet the French while fighting

the Algerians with American arms and money do not practice military honour nor do they respect the rules of war or the provisions which protect human rights. They commit on Algerian soil the worst atrocities ever committed by colonial soldiers in occupied lands since history ever knew the yoke of colonialism.

They are intentionally carrying out a war of extermination in compliance with orders emanating from their government and from military Head Quarters. They are incessantly dropping bombs from the air and shelling hundreds of villages with their huge field guns reducing homes to ashes and burying the inhabitants under its debris. They are killing without remorse or mercy tens of thousands of women and children in ruthless revenge against the valiant men of the Algerian Liberation Army. In addition the French soldiers are constantly scorching vast rich areas destroying every trace of life in it, and every plantation in order to deprive the Algerian Liberation Army of every means of sustenance. There is no act of villainy, of wanton killing and of flagrantly open rape of women and maidens which has not been perpetrated. All prisoners and those under arrest are treated with such savagery and brutality as put the cruel proceedings of the well known courts of inquisition in the shade.

We are not in the least exaggerating any of these statements out of malice, or seeking to mar the reputation of the enemy. In fact we have but alluded to the absolute minimum of atrocities witnessed and attested to by many a scrupulous Frenchman of integrity and courage, and many a foreigner who has seen with his own eyes the enactment of this unparalleled savagery and butchery over thousands of innocent women and children. Many books and pamphlets have been published recently in which references to these acts of savagery and barbarism have been frequently made and most of which have been summarized in the book entitled *Genocide in Algeria*.

The waging of this war of extermination and incendiarism and destruction of towns and villages has resulted in the butchery of more than 600,000 of human beings the majority of whom being women and children, while a million or more have fled to the desert, Tunis and Morocco, where they have been reduced to a state of destitution and famine. Thousands of them are dying of disease every day.

Now for four years has struggled a nation numbering 12 million inhabitants against an imperialistic usurper, who hampered their progress and prevented them from work and from learning, who eliminated

them from participating in the administration of their country's affairs, and raised an unsurmountable barrier between them and the natural resources of wealth with which their country abounds. Today the free world must think of how to put an end to this butchery and the wholesale murdering of the Algeria people.

The free peoples of the world must think of a way to rescue humanity from such an atrocious fate and save mankind from shame and misery.

France has shown herself to be extremely bigotted and fanatic. It considers Algeria as part of her natural territory, despite all the distinctive differences in the nature of their regions, in language, religion, ethics, history and traditions. France refuses any solution of the Algerian question unless based on the recognition of Algeria as a department of France. General De Gaulle recently formulated an imperialistic scheme which he announced during the second half of March 1958, a scheme in which Algeria was considered to be virtually an indivisible part of France, and which moreover considered Algerians to be French citizens, sharing the same fate and shouldering the same obligations and responsibilities socially and politically.

De Gaulle is offering to the

Algerians total merger and total domination of personality instead of total independence.

De Gaulle, and the French Administration, practice these days a funny comedy on Algerian soil though the situation does not permit any laughter. It is carrying out a fraudulent operation of forgery which has no precedence in the world.

The French Government ordered all the men of civil and military authorities in Algeria to use any method, no matter how atrocious or dirty, to force Algerians to register their names in the French election lists and then oblige them through threat, intimidation and torture to participate in the referendum on the new French constitution which took place on September 28th 1958. Now what was De Gaulle's objective from that?

He wanted to say after the 28th of September 1958 that the majority of Algerian electors had voluntarily accepted De Gaulle's programme, that they accepted to become French nationals and that they left the idea of independence and deserted the National Algerian Liberation Front.

Free French newspapers, and free French writers have carried to us the news of persecutions, crimes, and tortures committed to

force Algerians to participate in this great fraud. These actions would make a man of honour utterly surprised and disgusted and unable to imagine how people, who profess to be of the first civilized nations, could commit such obnoxious actions with the intention of retaining land against the wish of its people and with the intention of deceiving World Public Opinion and making it believe that this is the wish of the Algerian people.

But as against French obstinacy which is like the obstinacy of a cunning moneylender who wants to preserve what he sinfully gained through the blood of his victims — there is the obstinacy of the Algerian nation and its pride, and iron will to get rid of this imperialism, no matter how long this may take or whatever it may cost.

The Algerian nation, inspite of all the suffering and calamities it endured and is still enduring, inspite of the great vacuum which was created within its ranks as a result of the war of extermination waged against it by France, inspite of the fact that 100,000 of its men and youth are in prisons and detention camps and although 1 million (1/12 of the population) of its men and women were rendered destitute and 600,000 of its sons were killed (1/20 of the population), and inspite of the starvation which

spread in several parts of the country — inspite of all that it insists to continue the liberation war to its natural conclusion which is the freedom and independence of Algeria.

Then how can we reconcile between the two obstinate parties? And who can judge between them?

We believe that it is possible to reconcile between the two parties, and that the authority which can judge between them exists.

As for the reconciliation between them, it can be achieved by resorting to the established principles of freedom which grant the right of life to all the peoples, which recognize the right of self-determination of every nation, which admit that no nation can dominate the peoples of any other nation and compel it to yield to its rules and to submit to its will.

The arbitrator which can judge between the two parties is the World Public Opinion.

This is a true fact which we, as well as France, believe in. That is why we are in a continuous race with it to attain the same goal, namely to convince World Public Opinion of the rightfulness of the views of each of us. We want to show World Public Opinion the savage actions

of France, the brutality of its imperialistic war, and to convince it of our absolute rights of freedom and self-determination, whereas France wants to convince World Public Opinion of our short-coming, our incapacity to get our independence, our wish — I do not know how — to become French and to enjoy the rights of the French citizen.

But we strongly believe that World Public Opinion has the discretion and the understanding which would enable it to believe in our right, to support our cause, apprehend our position, to seek giving justice and to put an end to these massacres which take place in our country.

We divide World Public Opinion into 3 categories : ©

The first is the section of the Bandung nations which represents three quarters of the World and contains both the African and the Asian Worlds. This section has emphasised several times its support of the Algerian cause and its consideration of its battle as the battle of liberty in general, and the victory of Algeria as the victory of all liberated countries and a realization of one of the most sacred principles of the world (The Bandung, Cairo and Accra Conferences).

The second section is that of free nations which recognize human values, respect principles

and admit the rights of all the peoples of the world to freedom and independence such as the U.S.S.R., the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, and other several northern and latin American countries.

As for the last and the third section; it is constituted of a small minority which still believes in its special interests and selfishness in imperialism and domination and in imposing both economic and political domination on extensive strategic parts of the world. In this section we put France, America, England and the other countries which are compelled to follow them.

The greatest section of World Public Opinion and the most widely spread-out is, without a shadow of doubt, with us. It gives us moral support in our fight to get rid of French imperialism and to attain national independence.

The decisive battle between the two sections of World Public Opinion — the majority section and the minority section — take place in the United Nations. We hope for a political victory from this struggle.

To attain this victory, great efforts must be exerted to unify the line of action of Afro-Asian countries so as to adopt one unified plan to be accepted by the National Algerian Liberation Front and the representatives of

these countries. The representatives of these liberated countries should be rallied around this plan so that none would be on the side of imperialist capitalist countries except countries which are economically dependent on them.

If France then comes to accept the truth and negotiates with the Algerian Liberation Front on the basis of Algerian Independence, the war would end in the interest of right and the achievement of the principles of justice.

But if she does not, and persists in its obstinacy, then the Algerian Liberation Army is well capable of bringing it back to its senses. In that case, all

free peoples, nations and states of the world must stand by the National Algerian Liberation Front and Army, giving financial support together with arms and volunteers. For the war would not be one of Algeria against France but of Freedom against Slavery, and Liberation against Colonialism. The outcome of this war would not only be that of the attainment by Algeria of its independence but the outcome would be the elimination of the last aspect of Imperialism.

Our objective is noble and great. Therefore let our efforts in all free Afro-Asian countries be equal to the nobility and greatness of the objective. °

THE KAMERUNIAN REVOLUTION

OSENDE AFANA

KAMERUNIAN REPRESENTATIVE ON AFRO-ASIAN PERMANENT SECRETARIAT

« If the Algerian War weakens France, it also hides from the world that a rebellion is going on in the Kameruns. If it were not for this war, certainly the struggle launched by the *maquis* of the UPC (Union of the Populations of the Kameruns) against French occupation would have made headlines in the press long ago. Troubles in Algeria were given priority when they were far from being as important as the present uprising in the Kameruns ». This is how *Le Tribune des Nations*, the right-wing newspaper of France expressed itself on March 28, 1958.

Indeed, long before, and also after this article was published, many international conferences disapproved the colonial war in the Kamerun, urging France and Britain to open immediate negotiations with the UPC, but all in vain. A systematic silence still prevails about the Kamerunian drama. This silence is mostly due to official instructions, carried to the letter by news-

papers and press agencies. It is also due to the fact that, contrary to Algeria which is surrounded by friendly countries, we are surrounded by countries under imperialist control. Picture a triangle whose vertex is located in lake Tchad, whose base is 1,500 kilometers farther away down the Congo, with the Gulf of Guinea and Nigeria on the west, the « French » Equatorial Africa and « Spanish » Guinea on the east and south respectively. Such is the shape of our country, the Kamerun, now under international trusteeship but partly administered by France (3,500,000 inhabitants in the 4/5th of its surface) and partly by the United Kingdom (1,500,000 inhabitants on about 100,000 square kilometers of land). In order to understand the bitterness and intensity of the armed struggle which is going on in this country ever since May 25, 1955, it is important to bear in mind this geographical situation as also the important factors of the trusteeship regime, and the economic resources which give

the country an Eldorado-like power.

From German Protectorate to International Trusteeship:

On July 12, 1884, a Treaty of Protectorate was signed between the Kamerun nation and the Reich, according to which the German Government pledged itself to undertake the economic development of the country for a period of thirty years, but without the slightest prejudice to its integrity and independence (Art. 2). This Treaty, whose text could be found in European libraries, was internationally recognised, particularly by France and Britain. During World War I, Anglo-French forces occupied the country and divided it among themselves. This illegal action was ratified by the Versailles Treaty of 1919 in spite of President Wilson's disapproval, who had then stated: « The establishment of national boundaries without consulting the populations therein concerned is nothing but annexation which in this case appears to be very slightly veiled ». Ever since that time, and against our will, our divided Kamerun was first placed under the League of Nations' mandate, and later under the United Nations Trusteeship.

This trusteeship regime, to which are submitted such African

territories as the Kamerun, Togoland, Somaliland, Ruanda-Urundi and Tanganyika, is on many points more precise and more progressive than the mandatory regime. According to Article 76 of the U.N. Charter, the trusteeship regime aims at the following objectives:

- a) To further international peace and security.
- b) To promote the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the trust territories, and their progressive development towards self-government or independence as many be appropriate to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned, and as may be provided by the terms of each trusteeship agreement.
- c) To encourage respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion and to encourage recognition of the inter-dependence of the peoples of the world, and
- d) To ensure equal treatment in social, economic, and commercial matters for all

Members of the United Nations and their nationals and also equal treatment for the latter in the administration of justice, without prejudice to the attainment of the foregoing objectives and subject to the provisions of Article 80.

To make sure that these principles are thoroughly applied, the U.N. created a Trusteeship Council. Its task is to back up the General Assembly whose IVth Commission is also concerned with Trusteeship affairs. Individuals and organisations in the Kamerun have the right to address written or spoken petitions to these bodies. At each ordinary session, the General Assembly examines these problems, and issues recommendations and instructions to the administrative powers. Every three years it sends an enquiry commission on the spot.

Tremendous is the judicial scope of these texts. According to contemporary international law, they are regarded as real treaties. Now, treaties are more powerful than internal and even constitutional laws. That is to say that the Charter offers a solid judicial basis to populations of territories under trusteeship regime, whose interests and aspirations should benefit absolutely and unconditionally, as stipulated in article 73. This

same basis is granted to all member-nations of the U.N. Far from being accused of interference in internal matters, they are, on the contrary, solemnly pledged to see that the above mentioned principles are respected and applied to the trust territory and its people at the same time benefit materially on a basis of equality with the administrative power.

The Kamerunian people understood these possibilities very well. In 1948, the UPC was founded with the objectives of attaining unity and independence of the country, accelerating the evolution of its inhabitants and raising their standard of living. We were thus engaged into a hard, bitter struggle, for the imperialists, when they divided our country, intended to colonise it in the real sense, which wish was expressed by one of their most specialised experts in the matter, M. Albert Sarrault, who said: « Colonisation was an act of force justified by interests, an episode of the struggle for life which, from man to man, form group to group, is developing ever since ». It came to be a bitter struggle indeed, more especially, as everybody agrees, because the Kamerun is a land of infinite possibilities.

Resources of the Kamerun

One of Kamerun's main advantages is reflected by its

geographical position of great strategic importance. It is located in the zone between the Gulf of Guinea and the Red Sea, which zone is considered highly important by the NATO strategists « as a zone for the stationing of the Free World's rear forces ». Apart from these warlike aims of the foreigners (contrary to our desire for peace), the port of Douala is one of the best situated for relations with North and South America. It is also the nearest natural gateway to the wide territories of Tchad, Oubangui, North-Gabon, etc., under French domination. Moreover, the Kamerun is the terminal point of different migratory currents, and the « melting-pot » of all the ethnical influences of Africa.

Coloured people indeed constitute the great majority (and most particularly the Guinean sub-race), but Semites also occupy an important place in the North - about 30 % of the population. It is, therefore, natural that in Kamerun languages we come across words belonging to all the great African linguistic families: Bantoues, Semi-Bantoues, Sudanese and Semitic. The same thing goes for religions. If Christian chapels swarm in the South, Islam gathers more than 30 % of the northern population of both zones. This Islamic population of rich pastors is proud, each year, to

break through the administrative routine difficulties, and send opulent delegations on pilgrimage to the Mecca.

Before World War II, the rate of birth was 52 per thousand. Sex-ratio is 85, and the yearly increase in population is about 2 % against 1.2 % in most parts of Africa. Moreover, the density of population per square kilometer is 9 against the 6.7 average for Africa.

Indeed, this population is very badly distributed, from the geographical point of view (72 % on 33 % of the surface), as well as from the professional viewpoint: 91 % in agriculture, 2.4 % in industry, buildings and mines, 3.1 % in commerce and freight, and 3 % in public functions. These are nothing but characteristic signs of African underdevelopment. The Kamerun seems to mark an advance, to a certain extent, since the workers, for instance, represent 5 % of the population against 2.5 % in French West Africa, 3.5 % in French Equatorial Africa, and 1.6 % in Togoland. As to people who possess a written and spoken knowledge of a Western language (essentially French and English), it would appear that there are 15 % of them in the Kamerun, against 10 % in Ghana, 7 % in Nigeria, and 6 % in Sierra Leone. Also, according to French statistics, 40.6 % of

children fit for school are being sent to schools, against 8.4 % in French West Africa, 16.1 % in French Equatorial Africa and 29.7 % in Togoland.

Since « Man is the most precious of all capitals », there could be good hopes for participation of the Kamerun humanity in the development of their country - a country which the Governmental Service of Economical Documentation (20, Rue de l'Arcade, Paris) places among the richest in all Black Africa. Its stretch in latitude permits it to possess all African climates. The most temperate climates meet in the long chain of mountains from the south-west to north-west, where vine and other mediterranean cultures are found. The all-equatorial rainfall (the most rain-watered place in the world after Cheerapunji in India lying at the bottom of the 4,100 meters high Kamerun mountain, Dibounji, receives an average of 10 meters of rain per annum) has made possible the development of terraced forests of various essentials. This forest, which covers more than 33 % of the country's total surface, is only exploited to an extent of 16 %. Eastern zone alone produced last year 19,000 tons of block woods, 18,000 tons of timber and 81,000 tons of squared timber. According to French experts, the Edea Center could produce 200 tons of pulped paper daily,

out of the 50 millions which, according to a FAO estimation, will be required for 1960 world consumption.

What is particularly needed is electric power of 10,000 kws. Starting from next year, the Edea power station will be able to produce 1,360 millions of kwh, which is much more than the power Morocco and Algeria together can presently consume.

The Edea at 45 miles upstream, and other falls, mainly in the Western Zone — the Menchem for example — can develop a far superior energy power. Should we add to these falls a dozen others of the same power as Edea's, we can clearly picture the Kamerun's hydro-electrical possibilities, which attracted to Edea the first aluminium plant ever to be built in Africa. Starting from next year, this plant will produce 40 % of French consumption. As a matter of fact, the electric current generated in Edea is 3 to 5 times cheaper than in France.

Coal should be added to hydraulic energy in the Kumba region (Western Kamerun), and oil too which, for decades, runs in all the coastal basin from « Spanish » Guinea to Nigeria (more than 300 kilometers). Explorations started only 1950, led to the discovery of oil near Douala, at a depth of 1,764 meters. The well produced from

750,000 to one million of cubic meters of gas every day, with an oil density of 0,860, and an exceptional pressure of 300 kilogrammes per square centimeter. Furthermore, very important natural resources such as, gold, tin, tungsten, copper, manganese, uranium, iron, etc, are founded all through the country.

The possibilities of electrification and industrialisation are, therefore, tremendous. And yet they remain unexploited. Oil found near Douala is exploited by a small plant which produces only 150,000 cubic meters of gas daily, and 10,000 tons of gasoline for cars per annum. Apart from the important aluminium plant of Edea (the 4th in all Africa and Western Europe), the Kamerun has also a few industries, such as, saw-mills, furniture factories, tobacco manufacture, the most modern and most powerful rubber factory in Africa, the most important rice plant in the continent, warehouses and frigorified slaughter-houses, breweries, oil-works, etc.

Kamerun, however, remains essentially an agricultural country, which is demonstrated by the occupational distribution of its population. Cultivable land occupies more than 25 % of the western zone. Besides providing for local consumption, agricultural export occupies an ever-growing place: Cocoa, coffee,

bananas, palm oil, cotton, rubber, tobacco, etc. Moreover, we are Nigeria's first suppliers of meat, which we also sell to Equatorial Africa and Congo under Belgium domination. *Two-thirds of our external commerce is with France and Britain.* This is due to many factors the most important of which seem to be situated in the predominant character of trade activities in the Kamerunian economy. It is also due to the exchange control policies which favour the administrative powers at the expense of other Member-States of the United Nations. Thus, there are about 15,000 Europeans in Eastern Kamerun, 12,000 of whom are French.

Non - autochtons, although being the minority, occupy all key-positions in the country. In spite of the fact that 87 % of the officials are Kamerunians, that our cultivators produce 2/3 of our exports of bananas, and almost 100 % of our exports of cocoa, it is the settlers who get the highest salaries, almost all benefits, and are protected by every means of fiscal, economical, and social privileges. In short, even in a territory under trusteeship, colonialists behave exactly the same as they do elsewhere: *As exploiters, but also as grave-diggers for their own regime:*

What does the population of Kamerun want?

Such an unbridled exploitation

of all classes of the population by a foreign minority is bound to shock the people, and proves to everybody the profound truth expressed as follows by the great Indian poet, Rabindranath Tagore: « Our dependance lies at the root of our poverty and ignorance ».

That explains why in less than 10 years, despite — and because of — all the kinds of persecution it has suffered, UPC has become the living emblem, the incarnation, of our nationalism. This is recognised by imperialists themselves, and by their press (*La Tribune des Nations* of March 28th, 1958, and *La Dépêche du Midi* of December 14th, 1956), admitting that the UPC represents 85 % of the population. This figure could be less than reality, as we can realise in the light of the Togolese experience. French imperialists have long pretended that the Togolese people wanted integration for their country, having themselves voted in favour of this integration during a referendum organised by French colonialists alone. However, this same people, during the latest UNO-controlled elections, voted almost unanimously (70 %) in favour of full independence. What then would be the figure in the Kamerun, where for three years patriots and freedom-fighters have been giving up everything, even their

lives, for immediate reunification and independence?

Beside our representative character, the imperialists also recognise the legitimacy of our aspirations. As regards reunification, for instance, many an ethnologist and notorious colonialist admitted that it was a normal historical and ethnic aspiration.

This was also recognised lately by the delegate of Belgium during the last session of the Trusteeship Council. Anticipating an imminent referendum in Western Kamerun, he said: « It is my belief that we shall be able to know, through this referendum, if the populations of British Kamerun wish to perpetuate their association with Nigera or if they wish to reverse the course of their history, by *re-establishing older links* with the State under trusteeship regime of Kamerun.

In spite of all that, the French and British governments refuse to give us satisfaction, for imperialists see in the UPC the major obstacle to their maintaining Africa as a base for aggression and as the last outpost of colonialism. They know that all the peoples of the Dark Continent follow with the keenest interest our struggle, which is fundamentally anti-imperialistic. In December 1957, France's representative to the United Nations was proud to announce that his

government had sent reinforcements in the Kamerun, whose task was to murder in cold blood populations under a trusteeship regime. Since then, the situation has been growing more serious every day, especially in the Eastern zone. A notorious traitor, Jacques Ngom, said in Stockholm, on July 19, that 50,000 patriots out of a population of 3½ millions, were kept in concentration camps. Prisons are more crowded than villages.

Armed resistance has extended to the Sanage-Maritime region, to the south and west boundaries of the country, which are far more developed economically than the rest of the country. On March 6, we even captured 6 French officers who preferred to instruct our soldiers together with the young Kamerunian officers who once served under the French flag, rather than be shot.

We quite agree with M. Mendes-France that there is no example in history of foreign army overcoming a national insurrection. However, we have submitted to the administrative powers as well as to the United Nations concrete proposals for a peaceful and democratic settlement of our problem. We want either immediate negotiations with UPC or a referendum to be organised immediately and simultaneously in both zones of our country, under

the exclusive responsibility of a U.N. Commission, numerous enough to guarantee good control in a country as wide as France. This Commission will also have to be geographically representative, as to the political forces of the United Nations. It will have to be mostly representative of Afro-Asian nations, who represent 3/5 of humanity. Since France and Great-Britain, as well as the Trusteeship Council itself, have recognised the Kamerunian people's claim for unity and independence, the said referendum will have to ask one single question: « Are you FOR or AGAINST immediate reunification and independence? » Of course, this referendum will have to be preceded by a return to calm and a withdrawal of foreign troops, to be replaced, if needed, by an international police force.

We believe this programme should facilitate the task of the U.N. Visiting Mission due to arrive in our Country. This Mission is, indeed, headed by the United States, but it also includes a delegate from India, this great Afro-Asian nation, which is struggling herself for territorial unity. Now, is not this a motive of hope? In any case, the situation is serious, and a democratic solution to the question appears to be most urgently needed, in order to save our country from De Gaulle's

aims, and also from the British plan to integrate Western Kamerun to Nigeria, which was promised independence in 1960, obviously aiming at creating difficulties of the same nature as those now encountered by Togoland and Ghana, to which a part of Togoland was integrated two years ago.

It is astonishing, indeed, to see that a war is carried out against populations under international trusteeship; and even worse, that such a war would be going on for three years, while it is so easy to solve the problem, by just referring to Charter, Art. 1, 73 and 76. Administrative powers do not have anything to lose. As to all other peace-loving nations and governments of the world, it is their duty to help us. Now that imperialists threaten to destroy the world with the bombs generally manufactured with Afro-Asian and Latin-American raw materials, now that so many peoples break their

chains and denounce aggressive pacts, now that all Africa, from Algeria to Madagascar, firmly claims independence, who could pretend to struggle for peace and co-operation without supporting all those who try to recover their tremendous natural resources, in order to consecrate them to accomplishments of peace and progress? The whole world should bear in mind that we, colonised peoples, do not judge governments, officials or political organisations and information organs, merely by their ideologies, their programs or statements, but only by their concrete attitude towards our legitimate aspirations.

Naturally, it is from to-day that we intend to distinguish between our real and false friends, and not starting it from the day of our independence. For it will be thanks to their unconditional contribution to the success of our cause, national unity and independence, that the realisation of these objectives will be made possible.

THUNDERBOLT OVER IRAQ

YANG SHUO¹

China's representative on Afro-Asian Permanent Secretariat

On July 14, 1958, the old hags of the puppet regime of Boy King Feisal were all trimmed to set out for a long journey. They were scheduled to fly to Instnabul for a meeting with the Moslem members of the Baghdad Pact. The idea was to hatch a plan whereunder a large force was to be despatched to Lebanon to rescue the tottering regime of Chamoun and put down the blaze of revolution of the Lebanese people. It was thus a meeting of vital importance. Naturally, therefore, the Boy King Feisal, his uncle Abul Ilah, and that butcher of the Iraqi people, Nuri El-Said, had all prepared to go to Istanbul. The time of departure was fixed — five o'clock. As an ancient Chinese proverb says — « All is ready, only the east wind is needed. »

And it was three o'clock in the early morning hours, just two hours left for the departure of the trio. They were still lying comfortably in their spring-cushioned beds soft as the clouds, in their

vicious lustful dreams. Suddenly, however, out of the quiet hours broke out a storm of outcries in front of the royal palace. The revolutionary army, with peoples' support, went into action and besieged the clumsy palace. Uncle Abdul Ilah, the cunning old wolf, even at this last hour stuck to his hostility towards the people, and in sheer frenzy opened fire on the army of revolution. And then with Feisal he made a vain attempt to sneak out of the palace. While they were thus rushing out, they were found and shot. Thus ended their notorious and vicious careers.

Hearing of the revolution breaking out like a thunderbolt, Nuri El-Said quietly slipped out of his home and disappeared. The new revolutionary regime announced a reward of ten thousand dinars for the capture of this arch-enemy of the people. By the afternoon of July 15 a young student came to inform the revolutionary reigme of the place where Nuri El-Sai^d

¹ Mr. Yang Shuo went to Iraq after the Revolution as leader of a Goodwill Delegation of the Afro-Asian Permanent Secretariat.

was hiding. When Nuri came to know of the approaching people, when this oppressor and foreign agent realised that his end was near at hand, he played a funny role. It was funny in so far as he tried to combine in himself the role of an Arab woman and an American cowboy. Disguised as a woman in black veil from head to foot, firing pistols at the same time held in his both hands, he ran towards the American Embassy. It was, however, a revolution led by wise leaders who had planned to the minutest details, and well aware as they were of American machinations and interference, they had taken good care to place a guard round the American Embassy. Nuri thus could not seek protection of the American Embassy stealthily. His eventual decision was to make a bold and desperate bid to reach it in the cowboy fashion. In this he was doomed to fail. All his pistol shots fired indiscriminately at officers and men of the revolutionary army proved of no avail. He was shot dead three hundred yards from the American Embassy. The richly deserved end of this hated oppressor of the people will always be a reminder to all future traitors and butchers of the people the world over.

The Iraqi Revolution was neat and thorough. Coming like a thunderbolt, it was completely unexpected by the imperialists and their lackeys. By the time they

could even cover their ears, it had swept away the corrupt regime of tiny men, eradicating them from the earth forever. And just a few hours after, the whole of Baghdad was rejoicing at the victory of the Revolution.

In the meantime, however, the heads of Baghdad Pact countries waited uneasily and expectantly at Istanbul for the arrival of Nuri El-Said. They waited for hours, but in vain. Nuri would now never come.

The victory of the Iraqi Revolution rejoiced not merely the Iraqi people; the peoples of the entire world welcomed it with great joy. It has been hailed as not merely a victory of the Iraqi peoples, but as also a victory of the common people all over the world. People all over the world knew well that the imperialists created the Baghdad Pact through the tiny and puppet Feisal monarchy. It was through this regime that Iraq became on the one hand an instrument of the ruthless colonialists to carry out their plunder; and on the other hand the country was converted into a backbone of the imperialists to push through their aggression against the great Arab Peoples. The American and British bandits had for long taken it as their most reliable instrument.

It was precisely when the imperialist wolves were about to use

this instrument with confidence and certainty for their new schemes of aggression, that the thunderbolt struck taking them entirely unawares and breaking their backbone to pieces. The Iraqi peoples finally achieved the great victory of their national democratic revolution.

The triumph of this revolution has opened a magnificent and brilliant new page in the history of Iraq. It has shattered to bits the imperialist front of aggression and war preparations in the Middle East and has reduced the Eisenhower Doctrine and Baghdad Pact to smithereens. It has been a great inspiration not only to Arab Peoples but also to the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The peoples victory in Iraq has ushered in a new upsurge of national liberation struggles in these areas. That is why people all over the world have rejoiced so warmly at the victory in Iraq.

Under the leadership of General Abdel Karim Kassem, Prime Minister of Iraq today, this revolution had been carefully and secretly planned in thorough detail. It was first launched by the army and triumphed at one stroke. In reality it was a joint effort of the entire nation. When I visited Baghdad after the Revolution, Iraqi friends told me that precisely at the time when the army besieged the palace, the people broke forth into

action like roaring tides. Prime Minister Kassem himself told me that before the revolution they had built up intimate contacts with the enormous force of the people and thus had already forged an irresistible gigantic force which the corrupt monarchy was impotent to face. People's co-operation in the Revolution is symbolised by the young student who informed about Nuri El-Said. After Nuri was killed, the revolutionary government offered the reward of 10,000 dinars to the student. He firmly refused the amount saying: « This is my duty. » Behold, how respectable the people are!

It is true that a thunderbolt always takes one by surprise, but it nevertheless has its own processes of formation. The suddenness of the Iraqi revolution may well give the impression of a thunderbolt, but in reality it was the result of a long, glorious and determined struggle of the Iraqi people. This would be borne out even by a cursory look at the history of the revolutionary struggle waged by the people in recent years.

Iraq is gifted by nature with fertile land and rich mineral resources. The arable land of the whole country totals 12,000,000 hectares. Due to feudal rule, however, only 1,750,000 hectares have been under cultivation. Of this, 80 - 90 per cent belonged to the feudal landlords.

It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the broad masses of peasants lived like medieval serfs with ninety per cent as illiterate. The expectation of life of these unhappy people averaged 28 years.

Extreme poverty and starvation led to large-scale migration of the rural population to cities and far away foreign lands. Between 1945 and 1954, for example, as many as 130,000 peasants fled to countries bordering on the Persian Gulf.

Iraq is extremely rich in petroleum production with a deposit of 3,350,000,000 tons of oil, which constitutes more than 10 per cent of the total deposit of petroleum in the whole capitalist world. These rich oil resources, however, remained completely under the control of British and American oil companies, which squeezed huge profits, nearly four to five hundred million dollars annually. At the same time more than 100,000 Iraqi workers worked like draught animals, selling their labour power at unimaginably cheap rates. The imperialists literally squeezed their last drop of blood. Like their peasant brethren, these oil workers of Iraq also lived on the verge of starvation. As an Iraqi friend said: « The over-fatigued, emaciated and pale faces of Iraqi children and mothers, brothers and sisters, suffering from starvation and cold bear glowing tes-

timony to the criminal deeds of the colonialists. We have been witness to how the imperialists turned the fertile land of Iraq into a huge jail to imprison the people of the country. »

Apart from the exploited workers and peasants, the few national elements who engaged in industry and commerce also suffered at the hands of the imperialists. Their enterprises were seriously hit and devastated by the monopoly of foreign companies and banks. Thus they also suffered at the hands of imperialism and feudalism. They had no future. All ways were closed for them.

The people of Iraq are valiant. They possess glorious revolutionary traditions. Before World War I, they had persistently and tenaciously fought heroically against the Ottoman Empire. With the onset of the 20th century, with British imperialism coming to dominate Iraq, this struggle entered a new stage. Working class strikes and heroic peasant struggles against exorbitant taxes came to be the order of the day. These struggles, however, failed because of the savage repression of the combined forces of imperialism and feudalism. During the 1935 - 36 uprising, the revolutionists established the Central Committee of the Anti-Imperialist Front. Their fighting slogans were: British Imperialists must quit;

British Military bases must go : Free elections : Distribution of land to the peasants. Inspired by these slogans, the fighting spirit of the revolutionary Iraqi people reached unprecedented heights. In October 1936, through a revolutionary *coup d'état* of nationalists and military men, a nationalist government was established, which continued up to August 1937. Though abolished after that, this nationalist government was a severe blow to the British colonialists.

After the outbreak of World War II, British imperialism, in order to further strengthen its domination over Iraq, signed the « Portsmouth Ally Treaty » with the feudal monarchy. Instigated by British imperialism, the feudal monarchy put a large number of patriots into prisons, abolished all the people's organizations and prohibited all the patriotic movements. In order to fight against traitorous criminal actions of the feudal monarchy, in 1948, the Iraqi people launched a large-scale uprising and overthrew the then Nuri El-Said government. The influence of this uprising was such that it extended to all the Middle East countries where an anti-British stormy movement was waged by the people.

During the years after the World War II, the colonial domination of American imperialism

penetrated rapidly into Iraq. Therefore, it added new and more formidable elements to the fighting task with which the Iraqi people were confronted. During the years 1951-1954, the heroic struggles of Iraqi people were carried out successively one after another throughout the country. But none succeeded. The revolutionary force suffered a big loss. For instance, during the armed uprising in 1952, almost two thousand patriotic elements were arrested and executed.

The revolutionary force gradually drew lessons from the numerous blood-shed defeats. At the end of 1956, the various revolutionary parties and groups of Iraq and non-party patriotic and democratic elements found a National United Front. Thus a fighting programme was proclaimed : Withdraw from Baghdad Pact; oppose Eisenhower Doctrine; unite closely with Arab Nationalism; adopt an independent foreign policy which is apart from imperialist influence and based on the principles of safeguarding world peace and establishing friendly relations with all countries. In domestic affairs, the programme promulgated : Bring about democracy and freedom; release all political prisoners, defend national resources and develop national economy. After the formation of this National United Front,

the worker's and peasants' organizations developed a step further, and all the patriots and intellectuals were gradually organized. From then on, the Iraqi national revolution entered a new phase. By deliberate and secret planning at last it achieved the victory on July 14, 1958. The fact that the victory of the Iraqi people's revolution was achieved in such a country where the domination of imperialism was the most intense and severe and the fact that the solid fortress of imperialism all of a sudden turned into an anti-imperialist front, once more proves to the people of the whole world that the doomsday of colonialism is approaching. For in the past several decades, imperialists had penetrated into every corner of Iraq and strictly controlled it not only economically, but also politically and militarily. British imperialism concluded the « Anglo-Iraqi Ally Treaty », the « Special Agreement », the « Baghdad Pact », the « Mutual Security Agreement », etc., with the subversive monarchy. The U.S. imperialism also signed the « Military Aids », the « Point Fourth Plan », the « Special Agreement », etc. According to these treaties and agreements, the imperialists were able to station their troops in Iraq and make use of the Iraqi military bases; the Iraqi army was under the rule of British and American

officials; moreover, the British and American secret agents could supervise and control the affairs of various departments of Iraqi government. At the same time, a flock of Iraqi rulers, whose sole aim was to seek their own profits by betraying their country and people, having been long fed on by their foreign masters, were always ready at their master's beck and call. Meanwhile they used to suppress their people savagely, and played the role as degenerate clowns against people, as also Arab solidarity and national independence. As a matter of fact, wherever the imperialist domination is more ferocious and barbarous, the concentrated contradiction turns out to be more conspicuous and acute. When people are unable to live under the suppression of imperialist and feudal forces, they can not but arise to struggle for survival and freedom. As imperialists forced upon the Iraqi people a policy to split the unity of the Arab people, the later could not but rise to defend and win this unity. As imperialists turned Iraq into a military base and drove Iraqi people to serve as cannon fodder, people could not but stand up to fight against Baghdad Pact and Eisenhower Doctrine, to oppose war and safeguard peace. The heavier the pressure of imperialism, the stronger the resistant force of

the people. Once the balance of forces have changed, the imperialist and feudal forces will be ruined as if they are sitting on an erupting volcano. The Iraqi revolution testified this very truth. It will also be applied to the colonial and semi-colonial countries, which are now still under the yoke of imperialism without exception. As to the imperialist countries, the places where they themselves consider that their colonial domination is most solid and most reliable can likewise be turned into volcano in a second.

The victory of Iraqi revolution is a great victory for the Arab people's struggle for independence. In the past few years, the people's struggles for national independence in the Middle East have been forging ahead like waves one after another and each of them is higher than the previous one. After the victory of the Egyptian people's resistance to Anglo-French aggression, the Syrian people achieved victory in fighting against armed provocation of Anglo-American imperialism in collusion with Turkey. And the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of Lebanon, Yemen, Oman and Jordan have never ceased. All these struggles for national independence and their victories have been mutually supported, mutually responded and mutually

linked together closely. The great victory of Iraqi people's revolution has been achieved on the basis of the anti-imperialist struggles of the Arab people. In the future, it will in turn influence the national movements in other countries leading to a new upsurge. Wherever the national revolutionary forces launch attacks, the imperialists are compelled to come on defensive. In the Middle East today, the powerful force is not that of imperialism but that of the national revolution. At present, it is the epoch of national liberation and no more that of colonialism.

The Iraqi revolution has triumphed, but how difficult and protracted the struggle was. Facing this brilliant victory, the Anglo-American imperialists will not submit to it. Hereafter, they will again try to use every possible device such as intimidation, bribery, disintegration and subversion either in open or covert to menace the new-born Iraqi Republic. Nevertheless, the Iraqi revolutionary government and people know it very well and they are determined to defend the fruits they won. An example is enough to explain the whole situation. During my stay in Baghdad, once I visited a village in the suburb, and met many plain and industrious peasants. While talking about the re-

volution, all the peasants were so anxious to take the lead to speak: « Land will be distributed to us. We will speed up production and support this new government forever ». Another one stared at the sky, with his hand on his bosom, and said: « Despot has passed away. I will devote all my life to revolution ». Right at that time an old man called Hadid, with a stick in his hand, squeezed in the crowd out of breath as if he had just walked for a long distance. The old man shouted with tears flashing in his eyes: « I intend to send my son into the army in order to defend revolution. Since there are too many people in Baghdad, I got no chance for enlistment. Tomorrow, I will send my son to other places ». Again he said: « If I would be accepted inspite of my old age, I would also join the volunteers. In case I should die, I would rather go to the hell! » Look, how heroic and courageous the people are!

It is crystal clear to the Iraqi people that in order to consolidate their revolutionary tasks, construction work must be carried out in good order. A lawyer told me: « Rome was not built in one day, but it must have a start ». Now the Iraqi people have already begun their start.

While you are standing on the roof of the high mansion of Baghdad Hotel you can see rows of chimneys of cement plants and other factories in the distance belching thick smoke. Of course, the most important industry is that of the petroleum. I had visited a state-operated oil refinery called Doula which is built on a very large scale. The workers exert all their efforts in production, because they understand that this is the heart of their country which cannot stop its beating even for a second. Once it stops, the whole country will be paralyzed. Therefore they are accelerating the vibration of this heart. At the end of my visit, an engineer led us to the top of a water tower where I could see the whole view as far as possible. It is really a piece of fertile land with River Tigris rolling beside it. The engineer said: « People know that we have River Tigris and River Euphrates, but they do not know we have another river bigger than these two — that is the petroleum river flowing underground. From now on, we will make every effort to exploit this subterranean river to build our new life ». While speaking, he turned his eyes to and stared at the River Tigris. From the meaningful expression of his eyes, I could see the far-seeing ideal of Iraqi people.

CHINA: A POPULATION STUDY

H.D. MALAVIYA

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« Ninety per cent of China's population are of the Han race. Apart from these are other minorities, namely, the Mohammedans, Mongols, Tibetans, Manchu, Shans and Li peoples. Though the standard of living of these people vary, they all have a long period of history. China is a country composed of a conglomeration of peoples and it has enormous population. »

- MAO TSE-TUNG ¹

« Although the minority peoples constitute only 6 per cent of the country's total population, the areas inhabited by them roughly amount to 60 per cent of the country's total area. Many of these areas are rich in various kinds of industrial resources. It is clearly wrong to think that our country can be built into a great socialist country through the efforts of the Han people alone, without the concerted efforts and active participation of the national minorities. »

- LIU SHAO-CHI ²

Barring areas in far away Sinkiang, parts of Kansu and some other regions, wherever one travels in China, there are people. One cannot journey through the interior without getting vivid impressions of the teeming millions who inhabit this vast ancient land.

An ancient estimate

Just how may, no one could say in pre-liberation China with any exactitude though it is known that records of the population were kept as far back as 2200 B.C. when Emperor Yu of the Hsia Dynasty is supposed to have made the first calculation of

¹ Chinese Revolution and the Communist Party of China.

² The Political Report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China to the VIIIth National Congress of The Party.

the country's population. The Emperor's officials are said to have reported 13 million peoples. ¹ In the Chow Dynasty also there were special officials in charge of population figures. From the Han period onwards, succeeding dynasties made various estimates but the exactness of the figures

available cannot be vouchsafed. *Hon Han Shu* (Later Han Book) by Fan Nieh of Sung Dynasty gives figures of « doors » (families) and « mouths » (persons) under emperors of the Second or Eastern Han. See the following table. ²

TABLE I

YEARS	EMPEROR	DOORS (Families)	MOUTHS (Persons)
25 - 27 A.D.	HWEN-TI	4,271,634	21,007,820
58 - 75 A.D.	WHON-TI	5,860,572	34,125,021
76 - 88 A.D.	CHANG-TI	7,456,785	43,356,367
89 - 105 A.D.	HO-TI	9,237,112	53,256,229
107 - 125 A.D.	AN-TI	9,647,838	48,690,789
126 - 144 A.D.	SHUN-TI	9,698,630	49,150,220
- 145 A.D.	CHUNG-TI	9,937,680	49,524,183
146 D.A.	TSUI-TI	9,348,227	47,566,722
147 - 167 A.D.	WHON-TI or HWEN-TI	10,070,006	50,066,856

¹ Just how this calculation was done is anybody's guess. A possible method based on the capacity of a fixed area to support an estimated population is indicated in *Shang Tze* (350 B.C.), supposed to be a booklet or monograph by Shang Yang, the famous Chin Minister. In the chapter on *Lei Ming* (Encouragement of Immigration), it is said: 'Within an area of 100 li square, 10 per cent is mountain and hills, and 10 per cent is marshes and ponds; 10 per cent is brooks and water channels; 10 per cent is in cities and residences, roads, and pathways; and only 40 per cent of them are fertile fields for cultivation (Pasture area (100 li square) was sufficient to provide for 50,000 foo (man, probably with wife). Moreover, the mountains, brooks, marshes, etc., within this area were sufficient to provide the materials (fuel, fish, animals, etc.) to be used by these people (50,000); and the cities, residences, roads, paths, etc., were sufficient for the people to live in and to use. This completed the system of administration by the « ancient Kings. » (Economic History of China, by Mabel Ping-hua Lee pp. 145-146). 100 li square contains 9,000,000 mow ancient (i.e. Chow measures).

² *Ibid.*, p. 176

The Pao Chia system

The objective of the Han population count, as of the succeeding dynasties, was the collection of taxes and to obtain men for military service and forced labour. By 754 A.D., the most prosperous period of the Tang Dynasty, a detailed enumeration records the figure of 52,919,309. In the Sung Dynasty (960 - 1260 A.D.) the *Pao Chia* system was introduced, whereby every locality was divided into groups of households with one man responsible for each group, collecting taxes, impressing men for military service and forced labour and making an annual return of the number of people under his control. This *Pao Chia* system continued through the 16th century, was taken over by the Manchu Dynasty and lasted right up to the Taiping Revolution about 100 years ago, when the *Pao Chia* network was largely destroyed.

Thanks to this *Pao Chia* system, some estimates of population and amount of cultivated land in different periods of Chinese history are available. Mabel Ping-hua Lee, in her admirable (though unfortunately, apparently, little known) study has compiled an elaborate table¹ from the Chinese records available. Besides the population estimate, she has given the total amount of cultivated land,

¹ Ibid, pp. 436-437

and average amount of land per mouth. Too much meaning must not be attached to these figures. Mabel Ping-hua Lee herself remarks that the figures « are probably quite erroneous ». But she adds : « Despite the inaccuracy of the figures they are still significant in that they reflect the general conditions of Chinese history as well as the conditions of the special periods when properly interpreted ». The table indicates that in the beginning of later Han the population is reduced to two-thirds; in the three Kingdoms by about six-sevenths; in the beginning of Tang by about two-thirds; in the beginning of Sung by over a fourth; and the beginning of Tsing, by over three-fifths. While the figures cannot be sacrosanct, they nevertheless confirm the conclusion that wars, which inevitably preceded the overthrow of an old and enthronement of a new dynasty, caused much destruction and misery to Chinese people and had the effect of interrupting the increase of Chinese population. Furthermore, the deaths by the million of Chinese toilers caused by incessant floods and droughts affected the population.

System of taxation and population enumeration

An important factor contributing to wide inaccuracy of the popu-

lation returns was the system of taxation. Apart from free service (*corvè*), the peasants were required to pay the poll tax, that is, a tax based on number of members in the family. The people concealed the number of mouths in the family in order to escape the taxation based on them. This is indicated by the fact that when Kao Kung, a statesman of the Sui Dynasty, to a certain extent lightened the burden of taxation, the population figures show an increase of from three to eight million doors within the 19 years from 587 - 606 A.D. A more convincing proof of the same is provided during the rule of the Tsing Dynasty. In the wake of long drawn out peasant uprisings extending for about a century, the Manchus, in order to consolidate their rule could not but make some concession to the peasants against the landlords. The reforms sought the abolition of poll-tax and the *corvè* system (forced free labour). The peasants were now required to pay taxes according to the quantity of land they possessed and not according to the number of members in the family. The *Corvè* system forced

the peasants to do free labour according to the number of family members. With the abolition of this system, government hired men instead. Landlord resistance prevented the materialisation of the reforms for about a hundred years, but when the reforms were finally decreed in 1712¹, the number of mouths jumped by 1749 from 24 million to 124 million, whereas never before in history had the population been returned as over one hundred million.

Western « China experts » misrepresent China

The accuracy or otherwise of the available population figures apart, there can hardly be any doubt about the increasing pressure on land created by China's growing population through the centuries. This growing population without a corresponding growth of resources, and methods and avenues of employment worsened the pressure on land and came to be an important factor in the miseries, privation and starvation through which the Chinese peasantry had to pass, specially when the land system continued to be so designed as to extort the

¹ The decree of 1712 read : « The empire has been peaceful for a long time so that the population increases enormously. If I increase the amount of taxes according to the present number of population it is not right for subjects. The population becomes larger the acreage of land does not become wider. Today the public treasury is very rich. Although I have frequently given exemptions, which amounted to ten millions, for several years the national expenditure has never been hampered by lack of funds. Therefore I should take the number of people from the present tax-roll as a fixed number to be taxed, and the increased population of the future shall be exempted from any additional tax. What I want is merely a report of the true numbers ».

maximum from the tillers. Incidentally, many Western writers on China, ignoring this peasant exploitation, have with amazing facility offered this factor of growing population as the root cause of all China's evils and poverty. To this aspect we shall revert later. It may suffice to say here that harping on the tune of overpopulation as the cause of China's evils reveals a level of consciousness which obtained in China 24 centuries ago when the tremendous prospects opened up by the growth of science and technique were not known. For example, compare the wail of the Western writers with the following comment of Han Fei-tzu of the Chou Dynasty on the effect of increasing numbers on prosperity. « In the ancient times people were few but wealthy and without strife: the government gave neither rewards nor punishments because people were self-controlled. People at present think five sons are not too much, and each son has five sons also; and when the grandfather is not dead, there are twentysix descendents. Therefore, people are more and wealth is less; they work hard and receive little. Even if the government uses twice as much reward and twice as much punishment strife cannot be prevented. The wealth of a

nation depends upon people having enough food, not upon the number of people. »¹

Dr. Sunyat-sen on the problem of China's growing population.

As against the Western « China experts », who stuck to this theory of population increase as an absolute evil against which nothing could be done, their object being to hide the savagery of shameless Western imperialist penetration of China, the leaders of Chinese renaissance, while deeply aware of the dangers of an indiscriminate increase in population, were at the same time awake to the need for the adoption of timely means to remedy its effects. Thus, as early as 1894, Dr. Sun Yat-sen wrote to Li Hung-chang as follows: « At present China is already greatly suffering from overpopulation, which will bring impending danger in its wake. She is confronted with a great many hidden uprisings and frequent famines. It is extremely difficult for the populous masses to make a living even during good years, and in time of great drought and famine many people will starve to death. Our food problem is already very acute. The situation will be much worse as time goes on. If we take no timely means of remedy, it will surely worry us. »²

¹ George Babcock Cressey: *China's Geographic Foundations*, p. 24.

² *Ibid.*, p. 23.

The widespread notion that persisted during the later part of the 19th century that there are 400 million Chinese is based on the estimate of 413,020,000 made by the Manch government in 1842. In 1900, the Manchu government reported 440 million. A census in its modern sense was started in 1908 by the Manchus as a preparatory step towards the introduction of a constitutional monarchy. It was completed in 1911 but the revolution swept away the Manchu dynasty in the same year. Results made public a few years later revealed that China then had 374,223,008 people, which is generally regarded as an understatement.

The 1912 Population Census

Immediately after its establishment, the Republican government conducted a census in 1912. A high Kuomintang official later called it « the most complete census of China (not meaning by that the best or most trustworthy census) »¹ It gives for each *hsien* (county) of each province such statistical data as number of males and females, households, number of births and deaths, number of married and unmarried males, etc.

The occupational classification gives figures about members of Parliament, government officials and employees, teachers and students, priests and nuns, lawyers, journalists, medical doctors, farmers, miners, merchants manufacturers, fishermen, etc. D. K. Lieu points out that the five occupations above, from farmers to fishermen, are not clearly defined. He says that the Chinese wording may refer to farmers, miners, factory labourers and fishermen, or it may include landlords, mine-owners, industrialists and owners of fishing fleets. « The occupational classification is unsatisfactory, and any detailed analysis on that basis may not be worthwhile ».

This 1912 census failed to cover three provinces, namely, Kwangtung, Kwangsi and Anhwei but included the three eastern provinces of Manchuria, the special administrative district of Kingchao, Suiyan and also Sinkiang. In addition to population data, the census also gives the area of each *hsien*, the acreage cultivated and uncultivated, the heights of mountains and hills, and the length of rivers in the *hsien*, and a host of other informations not relating to population

¹ See *The 1912 Census of China* by D.K. Lieu, F.R.S.A., Shanghai, 1931. The publication is a paper prepared for the XXth session of the International Institute of Statistics, Madrid, 1931. D.K. Lieu's designation is given as follows: Director of Statistics, Directorate-General of Budget, Accounts and Statistics, National Government of China; Chairman Chinese Statistical Society, Vice-chairman, Chinese Economic Society.

statistics. The following table¹ average size of households in gives the number of *hsien* and China as shown by 1912 census :

TABLE II

PROVINCE	No. of <i>hsien</i>	Mean	Mode	Standard Deviation
CHEKIANG	75	4.85	4.77	1.40
FUKIEN	61	5.75	5.25	--
HEILUNGKIANG	36	7.50	7.30	--
HOPEI (Chili)	123	5.42	5.27	1.12
HONAN	58	7.11	6.10	--
HUNAN	75	5.64	5.15	--
HUPEH	69	5.33	5.27	1.11
KANSU	76	5.78	5.36	--
KIANGSI	81	5.48	4.91	--
KIANGSU	59	5.42	5.54	--
KIRIN	37	6.91	7.75	--
KWEICHOW	67	5.45	4.78	--
LIAONING (Fengtien)	53	6.69	6.20	1.20
SHANSI	105	5.34	5.19	--
SHANTUNG	107	5.58	5.71	--
SHENSI	91	5.92	5.29	1.77
SINKIANG	36	4.97	4.21	--
SUIYAN	8	5.19	5.25	--
SZECHUAN	146	5.04	4.73	0.56
YUNNAN	96	5.34	5.21	2.09
ALL CHINA	1,489	5.63	5.23	1.66

Another 1912 estimate

D.K. Lieu has also given an estimated for election purposes. The Election Law of the Lower House, promulgated on August 10, 1912, provided, among other qualifications, that an elector must be of the male sex, and of twenty one years of age and above. It was also provided that one member should be returned to the Lower House by every 800,000 population, but where the total population of a province was

below 800,000, that province should at least return 10 members. It is pointed out that before the census enumeration was completed, the number of members for each province was fixed by the law. Multiplying the number by 800,000, Lieu arrives at figures which « represent the population of the province as estimated by the law-makers of 1912 except where the minimum of ten was assigned as in the case of Kirin, Heilungkiang, Sinkiang and Tibet ». The following table gives

¹ Ibid, p. 5; sixteen *hsien* were left out.

the population of China as estimated and as returned by the 1912 census on the basis of the above Census :

TABLE III

PROVINCE	Assigned No. of Representatives	Estimated Population	Population by 1912 Census
HOPEI (Chili)	46	36,800,000	25,932,153
FENGTIEN (Liaoning)	16	12,800,000	12,133,303
KIRIN	10	8,000,000	5,580,030
HEILUNGKIANG	10	8,000,000	2,028,776
KIANGSI	40	32,000,000	32,282,781
ANHWEI	27	21,600,000	—
KIANGSU	35	28,000,000	23,987,713
CHEKIANG	38	30,400,000	21,440,151
FUKIEN	24	19,200,000	15,849,296
HUPEH	26	20,800,000	29,590,308
HUNAN	27	21,600,000	27,390,230
SHANTUNG	33	26,400,000	30,987,853
HONAN	32	25,600,000	35,900,083
SHANSI	28	22,800,000	10,271,896
SHENSI	21	16,800,000	12,289,386
KANSU	14	11,200,000	4,989,907
SINKIANG	10	8,000,000	2,097,596
SZECHUAN	35	28,000,000	48,129,593
KWANGTUNG	30	24,000,000	—
KWANGSI	19	15,200,000	—
YUNNAN	22	17,600,000	9,466,695
KWEICHOW	13	10,400,000	9,665,227
MONGOLIA	27	21,600,000	—
TIBET	10	8,000,000	—
CHINGHAI	3	2,400,000	—
TOTAL	596	476,800,000	—

Kuomintang Census of 1928 enumerating China's population. The next major effort¹ for was undertaken by the Kuomintang

¹ We have come across some other estimates of China's population in the intervening years. One Walter F. Willcox estimated the population at 323,000,000 in 1926. The same year a Post Office estimate placed the figure at 485,508,838. Another 1929 estimate placed the figure at 419,957,000. A Maritime Customs estimate in 1931 gives the figure of 438,933,373. There is also mentioned a 1936 estimate placing the figure at 461,363,646. These figures are open to serious criticism and have to be viewed with the utmost caution. « Some of them are based on such ridiculous generalisations as the average consumption of salt or

tang Government in 1928, but with the ineptitude that marked everything done by the Chiang Kai-Shek regime, counts were made in only a few provinces. In a paper submitted to the XIXth session of the International Institute of Statistics at Tokyo in 1930, Warren H. Chen has given the following table about population estimates in some provinces of China based upon this 1928 census¹:

TABLE IV

NAME OF PROVINCE	No. of Households	Males	Females	Total	Person per Household	Males to 100 females
CHEKIANG ...	4,646,833	11,695,328	9,028,739	20,623,067	4.43	128.4
HUPEH	5,545,105	14,723,534	11,972,719	26,696,253	4.81	122.9
SINKIANG	534,193	1,423,569	1,144,071	2,567,640	4.81	124.9
HUNAN	6,455,224	17,550,061	13,950,280	31,500,341	4.87	125.8
KIANGSU	6,876,844	18,163,676	15,966,008	34,129,684	4.76	113.7
CHAHAR	396,476	1,176,485	820,749	1,997,234	5.04	143.3
SHANSI	2,292,376	6,926,102	5,161,849	12,087,951	5.27	134.1
SUIYAN	387,585	1,293,855	830,059	2,123,915	5.47	155.8
SHENSI	2,103,066	6,593,264	5,208,960	11,802,124	5.61	126.5
ANHWEI	3,830,315	12,211,581	9,503,815	12,715,396	5.66	128.4
HOPEI (Chihli)	5,444,713	17,285,446	13,832,756	31,118,202	5.71	124.9
LIAONING	2,248,551	8,312,636	6,686,694	14,999,330	6.67	124.3
TOTAL	40,761,381	117,254,537	94,109,699	211,364,236	5.18	124.5

Density of population

The final figure, announced in 1931, placed China's population at 474,787,346, which can at best

be considered only a rough estimate, since only 12 provinces made returns to the Central Government, apart from special

other commodities, upon the circulation of mail matter, or upon estimates as to the number and size of households; others are simply based on the arbitrary judgement or guess of local magistrates. » (See Contemporary China I, 1955, edited by E. Stuart Kirby, Professor of Economics at the University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong University Press, 1956; pp. 32-38).

¹ Warren H. Chen: An Estimate of the Population of China in 1929, Shanghai, 1930.

municipalities. Warren H. Chen has also given the following table some of the provinces of China:

TABLE V

PROVINCE	Population	Area in Sq. Kilometres	Area in Sq. Miles	Persons per Sq. Km.	Persons per Sq. Mile
KINGSU	34,129,684	108,790	41,993	314	813
HOPEI	31,118,202	137,894	53,229	226	583
CHEKIANG	26,023,067	96,400	37,210	214	554
ANHWEI	21,715,396	144,680	55,847	150	389
HUNAN	31,500,341	216,979	83,754	145	376
HUPEH	26,696,153	192,557	74,327	139	359
SHANSI	12,087,651	171,332	66,133	71	183
SHENSI	11,802,124	186,611	72,028	63	164
LIAONING	14,999,330	N.A.	N.A.	57	147
CHAHAR	1,997,234	251,625	97,118	8	21
SUIYAN	2,123,915	310,969	120,046	7	18
SINKIANG	2,567,640	1,822,720	703,562	1	3

Thus, according to Chen's table, Kiangsu topped the list with 813 persons to a square mile, which is more than the average density of Belgium. Hopei and Chekiang come next, while in Chahar, Suiyan and Sinkiang the population is sparse.

Divergent estimates about the density of population in pre-liberation China are available. A British estimate placed it at only 43 to the square kilometre, whereas Cressey places it at 120 to the square mile « in terms of

Greater China, that is, including all Mongolia and Tibet.»² Figures of China's average density, however, can be most misleading unless they are related to the characteristics of the area to which they apply. Estimating that 80 per cent of the total population depends on agriculture and only 10 per cent of the area is arable, the British publication places the average density of farm population on arable land at 400 to the square kilometre. Excluding the Mongolian and Tibetan areas, Cressey estimates

¹ China and Japan, Chatham House Information Papers, No. 219, 11th Edition, The Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1941, pp. 127.

² China's Geographic Foundations, op. cit., pp. 19.

that the density of population will rise to 156 per square mile in the twenty-eight provinces of China. He adds: « Much of provincial China is semiarid and mountainous and the greater mass of population is restricted to the Eastern half which may be termed agricultural China. Here the density is 326 per square mile. »

A true picture of China's density of population can be had only in reference to smaller units, such as political provinces or geographic regions. In another publication Cressey estimates that the average density in North China (Yellow River) Plain is 647 and

Szechuan Basin 580 per square mile. In terms of the number of persons per square mile of cultivated land, the population density figure for China is given as 1485.¹

Steady Increase in Population

Warren H. Chen regards the 1912 Census as a « most complete » one since the formation of the Republic and says that « the figures for 1912 are no less trustworthy than those of 1910. » We are indebted to Chen for the following comparative table of population returns of 1910, 1912, 1928, indicating a steady increase :

TABLE VI

PROVINCE	1910	1912	1928
KIANGSU	3,148,134	6,076,869	6,876,944
CHEKIANG	3,883,312	4,474,699	4,646,833
HOPEI	4,995,355	5,013,420	5,994,713
HUNAN	4,288,164	5,767,467	6,455,229
HUPEH	4,532,531	4,843,392	5,545,105
SHANSI	1,990,035	2,099,618	2,292,376
SHENSI	1,601,444	1,635,988	2,103,066
LIAONING	799,836	1,804,550	2,248,551
SINKIANG	453,477	461,961	634,193

Thus, the average rate of annual increase is found to be 7.8 per thousand. On the assumption that this rate is true of all other provinces and outlying territories,

Chen has estimated that by the end of 1929 the probable population of all China was in the neighbourhood of 445,000,000.

¹ Cressey: *Asia's Lands and Peoples*, New York, McGraw Hill, 1951, pp. 44, 128.

Birth-rate and Death-rate in pre-liberation China

Owing to the diversity of social, economic and natural conditions, and also owing to natural calamities and disasters, the birth-rate and death-rate in China differed in the different parts of the country. No reliable vital statistics of pre-liberation China being available, the birth and death rates of China have been guessed on the basis of data collected on a fragmented basis and cannot be considered accurate. The Department of Agricultural Economics of the Nanking University on the basis of limited data collected in 101 rural communities of 16 provinces reported a birth-rate of 83.9 per thousand and death-rate of 27.6 per thousand. According to a study conducted under the Milbark Memorial Fund in 1934, China's birth-rate was estimated at 36.6 per thousand, the death-rate 25.7 per thousand, and infant mortality at 153 per thousand. T.R. Tregear of the Hongkong University, on the basis that world population is increasing at 75,000 per day and the Indian Republic at 14,000 per day, puts China's increase at 14,000 per day or 9 million per annum.¹ A survey of a rural

community conducted under the auspices of the Institute of Pacific Relations by Sidney D. Gamble between 1933 and 1936, gave a birth-rate of 40 and a death-rate of 27 per thousand, thus indicating a natural increase of 13 per thousand per annum.² Whatever may be the actual figures, there can be no doubt that the birth-rate and the death-rate, as also the rate of infant mortality were high in China.

The only area of China where data on population changes have been available in an unbroken series is Taiwan, which was acquired by the Japanese in 1895, and for which comprehensive census and registration reports are available. The rate of growth of population in Taiwan between 1895 and 1945 has been 1.76 per cent per year. The population more than doubled and the rate of increase steadily accelerated until it reached 2.5 per cent by 1940.³ A variety of factors make the Taiwan example only of limited value for the understanding of China's population problems, but the fact of a steady tendency for its increase clearly stands out.

¹ Contemporary China, I, 1955; op. cit., p. 32.

² Sidney D. Gamble: *Tung Hsien: A North China Rural Community*, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1934.

³ George W. Barclay: *A Report on Taiwan Population: To the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction, Office of Population Research, Princeton University, Princeton, 1954.*

Land utilisation and Population

According to one estimate 75 per cent of the population was engaged in agriculture in China in 1939¹. Estimates for an earlier period is given by Cressey. He says that probably the best indication of the percentage of people who live on farms is found in the figures of the Directorate of Statistics for 1932 which lists the number of farm households as 58,579,181, or 74.5 per cent of the total. Cressey also tells of how the extent of the rural population was estimated by Torgasheff. Torgasheff stated that there were 112 cities with over 100,000 inhabitants, 467 known cities between 100,000 and 25,000, and 1,443 other cities of unknown size, so that the total urban population

is « hardly less than 100,000,000, that, is not less than 20 per cent of the total population ». Thus the rural population works out to 80 per cent of the total population².

There are not enough statistics available about land utilisation by China's overwhelming peasant population and allied matters. Chang-Heng Chen, a member of China's Legislative Yuan and also of the Board of Directors, Chinese Economic Society, in a paper submitted to the Tokyo session of the International Statistical Institute in 1930, has given an interesting table³ showing the total area of cultivated land in China from 1661 to 1916, and the per capita average :

TABLE VII

YEAR	Cultivated Land in Chinese Mow	Population	Per Capita Average (mow)
1661	549,357,640	104,707,086	5.24
1685	607,834,001	111,879,559	5.43
1724	683,791,427	141,541,697	4.83
1753	708,114,238	159,984,053	4.43
1766	740,449,550	182,076,774	4.07
1812	772,121,278	271,145,671	2.85
1872	819,453,194	329,563,216	2.49
1887	911,976,606	337,590,400	2.70
1900	919,504,897	344,480,000	2.67
1916	1,384,937,701	409,500,000	3.38

1 Ou Pao-san : National Income of China, Nanking Institute of Social Sciences. (Pre-liberation)

2 China's Geographic Foundations, op. cit., p. 19.

3 Chang-Heng Chen : China's Population Problem, Shanghai, 1930.

It thus follows that with the increase in population, the per capita average of cultivated land decreased. In a paper¹ submitted to the Vth Biennial Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations in Canada in 1933, W.H. Wong, Director of the National Geographical Survey of China, estimated that in China «83 per cent of our population is thickly compressed in 17 per cent of our territory. The remaining 17 per cent of the Chinese population is distributed in the remaining 83 per cent of our territory, averaging only 35 persons per square mile. » From the distribution of population, W.H. Wong calculates the area of land available to each person. Calculating at the rate of 4000 mow for one square mile, the per capita worked out to 6 mow in the North China Plain, 4.7 mow in the Yangtze Valley, 11 mow in the hilly regions and the south-east coast, and 6.5 mow is the Szechuan Basin. Of course, not all such land was cultivable, including as it did hills, water-logged areas, dwelling places, etc.

Land per capita in pre-liberation China

Wong has also given an account of land per capita as worked out by various people.

Bake arrived at 4 mow for Chihli, 3 mow for Shantung, 2.5 mow for Kiangsu, 1.5 mow for Kwangtung, etc. D.K. Lieu estimated 5.4 mow for Hupeh and 2.1 mow for Kiangsu and Chekiang. According to the estimate of Volin, 50 per cent of the total population possessed from 0.36 - 7 mow per capita. An official estimate published by the Chinese Government Bureau of Statistics in 1931 - 32 gave the figure of 13 mow per farming family for Chekiang, 18 mow for Kiangsu, and 21 mow for Hopei. Wong has concluded that « an equal division of cultivable land in China will thus give 3 mow or 1½ acre only to each person. This certainly is very low. » Cressey says that cultivated land in China was only 0.43 acre per person.

Occupational Distribution of Population

China's population counts are poor in so far as collection of statistics relating to the occupational distribution of population is concerned. A post-liberation publication of the Economic Research Institute of Academia Sinica has published in 1955 a most valuable and painstaking study in the Chinese language which is « Selection of Statistical Material on China : Recent Period of

2 W.H. Wong : The Distribution of Population and Land Utilisation in China, China Institute of Pacific Relation, 1933.

Economic History,¹ » We are which gives the percentage indebted to this public- of tenant households in the total ation for the following table² agricultural households in 1936.

TABLE VIII

AREA	No. of counties reporting	Tenant	Semi-tenant	Cultivating owner
GENERAL AVERAGE	1120	30	24	46
INNER MONGOLIA and NORTH WEST CHINA				
AVERAGE	36	27	22	51
CHAHAR	10	31	26	43
SUIYAN	13	31	17	52
NINGHSIA	5	20	14	66
CHINGHAI	8	22	26	50
NORTH CHINA :				
AVERAGE	483	14	9	67
KANSU	29	18	18	
SHENSI	49	18	20	62
SHANSI	90	16	23	61
HOPEI	126	1	18	72
SHANTUNG	100	10	15	75
HONAN	89	20	21	59
CENTRAL and SOUTH CHINA				
AVERAGE	601	43	27	30
KIANGSU	56	30	25	45
ANHWEI	41	42	23	35
CHEKIANG	62	47	33	20
FUKIEN	42	44	31	25
KWANGTUNG	55	46	33	21
KIANGSI	57	40	33	27
HUPEH	48	41	26	33
HUNAN	41	50	28	22
KWANGSI	50	38	23	39
SZECHUAN	87	51	20	29
YUNNAN	39	36	25	39
KWEICHOW	23	45	28	27

1 The Editors of the Selection are Yen Chung-ping, Hsu I-Sung and Yao Hsien-Kao. It was printed at the Science Press, Peking and published in August 1955. The publication comprises a series of reference materials on the recent period of Chinese economic history and is divided into various sections.

2 Ibid; Table No. 2 on p. 262.

The Editors tell us that the source for these figures is Agricultural Information Report, Vol. V, a work of Kuomintang Government officials. The limitations of these figures have to be borne in mind. The Editors say that the « Tenant » and « Semi-Tenant » may include poor peasants or middle peasants and also include rich peasants. The « Self-cultivating owner » may be including not only poor peasants, middle peasants and rich peasants but also may include managing landlords. In the absence of figures expressing the situation regarding wage employment in rural areas and the number of hired agricultural labourers, this table can at best be regarded as giving a rather blurred picture of the livelihood pattern of rural China of the time. Even then it would be noted that the tenants and semi-tenants were in far excess of the self-cultivating owners.

The livelihood pattern before liberation : A clearer picture

A clearer picture of the livelihood pattern in different areas of China is provided by Table IX (p. 261 of the above publication, Table No. 1). The Editors have given in the footnote to the table the sources from where the

figures are taken. They include the studies of Dr. Chen Hanseng and such other reputed agrarian experts of pre-liberation China and also Kuomintang Government surveys. The Editors also mention some qualifying factors, but by and large the picture of rural classes in old China is indicated in Table IX (in the following page).

Overwhelming percentage of landless in preliberation days

The table thus reveals the land situation as it existed in China before the War of Resistance to Japanese aggression. The general picture that emerges is as follows: landlords constituted 1-5 per cent of rural households, the rich peasants 5-10 per cent, the middle-peasants 15-30 per cent, while the poor peasants and farmhands constituted 50-70 per cent of the total number of rural households. In other words 10 per cent of the landlords and rich peasants controlled and dominated over 80-90 per cent of the middle and poor peasants and the farmhands, the labouring masses of rural China.

The percentage of different types of tenants in the total tenant households in some important agricultural areas of China is indicated in Table X (on page 52).

1 Ibid, p. 263, table 3. The sources are indicated.
ii) Rural Investigation of Kiangsu Province, by Rural Reconstruction Committee of Kuomintang Govt.; iii) Rural Economic Investigation Report in Kwangsi Province by a Provincial College; iv) Chen Han-seng: Rural Productive Relation and Productive Force of Kwangtung Province.

TABLE IX

AREA	« Year »	Landlord	Rich Peasant	Middle Peasant	Poor Peasants Farmhands	Others
52 countries of Chi-Ling and Heilungkiang Province.	1925	14.3	42.8	42.0	—	—
45 villages of Pe Yo district of Shan-Chahar-Jehol Liberated Area.	1937	2.4	8.5	35.4	47.5	6.2
4 villages of Sui Ta county of Shensi.	1933	1.5	3.3	11.4	79.8	4.0
4 villages of Fi county of Honan.	1933	4.4	8.1	24.7	58.0	4.8
10 villages of Pao Ding county of Hopei.	1930	3.7	8.0	23.1	65.2	—
8 villages of Chi Tung county of Kiangsu.	1933	0.5	7.2	31.4	57.8	3.1
7 villages of Chang Su county of Kiangsu.	1933	1.3	1.9	23.3	65.6	5.9
20 villages of Wu Shi county of Kiangsu.	1929	5.7	5.6	19.8	68.9	—
8 villages of Long Yu county of Chekiang.	1933	7.2	6.0	17.9	56.9	12.0
9 villages of Chong Ta county of Chekiang.	1933	2.3	0.8	24.6	67.9	4.5
6 villages of Yong Chia county of Chekiang.	1933	1.4	1.0	6.1	76.4	15.1
Ching Kuo county of Kiangsi.	1930	1.0	5.0	20.0	61.0	12.0
Changsha, Hunan.	1927	10.0	20.0	70.0	—	—
10 villages from Pan Yu county of Kwangtung.	1933	2.9	8.8	16.0	51.6	20.7
14 Villages of Kweilin and other 5 counties of Kwangsi.	1934	4.9	7.9	29.6	57.6	—
6 Villages of Kunning, Yunnan	1933	1.7	11.4	18.7	68.2	—
Chang San, Szechuan.	1935	15.7	27.4	56.9	—	—

TABLE X

AREA	Year	Total	Rich Peasant	Middle Peasant	Poor Peasant
Tenant of 28 villages of 4 counties in Kiangsu.	1933	100	2.4	23.1	69.5
Tenant of 48 villages of 22 counties in Kwangsi.	1934	100	0.1	4.8	95.1
Tenant of 10 villages of Pan Yui County in Kwangtung.	1933	100	8.4	28.8	71.6

An idea of the percentage of farmhands in the total rural population as found by a study in 1933 would be found in the following table¹:

TABLE XI

AREA	Number of Area investigated	Percentage of farmhand population in the Rural Population
PROVINCES IN THE YANGTZE RIVER BASIN :	112	(Av.) 9.27
CHEKIANG	22	9.27
KIANGSU	20	8.78
ANHWEI	21	8.24
KIANGSI	13	10.87
HUNAN	12	11.09
SZECHUAN	10	10.61
HUPEH	14	6.04
PROVINCES IN THE PEARL RIVER BASIN :	50	(Av.) 8.13
FUKIEN	5	5.83
KWANGSI	12	12.08
KWANGTUNG	14	11.36
KWEICHOW	7	6.02
YUNNAN	12	8.05
PROVINCES IN THE YELLOW RIVER BASIN :	192	(Av.) 11.41
SHENSI	14	19.75
SHANSI	43	10.39
HOPEI	62	11.62
SHANTUNG	28	10.24
HONAN	31	9.41
NINGHSIA - KANSU - CHINGHAI	6	12.46
SUIYAN	8	15.07
	354	(Av.) 10.29

Thus, in 1933 agricultural laborers constituted 9.27 per cent of the rural population of China. The situation in the following years till liberation in 1949 would have definitely worsened for rural farmhands in view of the hectic period of Chinese history which followed.

¹ Ibid, p. 263, table 4. Source : Chen Chung-mu : The Habits between the Employers and the Employees in Different Provinces.

Peoples' China conducts first authoritative Census in Chinese History

After liberation the first authoritative statement about China's population was made by Premier Chou En-lai on June 16, 1950, while speaking to the People's Political Consultative Conference, when he estimated the population of liberated China as 487,690,000. The Communist *Shih-Chieh nien-Chien*, published in January 1952, placed the total at 483,879,687. In August of the same year the Revised Third Edition of *Jen-min shou-t's'u* (The People's Handbook) gave the figure of 486,571,237. In *Hsin Chung-kuo ti-li* (The Geography of New China) published in 1953, the figure for China's population is given as 478,800,000¹.

In April 1953, in order to register voters for the general election and at the same time secure vital data for China's national economic reconstruction, the Government Administrative Council directed that a national survey of population be made. The survey was completed in May 1954, and in November of the same year a communique on the national population survey and census was published by the State Statistical Bureau. This

1953 census is noted for its distinction of being the first ever census in China whose results can be regarded as accurate. The past efforts were unsatisfactory not only because the methods adopted were unscientific and faulty but more so because of the resistance of the people who knew that registration meant only one thing: that the ruling class will be better able to tax, conscript and otherwise exploit the people. The Chinese people resorted to every kind of concealment to cover up the existence of military-age men, able-bodied breadwinners, or numbers of heads on which they might be taxed.

The 1953 census differs from all others also because it was carried out by a government which has the confidence of the people. The purpose was made clear to the nation by a nation-wide campaign of information and propaganda. The method of taking the census was worked out on the basis of Chinese conditions and the experience of the Soviet Union. It was made free from all unnecessary technical complications. The only questions asked were name, sex, age and nationality. To secure accuracy the standard-time for census taking was fixed at midnight on June 30, 1953. The work

¹ Contemporary China I, 1955, edited by E. Stuart Kirby, Hong Kong, 1956; op. cit.; p. 38.

was directed by the State Statistical Bureau, which set up branches at county and provincial levels all over the country. Census-taking became a job of the people themselves. Besides the government officials, popular organizations, school teachers, students and others participated. According to a Western estimate, 2.5 million people worked to collect the census figures¹. After the preliminary national survey was completed a sample check was made in 343 countries in 23 provinces, 5 municipalities and one autonomous region, covering altogether 9 per cent of the total population - 52,953,400 people. It was found that duplication amounted to 1.39 per thousand and omissions to 2.55 per thousand. The tabulation of indirect methods. It includes figures at the national level commenced in May 1954 and the total was finally announced on November 1 the same year².

Results of the 1953 Census

The communique issued by the

State Statistical Bureau says: « The vast majority of areas in the country conducted a direct census....., but the census was conducted in other ways in a few areas where direct census was not possible, such as remote places where basic-level elections did not take place and where communication facilities were poor, and Taiwan which remains to be liberated; and in respect of Overseas Chinese and students studying abroad.³ » The results of the census are given below:

There were 601,938,035 Chinese people in the world at midnight of June 30, 1953. Of this total, 574,205,940 were counted directly by census-takers. The balance, 27,732,095, is an estimate based on indirect methods. It includes 7,591,298 people on Taiwan (from Kuomintang figures of 1951), 11,743,320 Chinese residing or studying abroad, and 8,397,477 persons in remote border regions.

¹ O.M. Green of British « Observer » Service, Hindustan Times, Delhi, dated 24-11-1954.

² For an informative, though not completely unbiased, article on how the census was taken the reader is referred to the Far Eastern Survey (Monthly Journal of the American Institute of Pacific Relations), Vol. XXV, No. 4 of April 1956, which carries a contribution by Theodore Shabad entitled « Counting 500 million Chinese ». Shabad bases himself on an article in a Russian journal *Vestnik Statistiki* by Sergei K. Krotevich, Soviet statistical expert who assisted the Chinese Census authorities in planning and execution of the census.

³ Contemporary China, I, 1955, op. cit., p. 151.

Of the population directly surveyed and registered, 297,533,518 were men constituting 51.82 per cent, and 276,652,422 were women constituting 48.81 per cent. Thus there were about 20 million more males than females, which certainly is not a very high proportion in nearly 602 millions. As many as 338,339,892 persons were aged 18 years and over, constituting 58.92 per cent. Among the latter 1,851,312 persons were aged 80 to 90 years, 3,384 persons aged 100 years and over, the highest age being 155 years. Of those below 18 years of age, 15.6 per cent were under four years, 11 per cent between 5 and 9 years, and 14.48 per cent between 10 to 18 years.

Minority Nationals

Excluding Taiwan and Overseas Chinese, the total population according to national composition was as follows: 547,283,057 or 93.94 per cent were Han Chinese and 35,320,360 persons or 6.06

per cent were minority nationals. Among the minority nationals, each with more than 1,000,000 population, Mongols numbered 1,462,956, Hui people 3,559,330, Tibetans 2,775,662, Uighurs 3,640,125, Miaous 2,511,339, Yis 3,254,269, Chuangs 6,611,455, Puyis 1,247,883, Koreans 1,120,405, Manchus 2,418,931, and other minority nationals 6,718,025.

Regional Distribution

The regional distribution of the population was as under: Central South 176,334,987; East 156,480,845; Southwest 98,195,110; North 50,299,199; Northeast 46,893,351; Northwest 35,359,525; Inner Mongolia 6,100,104; Tibet and Chamdo Region 1,273,969.

The distribution of the mainland population in China's Provinces, Autonomous Regions and Independent cities will be found in Table No. XII on the following page.

TABLE XII

MAINLAND AREA	Population
ANHWEI	30,343,637
CHEKIANG	22,865,747
FUKIEN	13,142,721
HEILUNGKIANG	11,897,309
HONAN	44,214,594
HOPEI	35,984,644
HUNAN	33,226,954
HUPEH	27,789,693
JEHOLI	5,160,822
KANSU	12,928,102
KIANGSI	16,772,865
KIANGSU	41,252,192
KIRIN	11,290,973
KWANGSI ²	19,560,822
KWANGTUNG ²	34,770,059
KWEICHOW	15,037,310
LIAONING ¹	18,545,147
SHANSI	14,314,485
SHANTUNG	48,876,548
SHENSI	15,881,281
SIKANG ³	3,381,064
SZECHUAN ³	62,303,999
CHINGHAI	1,676,534
YUNNAN	17,472,737
INNER MONGOLIA AUTONOMOUS REGION ¹	6,100,104
SINKIANG AUTONOMOUS REGION	4,873,608
TIBET (including Chamdo Area) REGION	1,273,969
PEKING (Independent City)	2,768,149
SHANGHAI	6,204,417
2,693,831	
TOTAL	582,603,417

¹ In January 1956 Jehol province was abolished, parts going to Hopei, Liaoning and Inner Mongolia thus increasing their estimated population to approximately 39 million, 20 million and 7 million, respectively.

² In June 1955 the Pakhoi area was transferred from Kwangsi to Kwangtung, thus reducing the population of Kwangsi to approximately 19 million and increasing that of Kwangtung to approximately 35 million.

³ In November 1955 Sikang was incorporated in Szechuan, thus increasing the latter's population to approximately 65.7 million.

Pattern of Population Distribution

The following comments on the pattern of population distribution in China as revealed by the above table would be found interesting: « The unequal distribution of population is striking. Szechuan, on the borders of Tibet, which is considerably bigger than France, contain 62 million people. Chinghai, to the north of Szechuan and twice its size, has only 1,670,000. Kiangsu, in which Shanghai is situated, at mouth of the Yangtze, though 10,000 square miles smaller than England, has 41,252,192 people and density of population of 804 to the square mile, against only 7 to the square mile in Mongolia¹. »

The State Statistical Bureau gave the following breakup of China's population between urban and rural areas: Urban 77,257,282 persons constituting 13.26 per cent, and rural 505,346,135 persons constituting 86.74 per cent. This vast agricultural population continues to concentrate today, as they have been since centuries, in the valleys of the Yellow River, Yangtze and the Pearl River and also the Chengtu (Szechuan) Plains. Theodore Shabad says that about 75 per cent of China's population

lives in 15 per cent of the nation's territory and that the greatest density is found in the lower and middle reaches of the Yangtze, where a density of 2,000 to 2,500 persons to the square mile is not uncommon, although the overall average in the lowlands is more nearly 1,000 to 1,200. Similar densities occur in the Canton delta and in the coastal plains of Kwangtung and Fukien. More than one-fifth of the nation's population is found in the North Plain where the average density is 650 per square mile².

Dr. Gyan Chand, the well-known Indian economist, estimated in 1955 that compared to the total population of the country, per capita only 0.41 acre is available, the average density per square mile of the cultivated area exceeded 1600, six-sevenths of the total population living in one-third of the total area. In some parts the density per square mile is 3 to 4 thousand and in a few cases reaches even 5 to 6 thousand.

Birth-rate and Death-rate in People's China

A survey by the Ministry of the Interior of 29 large and medium-sized cities, counties, districts,

¹ O.M. Green of British « Observer » service, *Hindustan Times*, Delhi, dated 24-11-54.

² Theodore Shabad: *China's Changing Map*, pp. 38-39.

towns, and villages in the former Ningsia Province and some other provinces, containing 30,180,000 people, revealed an average birth-rate of 37, death rate of 17 and natural increase of 20 per thousand. This means that the annual increase of population in China amounts to about 12 millions. Pai Chien-hua, Head of the Census Department of the Ministry of Interior rightly claimed that « the restoration and development of production, promotion of the people's living standards and improvement in medical and public health services » in New China brought down the death rate and increased natural increase of population from 10 per thousand under Kuomintang to 20 per thousand. This also explains why children constituted such a heavy proportion of population in the 1953 census.

Premier Chou En-lai told an Indian Delegation that the net increase of population in China was about 2 per cent per annum¹. At this rate by 1980 China's population would be 800 million. This increasing population has naturally posed before the leaders of New China the question of

population control through family planning, as also the task of bringing new areas under cultivation and also a distant goal of transfer of population. In his interview with the Indian Delegation, the Chinese Premier has expressed himself on the subject, and while we need not cover the topic in the context of our study, those interested can usefully peruse the refreshing interview of the Chinese Premier in the Indian Delegation's Report.

Western « China experts » howl on the 1953 Census

We would, however, take the liberty of referring to certain Western reactions to the 1953 Census, which range from the sublime to the ridiculous and reveal the hysteria which grips certain sections in the West with regard to all matters relating to New China. Thus, for example, in a B.B.C. broadcast published in *The Listener* of April 1, 1955, a certain C.A. Fisher thus delivers himself: « The communist rulers of China, while proclaiming to the world the astonishing news that their country now contains 600,000,000 persons are rabidly hostile to any form of family limit-

¹ Report of the Indian Delegation to China on Agricultural Planning and Techniques, July-August 1956, Government of India Press, Delhi, 1956; pp. 22.

² D. Castro says in his *Geography of Hunger* that there are 700 million acres of land in China fit for agricultural cultivation (p. 136). Castro's statement is based on an estimate made by the U.S. Department of Agriculture in 1921. At present the total cultivated area in China is about 20% of the cultivable area.

ation and in fact regard it as contrary to the interests of the State. » He goes on to say that this population increase is a serious threat to the other countries of South-East Asia for China will be « driven to seek a solution of obtaining more *lebensraum* ». And with typical imperialist chicanery this gentleman says this « explains why the Western powers have become increasingly anxious of late to build a more effective defence system in this region ».

Professor Cressey, in a 1955 publication, regards the 1953 census figures as « incredible » which « must be accepted with reserve. » He adds : « It may be that these inflated figures are designed to impress the world with China's strength, to support claims for a falling death rate, or to supply an excuse for food shortages¹. » In saying this the learned professor conveniently forgets all the copious facts and arguments he mustered in earlier studies to show that China's poverty was due to a very fast in-

crease in population. This neo-Malthusian in fact eats his own words². He is, however, contradicted by a very sober student of China's population problems, Theodore Shabad, to whom we had the occasion to refer to earlier. Says Shabad³ : « This (Cressey's) view ignores the fact that the Chinese Communists themselves are making use of the census results as a statistical tool in calculating consumption per capita. If we must assume manipulation of figures, then a downward revision would have had a far greater propaganda effect in reflecting greater consumption and well-being per person. »

Premier Chou En-lai on New China's Population policy

The utter confusion prevailing among Western « intellectuals » on China's population problems has found different expressions. On the one hand are people who attempt to prove that the 1953 Census figures are inflated by saying that the Peking Government aimed at rapid growth of

¹ George B. Cressey : *Land of the 500 Million : A Geography of China*, New York, Mc-Graw Hill, 1955 ; p. 9.

² Here is a sample. Cressey said in his *China's Geographic Foundations* : « The birth-rate is certainly high, ranging from 40 to 50 per thousand, so that there is probably a considerable increase in population even in face of exceptionally high death rates. With a country the size of China, such a natural increase amounts to impressive figures ». (Op. cit., p. 18 ; italics ours).

³ See *Far Eastern Survey*, Vol. XXIV, No. 12 of December 1955 ; review of Cressey's latest book by Shabad, p. 192.

the number and frowned upon any talk of such « bourgeois nonsense » as a check on the people's reproductive capacity. A quotation of Stalin that « man is the most precious wealth of the world » is torn from its context to prove this¹. And now that China's leaders have clearly expressed themselves in favour of a policy of family planning, these « intellectuals » are thrown off their feet and found flabbergasted, and again seek some wicked design in the whole affair. We would, however, prefer to leave them in their state of perpetual confusion. So far as we are concerned,

China's population policy was unambiguously explained by Chou En-lai in September 1956 in the following words :

« To protect women and children and bring up and educate our younger generation in a way conducive to the health and prosperity of the nation, we agree that a due measure of birth control is desirable. Health departments should, in co-operation with other institutions concerned, carry out intelligent propaganda and adopt effective measures towards this end¹. »

¹ In the context of Communist policy towards population the following extract from a letter of Engels to Karl Kautsky in 1881 would be found relevant. Engels says : « There is, of course, the abstract possibility that the number of people will be so great that limits will have to be set to their increase. But if at some stage Communist society finds itself obliged to regulate the production of things, it will be precisely this society, and this society alone, which can carry this out without any difficulty. It does not seem to me that it would be at all difficult in such a society to achieve by planning a result which has already been produced spontaneously, without planning in France and Lower Austria. At any rate it is for the people in the Communist society themselves to decide whether, when and how this is to be done, and what means they wish to employ for the purpose ». (Quoted by Ronald L. Meek ; *Marx and Engels on Malthus*, London, Lawrence and Wishart, 1953 ; p. 109).

¹ Chou En-lai : Report on the Proposals for the Second Five-Year Plan for Development of the National Economy, delivered at the VIIIth Congress of the Chinese Communist Party in September 1956. See Documents, Vol. I, p. 322.

SHORT STORY

IN ABOU'L REESH QUARTER

(YOUSSEF EL-SEBAI)

Our story begins in a room in the first floor of an old house in Haret El Ghazalat at El Madbah district¹. In one side of the room there is an iron window that overlooks the street where one can see pedestrians going and coming, hear the vendors' voices populating their goods, and the resounding of the liquorice metal cups². In the front part of the room there is a door that leads to the courtyard of the house, where one can see some gay children playing the *top*³. On the other side of the room there is another small door leading to the kitchen. Over the walls of the room, there are some hanging boards where several verses from

the Koran and some proverbs are written, such as, « We have new gates for you »⁴ and « Success from God and victory »⁵.

As to the furniture of the room, it is not more than a couch with two supporters, an old buffet, a small sewing machine, three pairs of wooden clogs, a tiny rug, and a « *tablia* »⁶ at which Om Sayed (the housewife) sat, leaning on both sides while mincing the « *Molokheya* »⁷ leaves, so that the lumps of fat that are piled on her body shake as well, and the decoration hanging from her headscarf swing back and forth as she moves her body along.

¹ A small street in one of the old districts in Abou'l Reesh Quarter in central Cairo that is inhabited by poor people.

² A refreshing cold drink made of a dry herb and drunk by the poor-people for being cheap. The vendor of that drink carries a big jar filled with it and clinks two metal cups with his hand.

³ Small wooden-ball with a pointed end that rolls on its point when thrown on the ground. It is a kind of a toy or a game played by children.

⁴ Inna Fatahna Laka Fathan Mobeena, Sura 48:1

⁵ Nasron min Allah wa Fathon Kareeb, Sura 48:22

⁶ A low dining table around which people sit on the ground to have their meals.

⁷ A green vegetable from which the leaves are taken, minced and cooked in a special way. It is very common Egyptian dish eaten by all people.

Some body knocked at the door. Om Sayed answered with a musical voice of long sweet stress like that of a violin strings ;

«... Who is it ? »

A hoarse deep voice answered:

«...The bread... how many loaves do you want today ? »

«...Ten... five soft and five hard ».

The man extended his hand with the ten loaves through the window, and placed it on the inside edge as usual, then wrote the daily number of bread loaves on the window-side with a piece of chalk and left silently.

Om Sayed then lifted the upper part of her body and extended her arm to reach for the ten loaves from above the window-edge, looked at it with an examining eye, then put it aside and went on with her mincing process.

Suddenly, something flung in, as a flying missile, through the door, and struck the iron bar of the window and would have smashed the glass, but for the mercy of God which intruded at the right moment. It settled inside the minced *Molokheya*.

Om Sayed took off the missile furiously when she recognized that it was only a *top* that slipped away

from one of the players in the courtyard. She cried in agitation : « O boy, Sayed ! »

But Sayed did not answer — for he had fled away with the other boys as soon as the *top* flung in.

The woman repeated her cry for the boy in vain. Then she took off the *top* hopelessly, put it under her fat lap, and started scolding and theratening, then resumed mincing the *Molokheya*.

A moment after slow footsteps were heard approaching the door. The woman listened attentively to the footsteps, and opened her mouth in amazement when she saw the one who came. She struck her chest and cried :

«...What brought you so early ? May God keep away evil ».

No doubt, the woman had her reasons for the ejaculation. It was still ten in the morning, and her husband never usually returned home before the noon-prayer. His coming back at such an early time must mean that some extraordinary thing had happened.

About Sayed, or El Sheikh Ali Loase¹, as he was called in his last job, stood facing the woman and looking at her in askance, with signs of anger and worry writ large on his face.

¹ Ali is a proper Moslem name and Loase is almonds. The combination of the two words refers to an Egyptian sweet, and is used as a jocular name.

The woman repeated her question again :

«What happened, dear ? Speak out ».

«... I am disgusted, finish ».

Yes, Sheikh Ali had rebelled. He had decided to revolt against his new job to which he was driven by force. What was his business with all that... this respectful appearance, this flowing beard, that hanging rosary, and those muttering lips ? Who would have ever suspected that he, out of all people, would come to that end ? Who would have ever believed that he, the great jester and talented acrobat, who had tried every profession and all jobs, would become a respectable Sheikh, and a devoted worshipper ? Definitely, it was a comfortable, profitable job, but he could bear it no longer. He could have carried it out only for several days or weeks and would have done it perfectly well if it were only for a fixed short time ; but to undertake that job forever was utterly impossible.

The past, glorious days crossed Sheikh Ali's mind, days when he used to be free and independent, when he was a peddler who roamed around streets and lanes, to earn a living in order to carry on with this hard life.

He recalled the very first profession he undertook, when he was a juggler's apprentice. He

used to carry his master Sonbol's leather bag while they perambulated among different districts and lanes, and helped his master in displaying such familiar tricks at the cafes and in midst of circles of youngsters as thrusting a sword into his belly and getting it out of his back, etc.

Master Sonbol had taught him much... He taught him different ways through which he could deceive people through tricks and jugglery. He was his first master in life. He made him understand that all people are as stupid as donkeys, the humble, the flourishing and the great - all are the same in composition, no matter how they differ in appearance. « Put the poor in the rich's place, and he would be as great and famous, and put the rich in the poor's place and you'd find him yet more mean than before », he used to say.

He taught him that nothing in the world is difficult or impossible to obtain, and schooled him to be ready to work in any kind of job, and never presume that he ignores anything. « Time renders all », he used to tell him. « so you should leave out everything to it, for it will accomplish it someday ». Time transfers the simple, dry seed into a blooming leafy tree, and the tiny, trivial embryo into a vain, infidel human being, and the vain, infidel person into rotten, decayed bones, and might even

return it to life after decay. So, argued Sonbol : « Is it difficult for time that renders all that to make a real person out of you even if you were only a stupid donkey ? »

Sonbol, indeed, taught him much. He taught him not to wonder in a world full of wonders... « How can you be amazed in a world where there are plenty of surprising things ? Never be astonished if you see a pampered dog looking out of a speedy Buick car, and never be amazed if you know that the dog is taken to the doctor because he ate too much of *maron glacee* that hurted his stomach. Never be surprised if the dog dies and is taken to his burial place in a great ceremonial funeral among bitter cries and wailings, while not a tear-drop is shed when a kind of person like you dies. But you ought to be really surprised if you did not find newspaper with headings in wide black lines announcing the great news of the dear dog's decease ! »

Sonbol taught him all that - may God grant his soul mercy in his other world ; and Sheikh Ali had set his decision to remain as faithful as ever to his master in order to succeed him after his death, if it were not for the cursed hunger that struck him one day which he was not able to control.

He was driven through this strong feeling of hunger to eat the piece of cake which his master used in his jugglery. He used to place it between two covers of a round cylinder, so when he took off the first cover, the box seemed empty, and when he uncovered the second one, the cake appeared inside of it.

On that day, when Master Sonbol tried his trick, he was forsaken to find the box empty from both sides, for it was settled in the inside of Sheikh Ali, or El Wad¹ Ali, as he was called at that time.

That day Ali was dismissed after receiving a memorable beating from Master Sonbol that left its marks on his flesh up to the present day.

Ever since Sheikh Ali had to face life all alone and depend upon himself to obtain his own means of living. Sonbol's philosophy was his guide in that painful life. He was entirely convinced that there wasn't any impossibility in the world and that he can do anything by himself.

He worked first as a peddling shoe-polisher, passing by cafes where he stopped and knocked his polishing box with the brush and cried : « Want to polish, Sir ? »

¹ Wad means a small boy.

At the beginning he hadn't the least idea of polishing shoes, and he used to sit and stare at the pair of shoes he had to polish and fancy it a great obstacle, and by the time as he finished with the shoe he would polish almost half of the owner's socks. However, the obstacle gradually was overcome and the whole process became no more than cleaning, then polishing, then brushing. Sonbol's philosophical thought, which says that time is capable of everything and capable of teaching the person what he does not know, proved true.

One day Ali woke up to find the polishing box stolen. When he started to grieve, he thought that his life might have been stolen instead of the box, so he thanked God and changed grief into resonant laughter. Soon he began life once more, and his new profession this time was an Aragose¹ helper.

The Aragose owner, Ibrahim Bondoq, had quarreled with his former helper, and as soon as he met Ali he asked him to work with him. The helper's job was not difficult at all. He had only to hold the drum and beat it several regular beats and answer

some special questions of the Aragose shows from time to time.

Ali did not hesitate to accept the new profession. At the beginning he was afraid he might not be able to carry on the drum business, but afterwards the whole process became « as easy as flowing water² » as he used to say.

One day Bondoq grew sick, and by sunrise he was dead. So, obviously, Sheikh Ali was the only heir to the Aragose, and he had to carry on the job all by himself.

This time it was not as easy as the time before. That job required a special skill and talent of voice, because not all people could imitate the Aragose voice¹ and achieve the proper tone for it.

He started practicing and experimenting his larynx to obtain the right tone for long hours. He resembled a musical instrument that is being repaired.

At last God granted him the ability to achieve the right voice of the Aragose. He felt a

great happiness, and rushed out dancing and laughing, and started on his first successful trial.

He enjoyed tremendously his new profession and tried by all means to innovate and present and add new productions to the Aragose shows. He even started to study the latest and most known funny monologues and recite it in the Aragose tongue.

He created another new world in the Aragose, with entirely new personalities and characters that differed from the traditional old ones. And he did not forget his first master, so he called one of his puppets « Sonbol, the Juggler », in memory of his master.

Life went on with him as good and easy as ever after that. It became more and more comfortable when the opportunities and good luck permitted him to join a theatre in Abou el Reesh where he displayed his shows at night and worked as a clown. His means of living grew better gradually and his resources increased. Through both professions, Sheikh Ali never stopped laughing and jesting one moment.

No doubt, the man intended to go on with his easygoing life of gaiety and laughter, flitting once with a girl and playing with another, caring for nothing except enjoying life as much as possible. He kept on living in that same condition until God plagued him with a great calamity through marriage, and his life was turned upside down.

He fell in love with Aziza El Erd¹, daughter of Sheikh Zaki El Erd, the Sheikh of Abou El Reesh Mosque and the servant of the tomb, a humble, blessed old man.

He often sat and spied carefully Aziza, or Om Sayed, his present wife, and waved his head in wonder and regret, and asked himself, how was it possible that he fell in love with that woman? What was the outstanding thing he found in her at that time, that made him love her? The stupid donkey, he forgot Master Sonbol's advice warning him of women when he was still a youth. He had often advised him not to fall in the trap of marriage and to try to be as far as possible from that bait which people call love. However, he fell in love like any other foolish man. He was deceived

¹ Aragose is a puppet performance that displays funny shows for children in the old streets and villages.

² An Egyptian proverb meaning « Very Easy ».

¹ The Aragose-performer speaks in a special, high-pitched voice in representing different characters of his puppets.

¹ El Erd means « the Monkey ». Poor people call their children by such funny names in order to cast away the envious eye from them so that they might live longer. So when they grew up they usually kept their names. This is common belief among old, uneducated people.

when he saw Aziza's plump, swaying hips and full-grown body.

He saw her for the first time through a hole in the Aragose wooden stage and she appealed to him very much. He started flirting with her through the words of the Aragose itself, saying that he « loved cream and porridge¹ ». She felt that the words were directed to her, so she blushed and left, pretending anger.

Love grew much more within him at that time, so he set up his mind to go and ask for Aziza's hand from her father, Sheikh Zaki El Erd.

The man welcomed the idea at the beginning, but when he knew Ali's profession he shrunk back and changed his mind, and informed Ali that he does not approve of marrying his beloved daughter to a clown or an Aragose, and that if he wanted this marriage earnestly he had to change his profession at once.

Days passed by, during which Ali compared Aziza with the Aragose and finally he preferred Aziza.

Thus, he had to start looking for

¹ Words of flirtation directed to white, plump woman.

² The name of the sweet by which he became known ever since.

³ A kind of game played by children. If one shoots the target, he eats the sweet.

⁴ Another kind of a native sweet stuffed with walnuts and loved also by children.

a new profession, and it was not hard for him to find one. He soon sold all the equipments of the Aragose and bought with the money a small hand-cart on which he sold *Ali Loas*² and put two boards and a small gun for shooting³ and several boxes of *Malban*⁴. He used to call out with a resounding voice saying : « Open your eyes and eat *Malban* », and the children crowded around the cart.

Finally Sheikh Ali married Aziza when his position in the new trade was made steady and stable. His life afterwards was not unbearable, but he equalled all other husbands in misery.

Indeed, his life, inspite of Om Sayed, was bearable, till a day when the position of Sheikh Zaki, his father-in-law, the humble patron of God and the tomb where he served, became empty by the death of the man.

It appealed to Om Sayed and her mother, Set Fatma El Erd, the wife of the deceased man, to put Sheikh Ali in the place that was vacated by the death of her husband, Sheikh Zaki, in order to keep the job within the family

course. They thought it a bright idea and a wonderful opportunity for Sheikh Ali, and they drove him to seize it.

Sheikh Ali was distracted at the beginning, for he was sure he would be the least expected person to occupy such a job, especially because his previous profession as an Aragose and a clown prevented him to fit in that great religious position. Yet, he found out that discussion with his stubborn wife and hard-headed mother-in-law in that matter was utterly impossible.

Poor Sheikh Ali was entirely confused at the beginning for he did not have the least idea of the simplest religious principles ; but he remembered Sonbol's philosophy that nothing is impossible in life, and that time is capable of everything.

Thus, Sheikh Ali grew his beard and exchanged laughing and jesting with frowning and muttering, in order to obtain a respectable appearance.

Days passed and Sheikh Ali went on with his religious job, pleasing all around him, and convincing everyone but himself.

Indeed, he found out that he could bear this job no longer, and felt that his beard grew very heavy to hold, and was sure that he was nearer to God when he was honest and faithful to his

jesting job, than when he is deceitful and dishonest in his pretended worshipping.

He used to make people laugh through his Aragose, but now he laughed at people through his grown beard and extended rosary.

No — he was determined to return to his previous profession. Thus, he returned home early that morning announcing revolution against Abou El Reesh Mosque and Om Sayed. He stood confronting her, holding his beard in his hand and shaking it while he cried in anger :

« Finish, I am fed up... fed up with that beard ».

« What do you mean ? » - asked Om Sayed astonishingly.

« I mean that there is no need for that beard... Does one have to grow it in order to be nearer to God ? »

«...You must have grown mad, man ! » Om Sayed said that and left her place at the *Tablia* holding the lathe by which she was mincing the *molokheya* in her hand and waving it at Sheikh Ali's face, threatening him to go back to the mosque without comment.

Sheikh Ali went out with bent head returning to the mosque.

On his way he passed by the man to whom he sold the puppets and he bought some of them for himself.

When he entered the tomb of the mosque he heard a soft wailing voice, and he saw a woman beside the tomb weeping bitterly. He asked her what ailed her and she told him that her son was miserably ill, and almost at the point of death, and that she came to seek the help of the blessed patron to cure him.

Sheikh Ali thought for a while and found out that he used to deceive people through false blessing and amulets, and it would be much better if he would try to console the woman by amusing her with some of his puppets.

He started to display some of his old Aragose shows inside the grave-yard, and the woman was utterly astonished; but she gradually started to smile and rejoice once more.

Suddenly the woman felt a light filling the tomb, and smelled a lovely odour of incense, and fancied that she heard her son's voice from far.

When she returned home, she found her son in a much

better condition, and gradually recovering.

This strange incident of the innocent woman and the miracle performed by Sheikh Ali Loase and the Aragose spread throughout the place as quick as lightning.

Since that day on, there grew a strong belief among people of the district that the blessed patron of Abou El Reesh likes the Aragose, and that he never grants his blessings except through it.

Thus Sheikh Ali gave up the idea of leaving the mosque. He was pleased to worship God faithfully in his own special way; and people left him to do what he desired with his puppets. They were sorry if he did not, since they believed that through them he granted them his blessings! Indeed, they thought him to have grown mad, yet they believed that one of the rules of religious patronage was this particular kind of madness. However, Sheikh Ali himself did not care even if they thought him insane, since he did what he pleased.

One more thing is left, and that is: To ask God who is nearer to him, a deceitful dishonest jurist, or a faithful, laughing jester?

TERRITORIAL WATERS LIMIT

By

DANIAL LATIFI

The Asian-African Conference at Bandung on April 24, 1955, affirmed that respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations is a fundamental condition for the maintenance and promotion of international peace and security. This was reaffirmed in the Afro-Asian Peoples' Conference at Cairo in December 1957.

The importance of an adequate territorial waters zone for the protection of the sovereignty and independence of newly liberated nations cannot be overemphasised. The « canon-shot » rule of three miles initiated in the 17th century no more holds good. The three-mile limit considered a reasonable distance for the security of the mainland has now faded into insignificance.

The imperialists, however, doggedly oppose any change. Proposals by India at the recent world conference at Geneva to extend the limit to 12 miles was opposed by the imperialist powers. When People's China recently announced the extension of its territorial water limits to 12 miles, the imperialist press went into hysterics.

The author of this article, who is an eminent lawyer of India and an active worker in the National Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, has done considerable research on the subject and placed the case of the newly liberated peoples. We trust our readers will find the contribution interesting and stimulating.

EDITOR

It is now well settled that the strip of the sea bordering the shores of a coastal state, called the "territorial waters", falls under the sovereign sway of such state. This strip of sea is deemed an integral part of the territory of such state. Territorial waters are thus excluded from international waters or "high seas".

This long-standing rule of international law has now been

embodied in the Convention on Territorial Waters and Contiguous Zones adopted by the Conference of the Sea at Geneva in April 1958.

While these general principles are now beyond doubt, an acute controversy has been created over the actual breadth of the territorial waters zone conceded to the coastal state under international law.

Cannon-shot Rule.

In the seventeenth century, Grotius enunciated the principle of effective control as the true criterion for fixing the limits of territorial waters. This was elaborated by Bynkershoek in the eighteenth century into the well-known rule that the dominion of the land has the same limits as the reach of its weapons. This, the so-called "cannon-shot rule," ascribed to the coastal state such breadth of territorial waters as lay within range of guns firing from its shore. In the eighteenth century such guns had an extreme range of three marine leagues. Consequently, at that time, this distance, measured from the low water mark, gained acceptance as the measure of the territorial waters zone. (*International Law* by W.E. Hall, 12th Edition by A. Pearce Higgins, Oxford, 1924, pp. 178 seq.).

In the nineteenth century it was universally realised that the previous three-mile rule of thumb no longer accorded with the range of cannon on which it was founded. This question came before a Committee of the Institut de Droit International at Paris in 1894 attended by representatives of no less than 39 countries. The unanimous view held at that meeting was, that with the development of naval ordnance and gunnery, the previous three mile territorial waters limit was outmoded. (*op. cit.* p. 192 fn.)

The same unanimity, however, was not reached on the dimension to which the marginal belt should be enlarged. Ultimately the Committee resolved, by a large majority, that a zone of six marine miles from low water mark ought to be considered territorial for all purposes and that in wartime a neutral state should have the right to extend this zone to a distance from the shore corresponding to the extreme range of cannon. (*ibid.* p. 193 fn). The majority view thus preserved the measure of « extreme range of cannon » for such zones in wartime; at other times an approximation of six miles (then the range of naval guns) was considered adequate.

This question again came before the Hague Codification Conference in 1930 and in April 1958 it was debated at the Geneva Conference on the Law of the Sea. These deliberations produced no agreement and subsequently no uniform internationally recognised limit has been evolved for territorial waters. Meanwhile differing states have asserted differing standards which they have enforced according to their power.

The proceedings at Paris in 1894 above referred to as well as those at the Hague in 1930 and at Geneva in 1958 vitiate the assertion, stridently emanating from leading naval and colonial powers, that the 18th century 3-mile limit of territorial waters is

still the accepted rule of international law and that no nation has the right to fix a larger limit round its shores. In any event, the three mile limit has never been generally accepted by Asian states.

The width of the territorial waters zone has recently assumed particular importance in three parts of the world:

First, off the coast of Iceland where British fishing claims are being resisted by the Icelandic authorities; *secondly*, off the China Coast where a military conflict is raging; and *thirdly*, in the Indian maritime region of North Gujarat, where oil-fields have been found.

1. Dispute between Iceland and Britain.

The fisheries dispute between Iceland and Britain has followed Iceland's proclamation of a twelve mile zone of territorial waters. Following this proclamation Iceland has prohibited foreign fishing boats from her waters. Britain has claimed that Iceland had no right to do this, and, taking the law into her own hands, has sent warships to escort British trawlers fishing within twelve miles of the Iceland Coast. Great indignation has been aroused by this in Iceland, particularly because the British trawlers menace the livelihood of the Icelandic fishermen. Such indignation reached boiling point when British naval

units forcibly captured eleven of Iceland's coast-guard servicemen who, in execution of Icelandic law, had boarded and arrested a British trawler illegally fishing in Iceland's territorial waters. A naval guerilla war is at present in progress off the Iceland coast.

As a British journal writes:

« Britain cannot afford indefinitely to fish in convoy under naval protection... and the Icelanders can afford to go on policing the 12 mile limit for as long as it suits them.... Of course the 3-mile limit is desirable for Britain... When the British navy ruled the high seas, maritime law tended to establish itself in the interests of the chief maritime power... That situation no longer exists... The Soviet Union has already long ago declared a 12 mile limit — which obviously we are powerless to challenge. The root of the trouble is... the over fishing by British trawler companies of waters on which the Icelanders depend for their basis of livelihood ». (*New Statesman and Nation*, London, 6th September 1958)

2. Military action off the China coast.

The People's Republic of China has also declared a maritime belt or zone of territorial waters extending twelve miles from her shores. For China this is a matter of national self-preservation. The

islands of Quemoy and Matsu occupied by Chiang Kai-shek troops lie within five miles of the Chinese mainland. As Prime Minister Nehru said in this connection at a Press Conference on 7th September 1957, « it is obvious that no country can possibly tolerate islands 12 miles from its shores being used as hostile bases ». The United States persists in sending warships and aeroplanes in aid of Chiang Kai-shek forces to near 3 miles of the Chinese mainland and refuses to recognise the twelve mile limit proclaimed by the Chinese authorities.

This has been denounced by the Chinese Government as military aggression upon Chinese territory. The question of the lawful extent of Chinese territorial waters thus becomes an issue of crucial importance.

3. Oilfields on the Indian Coast.

Speaking at Cambay on 17th September 1958, Shri K. D.

Malaviya, Union Minister for Mines and Oil, said that the various island regions round Cambay were « promising regions » for oil prospecting and that the experts should also think of underwater and submarine oil exploration in the region¹.

Even though India is entitled, under international law, to exploit oil from the sea bed adjacent to her shores, her installations, if close to or outside the limit of territorial waters, might be exposed to unfriendly intrusions from the sea or air. Under international law, as it now stands, India would have no right to regulate sea or air traffic, whether commercial or military, outside her territorial waters. Thus an adequate width of territorial waters remains of prime importance for safeguarding India's oil riches.

Latent Conflicts.

Aside from these problems numerous other conflicts are latent in various regions of the world

¹ Note: Article 297 of the Indian Constitution secures to the Union of India "all lands, minerals and other things of value underlying the ocean within the territorial waters of India". This underlines the importance of adequate width of territorial waters being established round our shores.

By a strange oversight this Article apparently fails to assert the rights conceded to India by international law, and now confirmed by the Convention of the "Continental Shelf" adopted at the 1958 Conference on the Law of the Sea at Geneva. Under this the surface and sea-bed adjacent to the shore, but outside territorial waters, are secured to the coastal state as its continental shelf, for the purpose of prospecting and exploiting its natural riches. Under this Convention, the rights of the coastal state regarding the "continental shelf" affect neither the legal status as "high seas" of the waters covering this shelf nor the corresponding legal status of the air space over these waters which is also free to all nations.

where the question of the legitimate width of the territorial waters zone can arise. Such is the problem of Goa on the Indian coast. A situation may well arise some day when the Indian authorities may have to consider their rights to maritime control in the regions surrounding this Portuguese pocket.

Indonesia has long been concerned about an adequate territorial waters zone around her islands. Without protection of such a zone her very national existence is jeopardised. This has been confirmed by recent experience when foreign interventionists assuming the guise of smugglers appeared from the seas to aid and succour insurgents in open rebellion against the lawful authority of the Republic. Curiously enough, one of the reasons advanced by the U.S. delegate, Arthur Dean, at the Geneva Conference on the Law of the Sea in April 1958, when resisting the 12 mile territorial waters zone, was that such zone, « could seriously hamper friendly naval movement between the islands of Indonesia ». (*Time*, Pacific Edition, 5th May 1958, my emphasis). Obviously the alleged friendly naval movement contemplated by Mr. Dean could only be naval movement disapproved by the Indonesia Government, otherwise the legal status of the waters would be immaterial.

The question also arises off the North African Coast and in the Eastern Mediterranean, where the Arab States have had considerable experience lately of western « gun-boat diplomacy » — as in the Lebanese crisis.

It also arises off the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Sea in regard to preservation of national sovereignty and security of oil deposits and installations.

Geneva Conference 1958.

At the Geneva Conference on the Law of the Sea held early in 1958 there was initially overwhelming support for an Indonesian Resolution, backed by India, Ceylon, the UAR, the USSR and a number of other countries in and outside the Afro-Asian group, for international recognition of a 12-mile limit for territorial waters. Even Canada supported a variant of this.

An American journal reports how difficult it was for the U.S. to resist the demand for a 12 mile limit:

« Fearful that 12 miles might win, the U.S. finally... offered to compromise on a six mile territorial sea limit plus an additional six-mile fishing zone with the proviso that any foreign nation that « regularly for the period of five years » had been fishing in that zone would be allowed to con-

tinue». (*Time*, Pacific Edition, 5th May 1958, p. 23).

The additional six mile fishing zone was obviously provided to win over Canada; while the proviso was inserted to placate Britain.

Despite feverish canvassing and pressure the U.S. proposal met with 33 adverse votes. This prevented it from receiving the 2/3rds majority necessary for adoption. However, as many as 45 countries supported it. The proposal for a 12 mile zone secured 21 votes against 47. The positive votes would have been many more if countries like the People's Republic of China (which supports 12 miles) had not been excluded from the Conference.

Basic Principles.

It is now necessary to review this question on its merits and to consider on the basis of principle and universal convenience and benefit where the international limit should be fixed.

Prior to the general acceptance of the doctrine of Freedom of the Seas, enunciated by Grotius in the 17th century, most of the powerful states in the world claimed exclusive dominion over vast areas of the seas and oceans

extending sometimes to the entire sea or ocean. One may recall that the Romans in their heyday claimed the entire Mediterranean as *Mare Nostrum*. With even less justification of effective control various European States in the Middle Ages tried to copy the Romans.¹ Grotius advanced the development of navigation and commerce through his doctrine of Freedom of the High Seas. On the high seas, said Grotius, all nations had equal rights of navigation. At the same time, Grotius considered it essential to preserve the sovereignty of coastal states over the zone of sea adjoining their shores under their effective, exclusive and stable occupation.

The objects of establishing such a zone of territorial waters or maritime belt around the shores were and are the following:

First: to secure the imperative requirements of self-defence of the coastal state against surprise attack from the sea;

Secondly: to safeguard the economic interests of the coastal state particularly as regards fishing rights, coastal shipping, and, in recent years, mineral and other wealth;

Thirdly: to serve the requirements

¹ Selden in his *Mare Clausum* followed by Hale in *de Jure Maris* claimed that the four seas washing the shores of England were in the absolute dominion and ownership of the English King.

of police jurisdiction and law enforcement of the coastal state, particularly to control immigration and exit, and to suppress contraband and piracy;

Fourthly: to enable the coastal state to discharge its obligations and to enforce its rights as a neutral in the event of war between other states.

These objects were and are admirably served by the rule that the maritime belt or zone of territorial waters extends to the extreme range of the coastal batteries. This was expressed in Bynkershoek's Rule, already referred to, « *Ibi terrae potestas finitur ubi finitur armorum vis* ». This rule, according to a leading British authority, « is now generally recognised by theory and practice, and consequently a belt of such breadth is considered under the sway of the littoral state as is within effective range of the shore batteries ». (Oppenheim, *International Law*, 8th Edition, by H. Lauterpacht, London, 1955, Vol. I, p. 490).

In the light of authority and established principles there is no warrant in international law for the contention that the sovereignty of a coastal state is restricted to a 3-miles zone. Until and unless a coastal state has voluntarily agreed to the fixing of any narrower zone, its sovereignty must, in accordance

with the general rule, be held to extend to a distance from the shore corresponding to the extreme range of cannon.

Despite revolutionary developments in armaments coastal batteries even today remain the principal means of exclusive and stable command from the land over the territorial waters zone. Thus the sovereignty of the coastal state over such zone within range of such guns fully conforms to the general legal principle that ownership follows possession. By the same principle the high seas, outside the range of the shore batteries, are deemed to be not susceptible of such effective, exclusive and stable possession or control from the land. For this reason the high seas are held to be incapable of being subjected to the sovereignty of any particular state.

If the coastal battery range is rejected as the measure of the territorial waters zone it is extremely difficult to suggest any alternative or satisfactory basis for fixing the limits of such a zone.

12 miles limit.

The range of the shore batteries of even non-violent states like India is now about 15 miles. Therefore the proposal for a twelve-mile territorial waters zone put forward at Geneva in 1958 seems modest.

Such a width of the zone would not materially impede the freedom of sea and air-traffic.

In any event, under the Convention on Territorial Waters and Contiguous Zones adopted at Geneva in 1958 not only merchant ships but also warships have been secured the right of peaceful passage through the territorial waters of a foreign state. Those who complain that they would be hampered by extension of the territorial waters zone are thus apparently thinking in terms of passage *other than peaceful*.

The development, as offensive weapons, of bombing aeroplanes and submarines, also justifies a wider defensive zone of territorial waters.

Countries that desire sincerely to implement the purposes and principles of the United Nations and in particular the obligations imposed by the Charter to « refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state », should have no reason to object to the proposal for a territorial waters zone of

12 miles. Indeed, no peace-loving state should find this irksome.¹

Unfortunately it is difficult to expect global agreement upon this question in the immediate future. The stand taken and persisted in by such mighty naval and colonial powers as the U.S.A. and Britain against any reasonable application in modern conditions of the time-honoured principles of international law prevents agreement. Thus the U.S. and Britain insist that the 18th century 3-mile limit is even today the rule of international law. In fact, they resist any suggestion that would hamper their « freedom of action » or « elbow room » in the four corners of the globe.

The exclusion from international councils of such a great nation as China also brings an element of unreality to so-called « international » conferences on these matters.

Asian-African viewpoint

Asian and African countries cannot forget bitter memories of conquest from the sea. These are kept fresh by recent revivals of « gun-boat diplomacy » by Western powers.

¹ Note: President Monroe in his letter dated 11th October 1811 to Mr. Foster asserted the right of the United States to know the national character of armed ships « hovering on the coasts » saying that this was a right immediately connected with the peace and tranquillity of the United States. These remarks were made in relation to the Little Belt which was cruising many miles from the shores of the U.S. between Cape Henry and Cape Hatters. (Kent, International Law, London, 1866, p. 114).

The Asian and African countries have common interests on this question. These interests dictate the securing of the widest reasonable zone of territorial waters for military and economic self-defence.

As Prime Minister Nehru has said, « International law, born in the family of European Nations, can no longer ignore the awakening of the Afro-Asian peoples. New voices are being heard in the world claiming new rights... »

It is, therefore, opportune for

the Bandung Powers to hold consultations upon this question, to meet together and to adopt for themselves a Convention establishing such width of maritime belt or zone of territorial waters in the oceans and seas surrounding the Asian and African continents as seems to them proper to secure their own interests and safety. For countries with small navies an adequate zone of territorial waters is a shield against attack from the sea. Without such protection cherished national independence remains exposed to peril.

THE HIGH DAM PROJECT

AND THE

Political Currents which Accompanied the Project to the Present Day

BY

KAMAL BAHAA EL-DIN

Controller-General, Permanent Secretariat Afro-Asian People's Solidarity

The talk about the High Dam is no longer an aspiration fostered by millions of citizens of the United Arab Republic. It is no longer a mere plan on paper but a colossal project about to be put into action for the welfare and prosperity of those citizens, their future, and the future of the coming generations. To-day, this colossal project has been translated into facts, funds, manual labour and sweat.

To-day we shall begin building the High Dam despite the imperialistic factors which have always hampered the project. We shall build it with the aid of friends who have always stood by our side in adversity, and proved themselves to be true and loyal friends. If we go back a few years, or precisely to the 19th of July 1956, when the imperialistic powers announced the withdrawal of the offer they had already

proposed to us for financing the High Dam, and when the International Bank for Construction and Development followed suit and withdrew its offer just as the imperialists did, we would find that this despicable conduct had but one ultimate aim, namely to create a state of no-confidence in the Egyptian economy. No wonder they consider the Egyptian region to be nothing more than a mere cotton farm the product of which is the monopoly of the imperialist countries, and whose mills have first call on this commodity. Yes, if we go back to that date we would find without shadow of a doubt that what these imperialist countries really feared was that their influence might deteriorate rapidly, not only in the Arab East, but also in Asia and Africa and in all the colonized and semi-colonized regions in addition to the backward

countries, as they like to call them. They were afraid that the project would be an eye-opener to all these peoples who are aspiring to build their own economy and live an honest life based on national integrity, in the very region where new fields for industrialization and development of national economy would be available. Such conditions would, needless to say, stamp out disease, poverty and ignorance. But again such a condition is not compatible with the aim of the colonizers and the interests of the imperialist powers. It means the end of imperialism throughout the world. It was then that the Arab leader, Gamal Abdel Nasser, accepted the challenge of the imperialist powers. On the 26th of the same month he made his historical speech in which he asserted, « We shall build the High Dam just as we please, and when we please. Nothing will deter us from such a course. The 35 million pounds which go to the pockets of the canal company shall be claimed by Egypt, and when we begin to build the High Dam we shall be building the fortress of integrity and freedom, and demolish the dams of humiliation ».

The leader was right and lived up to his promise, for despite the plots woven by the imperialists and their constant efforts to hamper our project, with the help of friendly nations,

champions of peace, together with the revenue coming in from the Suez Canal, we shall build our High Dam.

From the foregoing introduction we are able to discern one imminent fact, that we have been successful in every project which the imperialists tried to hamper and impede its realization. We achieved all our political aims which the imperialists keenly disputed and strived hard to prevent us from reaching our goal. This is not all, for our success in building the High Dam and in foiling the plots woven by the imperialists can rightly be considered as a colossal victory and serve as an inspiration to other nations. It would not be out of the way to state here that our success has been the milestone in changing the current of history in both the continents of Africa and Asia, particularly in the countries where the peoples are wide awake and astride towards national development. It is in itself a definite proof that small nations are capable of constructing their own economy and of carrying out the biggest projects necessary for their advancement within the bounds of their economic potentialities, and accordingly take their rightful places amongst the big powers of the world. At the same time there would be untold opportunities for strengthening their military power and raise the

standard of living among their nationals. Before I begin to relate some of the benefits this colossal project will realize for our country, I deem it necessary to pave the way by explaining that the productive, economic, and social problems we suffer from, stem from one root, which is our biggest problem, and that is the continuous increase of the population. If we compare the density of the population in different countries of the world with the density of the population in the Egyptian province of the U. A. R. — excluding the deserts, mountains, and barren lands — we shall find that the difference between us and other countries is vast. For example, the average number of persons per square kilometer in the Egyptian province is 835, while in America the number is only 20, that is, almost 20 times less. It is worth noting that, according to statistics made during the first half of the present century, the population problem in Egypt is becoming more serious every year. In 1907, the census was 11,089,178, and now it is around 23,000,000 persons; that is, it has almost been doubled in the space of fifty years.

It is obvious what this increase in the population will lead to from the economic point of view. It will naturally result in a continuous decrease in the net production of the working man

and a decline in the real value of his wages — resulting from competition between workers. This consequently results in the decline of the worker's purchasing power, a standstill state for national economy, and a continuous decrease in the individual's share of the consumer's goods. This — together with an increase in the cost of living — will ultimately lead to a gradual decline in the standard of living among the majority of the people — as well as a decline in social and sanitary conditions.

This shows that we are facing a real problem and should work seriously for its solution. The Revolution must find a way out of this difficulty, for the aim of this Revolution was not merely to do away with injustice, or remove the dark shadow of imperialism, but also to free the country from the clutches of poverty, disease, and ignorance, and spare no effort for raising the standard of living. The leader of Revolution and its men have realized that the situation requires urgent planning of essentials in order to face the present condition of economic depression. There is no doubt that these projects will aim at increasing the arable area and create a strong sound industry alongside the agricultural production which will enrich Egyptian economy.

We saw the solution of our problems in the waters of our great river — the river that God hath sent streaming through the deserts, so that an Egypt may be born and on which the majestic Nile showers its wealth, blessings and riches generation after generation. Despite all this, we have not been able to make proper use of the riches bestowed on us by this great river. It still carries riches which if utilized would pave the way for this valley to take its place among the leading countries of the world.

Thus we make of the Nile the foundation stone for our future projects, of which the building of the High Dam on the Nile tops the list of these great projects that will ensure for the country all the prosperity aspired to.

The History of the Project

Since the dawn of history, Egypt's major problem has been the control of the Nile water for the safety and the good of the country. In spite of the great efforts recorded in the annals of history as marvellous human achievements for the solution of this problem, it still remains the most significant problem facing the two sections of the Nile Valley — namely Egypt and Sudan. The unconquerable water of the Nile still flows during the flood wasting into the sea. On its way to the sea it threatens the country and ex-

poses it to the dangers of being drowned, while the quantity of water utilized during dry seasons does not suffice to supply the bare necessities of life. With these conditions, the Nile Valley is still facing a most serious situation. Since more than 20 years ago, projects have been planned for controlling this river with the purpose of storing any excess for use when the country suffers from dearth of water. Every Egyptian engineer cherished this dream until the new regime, established after July 23, 1952, revived the plan of building a big dam on the Nile at Aswan. It is worth noting that this plan had often been submitted to many responsible men of previous governments who refused to discuss or even to study it.

As soon as the plan for this daring project was submitted to the Council of the Revolution they asked their technical office to conduct quick researches as to its possibilities. When they realized its benefits they adopted the idea at once. They formed technical committees mobilizing the largest group of technical experts in the Ministry of Public Works, Military engineers, university professors, army and airforce officers, and foreign experts. As soon as the various committees became convinced of the practicability of the idea itself, and the Permanent Council for

the Development of the National Output was established, this Council, together with the experts of the Ministry of Public Works, decided to undertake everything for this productive project whose benefit is not limited to this generation, but extends over many coming generations. This project — together with the projects of the higher source of the Nile, offers ample solution for controlling the Nile waters for the benefit of Egypt and Sudan, and supplies these countries with undreamt of electrical capacity.

Plan Of The Project.

If one studies the return of the Nile River, one finds that this return differs greatly from one year to another. Although the amount of irrigation water needed for the present arable area is estimated at 48 milliard square meters per year, the return of the river that we get at Aswan may be so scarce as to threaten draught, as in 1913-14, when the return of the river for the whole year reached 42 milliard square meters only. The return might on the other hand be so great as to threaten vast submerging, as happened in 1878-1879, when it reached 151 milliard square meters. While the needs of existing agriculture in the Egyptian region during the critical period of summer time (from February to July) are estimated at about 22 milliards, including the storage water which

is about 7.5 milliards per square meter, we find that the returns of the river has reached 36 milliards of square meters during that time in the year 1878. This return decreased, however, during the same period to 7 milliards in 1913. These are two contradictory pictures that show the extent of the danger between shortage and excess quantities in respect of necessary needs. Thus it is difficult to conciliate between the unstable return of the river and the needs of the valley which requires a solution for this problem, especially after preparing the land for summer plantation and settling the increase of the water required.

There is no doubt that the conciliation between these unstable returns, on the one hand and the needs of the Nile Valley, on the other cannot be achieved by the projects of « annual storage » as those to which we are accustomed as in the Aswan Dam whose benefit is merely to store part of the river flood waters in order to use it in the same hydro-year during the dry time in summer. There are two main factors which stand in the way of the expansion of this sort of storage. The first factor relates to the problem of the silt, because the flood waters of the « Blue Nile » and the « Atbara » river carry with them the silt, which resides in the bottom of the basins

of the Dams when the speed of the current decreases at the time of filling. This obliges us to delay filling the reservoirs of the Aswan Dam annually until the level of water goes down to a certain point in which the percentage of the silt decreases. Caution necessities that we must not risk piling the reservoirs of the dams by silt after experiments abroad indicated that many dams of comparatively smaller capacities were deserted after being closed by the silt of the rivers.

The second factor which limits expansion of annual storage is the low return of the river in many years. It is enough to review the various conditions of the river through the last 30 years to see that during some years it was not possible to fill the reservoirs of the Aswan and the Gabal Awleya dams. This doubled the shortage during the following summer, due to the small amount of stored water.

If we depend on the kind of annual storage in providing for our lands after expanding the cultivated area, a year and a flood as that of 1913 is returned by the river. Then a disaster would begin which would ruin our whole agricultural output for the year the cost of which might exceed that of all the projects of controlling the Nile water.

With the presence of these

factors, and in order to find out a solution for this problem, it is necessary to consider another kind of storage and resort to the system of « continuous storage » which aims at storing all the excess waters of a year of high flood in order to use it during years of low floods. Naturally, this system requires a dam of a very large capacity which can hold the excess water of successive years of high flood, and guarantee the availability of stored water to meet the shortage in the years of low flood, and release a regular quantity of water annually besides making adequate allowance for the residue of silt. Besides all that, provision should be made for the highest difference for balances between the front and the back of the dam throughout the year which secure generation of the highest hydro-electric power.

Studies and Researches Regarding The Project

As soon as the technical experts were convinced of the soundness of the idea of the High Dam project, the Permanent Council for Development of National Production drew a plan, in conjunction with the experts of the Ministry of Public Works, to conduct a series of studies and researches which were completed during the last two years, the most important of which are :

1 — Several technical missions

have surveyed the region south of the Aswan Dam to explore the most suitable spot for the construction of the Dam.

2 — The Egyptian Airforce took several aerial pictures of this area.

3 — The Survey Department drew the necessary maps for the plan.

4 — Egyptian technical experts together with German experts of the Hokhtiff Company have contributed by making a geological survey of the area.

5 — The Irrigation Department experts undertook large scale hydrological studies to specify the capacity of the dam and the extent by which it would meet the demands of the agricultural expansion, as well as giving protection from the dangers of the most extreme floods and making provisions for keeping the residue of silt for a very long period of time of not less than 500 years.

6 — The Nile Water-Control experts conducted hydrographic researches to specify the amount of water lost in the dam basin through evaporation, and the quantity of silt that is expected to precipitate.

7 — The German Hokhtiff Company, together with experts of the Ministry of Public Works,

conducted a series of works : digging the bottom and the two shores to explore the nature of the soil of the foundation area.

8 — This company also tested the whole area of the project and the areas around it and near it, and analyzed samples of the elements found in them which might be used in the construction of the Dam.

9 — Committees consisting of representatives of the ministries of Public Works, Internal Affairs, Agricultural, Social Affairs and Finance as well as representatives from Nub, Mayors and big landowners of these lands of ancient relics and rich mines and Arabs and Nubians studied the consequences of building of the Dam such as drowing the Nubian lands by the storage water. The committees also considered the comforts and desires of these areas, the choice of new arable areas to be distributed among them, the building of towns for them to reside in and the required roads of communication and other public services to fulfill the needs of these areas from the economic, cultural and medical aspects, and all the requirements needed for developing these chosen regions for the Nubians in the best possible way.

All these studies and researches were completed within the last two years, so that it was possible

to put a preliminary design of the dam project and discuss the requirements and programme for its execution.

It is a great tribute to the ability of Egyptian engineers and a source of pride to them that all the studies and researches were completed in such a short time which won them the admiration of world consultative experts.

In spite of that we have been hearing for a long time some people complain of the delay in conducting these studies and researches — of those who tried to race with the times, motivated by their zeal and enthusiasm for their project. To such people we wish to say that we hope they do not forget the colossal size of the project which is considered as one of the biggest in the world so far as construction, water storage and the generation of electricity are concerned.

It is enough to see the work done on other Dams which are surpassed in many respects by the High Dam of Aswan : the Indian Dam of Bhakra was first thought of in 1908. The same sort of thing was said about its daring idea as was said here about the High Dam. It was described as an absurd idea, which led to the postponement of the project year after year. Thus serious studies of the project

were not started until 1942 when it was found that this absurd idea deserved serious thought. These studies were completed after eight years from that date and the execution of the project was not started until 1950. Work done in the (Bulldozer) Dam and the « Grand Cony » Dam in the United States in the study of which millions of pounds were spent must also be compared

Economic Benefits Of The Project :

1 — It would be possible to increase cultivable land by two million acres from desert and unreclaimed lands. It would also be possible to transfer the basins of Upper Egypt to a permanent irrigation system.

2 — Agriculture would be secured in the most lean years with the guarantee of the availability of irrigation waters in adequate quantities in the right time.

3 — It would be possible to supply Upper Egypt with water without the need of present draining Stations or the ones that were to be built on the Nile and Bahr Youssef which would save the cost of building the new ones and of the administration and maintenance of the old ones.

4 — It would lead to a decrease in the level of submerged water

in the valley in both lower and upper Egypt which would increase the production of the cultivated land in addition to simplifying irrigation projects and saving many expenses thereon.

5 — There would be adequate protection without any need to strengthen and raise present bridges on which the irrigation department now spends hundreds of thousands of pounds per year.

6 — The plantation of 700,000 acres of rice per year would be guaranteed irrespective of the return of the Nile waters. It is known that at present the return of the Nile waters in summer affects the cultivated area every year.

7 — The generation of tremendous hydro-electric power: (10 milliards of Kilowatthours) at a very low cost (0.5 millimes per Kilowatthour). It would also be possible to carry a large part of it to Cairo at a cost of 2 millimes per Kilowatthour which would save much fuel and open the way for new industries.

8 — It would lead to economies in the electrification of the present Aswan Dam.

9 — Expansion of various industries especially chemical industries, such as the fertilizers industry, which were established after the electrification of the Aswan Dam. These would be

expanded through the High Dam until production meets the present total demand of the country as well as the future demand after the expected expansion in agriculture.

10 — The guarantee of a balance for other dams on the Nile which would make it possible to generate electricity from them.

11 — The regulation of water so as to secure navigation in the Nile throughout the year.

12 — The increase of the National income by L.Eg. 150 million per annum.

13 — The increase of the revenue of the Government by L.Eg. 16 million per year.

Further to the above economic benefits it is significant that the High Dam Project would render it unnecessary to build many projects previously suggested to control and store the waters of the Nile for expanding agricultural lands and providing protection from the dangers of floods, especially as these projects were not without technical defects.

For example, the High Dam would make it unnecessary for us to carry out the Wadi El Rayan Dam project at the South West of Fayoum. Geologists had opposed this project on the ground that the Fayoum province

may be rendered barren through leakage of water.

It would also be no longer necessary to carry out the Marrawi Dam Project and the additional canal at the dams area. The technical objections raised against the first project are well known, since it could not be guaranteed that it would be filled in lean years or that it could be possible to draw regularly from it during these years.

Thus the High Dam would make it possible to draw a fixed hydro policy for controlling the waters, which give a far greater benefit than that of the previously suggested projects. This would give an impetus to agricultural expansion in both Egypt and the Sudan. Over and above that, the High Dam would cost less than the other projects.

The High Dam will be built in Egyptian territory which would guarantee speedy response to hydro needs — the continuous storage that would be secured by the High Dam cannot be compared with the annual storage suggested in the Dams of Marrawi and Wady El Rayan. While annual storage may expose the country to serious hydro-crisis, continuous storage should guarantee the adequate supply of water to agriculture and meet its needs in the most lean years.

The Situation Of The High Dam

In the light of the researches and studies referred to above, and in the light of work done by world consultative experts, it has been decided to build the High Dam at the kilo 6,500 south of the present Aswan Dam since it was found to be the best situation in all respects. It was also found that this spot, in addition to its constructional and economic advantages, enables us to obtain all the material necessary for building the dam in adequate quantities from nearby sources. I cannot but feel that Providence has put all the natural factors necessary for building the High Dam in that spot.

Design Of The High Dam

It has been decided that the High Dam should have enough capacity to store water up to (182). All the materials of the Dam are available at very short distance from it. The higher ceiling of the Dam would be at (196) while the average level of the bottom of the river at that spot is (85).

In the direction of the flow of the river the Dam would be 1,300 metres long and it would close the river. Seven tunnels will be built inside the granite in the Eastern Bank for letting through the required amount of water. Each would have a diameter of 16.5 metres and an average length of 2,160 metres. Their

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entrance would be at Bokhour Kendy and they would pour their waters behind the dam at Khour Agourma.

The Hydro-Electric Station would be built on the Western bank of the river where the nature of the rocks helps building provisional dams and caves of machines, etc.

The quantities of construction and rigging materials are as follows:

	sq. metres
Materials for building the Dam	42,000,000
Digging Channels in the Eastern bank	7,957,000
Digging Channels for generation of electricity in the West bank	9,115,000

If we consider that the size of the great pyramid equals approximately 2,500,000 sq. metres, the total number of sq. metres of the High Dam are 17 times the size of the great pyramid.

The total cost of constructing the High Dam, including the cost of constructing the Eastern and Western channels and the necessary buildings and gates is about L.Eg. 110 million.

The Hydro-Electric Station
It has been decided that the hydro-electric power station should include 16 units of ge-

nerating electricity. In the first stage only eight units will be built. These, together with those of the present Aswan Dam, would be enough to generate more than 6 milliards of kilowatt-hour per year. This would make it possible to increase the production of the fertilisers factories and would help build more stations for lifting water for irrigation to vast high-level areas on both banks of the Nile in Upper Egypt. The rest of the power (which is more than 3.5 milliards of kilowatt-hours) would be carried North for various industrial and service purposes between Aswan and Cairo. The price of the unite in Cairo would be less than 2 millimes which at present costs from 4 to 5 millimes.

This cheap energy which would be available continuously through out the year would give an impetus to the industrialization of the country. Advanced countries have built their industrial achievements on coal and iron. Providence has granted us this white coal which is inexhaustible through the Aswan Dam and the High Dam. God has also given us iron in ample quantities under the surface of our land. We therefore cannot but work untiringly, grateful to God, who has given us all the favourable conditions for bringing an industrial revival on very firm foundations.

PAKISTAN AND MIDDLE EAST*

by

MAULANA ABDUL HAMID KHAN BASHANI

PRESIDENT NATIONAL AWAMI PARTY OF PAKISTAN

It was a fundamental assumption of the national freedom movement of the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent that the liberation of the Subcontinent from imperialist rule was the key to the liberation of other enslaved and occupied countries of the rest of Asia and Africa. How true contemporary history has proved it to be!

Indian Subcontinent provided the sneers of colonial wars over a long period. From the strategic bases of the Subcontinent British Imperialism could easily dominate the Middle and Far East. Its unlimited natural resources sustained them during colonial wars. And above all, the Subcontinent provided them the cheapest manpower in the production fields at home and colonial battle grounds abroad. From the days of the Crimean War onwards, Indian troops have always been used by Britain to

fight their wars. They served in World War I on many fronts, in France, at Gallipoli, in East Africa, in Palestine and in Mesopotamia.

When the Indian Subcontinent achieved its political independence, and Pakistan and the Indian Union emerged as two independent States in 1947, British imperialist domination in the area received its first setback. The independence of the Indian Subcontinent was followed by that of Burma and Ceylon in 1948 and that of Indonesia in 1949. Working out its national destiny through its own independent process, China also emerged in the same year as a unified, democratic, independent nation free from the shackles of imperialist control, at the end of a victorious revolution. With India, Pakistan, Indonesia and China emerging as independent

* This contribution was received by us before the recent military coup d'état in Pakistan. Maulana Bashani, who is a highly respected veteran not only in Pakistan but over the entire Indian Subcontinent and is the moving spirit behind the Afro-Asian Solidarity movement in Pakistan, has since been arrested and detained.

sovereign States, colonialism in South East Asia found itself in retreat.

The cornerstone of imperialist control of Asia and Africa having been demolished, the freedom movements in the two continents received infinitely greater strength and momentum. The peoples of the Afro-Asian regions still paralysed by colonial stranglehold experienced a new surge of freedom. In the ebbing of imperialist domination of South-East Asia that followed, British colonialism found itself swept out of Indo-China. The resultant independence of Indo-China added three more sovereign States to the Afro-Asian family.

TEMPORARY SETBACKS

The anti-colonialist movement which received great impetus from the newly liberated countries of South and South-East Asia, has unfortunately not been uniformly successful. It has had its inevitable setbacks here and there. It has to be regretfully admitted that although Pakistan has started her career as a staunch supporter of anti-colonialist movement and as a vigorous champion of the freedom struggle of enslaved nations, all the hopes which the emergence of Pakistan as an independent Muslim State aroused have not yet been fulfilled. On the other hand her historical enemies have in recent years been set

back in her role in international politics as a supporter of anti-colonial movement, which I am confident is only temporary.

Ever since Pakistan's Government of the day joined the Baghdad Pact and SEATO, there have been deviations from the independent line of foreign policy the country had set for itself. I must point out here that the foreign policy based on military alliance with Power blocs has not had the support of the people nor even of the Parliament. It was purely an executive decision which was never referred to the Parliament for ratification. Progressive section of public opinion in Pakistan are opposed to any policy based on military alignment. The political party of which I have the honour to be the leader, the National Awami Party, opposes military alliances of all breeds and is committed to the liquidation of all such military pacts and the restoration of an independent foreign policy based on friendship with all nations.

PUBLIC OPINION IN PAKISTAN

I shall quote one or two examples to show the divergence of view between the Government of the day and the people of the country. The initial reaction of the Government to the Anglo-French invasion of Egypt in 1956 was to a great extent predetermined by their membership of

the Baghdad Pact and the SEATO. But the reaction among the people of the country was strong, spontaneous and uncompromising. There were demonstrations throughout the length and breadth of the country against Anglo-French aggression and demanding wholehearted support for Egypt by the Pakistan Government. Almost every political party of any worth criticised the Government's policy and demanded unequivocal support of Egypt. Again, last summer when Anglo-American forces landed in Jordan and Lebanon and threatened the independence of Iraq, there was spontaneous sympathy for the Arab countries among the people of Pakistan. The joint statement issued by the three Muslim members of the Baghdad Pact approving and applauding Anglo-American military intervention in the Arab countries was severely criticised by political parties and the Press. On the occasion of the Suez intervention, the pressure of public opinion forced the Government of the day to change their attitude subsequently. Today the course of events has proved the utter incompatibility of military alliances with an independent foreign policy and friendly relations with other countries, especially our Muslim brethren of the Middle East and North Africa. That is why I am confident that the setbacks in Pakistan's international relations

and policies are only temporary.

POPULAR SYMPATHY FOR EGYPT

It cannot be otherwise. Because Pakistan was born out of the national aspirations of nearly a hundred million Muslims of the Indian Subcontinent. Their national movement for an independent homeland was not in any material sense different from the Arab national movement to regain their unity and independence. The political content of this movement was nationalist, and not theocratic, in character, although the misguided utterances of a few medievalminded people here and there might have given the opponents and critics of Pakistan a pretext to give the movement a bad name. Pakistan came into being as a result of a territorial division of the Subcontinent, and not on the basis of a division of religious population. Even today there are nearly 40 million Muslims left in India who live there as loyal and free citizens of the country. Similarly, over 15 million Hindus are still living in Pakistan enjoying equal rights as any other citizens. Politico-economic factors lay at the root of the demand for an independent homeland for Pakistanis more than anything else. One of the aspirations of the common people of Pakistan was that Pakistan should have the closed and friendliest relations with all Muslim countries of the world especially the Arab

countries of the Middle East and North Africa, and that she should make the maximum moral and material contribution to the struggle for independence in which some of them were still engaged. The temporary setbacks brought by wrong policies and wrong leadership have not deflected the people from their fundamental aim. What is required is to bring the Government and their policies into correct alignment with the real aspirations of the people in whom ultimately sovereignty resides.

As I said in the beginning, the success of the liberation movement against colonialism in South and South-East Asia produced its repercussions elsewhere. In the Middle East and North Africa, Arab Nationalism led liberation movements for several decades now. Although they did not need any outside inspiration to sustain them in their struggle, the victories won by anti-colonial movements in South and South-East Asia helped them and made their unequal fight easier. For, every defeat of colonialism which made their enemy weaker served to help them.

EGYPTIAN REVOLUTION

If the dawn of freedom broke first on Asia, it did not mean that Africa could remain in twilight much longer. The mantle of leadership in the anti-colonial struggle in the Middle East and

North Africa naturally fell on Egypt's shoulders. She has proved by her action that she fully deserved it. Although formally independent and sovereign, Egypt under the undemocratic regime of an imbecile monarch surrounded by a corrupt oligarchy was until 1952 hamstrung by unequal treaties imposed on her by imperialist might and was little more than a helpless pawn in the imperialist game of power politics. In 1952 this prostrate nation rose to its feet and struck its first decisive blow for the unity and independence of Arab Nationalism. A new Egyptian Republic emerged, resolute and resilient, from a century of frustration, chaos and stagnation. President Abdul Nasser is the visible symbol of a historic manifestation of the aspirations of the Arab peoples. Four years later when imperialist Powers conspired and created an opportunity to attempt a comeback Arab Nationalism, aided and supported by the fraternal Afro-Asian nations and democratic anti-colonial forces, could roll them back, inflicting on them a most ignominious defeat.

Egyptian Revolution has been on the march since then. It has imparted vigour and confidence to freedom movements in Africa and the Middle East. Sudan attained her independence in 1955, and France which was driven out

of South-East Asia in 1954 was forced to relinquish her colonial rule in Tunisia and Morocco in 1956. This was followed by the independence of Ghana in 1957. The same year also saw the birth of a Malayan nation. The Afro-Asian family has been greatly enlarged.

AIM OF ARAB NATIONALISM

The ripples set up by the Egyptian Revolution have grown into a mighty tidal wave of popular freedom movement sweeping the entire Arabian Peninsula today. Ever since the unlimited oil wealth under the arid soil of this area was discovered, none of the Arab countries of the region has been able to enjoy real freedom. Most of them are theoretically independent, but are in practice under bondage of one kind or another to imperialist Powers. The incipient social revolution in the Arab countries has as its aim not only the liquidation of direct imperialist control, but also the replacement of corrupt feudal and oligarchic regimes serving as agents of imperialism, with national democratic Governments based on the will of the people.

The basic aims and methods of operation of imperialist Powers in the subjugated areas have generally followed the same pattern. With minor variations they follow the same policy everywhere. When British imperial-

ism established itself in the Indian Subcontinent, they created vested interests and rewarded their stooges. They maintained under their protection over 450 princely states, most of them created by themselves. They sowed seeds of discord among the people, dividing one community from another and alternately favouring one at the expense of the other. They created a corrupt ruling class.

IMPERIALISM ENTERS

MIDDLE EAST

During and after World War I, they did almost the same thing in the Middle East. They exploited Arab national aspirations to their own advantage. The Arab people wanted to free themselves from the misrule of the Ottoman Empire. By political chicanery, subversion and outright military intervention British and French imperialists, making use of the Arab revolt against Turkish Empire, succeeded in imposing their own imperialist rule over them.

They conquered Iraq with 24,508 Indian and 4,883 British troops and created the vassal states of Iraq and Transjordan, and installed as kings men of their own choice. The French annexed Syria and created a new State of Lebanon and later legalised their conquest by contriving to have the League of Nations' approval for the ar-

rangements they made at San Remo, calling it a mandate. The British who conferred upon themselves a mandate for Palestine, subsequently with the help of America created a Zionist State there to serve as a reliable imperialist stooge in the future.

The imperialist political machinations and military interventions in the Middle East, which have increased in frenzy and frequency since the end of World War II, are due to three causes: First, shortly after the end of World War II, Anglo-French Imperialist Powers who had grabbed territories during World War I have been compelled to surrender them one by one. This process, reinforced by the onward march of Arab Nationalism and democratic forces, has been making further headway and threatens to dislodge them from the positions of economic stranglehold over the peoples. Secondly, there is strong rivalry between Britain and America for economic control of the resources of this region, as America has been eager to replace Britain in her traditional areas of domination. Dulles propounded the new theory of « power vacuum » in order to justify American penetration of the Middle East. Thirdly, with the loss of strategic and military bases in South and South-East Asia, Britain now feels that she

should maintain a permanent foothold in the Middle East itself to ensure continued exploitation of the oil resources of the region.

DOOM OF IMPERIALISM

The end of World War II marked the beginning of the eclipse of imperialist and colonial Powers. The post-war emergence of independent Afro-Asian nations makes the return of colonialism to territories vacated by them, now or in the future, an impossibility. The tremendous accession of strength to the democratic and Socialist movements in the world further guarantees the impending doom of imperialism and colonialism. What is happening in the Middle East today is the manifestation of the death struggle of imperialism, yet unwilling to die a natural death. The isolation of imperialist forces is becoming more and more clear. And hence the new experiment in Anglo-American partnership in the current imperialist adventure in the Middle East.

IMPERIALIST TACTICS

When imperialists are forced to withdraw from a country, they see to it that some combustible material is left behind to keep the fire smouldering and to ensure an explosion at a suitable time.

They left the Indian Subcontinent in 1947. But the seeds of discord in the form of the

Kashmir and the canal water problems which they had deliberately created and left behind still continue to plague the relations between Pakistan and India. Then, alternately supporting one country against another at international forums the Western Powers help to maintain the disunity and hostility between them. The resultant arms race between the two countries is ruining their economies and distorting their domestic and international policies. In the same way in the Arab Middle East the imperialists created the Zionist State of Israel in order to serve as a constant threat to the security of Arab countries and to maintain political tension and mutual suspicion. By alternately supporting one against the other and tipping the balance of power between the Arabs and the Zionists by giving or withholding arms, and all the time using Israel as a stool pigeon they try to keep the Arab countries in subservience. The Dutch colonialists withdrew from Indonesia but retained Western New Guinea to maintain their foothold in the area.

When forced out of one country, colonialists do not pack up and go home straight. They make a retreat and then perch somewhere biding their time. British troops were forced to withdraw from Egypt; they moved

into Cyprus and Kenya. When turned out of Jordan they went to Aden. When Ceylon closed the British air and naval bases in the island, British immediately announced their decision to build a new one in Maldives Islands.

MILITARY PACTS

Not content with all this, the Western imperialists in order to entangle the Asian nations in their cold war and to enable them to maintain and strengthen their political and economic stranglehold in West and South-East Asia, created two military alliances, the Baghdad Pact and the SEATO. They represented the purpose of these pacts as defence against the threat of Soviet aggression, which as everybody knows has never existed in this region. Under the pretext of providing defence against a non-existent Soviet threat, the imperialists succeeded in re-establishing their military hold on these countries and in extending the evil effects of cold war.

The truth about the Baghdad Pact is that it was intended to be a shield for imperialist oil interests of the Middle East against the rising tide of Arab Nationalism which was bound to assert sooner or later the national rights of the Arab peoples who are the real owners of the natural wealth of the countries. It was also intended to create dissensions

among the Arab countries and to prevent Arab nationalism from achieving unity and solidarity. In short its fundamental aim was to fight Arab Nationalism which found its greatest champion in the Republic of Egypt. The fact that this organization was set up shortly after the successful carrying out of the Egyptian Revolution goes to show that its target was Arab Nationalism.

This fact was conclusively proved at the time of the Anglo-French invasion of Egypt when the Muslim members of the Pact refused to condemn the aggression although all the other Afro-Asian countries and an overwhelming section of world opinion were unanimous in doing so. It has now been further confirmed — if confirmation was at all necessary — by the view publicly aired by the three surviving Muslim members of the pact about the latest Anglo-American intervention in Lebanon and Jordan and the imperialist threat to the new Republic of Iraq which dared to defy them. They not only did not condemn the aggressive military action by the Western Powers, but on the other hand they disgracefully approved and applauded it. The Baghdad Pact, after two successive attempts at military aggression by its imperialist patrons, today stands completely stripped of all its pretensions.

REAL AIM OF MILITARY PACTS

The present shift of emphasis from the so-called defence against Communist aggression to what is now called « counter-subversion » and defence against « indirect aggression » further unmask the aim, of this organization. Any popular democratic opposition to anti-national and reactionary policies of autocratic Governments kept in power by imperialist protection would be dubbed as « subversion » and the provisions of the Pact could be invoked to suppress all legitimate democratic movements in the country. This new orientation given to the Baghdad Pact is to enable it to deal with all constitutional and democratic opposition in a country and thus make it safe for imperialist exploitation.

It is very doubtful that those Governments who have twice in the short period of two years embarked on acts of military aggression in the Middle East are supported by their people in their aggressive ventures. It is a well-known fact that an overwhelming majority of the British people led by the British Labour Movement had strongly opposed the Anglo-French aggression in Egypt in 1956 and their massive opposition not only strengthened international action to halt aggression, but it also brought down the Government headed by Sir Anthony Eden. Similarly even

today there is powerful popular opposition in Britain to the military intervention in the Middle East by the present Government. The fact that they have not dared to carry out the intended aggressive plan against Iraq is partly due to the strength of public opinion in Britain and the whole world.

Again, I do not for one moment think that the Government of the countries — particularly of Muslim countries — which have joined the military pacts are supported in such action by their own common people. As far as I know, the common people in these countries have never had a say in the matter. In most cases, — and in the case of Muslim countries in particular — the Governments have acted in disregard or in defiance of popular opinion. This fact which was never in doubt in Iraq has now been proved beyond a shadow of doubt by the recent revolutionary developments in that country.

PEOPLE DO NOT WANT WAR

The common people all the world over do not want war. I have had the opportunity to mix with the ordinary people in many countries. I have not met even a single person anywhere who wanted another world war. People of my generation — I am 73 now — who have lived through two world wars know what war means in terms of death,

destruction and misery. In our part of the world we have even in peace time more than our share of misery, in the form of poverty, famine, starvation, disease and epidemics, which take their annual toll. We do not want a war which will multiply our misery and sufferings a thousand fold. Nobody wants war. Those people who have built up a higher standard of living do not want war because it would be the end of their higher standard of living. Others like the people of Asia who are still struggling to emerge from their backward economy, impoverished by long periods of colonial domination, and who are trying to raise their living standards by hard work and industrial development, oppose war because it would be the end of their dream about a better future. They realize that it is the common people, the toiling millions, who suffer most in any war and who ultimately pay for the reconstruction and restoration by their sweated labour and sacrifices.

War is, therefore, the greatest enemy of the working class people. Military pacts lead to cold war, and cold war is only one step short of actual war and may at any moment lead to it. That is why the common people everywhere are opposed to cold war and its powerful instrument, the military pacts.

Nothing suits the aspirations of

the Asian peoples better than that all scientific knowledge and achievements should have as their end and aim the enlargement of human happiness and the peaceful progress of all mankind. But unfortunately this is not true today. Gripped by demoralising fear or actuated by imperialist ambition for world domination, the leading countries of the world are today devoting their national resources and scientific ingenuity to the invention and manufacture of more and ever more dreadful engines of mass destruction. Imagination shudders at the infinite capacity achieved by world Powers for mutual destruction and human annihilation. The spectacle of leaders of nations clutching with their hands the frightful Hydrogen bombs capable of wiping out a million human beings in a split second, speaking of God and spiritual values, is a disgusting phenomenon. It is sanctimonious hypocrisy for religious leaders to pronounce benedictions on the H-bomb, saying that it is morally no less justifiable than the primitive man's bow and arrow. The first and foremost duty of every man who regards peace as essential for human progress, and who believe that the destiny of mankind is greater than the destiny of any nation is to fight the current nuclear madness.

I have, in my limited sphere and in my own humble way,

been working for peace and understanding between peoples. Addressing the recent Stockholm conference of the « Congress for Disarmament and International Co-operation » as the leader of the Pakistan Delegation, I said : « In spite of the repeated and grim warnings of the leading scientists of the world, in spite of the cry of anguished humanity, nuclear weapons of a more and more frightful kind continue to be piled up.

« Any hasty or rash decision may cause great disaster to humanity. It is sad commentary on the collective political wisdom of our day that in the name of combating certain ideologies, policies are being pursued which may lead to the very annihilation of mankind, with nobody left to oppose or foster any ideology. The primitive man was in a sense the prisoner of his ignorance, while today the modern man has become the captive of his great technological achievements.

« The threat of war arises from the determination of certain Powers to interfere in the internal affairs of other nations and to dominate the world. We have seen how, even after the horrifying experiences of World War II, imperialist Powers have engineered wars in Korea, Vietnam, Suez, Algeria, Lebanon and Iraq. We have also seen how the war-like policy of the

imperialist Powers has actually created the arms race and the consequent world tension. These Powers are interested in the increase in armaments : for firstly, militarism helps them to extend their rule over the colonial peoples and counters movements of national liberation; and secondly, the production of armaments is a profitable business. They sustain their economy through more and more expenditure on armaments. In order to mint money they are playing with human lives. Their morality is no higher than that of the buccaneers of days gone by.

« But the arms race is against the interests of the peoples of the world. It is also against the interest of the peoples of the imperialist Powers. All the world over people want peace. Even the peoples of the imperialist Powers want peace. That is why in this conference there are people present from the four corners of the world ».

We Afro-Asian nations have many things in common. We have common interests and common aims. Some of the Afro-Asian countries have yet to secure their political independence from colonial Powers. Most of us have yet to achieve our economic freedom. And certainly all of us have much economic leeway to make up and have to raise the living standards of our peoples. A Herculean task

awaits all our countries in the field of agricultural and industrial development. For all this we need continued peace. We also need complete freedom from interference from outside in our internal affairs. We want to develop friendly relations with one another and with all other countries with all nations on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. In short, we want peaceful co-existence in a world of differing ideologies and ways of life. The people of Pakistan, like the peoples of other Afro-Asian countries, stand by the five principles enunciated at the Bandung Conference as the basis of this peaceful co-existence. These principles alone can provide a stable foundation for world peace. They alone can maintain Afro-Asian solidarity. It is essential to preserve this Afro-Asian solidarity if peace is to survive in a world torn by ideological conflicts and threatened by nuclear madness.

SOCIAL REVOLUTION

We in our country are convinced that our social, political and economic problems cannot be solved without sweeping aside the evil legacies of colonial rule and the relics of a medieval feudal society. Economic progress is impossible without liquidating the last vestiges of feudalism, and social justice cannot be achieved without ending all forms of exploitation and ensuring equality

of opportunity to all. The influence of the corrupt ruling class must be eliminated if the will of the people is to prevail. The first condition for the ordered progress of the society is therefore real democracy in which the rule of law shall prevail and civil liberties shall be guaranteed, and tyranny and exploitation shall never lift their heads. It is characteristic of colonialism that wherever its influence exists, democracy gets no chance. The greater the colonialist domination over a country, the greater is the tyranny and denial of civil liberty there. In the name of fighting Communism, the ruling classes of these imperialist-dominated countries suppress all democratic and progressive movements. Western imperialists have so much identified themselves with anti-democratic and anti-national policies in the countries they dominate that the people of these countries are convinced that their fight is first

and foremost against colonialism and imperialism. No wonder when popular democratic movements try to overthrow the tyrants and the corrupt stooges of imperialism, the imperialists try to intervene on their side. It is our own affair how we treat our corrupt ruling classes; whether we forgive them, or whether we punish them. It is none of the business of the imperialists to intervene between us, or to tell us how we should deal with them.

We are living in a world which is today full of conflicts and turmoils. If we have to achieve our aim of peace and progress we have to tread our path with steadfast faith in our ideals and complete unity in our ranks. Our faith should include faith in the democratic ideals and legitimate national aspirations of all peoples. Our unity should cover the unity of all peoples who have the same ideals and aspirations.

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*(Monthly Journal of the Permanent Secretariat
of Afro-Asian Solidarity)*

December Issue is Accra Conference
Special Number

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and

Reports on QUIT AFRICA DAY celebrations

by the Afro-Asian Peoples



For further details write to :

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AFRO-ASIAN BULLETIN,
89, ABDEL AZIZ AL SAOUD,
MANIAL,
CAIRO
(U.A.R.)

AFRO-ASIAN PEOPLES!

**OBSERVE
KAMERUN DAY
ON
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Hold meetings and rallies

Bring out Processions and Demonstrations

Popularise the heroic resistance of the Kamerunians
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The cause of KAMERUN FREEDOM is the common
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**PERMANENT SECRETARIAT OF AFRO-ASIAN
SOLIDARITY**

STAT

AFRO-ASIAN BULLETIN

MONTHLY JOURNAL OF THE PERMANENT
SECRETARIAT OF AFRO-ASIAN SOLIDARITY

VOLUME 1, NO. 1, CAIRO, SEPTEMBER/OCTOBER 1958

IMPERIALISTS! QUIT AFRICA!!

LONG LIVE AFRO-ASIAN SOLIDARITY

Inside:

- The Paper Tigers
- Imperialists! Quit Africa!!
- March of the Afro-Asian Peoples
- De Gaulle's Duplicity in Africa



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Nos. 5-6

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TO ALL AFRO-ASIAN NATIONAL SOLIDARITY COMMITTEES

The Editorial Board requests all the National Committees to popularise AFRO-ASIAN BULLETIN.

They are also requested to send us regular reports of their activities.

The November-December issue of the BULLETIN is in the press and will be out soon.

All communications should be addressed as follows :

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AFRO-ASIAN BULLETIN

MONTHLY JOURNAL OF THE PERMANENT
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Cairo, September-October 1958

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The Paper Tigers

In their annual gathering sometime ago the Conservative hags of Britain decreed: Whatever may happen, they will never permit Hongkong, Singapore, Aden, Kenya, Malta and Gibraltar to be free.

Years ago they talked the same way about Suez, but they were literally kicked out. And yet more years ago they talked identically about India, but they had to quit India.

Then there is more recent history. When the U.S. aggressors, hand-in-glove with Britain, landed troops in Lebanon and Jordan, their aggressive plans were not confined to just these countries but had wider objectives against the new-born Iraqi Republic, the United Arab Republic, in fact against the entire Arab peoples of the Middle East.

Three and a half months later, however, the imperialists had to eat the humble pie, and the U.S. and British troops had to withdraw. This clearing out of the imperialist troops was a major victory of the Arab peoples and of the world in their fight against colonialism.

Nevertheless, the imperialists do not seem to have learnt any lessons. Modern editions as they are of the French Bourbons, they obviously learn nothing and forget nothing. Canute-like, they order the resurgent humanity of Africa and Asia to stop their march forward, but, like the waves of the sea, the Afro-Asian peoples surge forward and the Canutes are bewildered.

In their bewilderment they take resort to yet more desperate and despicable methods, the most dangerous of which is the sowing of seeds of discord among the Afro-Asian

peoples. Sometimes a Bourgiba is popped up to play the role of the late unlamented Nuri Said with regard to Arab nationalism. And then a refrain is taken up about discord between African and Arab nationalisms.

More than all this, however, is the increasing recourse to unrestrained violence against unarmed peoples. This violence nevertheless proves that, while these dark forces of imperialism have still some strength left, this momentary rampancy is in reality the last kicks of their deathbed struggle.

As for the Afro-Asian peoples, they have learnt their lessons the hard way, and as such the lessons are well-learned. And these great lessons are: first, struggle, fail, struggle again, fail again, struggle again till victory is achieved; second, march arm in arm, march unitedly, and guard this unity of the fighting forces as the apple of the eye.

From their hard experience the Afro-Asian peoples know that the ferocious-looking imperialists are like paper tigers who can subdue and suppress the masses only till such time as they remain awed by it; that once the people take their destiny in their hands, these paper tigers are revealed in their utter hollowness and instability.

Indeed, the days when the imperialists could ride roughshod are gone for ever, and the paper tigers are on their last legs. All attempts to stamp out the freedom battles through mass murders results in further strengthening of the forces of freedom. Imperialism is like the setting sun in the western sky. The resurgent Afro-Asian peoples are like the rising sun in the eastern sky.

IMPERIALISTS: QUIT AFRICA

**Manifesto Of
The Permanent Secretariat of Afro-Asian
Peoples' Solidarity
for observance of December 1, 1958, as
QUIT AFRICA DAY.**

With every day which passes the world beholds the spectacle of terrified and panicky imperialists resorting to the most shameless and naked practices to maintain their tottering empires. If on one day it is the brutal act of flogging and killing unarmed men in Aden, on another, thousands of African women are imprisoned in South Africa, and on yet another occasion it is a mean attempt to break monolithic Arab solidarity.

Nevertheless, despite all imperialist terror and trickery, the freedom movement of the awakened Afro-Asian peoples irresistibly marches forward. Frightened at this spectacle, imperialists shoot and the blood of the Africans and the Asians flows together in the course of their joint struggles against the common foe. Unaware of what they do, the imperialists thus create unbreakable bonds of solidarity between the Afro-Asian peoples against the Western looters and oppressors.

The millions of Arabs on the African and Asian mainlands, rising as one man, have dealt deadly blows on the tottering fort of imperialism, and have aroused a great struggle for freedom over the entire African continent. The fact that Asian blood flows in Aden by British bullets, and African blood flows in Algeria and the Kameruns through French guns at the same time has convinced the entire Afro-Asian humanity that solidarity against the common enemy is their most cherished possession.

The great resurgence over Africa, inspired by freedom battles of Asian and the Arab peoples, symbolises the emergence into consciousness of vast masses of humanity, whom the imperialists have thus far crushed in a most systematic manner. For, as history unfolds, and as the world comes to know how

the European imperialists — the British, the French, the Portuguese, the Belgians — have dominated, suppressed and exploited the African peoples, it is revealed that their methods here have been more savage, thorough and heartless than perhaps elsewhere.

The Africans have been treated by the imperialists as sheep and cattle, as flora and fauna, as things to be cut and eaten, or crushed underfoot and trod upon. The great African masses, anthropologically among the oldest of the human race, possessed of an old and vivid culture and art forms, and a very virile and intelligent people, were denied by the imperialists even the status of fellow humans, and slandered all over the world.

And now that these Africans have begun to get up, the imperialists are resorting to such deceit and trickery as the so-called De Gaulle "Referendum", or the British manipulated elections in Uganda to ward off their inevitable doom. At the same time they resort to the worst possible repression and terror.

The imperialists brazenly say that they are in Africa on a "civilising mission", that the Africans are unfit to rule themselves, that they are leading them to "self-rule", for if they leave Africa, it will go into chaos and anarchy and the African peoples will destroy each other.

Thus it is that the dying imperialists mock at the African peoples. The African peoples, however, know to their cost that this "civilising mission" is disgraceful, is a myth and hypocrisy. The reality is its barbaric nature.

Indeed, the African peoples are convinced that chaos and anarchy would be preferable to imperialist slavery. Through the daily intensification of their freedom battles they

demand that the imperialists should forthwith Quit Africa.

The widespread and deeprooted Quit Africa Movement, given a great fillip by the Bandung, Cairo and Accra Conferences, has now become the most outstanding feature of the vast African continent.

The African peoples march forward to regain their rightful place in the world community of free and peaceful peoples and their unanimous demand to the imperialists is: Quit Africa.

With a view to further consolidate and strengthen this gigantic Quit Africa movement, the Permanent Secretariat calls upon Afro-Asian humanity to observe December 1, 1958, as Quit Africa Day.

On this day let African peoples everywhere gather in their millions to demand of the imperialists: Quit Africa.

On this day, let the vast Asian humanity rally in their millions to express their solidarity with the Quit Africa struggle of their African brethren.

The Permanent Secretariat of Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity calls upon all National Committees to prepare from now to make the Quit Africa Day an expression of the united will of all freedom-loving peoples. Marches, public rallies and demonstrations should be organised on an elaborate scale.

The Permanent Secretariat is confident that Quit Africa Day on December One will serve the final notice to the imperialists to get out at once.

**LONG LIVE FREEDOM OF AFRICA
LONG LIVE AFRO-ASIAN SOLIDARITY
DOWN WITH IMPERIALISM.
IMPERIALISTS: QUIT AFRICA.
Cairo, 15.11.1958.**

PREPARATIONS FOR THE GREATEST RALLY OF AFRO-ASIAN YOUTH

It was decided at the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Conference at Cairo that the Permanent Secretariat, in conjunction with the Supreme Council of Youth's Welfare in the U.A.R., should hold at Cairo a Special Conference for the Youth of Afro-Asian countries.

A combined committee of the two bodies was then established and sent its first bulletin to all Afro-Asian countries. The main aim of this Conference is to strengthen Afro-Asian Solidarity, develop mutual understanding and friendship among Youth, to study their problems, to take adequate steps for the execution of the resolutions of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Conference, and establish the Afro-Asian Youth Congress.

Later the U.A.R. Preparatory Committee for the Afro-Asian Youth Conference was formed and it is now energetically preparing for the great rally of Afro-Asian Youth.

The U.A.R.P.C. has issued a second bulletin and an application form for the Afro-Asian Youth Conference Membership and has sent it to Youth Organizations and Afro-Asian National Solidarity Committees in all Afro-Asian countries. They were requested to form a Preparatory Committee for the Youth Con-

ference in their country. They were also requested to convey their opinion regarding our suggestions and our mutual aim and to explain the idea of the Conference to the Youth of their countries and to fill the application form.

The U.A.R.P.C. has received many warm and encouraging answers from various Afro-Asian Organizations to the first and second bulletins. These answers are unanimous about the necessity of uniting, all efforts to achieve the aims set down, since it constitutes a vital corner-stone in the mission of Afro-Asian countries for the attainment of liberation, sovereignty and prosperity.

The U.A.R.P.C. has now sent out its third bulletin and invitations for the meeting of the International Preparatory Committee which will be held at Cairo on November 24-26, 1958 (one member from every country), along with a provisional agenda.

Publicity to popularize the Youth Conference has begun on a large scale in the U.A.R. All students' activities is being directed to serve the aims of and bring success to the great rally of Afro-Asian Youth.

DESPITE IMPERIALIST BLACKMAIL AND CONSPIRACIES

AFRO-ASIAN PEOPLES MARCH FORWARD

(As the peoples of Africa and Asia march irresistibly forward to wrest their freedom from the unwilling hands of the colonialists, the panic-stricken imperialists take resort to the most naked use of force, blackmail, intrigues and conspiracies in a vain attempt to stop the course of history. As the coordinator of these freedom struggles, and having been created by them, the Permanent Secretariat of Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity receives reports from the far-flung territories of the vast Afro-Asian world. The Permanent Secretariat is called upon to express itself on the issues which come up from day to day with a view to create a correct public perspective on the questions and also to advise the various National Solidarity Committees about the line of action to be adopted so that the entire Afro-Asian world may be mobilized to support the rightful cause of freedom. Below we compile together statements issued by the Permanent Secretariat from August of this year up-to-date.

- Editor)

ON FURTHER LANDINGS OF U.S. TROOPS IN LEBANON

The Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Secretariat notes with sorrow and consternation that American imperialists are continuing to land troops and tanks in Lebanon. Even though each such aggressive act earns for the American Imperialists the lasting hatred of the Arab Peoples, they nevertheless blindly persist in their foolish acts. Blindness, indeed, could not have gone farther.

Viewed in the background of British landings in Jordan, this further pouring in of American arms and men in Lebanon can only be regarded as preparing the ground for further aggressions against the Arab Peoples. All Anglo-American professions of peace stand exposed as sheer hypocrisy.

Events in Arab world should prove to the Western imperialists that the liberation struggle of the Arab Peoples is an irresistible trend. The old days of colonialism and exploitation are gone for ever and any attempt to bring back the old state of affairs in contravention to the trend of history will endanger peace and is doomed to failure.

The Afro-Asian Solidarity Secretariat, representing the will of the Afro-Asian peoples, warns the Anglo-American imperialists to desist from such blind acts. The Secretariat at the same time reminds the vast masses of Asia and Africa that peace can be preserved and freedom guaranteed only when the people take up the cause in their hands.

The landing of the Anglo-American forces in Jordan and Lebanon is calculated to suppress the freedom of the peoples of these countries, and aims at supporting a tottering and reactionary coterie. It threatens peace in the area and is gross violation of the U.N. Charter.

In view of the continuing threat of Anglo-American aggression against the Arab peoples, and in the light of the forthcoming session of the U.N. General Assembly, the Afro-Asian Solidarity Secretariat calls upon all its National Committees to organize mass rallies on the day of the Assembly Session to demand the withdrawal of American troops from Lebanon and British troops from Jordan. Such rallies should be organized in all important cities in which a resolution to the above effect should be passed. After this, cables must be sent to President Eisenhower, Premier MacMillan and

Mr. Khrushchev telling them of the resolution adopted at the rallies. Reports should immediately be sent to this office.

6-8-58

ON INTENDED NUCLEAR BOMB TESTS IN AFRICAN DESERT

Atomic and nuclear experimentations constitute a great menace to humanity. Each day millions upon millions of human beings raise their voice vehemently to world conscience to put an end to these destructive lethal experiments. Some of the governments have spontaneously responded to our humanitarian world appeal, while others insist upon carrying out their preconceived plans. France is actually attempting to take an active part in the staging of these atomic and nuclear experiments in the great African desert, and to use the peoples of Africa as guinea-pigs.

The Permanent Secretariat opposes the staging of such experiments anywhere and at any time.

We appeal to world public opinion, to the United Nations and to the Committee of Human Rights to prevent these experiments taking place, especially those scheduled to be carried out in Africa in the near future.

We further declare that, for our part, we shall prevent the staging of these experiments by every possible means in our power.

We call upon all governments and people, regardless of colour and nationality who have the interests of mankind at heart to support our appeal by signing this document.

13-8-58

ON BRITISH REPRESSIVE POLICY IN UGANDA

The Permanent Secretariat of Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity has learnt with consternation about the arrest of Mr. Otema Allimadi, the Permanent Secretary of the Uganda National Congress and one of the Uganda delegates to the Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference that was held in Cairo in December 1957. Mr. Allimadi was charged with importing prohibited publications in Uganda. These publications, however, were nothing more than some scholarship forms and pamphlets of the Interna-

tional Union of Students. After gruelling questioning Mr. Allimadi was released on a bond pending sentence.

The Secretariat regards this action by the British authorities as an infringement of freedom of the individual, and a continuation of their policy to tyrannize all Uganda nationalists. Political persecution in Uganda is today a daily routine which takes different forms.

These authorities are also doing their best to stop nationalist leaders from leaving the country. We still remember how the Uganda delegates to the Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference were stopped on their way. Those who managed to come — like Mr. Allimadi — were persecuted.

The Secretariat condemns such action, not only as a violation of human rights, but as a systematic action to isolate Uganda from peace-loving peoples. In the light of this, the Permanent Secretariat:

- 1— Strongly condemns any action by the British Authorities to prolong their outdated colonial rule.
- 2— Calls upon the United Nations to send a visiting mission to Uganda to investigate the situation.
- 3— Calls upon all Afro-Asian Peoples to demonstrate their solidarity with the people of Uganda, and to send protest to the United Nations against the unlawful persecution of nationalists.

27-8-58

ON THE SITUATION IN TAIWAN STRAITS

The Permanent Secretariat of Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity notes with deep concern the obstinate insistence of the U.S. imperialism to continue with its unbridled provocation in China's Taiwan area. It also strongly condemns the landing of large numbers of U.S. aggressor troops in Taiwan and regards this action as an open threat by the U.S.A. to expand its aggression against the Peoples' Republic of China. In fact, the U.S.A. has already started to do this. According to the latest news, America warships have intruded

into Chinese territorial waters. This step will lead to the aggravation of the tension in the Taiwan Straits area which will jeopardize peace in the Far East and the world.

The Secretariat firmly believes that Taiwan and the Penghu islands are Chinese territory and that the Peoples' Republic of China has every right to liberate them. It also believes that the United States support of Chiang Kai-Shek clique entrenched on Taiwan and the Penghu Islands and its direct occupation of these areas by armed forces constitute unlawful interference in China's internal affairs and a clear infringement of China's territorial sovereignty. They are also in open conflict with the United Nations' Charter.

The Secretariat has watched for some time how the Chiang Kai-Shek clique supported by the U.S. imperialists has been using the coastal islands such as Quemoy as advance bases to carry out all kinds of disruptive activities against the Chinese mainland. Consequently, the Peoples' Republic of China has every right to react to this aggression and to take necessary military action aimed at the liberation of their territory against Chiang Kai-Shek troops. The Secretariat believes that the United States is, at the same time, trying to divert the world attention from the continued presence of their troops in the Lebanon. By so doing the United States has hastened to create a new danger of war in the Taiwan Straits area, thus making all peace loving peoples realize the apparent United States imperialist policy to sabotage peace and suppress national independence in Asia and Africa.

The Secretariat has read with indignation statements made by United States military and political leaders in which is expressed the opinion that the United States will use atomic weapons in the Far East as a proof that limited wars, as they call them, can be waged by this inhuman weapon. The statements published in the Western press about this matter and the aggressive tone of these Western press and statements are a clear evidence of the United States vain and savage policy.

On behalf of the Afro-Asian Peoples we welcome the move by the Peoples' Republic

of China to enter into negotiations with the U.S.A. over this question. At the same time we hope that these negotiations will not be used by U.S. as a smokescreen to hide its further aggressive actions.

We strongly demand that all U.S. troops be withdrawn immediately from Taiwan area, as a guarantee for peace in the Far East, indeed in the whole world.
29-8-58

ON IMPERIALIST CONSPIRACIES AGAINST THE ARAB AND THE AFRICAN WOLD

Basing itself on reports which pour in the Office of Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity, the Permanent Secretariat is forced to arrive at the inescapable conclusion that as the great freedom movement of the Afro-Asian peoples marches forward ceaselessly from success to success, the imperialist colonisers are getting more and more panicky and are resorting to the most despicable weapons in their armoury in a vain attempt to crush and defeat the irresistible floodtide of the resurgent peoples of the two continents.

These despicable weapons of the hated Western imperialists range from such mean acts as bribery and large-scale spying to most shameless attempts to divide the ranks of the freedom fighters, sow dissensions and thus seek to break the solidarity of the Afro-Asian peoples.

It is not at all surprising that in the present treacherous strategy of the imperialists, the main target of attack is Arab Nationalism. The great upsurge of the Arab peoples is driving the last nails in the coffin of imperialism and is acting as a most powerful factor in rousing the enslaved peoples of Africa. By and by the African countries are becoming free, the latest to join the family being Guinea. Till now almost 39% of the peoples of the African continent are liberated; it is natural, therefore, that the imperialist colonialists are straining their every nerve and resorting to the most hateful and shameless methods to retain their hold over the remaining 61% of the African peoples, who nevertheless are determined to attain their freedom.

And so it is not only for the Middle East oil, but also to save their tottering African empire that the colonialists have made Arab nationalism the main target of their disruptive conspiracies.

The Permanent Secretariat of Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity is firmly of the opinion that the uncalled for, ungrateful and shocking attack of the Tunisian delegate on the United Arab Republic in the meeting of the Arab League Council is part of this same dirty game of the imperialists and represents an unholy alliance between certain sections in the Arab world and the hated imperialists of the West.

The Permanent Secretariat of Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity cannot but be concerned by these imperialist tactics, since Arab nationalism and solidarity are part and parcel, and a most powerful wing of Afro-Asian Solidarity. The Permanent Secretariat cannot also remain unconcerned by overt or covert attacks on President Nasser, who, along with other great leaders of the Afro-Asian world of today, symbolises the aspirations of millions upon millions of the Afro-Asian peoples.

The ominous pronouncements in the imperialist press and radio before the Arab League meeting, and the way in which the Tunisian representatives' out-burst has been boosted by the Voice of America and the British Broadcasting Corporation leaves no doubt about Western complicity in this contemptible move to divide Arab Solidarity. To the Permanent Secretariat it is obvious that there is a clear relationship between all the conspiracies being hatched by imperialism against Arab Nationalism and the freedom struggles of the African peoples.

The Permanent Secretariat therefore condemns the attack of the Tunisian representative on the U.A.R. as uncalled for.

It makes bold to appeal to the Tunisian

leadership of the day to realise the utter futility and dangers of their erroneous way and return to the great Arab fraternity of the Afro-Asian peoples. Days of imperialism are numbered and only the unwise would prefer the company of this dying, moribund system.

In conclusion, the Permanent Secretariat of Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity would like to alert all its National Committees, and all the peoples of Africa and Asia to be wary of the divide and rule strategy of the mad imperialists. It calls upon its National Committees to explain widely the dangers of Western machinations to the peoples at large and place before them the correct perspective about Arab Nationalism and imperialist conspiracies.
15-10158

ON FREEDOM BATTLE OF CYPRUS

To the Permanent Secretariat of Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity has come a cry for support from a small nation struggling for freedom with deathless determination against the most cunning and crafty imperialist the world has known, namely, the British.

It is the island of Cyprus whose brave people have written many golden pages in the history of freedom battles of the world. Not so long ago the British imperialists calmed that they were in Cyprus on a "civilising mission", though the fact of the matter is that the people of the island were already highly civilised when people in Britain were in a primitive state.

The utter shamelessness and shocking hypocrisy of the so-called civilising mission of the British is clear to all in the world and, indeed, beggars description. To their long and unpardonable list of crimes in Cyprus, the heartless colonialists of Britain have now added a diabolical plan to partition the island. The hated British imperialists have succeeded in partitioning some other areas of the world

and now they are out to cut in two the body of Cyprus, even though the Greeks and Turks have lived like brothers in Cyprus and have been always happily mixed economically and socially for hundreds of years.

During World War II, more than 30,000 Cypriots joined British forces because of the promise then made to free the island and even allow union with Greece. As soon as the War was over, hypocrites and archliars as the British imperialists are, they went back on their word and struck upon the Partition Plan. The valiant struggle of the Cypriots has, however, forced them to beat a retreat, and under the latest British plan the minority of about 20 per cent is in effect granted the power of veto over the 80 per cent majority.

Very rightly the Cypriots have rejected this plan and have intensified their battle for freedom and asked for support of the Afro-Asian peoples. The Afro-Asian peoples have in fact always regarded the Cypriots as belonging to their own fraternity and their representative was present at the Cairo Conference in December last year.

The Permanent Secretariat of Afro-Asian Solidarity therefore unhesitatingly extends its fullest support to the brave people of Cyprus. It condemns the unheard of atrocities and reign of terror let loose on the tiny island by the British imperialists. It warns the British people that such actions of their rulers has already won for them the curse of millions upon millions of world humanity, and unless they rise up and prevent the diabolical, inhuman crimes of their imperialist masters, this curse of world humanity will prove very terrible for the entire British nation. Already descended from the zenith of power to its nadir, the British nation will face a fate which it cannot even imagine.

The Permanent Secretariat would like to

say that the United Nations has been on trial on the Cyprus issue for some years now and it has been found wanting. If the U.N. fails even now to curb the British imperialists in Cyprus, it will invite upon itself the distrust of world humanity and will be exposed, like the earlier League of Nations, as an imperialist tool.

The Permanent Secretariat of Afro-Asian Solidarity calls upon all its National Committees:

- TO CONDEMN BRITISH ATROCITIES IN CYPRUS,
 - TO CONDEMN THE BRITISH PLAN OF PARTITION OF THE ISLAND,
 - TO CONDEMN THE LATEST BRITISH PLAN FOR CYPRUS, AND
 - TO SUPPORT THE CAUSE OF CYPRUS FREEDOM THROUGH MASS RALLIES, THE PRESS AND THE PLATFORM.
- 20-10-58

SITUATION IN UGANDA

Some days ago the Permanent Secretariat of Afro-Asian Solidarity drew public attention to the deceit and trickery of the French imperialists in Somaliland. And now have come reports of another fake and bogus election stunt being perpetrated by the British imperialists in Uganda.

In these so-called "elections" in Uganda, the British colonialists have taken good care to restrict the franchise by imposing property, income, educational and other restrictions which in effect exclude more than ninety per cent of the population from the list of voters eligible to exercise franchise.

Further, under the so-called "Constitution" in accordance with which this farce of "election" is being perpetrated, the white British Governor of the colony has been given the powers of an absolute autocrat. He can

veto anything and can even dissolve the unrepresentative assembly that is thus likely to be elected.

Furthermore, on the eve of the elections, the British imperialists have let loose a wave of persecution under which leaders of the Uganda National Congress have been detained without trial. Along with this, a campaign of intimidation and terror has been launched throughout the colony.

The real and diabolical aim of the British imperialists is to create out of the purely African state of Uganda a multiracial State with the supposed object of protecting the minorities, which really are a few thousand British settlers and Indians. This diabolical plan, quite consistent with British imperialist trickery of divide and rule, is really a new device to perpetuate colonial rule at a time when the heroic freedom struggle of the Ugandans has defeated the plan of an East African Federation through which the British rulers designed to spread white supremacy from South Africa throughout Rhodesia to Kenya and East Africa as a whole.

Led by the Uganda National Congress, the Ugandans have been waging their struggle for freedom ever since the end of World War II. The imperialists resorted to worst possible repressions but failed to curb the heroic Ugandans. In 1952, they were forced to abandon the idea of East African Federation and promised in 1955 to grant self-rule in 1958. The present plan of creating a multiracial state out of a pure African country is in reality the imperialist way of fulfilling a pledge

Imperialist pledges are not worth the paper on which they are written. The Permanent Secretariat of Afro-Asian Solidarity demands that the right of Ugandans to self-rule be forthwith recognised. It appeals to the U.N. Secretary-General to place the case of Uganda before the United Nations and calls upon the Afro-Asian representatives in the U.N. to support the cause of Uganda's freedom. It also calls upon all National Solidarity Committees to extend their support to the Ugandan people.

22-10-1958

Second Session Of The Afro-Asian Legal Consultative Committee

(From a Correspondent)

THE Afro-Asian Legal Consultative Committee held its Second Session in the building of the National Assembly at Cairo from the 1st to the 13th October, 1958.

Delegations from Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Japan, Sudan and the United Arab Republic participated in the Session. There were also observers from Cambodia, Philippines, Thailand and the League of Arab States.

The Agenda for the meeting included inter-alia the following:—

- I — (1) Admission of new members in the Committee and observers of its Session.
- (2) Consideration of a Draft Convention on Immunities and Privileges of the Committee.
- II — Matters relating to the work of the International Law Commission:

- (1) Review of the work done by the International Law Commission at its 9th and the 10th Sessions with particular reference to the interests of the Afro-Asian countries.

III — Legal problems referred by the Governments of the participating countries :

(1) *Diplomatic Immunities* :

Consideration of the Report prepared by the Member for Japan as Rapporteur, and finalisation of the Committee's recommendations on the subject, if possible.

(2) *Principles of Extradition* :

Further discussion in the points enumerated in the Indian Memorandum presented at the First Session.

(3) *Immunity of States in Respect of Commercial Transactions* :

Further discussions of the subject particularly with reference to the views of Iraq and the U.A.R.

(4) *Dual Citizenship* :

Further consideration of the subject particularly with regard to the views of India, Ceylon, Iraq and the U.A.R.

(5) *Status of Aliens* :

IV — LEGAL MATTERS OF COMMON CONCERN :

(1) *Recognition of Foreign Decrees in Matrimonial Matters* :

Consideration of the report presented by the Rapporteur.

(2) *Free Legal Aid* :

Consideration of the report presented by the Rapporteur.

The Committees adopted, among others, the following resolutions :

- I — It decided to adopt the report of the sub-committee of Rapporteurs on the question of diplomatic immunities

and privileges and the Draft Convention prepared by it and to present the same to the Governments of the participating countries for their comments.

- II — It decided to adopt the report of the Sub-Committee of Rapporteurs relating to the immunity of states in respect of commercial transactions and communicate the same to the participating countries for their consideration and comments.

- III — It decided to postpone the submission of its final report on Extradition until the next session.

- IV — It decided to direct the Secretariat to prepare a report on the subject of the status of Aliens in the light of the discussions held during this session for consideration at the third session of the committee. It also decided to appoint the delegation of the U.A.R. to act as Rapporteurs on this subject.

- V — It decided to study the work done by the International Law Commission on arbitral procedure and to take up the question at its next session and direct the Secretariat to prepare a questionnaire and a list of topics for discussion on the subject at its third session.

- VI — It decided to postpone consideration of the Rapporteur's report on the question of the recognition of foreign decrees in matrimonial matters until the next session.

- VII — It decided that the delegation of Ceylon would continue to act as Rapporteur on the questions of Free Legal Aid.

- VIII — It decided to accept the offer of the Government of Ceylon to act as hosts and to hold a meeting in Colombo in November 1959.

Rally Behind The Freedom Fighters of Algeria

Afro-Asian Permanent Secretariat's Clarion Call

The Permanent Secretariat addressed the following letter to all National Solidarity Committees on De Gaulle's "referendum" in Algeria :

The march of the peoples of Africa to freedom is not easy. They have to pay for every step by great sacrifices. The imperialists have not given up the methods of armed reprisals against the peoples who rose against unbearable political and economic oppression. The huge French army equipped with American arms has been waging for four years a relentless colonial war against the Algerian community and committing outrages in regions of Tunisia and Morocco. The imperialists are trying to suppress the liberation struggle of the peoples of Kenya and the Kameruns by brutal terror.

At present no one can change the inevitable process. More than 200 millions of Africans, who till recently had been in the position of slaves, are now turning into an active force in the progressive world.

During the last years in particular the peoples of the French possessions have resolutely demanded the liquidation of the colonial nature of their relations with France. As a result of stubborn struggles, the peoples of Indo-China, Tunisia, and Morocco have achieved their national independence. The Algerian People are courageously fighting for their legitimate rights to self-determination and freedom.

The French authorities are trying in the near future, namely on the 28th September, to impose on the Algerian people a so-called referendum on the question of a new French Constitution with the purpose of misleading world public opinion and of annexing Algeria to France.

But the Algerian people do not want to participate in this so-called referendum and are struggling against colonialists to liberate their country. They declare that Algeria is not a French territory. No one can pretend to ignore the colonial war which France is waging to support her policy in Algeria. Though this

so-called referendum which is being imposed on the Algerian people is absolutely unlawful, the French authorities plan to carry it out under the protection of the French armed forces. It is well known that in Algeria at present there are 800,000 French soldiers and policemen and two-thirds of the French Air Force, and half of the French navy is stationed near the Algerian Coast.

The Algerian people, in accordance with the principles of U.N. charter, have full right to self-determination. France has violated these principles, and the decisions adopted by the U.N. General Assembly and by the conferences of Bandung, Cairo and Accra on the Algerian problem.

The attempt by France to annex Algeria is a direct threat to world peace and security.

The Permanent Secretariat of Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity considers that the "referendum" which is being imposed on the people of Algeria and which will be conducted in an atmosphere of terror, repression and colonial war, and in the presence of huge numbers of French troops of occupation is illegal and constitutes a flagrant violation of the right of the Algerian people to self-determination.

The Secretariat calls upon all National Committees of Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity to conduct in their countries without any loss of time a broad campaign of protests against the so-called referendum — this new crime being perpetrated by the French imperialists in Algeria.

Brethren,

We sincerely hope that you will give every moral and political support to the Algerian People in their gallant struggle to attain freedom and national independence.

13-9-58
PERMANENT SECRETARIATS'
CABLE TO U.N. SECRETARY-GENERAL
SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE UNITED
NATIONS,

Permanent Secretariat of the Afro-Asian Solidarity strongly condemns the so-called

referendum proposed by the French Government in Algeria.

This so called referendum, planned to be conducted in atmosphere of colonial war, repression and terror in presence of 800,000, strong army of occupation is absolutely unlawful and a brutal mockery on the Algerian people.

The proposed referendum is contradictory

to decisions adopted by the General Assembly of U.N. by Conferences of Bandung, Cairo and Accra on the Algerian question.

In this connection the Permanent Secretariat resolutely demands that unlawful actions of the French Government should be condemned by the United Nations.

SECRETARY-GENERAL

13-9-58

SUPPORT THE NEW GOVERNMENT OF ALGERIA APPEAL BY THE PERMANENT SECRETARIAT TO THE PEOPLES OF ASIA & AFRICA

On Friday, September, 1958, when the Free Government of Algeria was proclaimed in Cairo, the Permanent Secretariat issued the following statement :

"On January first this year we met in Cairo to lay the foundations on which we can build the solidarity of peoples of Asia and Africa for peace, freedom and equality. We met in great force to shake off the shackles of imperialism and to defend independence of those peoples who were able to win their freedom from foreign domination and to regain the freedom of those who continued to suffer under its yoke.

"From among those who thus assembled and who were bearing the yoke of imperialism and subjected to a war of genocide, we heard the voice of one which was so dear to us, revealing the barbarism of French Imperialism and its brutality. This was the voice of the great Algerian people who were struggling for their freedom and fighting for their very existence.

"The Peoples of Asia and Africa stood solidly behind the struggling people of Algeria, assisting them in their fight for freedom. The Cairo Conference regarded the war forced on the Algerian peoples as a threat to the security of the African peoples and international peace. It also condemned the colonial war waged in Algeria and the atrocities committed by the French imperialist forces against the Algerian people who were fighting for their independence. It affirmed its support to the heroic struggle of the Algerian people and demanded the recognition of the independence of Algeria. Further, it demanded that

negotiation must be started immediately between the French Government and the National Liberation Front which represents the Algerian people, the immediate release of the five leaders and all other Algerian nationalists who were in jail and concentration camps.

"To-day the struggling Algerian people have announced the establishment of the first Free Algerian Government. The people of Asia and Africa extend their full support and complete backing to this new Government, and declare that its establishment is an affirmation of the Cairo resolution which was passed unanimously with a view to help the Algerian people to secure their independence.

"It is time that the French imperialists bow to the inevitable course of history and withdraw forthwith 800,000 strong occupation troops from Algeria.

"The Permanent Secretariat of Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity calls upon the peoples of Asia and Africa to take an active stand for the support of this free new government and demand from their respective governments the immediate recognition of this new regime which represents the real Algerian people. It calls upon them to use their influence in the international sphere to secure the recognition of other countries for this legitimate government of Algeria.

"The establishment of this free government is yet another success for the free peoples and a heavy blow against imperialism. The independence of this struggling people is an essential condition for security in Africa, indeed in the whole world".

Israel-An Imperialist Conspiracy Against Arab Nationalism

Kamal Bahaa El-Din

(Controller-General, Afro-Asian Permanent Headquarters)

Arab Nationalism, needless to say, is and has been since time immemorial a foregone conclusion. The Arab Nation has its origin in the East and in the Arab West alike. Its sons have but one language, one history, one tradition and a temperament common to all. They have been and shall always be one national entity, solidly united and closely cooperating together for their progressive advancement and for safeguarding their freedom and integrity. Its history, both past and present, bears witness to the humanitarian aspect of its character and to the high ideals it has always adhered to for the progress and welfare of humanity, and also for its own strength and integrity.

Imperialists prospered on the wreck of the Arab homelands

Then the imperialists appeared on the scene and they envied the Arabs, their high position and the prosperity they enjoyed. They saw how its territories abounded with wealth. They at once concentrated their energy on divesting the Arab Home of its power and deviated them from their normal path, until the edifice of peace which they built during many centuries crumbled down. The Arab East has for a long spell of time been dominated by imperialism and all its evils. Arabs were divested of the means of gaining their daily bread, and the imperialist agents were always ready to impress upon the simple Arab peoples that they alone were capable of looking after them and provide for them materially, and morally protect and defend them. They divided the Arab homeland into petty states in order that the imperialists could live on the sweat

of the Arabs, enjoy their wealth, and usurp their homelands. Thus, imperialism prospered on the wreck of the Arab homeland, and enjoyed its wealth without restraint.

The mean and vile aspects of the foreign coloniser's abominable nature

This is exactly the crime which the foreign colonizer has committed against the Arab homeland and infested it with every mean and vile aspect of his own abominable nature, in order to lead the Arabs to poverty and moral deterioration, sowing among its population the seeds of misery, disease and ignorance in order to break its backbone and to ensure the continuity of his domination.

Arab sons stand today as a solid monolithic phalanx

Yet, the prolific Arab nation, despite all the machinations of imperialism, has proved that it is still conscious of its latent power, that it still possesses the spirit to continue her heroic struggle for the defence of its dear Arab homelands, and that it will soon march en masse against the imperialists and the agents of evil, crush them and recover its freedom and renew its glorious traditions once more.

The 1952 Revolution of Egypt, and her union with Syria, which resulted in the birth of the United Arab Republic, and the recent Iraqi Revolution are but positive facts of the awakening of Arab consciousness, and the thundering voice of the Arab homeland, with all its Arab sons standing as a solid monolithic phalanx in the face of the tyrannical coloniser.

Israel a creation of Imperialism to crush Arab Nationalism

It is a conspicuous phenomenon which the tyrants are witnessing with flabbergasted eyes and are being terrified of its consequences. This is the main reason for their resorting to the sterile, old methods of treachery and machiavellian knavery in an attempt to crush Arab nationalism, by creating the state of Israel in the Arab East in order to be a tool for the realization of their political and economic greed. The creation of this alien state within Arab territory is in itself a definite proof of the evil intentions which imperialism fosters against Arab nationalism.

Fresh supply of arms to Israel

This act of creating the state of Israel is a proof of the barbarity of the imperialists, and is also a definite evidence that we have returned to the age of piracy. This is clear from the fact that this newly created alien state has banished the original inhabitants of Palestine from their homes, and usurped their property and wealth with the help of the imperialists by taking recourse to the most immoral, mean and barbarous methods.

Until this very day, the imperialist powers, have not ceased to provide their Israeli satellite with masses of weapons, in order to perpetrate attacks against the neighbouring Arab countries every now and then. Relying thus on the assistance of the imperialist states, Israel seeks to prevent the Arabs from stabilizing themselves.

When the imperialists became convinced that the movement for liberation, which has become a pathword among the Arab peoples, is expanding, and that the victories achieved by the Arabs through their successful revolutions against imperialism and its agents threaten to overthrow them, they felt that the old methods of using armed forces for the occupation of Arab countries no longer serve their purpose. And so they have concentrated on strengthening Israel, the veritable thorn in the side of the Arab homeland, and on supply-

ing it with an abundance of weapons so that it may be strong enough to oppose Arab Nationalism, and become a tool in the hands of imperialism, serving its purpose and its greed in this region.

Arabs Stand United As one Man

But this policy shall lead, undoubtedly, to the acceleration of Arab nationalism, to the strengthening of the national feeling and spirit among the nations of this territory and shall inevitably bring about the downfall of imperialism, its influence and interests in that region.

Today, the Arab nation stands united as one man to defend itself against this imperialistic danger. The pre-requisites of Arab Nationalism have been completed, and the aim has been unified and defined. It has become as clear as daylight. It is the unification of the whole of the Arab Nation, right from the extremity of the Persian Gulf to the Atlantic. The colonizer feels that he has missed the boat, and that this new Arab consciousness has exasperated him to the verge of madness. He, therefore, is bent upon strengthening Israel by all means and provide her by all kinds of devastating weapons. Latest news from England confirm that Israel has been provided by English submarines, in order that as the obedient satellite of imperialism it may carry out its mean and vile aims.

The Arabs are unconquerable: Imperialists on the run

But today differs from yesterday. Today all the Arab nations stand united against imperialism and its evils. Today, Arab nationalism has become a positive fact which no one can deny. It is the towering giant escaping from the bottle, terrifying the powers of evil, and instilling the fear of God in the hearts of the imperialists. It is the indomitable will of all the Arab peoples who are closely linked together by ties of a single common language, a single common culture, and close relationship.

Reports from National Solidarity Committees.**AFRO-ASIAN WORLD MOBILISED TO SUPPORT THE ARAB AND CHINESE BRETHRN**

(The statements issued by the Permanent Secretariat of Afro-Asian Solidarity have been receiving the most enthusiastic response throughout the vast Afro-Asian world of 1600 millions people. It is only natural, since the Permanent Secretariat voices the indomitable will to freedom of the Afro-Asian Peoples, which no power, howsoever brutal, vile and inhuman, can hold in check. Following the appeals of the Permanent Secretariat, every National Committee went into action, and we have received many reports from all over. We compile some of them below.)
(Editor)

China

The Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity issued the following statement on September 23, 1958, on the situation in Taiwan Straits:

"The Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity warmly supports the statement of Foreign Minister Chen Yi on September 20, 1958, in refutation of the statement by Dulles and supports the second warning to Eisenhower by Khrushchov, Chairman of the Council of the Ministers of the Soviet Union on September 19, 1958.

"Since ancient times, Taiwan has always been Chinese territory. The Chinese people must recover such coastal islands as Quemoy and Matsu and liberate Taiwan in order to safeguard the sovereignty and territorial integrity of our country. This is absolutely Chinese people's internal affair. But the United States has invaded and occupied the Chinese territory of Taiwan and recently concentrated a large number of armed forces in the Taiwan Strait area, repeatedly intruded China's territorial air and waters, carried out frenzied military provocations and war threats against the Peoples' Republic of China. Such actions of the United States are not only aggression and

provocations against China but also constitute an open challenge to the Bandung spirit and seriously threaten peace in Asia and the world.

"The U.S. imperialists have repeatedly created tensions and intensified their aggressive activities in Asia and Africa. The U.S. imperialists have obstructed by all means the peaceful reunification of Korea and Vietnam, openly supported the rebels in their subversive activities against the Indonesian Republic, interfered with armed force in the internal affairs of Lebanon, deliberately postponed the withdrawal of their aggressive forces from the Lebanon and the Middle East and threatened the security of the Iraqi Republic. Now the U.S. imperialists are carrying out aggression and provocations against China in the Taiwan Straits area. The barbarous aggression of the United States against the people of China and other countries of Asia and Africa has proved them to be the mortal enemy of the Chinese people and the common and most ferocious enemy of the peoples of Asia and Africa.

"The Chinese people are peace-loving, but we are never afraid of war and shall never submit to the imperialist's war threats. If the imperialists should dare to impose war on us, the strong and united six hundred million

Chinese people will spare no sacrifice and will fight to the end for defending our national sovereignty and territorial integrity and for defending peace in Asia and the world. We are convinced that with the aid of the Socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, and with the sympathy and support of the peoples of Asia and Africa and all the peace-loving peoples of the world, we shall most certainly win the final victory in a just war against aggression, for defending our motherland and for defending peace in Asia, Africa and the world".

India

STATEMENT ON THE SITUATION IN WEST ASIA

The Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity issued the following statement to the Press on 6-9-58 on the situation in West Asia.

"The Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity welcomes the united resolution of the Arab countries in the U.N.O., which virtually averted a world conflagration and opened up perspective for the peaceful solution of West Asia crisis.

"The Association calls upon the U.S. and British forces in Lebanon and Jordan to withdraw without delay and thus help implement the unanimous U.N. resolution on West Asia.

"The Association is gratified at the Prime Minister Designate of Lebanon calling for the withdrawal of U.S. troops, which gives an assurance that the new Government will pursue an independent and neutral policy and actively contribute to the growing nationalism and unity of the Arab people.

"The Association once again greets the people of the Arab countries and pledges its continued support for their just aspiration for national sovereignty and unity of their homelands".

STATEMENT ON THE FAR EAST SITUATION

The Indian Association for Afro-Asian

Solidarity issued the following statement to the Press on 6-9-58 on the situation in the Far East :

"The Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity views with alarm the growing tension in the Far East caused by the unparalleled concentration of U.S. military, naval and air forces, including nuclear weapons, in the territorial waters of China and in the Chinese territory of Taiwan.

"The Association once again firmly asserts that Taiwan and the off-shore islands belong to the People's Republic of China and we strongly condemn the continued interference of the U.S. in the internal affairs of the Chinese people and the lawful desire of the Govt. of the Chinese Peoples Republic to integrate these territories with the mainland. We further condemn the continued use of these islands by Chiang Kai-Shek to dislocate China's peaceful sea-trade and communications and to constantly threaten the mainland of China militarily and otherwise.

"Our Association once again reiterates that there can be no solution to the Far East situation until China takes her rightful place in the U.N.O. and the U.S. stops its aggressive threats and actions in this area and its support to Chiang Kai-Shek.

"All Asia today stands with the people of China in its demand that Taiwan and the off-shore islands are a part of the Chinese territory and that no violation of its territory or waters can be tolerated. U.S. actions against China is doomed to failure as was the case in the Middle East.

"The Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity calls upon its branches to carry on a vigorous campaign for the immediate withdrawal of the U.S. Seventh Fleet and the inclusion of China in the U.N.O. so that interference in the internal affairs of China may not lead to a world conflagration and the legitimate rights of the 600 million Chinese people be recognised without delay".

PUBLIC MEETING FOR SOLIDARITY WITH CHINA

A well-attended public meeting was organised by the Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity in Delhi on Sept. 16th to protest against U.S. intervention in the Taiwan straits and for Recognition for Peoples' Republic of China by the U.N.O.

Every speaker stressed "Hands Off China" — a slogan which met with enthusiasm by the audience. The illogical stand by the U.S.A. and its policy of brinkmanship was universally condemned.

Smt. Rameshwari Nehru presided and the other speakers were Mr. M. Govinda Reddy, M.P., Prof. Hiren Mukerjee, M.P., and Dr. Gyan Chand. The following resolution was passed unanimously at the meeting :

"This meeting of the citizens of Delhi held under the auspices of the Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity views with alarm the growing danger of world war in the Far East caused by the unparalleled concentration of U.S. military, naval and air forces, including nuclear weapons, in the territorial waters of China and in the Chinese Territory of Taiwan and by the interference of the U.S. forces into the internal affairs of China.

"This meeting once again firmly asserts that Taiwan and the off-shore islands belong to the People's Republic of China and it has every right to the possession of these islands. We strongly condemn the continued interference of the U.S. in the internal affairs of the Chinese people and the lawful desire of the Govt. of the Chinese People's Republic to integrate these territories with the mainland. We further condemn the continued use of these islands by Chiang Kai-Shek to blockade and to dislocate China's peaceful sea-trade and communications and to constantly threaten the mainland of China militarily and otherwise.

"This meeting also reiterates that there can be no solution to the Far East situation until China takes her rightful place in the U.N.O. and the U.S. stops its aggressive threats and actions in this area and its support to Chiang

Kai-Shek. We demand the immediate withdrawal of the Seventh Fleet from Taiwan straits.

"Public opinion all over the world, including a number of Governments, support the people of China in their demand that Taiwan and the off-shore islands are a part of the Chinese territory and that no violation of its territory or waters can be tolerated. U.S. action against China is doomed to failure as was the case in the Middle East.

"We hope that the meeting of the Ambassadors of the U.S.A. and Peoples China in Warsaw will bear fruit and settlement will be reached on the basis of the recognition of the just rights of the Chinese people".

PUBLIC MEETING FOR SUPPORT TO ALGERIA

Mr. Cherif Guellal, Representative in India of the Algerian Front of National Liberation was the main speaker at a very well-attended gathering of prominent Delhi citizens, press and diplomats organised by the Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity on Sept. 23, 1958.

Opening the meeting, Mrs. Rameshwari Nehru welcomed the formation of the Free Algerian Government and appealed for moral and material support from the Indian people for the cause of Algeria. She said that over Rs. 10,000 has been collected in India for aid to Algeria. Mr. Cherif Guellal got a warm response by thousands of Indian people during the tour of India organised by our Committee.

Mr. Cherif Guellal made a widely appreciated speech tracing the problem of Algeria and its determination to be free.

Dr. Anup Singh thanked the speaker and reminded the audience that our duty was to give all out support to Algeria.

Among prominent members who were present apart from diplomats, were Dr. Syed Mahmud, M.P., former Minister of External Affairs, Mr. Jugal Kishore Khanna, President Delhi State Congress Committee, Mr. A. K. Gopalan, M.P., Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, M.P., Dr. Gyan Chand, Mr. M. Govinda Reddy, M.P., Mr. Trilochan Dutt, M.P., Mr. Priyam Singh

Safir, and others.

The meeting adopted the following resolution unanimously:

"This meeting of the Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity sends its greetings to the brave people of Algeria who are fighting against French colonial rule for their freedom. It calls upon the people of India to support actively the people of Algeria and to extend to them moral and material aid.

"This meeting reaffirms its stand that Algeria is no part of France and the referendum being conducted on De Gaulle's Constitution is being imposed on a people against its will.

"Our Association has repeatedly called upon the French Government to end the war against the Algerian people and to settle the question of Algeria with the Algerian Front of National Liberation on the basis of the sovereignty of Algeria and the withdrawal of French forces from Algerian territory.

"The new Government of Free Algeria has been set up by the Algerian Front of National Liberation in accordance with the recognised principle of self-determination and it alone can speak on behalf of the people of Algeria. This meeting expresses its hope that the true representatives of the people of Algeria will take their place in the U.N.O. and the peoples of the world, particularly of Asia and Africa, will recognise the new Government".

INDIA BACKS ALGERIA CAMPAIGN WITH MATERIAL AID

The Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity organised a tour of Mr. Cherif Guellal from Aug. 20 to Sept. 7. During the tour, Mr. Cherif Guellal spoke on the West Asian crisis and the question of Algeria. Everywhere a very warm reception awaited him and people donated generously to the fund of the Algeria Aid Committee. The united support for the people of Algeria was demonstrated in all places.

Mr. Cherif Guellal spent one week in the state of Tamilnad and visited Madras, Tirupur, Coimbatore, Gudiyatham, Vellore, Pondicherry,

Dindigul, Trichy, Madurai and Pernampet. The main public meetings were attended by 30,000 people in Coimbatore, 4000 in Gudiyatham, 5000 in Madurai, 6000 in Trichy and over 15000 in Pondicherry. Besides this, there were innumerable sectional meetings, receptions and press conferences.

In Pondicherry, once under French domination, Mr. Cherif Guellal felt almost as if he was among his own people sharing common experiences. The Mayor presided over the meeting.

In Madras, the main public meeting was held in the Sastri Memorial Hall and presided over by Shri A. W. Bukhari.

Collections have been started at every place, and workers and the public have given freely.

The first instalment of Rs. 2,000 is being sent to the Algeria Aid Committee. During this tour an Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee has been set up in Madras, and this Committee with the active help and cooperation of the Tamilnad Trade Union Congress organised this tour and collected the funds. Everywhere collections were made by the TUs and a wide mass mobilization took place all over the State in support of the Arab cause and Algeria.

From Tamilnad Mr. Cherif Guellal went to Bangalore on Aug. 29th and 30th. An Algeria Aid Committee was set up here under the Chairmanship of Shri K. Hanumanthaiya. The President of the Mysore Pradesh Congress Committee has written promising his active help for funds and other work in connection with aid to Algeria.

Here the programme was also very well arranged.

Mr. Cherif Guellal met the Mayor and leaders of the Congress and other political parties, Trade Unions and organisations at a reception. Various public meetings were arranged and Shri Hanumanthaiya presided.

The Committee has already collected Rs. 800 and is continuing its drive for funds.

Mr. Cherif Guellal reached Hyderabad on 1st of September. Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity had set up a Reception Committee under the Chairmanship of Prof. Haroon Khan Sherwani, M.L.C., to make arrangements for his reception. A warm reception was given to him at the aerodrome by a very representative gathering.

Mr. Guellal addressed three public meetings in Hyderabad and Secunderabad and one press conference during his stay in Hyderabad. Shri M. Narsingh Rao, Minister for Communication, presided over the public meeting held in Urdu Hall, Hyderabad. The meeting held in the Arts College Hall of the Osmania University was attended by a large section of students and professors.

About Rs. 1,500 have been collected for the Algeria Aid Fund in Nagpur. A very representative Algeria Aid Committee was set up. Among representatives of various parties and organisations in the Committee are Dr. Bhattacharya, Mr. Ghulam Dastgir Khan, Shri N. J. Nayudu, Shri A. D. Mani, Shri Bharuka and others. Shri S. M. Trivedi is Secretary.

The public meeting was presided over by the Mayor and various receptions and meetings were held in colleges and institutions. A special cultural show was organised by Smt. Salila Bhattacharya, a Dance Drama of Ramayana.

The collections in Nagpur top the collections from every province upto now. In all over Rs. 4,000 were collected, out of which after deducting expenses the Algeria Aid Committee will be sent over Rs. 3,500. Mr N. J. Nayudu has donated Rs. 1,500.

Earlier nearly Rs. 2,500 had been collected and sent to the Algeria Aid Committee by Punjab during Mr. Cherif Guellal's tour in May. Nearly, Rs. 2,000 had also been collected earlier from Delhi and other places.

RECEPTION TO H.E. MR. HASSAN JAMIL, AMBASSADOR OF IRAQ

The Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity held a Reception in Delhi for H.E. Mr. Hassan Jamil on Sept. 18th.

The gathering very warmly applauded to Mrs. Rameshwari Nehru's speech in which she told the audience of the role H.E. Mr. Hassan Jamil played in the freedom struggle of Iraq. Prominent citizens and M.P's of Delhi of different parties, including Mr. Brahm Prakash, M.P., and former Chief Minister of Delhi, also spoke welcoming the distinguished guest. H.E. Mr. Hassan Jamil gave the following speech in reply to the cordial welcome:

"People met the rising sun of 14th July 1958 in Iraq and elsewhere with the voice of one of the Iraqi revolutionary leaders from Baghdad Radio telling them that a revolution had taken place in Iraq and that the monarchy was abolished and a new Republic was declared which will be guided by the principles of the United Nations Charter and the resolutions of Bandung Conference.

"This was a great victory for the Bandung Principles and for the Afro-Asian Community and for the high principles of self-determination, and world peace and friendship among nations. It was very significant that the Bandung resolutions were upheld from the very first hours of the Iraqi revolution.

"The great importance of the Bandung Conference, in my opinion lies in the fact that it emphasizes and confirms the common bonds which link countries from Africa and Asia. The Bandung Conference also brings out the essential unity of objectives and the need for intensive cooperation among these countries. They have all suffered from colonialism, and they all seek self determination and independence and insist on their rights to shape their own policies on the basis of their vital interests and for the sake of world peace. The Bandung Conference laid down the foundation for cooperation among Afro-Asian nations to settle international disputes by peaceful means and on the basis of the merits of each case, and not on the basis of power politics and military blocs. Thus it foreshadowed an era of law, order and morality in international relations.

"We are all aware of the important role

which India played in that momentous conference. Panchshila, the five basic principles conducive to international peace were warmly accepted in Bandung where other principles were also added to it inspired by that conference which supports it and reinforces it.

"The Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Conference held in Cairo was also a great success. The new Iraqi Republican Government is guided by the resolutions adopted in that Conference. Most of the delegates to that Conference are now taking part in the Government of Iraq either as members of the Cabinet or undertaking other political duties. Indeed, all the Iraqi participants in that Conference without exception are working in one way or another in building up the new Republic.

"I carry with me a message of greetings from the Chairman and all the members of the Iraqi Delegation in that Conference to the President and members of the Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity and, to the great admiration, and respect, from the Iraqi people who have achieved their liberty and are now able to express their sentiments with no regard to military pacts.

"In conclusion I wish to express my gratitude to the Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity for affording me this opportunity to meet with you, a gesture which I take as being directed to the new Iraqi Republic from you all".

U. S. S. R.

"Our Hearts Are with You, Arab Brothers"

The following statement was issued by the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee on landing of American troops in Lebanon:

"The Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee expresses its profound indignation in connection with the brazen intervention of the U.S. troops in the Lebanon.

"The Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee declares, on behalf of all Soviet people, of its solidarity with the peoples of the Leba-

non, Iraq, Jordan and other Arab countries fighting against the intervention of American imperialism in the domestic affairs of the Arabs.

"The aggression of the imperialists, who wish to drown in blood the Arab peoples, fighting heroically for freedom and independence, has utterly shaken the Soviet people.

"The military intervention in the Lebanon and Jordan represents a desperate attempt to save the Bagdad pact, which is falling to pieces, a desire of U.S. imperialism to strangle the national liberation movement in the Near and Middle East countries.

"It is clear to all that the colonialists intend after the Lebanon to raise the sword also against the Iraq Republic.

"We brand with shame the American colonialists! The imperialists will never succeed in suppressing the will of the Iraqi people who have once and for all put an end to the hateful colonial regime.

"The attempts of the U.S. interventionists to cover up the colonial war with the UNO flag are futile. The whole world knows, and that has been openly stated by the UNO representatives, that there is civil war in the Lebanon. No one has the right to interfere in the internal affairs of that country.

"Together with all honest people in the world Soviet people resolutely declare: Hands off the Lebanon, Iraq, Jordan and other Middle East countries! We demand the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from the Lebanon and from the entire Middle East!

"Our hearts, our friendship and our love are with you, dear Arab brothers!

"Hands off the Arab East!"

Cable to U.N. Secretary-General on Middle East situation

"The factory and office workers, workers in science and culture, collective farmers and the students of the Soviet Union, unanimously condemning the Anglo-American aggression in the Lebanon and Jordan, demand the immediate withdrawal of US and British troops from

these countries and that the Arabs be given the right to resolve their own destiny.

"Hands off the Lebanon!"

"Hands off Jordan!"

"Hands off the Arab peoples!"

"We shall not leave the Arabs in the lurch", declare Soviet people today.

"Participants in the meetings, rallies and demonstrations unanimously approve of the position of the Soviet Government on the question of the events in the Near East. Soviet people consider that the proposal of the Soviet Government immediately to convoke a meeting of the heads of Governments of the USSR, the USA, India, Great Britain and France aims at the immediate elimination of the dangerous situation created in the Near and Middle East as a result of the armed intervention of the USA and Great Britain in the Lebanon and Jordan as well as the continued preparations for intervention against the young Iraq Republic. The convocation of a heads of governments conference is in the present situation the most sensible step which will help to remove the danger of war in the Near and Middle East and ensure the conditions for strengthening peace and security of the nations of the whole world.

"Soviet people clearly understand how dangerous for the destinies of all nations are the aggressive acts of the USA and Britain in the Arab East. Therefore, in their resolutions they appeal to you, and through you, to all members of the United Nations to do all in their power to enable UNO to fulfill the tasks and aims entrusted to it by the peoples. UNO must cut short the aggression of the US and Great Britain in the Arab East. UNO has no right to permit the outbreak of a new world war.

"The Soviet Peace Committee and the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, complying with the request of the participants of numerous meetings and adding their voice of protest and indignation against the intervention in the Middle East to that of all Soviet

people, sends you an incomplete list of enterprises, offices, collective farms, educational institutions and other organizations which adopted resolutions demanding the immediate withdrawal of US and British forces from the Lebanon and Jordan.

"We beg you, Mr. General Secretary, to circulate this telegram and to convey this demand of the Soviet people to all UNO member countries".

Statement of Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee demanding the release of Jordan's Patriots

"The monstrous crimes perpetrated by the ruling palace clique in Jordan, which the British occupation army is holding in power, have aroused profound indignation among all peoples of the world. Although under pressure of public opinion the life of the Jordanian patriot, Nadi es-Salti, was saved and the sentences of some other patriots mitigated, the merciless hand of the executioner still hangs over many Jordanian patriots. The military tribunals continue to meet out death sentences, accusing Jordan patriots of an "attempt on the security of the throne". On behalf of millions of Soviet people the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee demands the repeal of the death sentence on Theodore Stefan and Ahmed Ibrahim, and their immediate release. King Hussein and his British patrons want to kill Theodore Stefan and Ahmed Ibrahim.

"Jordan has been converted into an out-and-out torture-chamber. Thousands of honest Jordanians fill the prisons and concentration camps where they are tortured and killed because they demand the withdrawal of the occupation troops from their country. Egged on by his imperialist patrons, King Hussein is prepared to soak Jordan in blood to uphold the tyrannical power and to place on the Jordanian people still heavier chains of colonial enslavement.

"The police tyranny directed against the Jordanian patriots shows the true worth of the false assurances of British diplomats that they had come to Jordan as friends and saviours.

"The British imperialists will not succeed in hoodwinking anyone, in misleading world public opinion.

"The responsibility for the reign of terror and bloodshed let loose in Jordan lies, above all, with the British invaders who had come to Jordan for no other purpose than to protect with their arms the thoroughly rotten throne of their henchman, Hussein, and to strangle the growing resistance of the Jordanian people to the imperialist colonialists.

"The Soviet people who have invariably expressed their ardent sympathies for and support of the peoples of Asia and Africa, fighting courageously for their freedom and independence, resolutely demand the immediate withdrawal of US and British troops from the Lebanon and Jordan and the curbing of the criminal repressions against the Jordanian patriots.

"In the name of the Soviet people, the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee expresses its firm conviction that the voice of world public opinion will not fall on deaf ears and the Jordanian patriots will be set free at once.

"Release the Jordanian patriots!"

Hands off China

The Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee issued the following statement on the Taiwan situation:

"The aggressive acts of the US armed forces against the Chinese People's Republic have aroused profound indignation and alarm among people of good-will the world over. The provocations of the US troops and the Chiang Kai-Shek gang against People's China grow day by day. In violation of the UNO Charter US troops continue their occupation of Taiwan, Peng-hu, Lieh-tao and other Chinese islands. The Americans have concentrated since the end of the second world war an unprecedented, number of warships, aircraft and troops in the area of Taiwan Strait.

"The concentration of US forces near the Chinese borders and the unceasing provo-

cations against the People's Republic of China — the violation by US military aircraft and war vessels of the air space and territorial waters of China — all these provocative acts show that US aggressive circles have learnt nothing from the recent events in the Middle East. They are again deliberately increasing international tension, actually threatening the peace and security of all nations.

"On behalf of all Soviet people the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee declares that the Soviet people as a whole fully support the great Chinese people in their just struggle against the US and Chiang Kai-Shek provocations. The Soviet people will give every support to the fraternal people of China in their struggle against the US-Chiang Kai-Shek aggressors. The entire socialist camp, the peoples of Asia and Africa, people of good will throughout the world side with China.

"The Soviet people unanimously approve of the message which the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, N. S. Khrushchov addressed to US President Dwight Eisenhower, expressing support for the fraternal people of China and warning the United States Government that an attack on the Chinese People's Republic is an attack on the Soviet Union.

"The Soviet people resolutely demand an end to the US provocations in the Area of the Chinese island of Taiwan and Taiwan Strait.

"This is the demand of all nations!"

"Hands off China!"

Meeting held to support Algerian freedom

An enlarged meeting of the Presidium of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee was held on September 17, attended by the Committee's Presidium members, representatives of the Soviet-Arab Friendship Society, the Institute of Oriental Studies, a number of religious circles and other public representatives. The Presidium heard the report of the Committee's Executive Secretary, A. V. Sofronov, on the statement of the Permanent Secretariat of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Council in

Cairo denouncing the referendum on the draft of the new French Constitution in Algeria.

The speakers in the discussion of the statement of the Permanent Secretariat of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Council included A. A. Arzumanyan, corresponding member, USSR Academy of Sciences; Imam Hatib, member of the Holy Moslem Board, European USSR and Siberia; Kommadretin Salikhov, Moscow Mosque; Malokhat Shakhobova, teacher, Tajik University; E. M. Zhukov, Academician. S. Y. Kaftanov, Chairman, Soviet-Arab Friendship Society; M. I. Kotov, Executive Secretary, Soviet Peace Committee; Prof. I. I. Potekhin, Vice-Director, Institute of Ethnography, USSR Academy of Sciences; M. M. Ssakyay, corresponding member, USSR Academy of Sciences; Prof. I. M. Oshanin and M. A. Krutogolov, M. L.

All participating in the meeting unanimously supported the statement of the Permanent Secretariat of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Council.

The resolution adopted at the meeting reads:

"The Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee fully shares and supports the statement of the Permanent Secretariat of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Council denouncing the arbitrary decisions of French ruling circles to spread to Algeria the referendum on the draft of the new French Constitution.

"The Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee considers that in the conditions of the military occupation of Algeria, of the policy of repressions, assassinations, torture, arrests, deportations and expulsions the referendum returns cannot have legal force. The fact that all the arrangements for the referendum in Algeria have been entrusted to headquarters of the French occupation army is evidence of the brazen arbitrariness of the French colonialists.

"The UNO Charter and the Declaration on Human Rights guarantees the peoples the right of self-determination. The freedom-loving Algerian people have for many years

fought valiantly for their sacred right to be masters in their own home. Algerian soil has been flooded with the blood and tears of men and women who wish to see their country free. The struggle of the Algerian people for independence has not abated for a single moment.

"The people of Algeria did not shed their blood in order to perpetuate their enslavement at the points of the bayonets of the colonialists.

"The Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee stands resolutely for the restoration of peace in Algeria and the recognition of the right to independence of the Algerian people.

"The Soviet people know well that the people of France, all the peace-loving forces in the country, oppose the actions of the French colonialists in Algeria. Soviet people are confident that the French people will stop the arbitrariness and violence of the colonialists in Algeria.

"The Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee adds its voice of protest to that of the world public demanding the satisfaction of the lawful rights of the freedom-loving Algerian people."

FREEDOM-LOVING PEOPLE OF ALGERIA WILL TRIUMPH

The following Statement was issued by Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee on the proclamation of the Free Government of Algeria:

"The Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee welcomes the proclamation of the Algerian Republic and the formation of the first free government of this Republic.

"The proclamation of the Algerian Republic, as pointed out in the Appeal of the Permanent Secretariat of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Council, is a confirmation of the decisions of the historical Cairo Conference, which, on behalf of the peoples of the two great continents, demanded the immediate recognition of the right of the Algerian people to self-determination and the formation of a free, independent state.

"A new bright page in the selfless struggle of the heroic Algerian people for freedom and independence has opened with the birth of the Algerian Republic.

"Vain are the attempts of the French colonialists, who, referring to the "referendum results" in Algeria, try to mislead world public opinion. Every unbiased person will see that the referendum held in the conditions of the military occupation of the country is void of legal force. No one doubts the fact that the results of the "referendum" in Algeria do not in any way express the will of the freedom-loving Algerian people. If, during the so called referendum, 97% of the Algerians "voted" for the perpetuation of slavery by affiliating Algeria with France; then against whom do the colonialists intend to unleash another bloody war of annihilation?

"Today the demand to put an end to the dirty war of the French colonialists against the freedom-loving Algerian people rings stronger than ever throughout the world.

"All friends of peace and people of good will wholeheartedly support the Algerian Republic and wish it with all their hearts to bring the national liberation struggle of the Algerian people to final victory.

"The long-suffering people of Algeria have, with the blood of their best sons and daughters, won the right to a sovereign independent state.

"Let those who, arms in hand, have broken into another's home, who sow death and reduce to ashes Algerian towns and villages know that colonialism is doomed, that the peoples are fully determined to put an end to it.

"The proclamation of the Algerian Republic and the formation of a free government of this Republic, being an expression of the cherished thoughts, hopes and the will of the Algerian people, proves convincingly that the French colonialists will not succeed in throwing the chains of slavery and oppression over the Algerians either by force of arms or by the so-called constitutional means.

"The birth of the Algerian Republic is a matter of great historical significance, the logical continuation, in the new conditions, of the national liberation struggle of the Algerian people.

"The Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee supports the young Algerian Republic and its first free government in the fight against the colonialists, for completely clearing Algerian territory of the occupation troops.

"The sympathies of the Soviet people have always been with the fighting Algerian people.

"At numerous meetings and rallies Soviet people resolutely voice support for the young Algerian Republic, their solidarity with the just struggle of the Algerian people.

"The Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee is confident that the Algerian Republic, headed by its first free government, will, with the active support of all the peace-loving forces, achieve final victory over the foreign invaders."

Korea

The Korean Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity adopted the following resolution on the Middle East situation at an enlarged meeting:

"The grave situation being created in the Near and Middle East by the armed aggression of the U.S.-British imperialists is rousing today the apprehension of all people who love peace.

"It is the unanimous desire and demand of the entire world people to curb the imperialist aggression in the Lebanon and Jordan and to restore peace in this area. The American and British imperialists are gravely endangering peace and the security of the whole world by refusing the proposal of the Soviet Union on the convocation of a conference of government Heads of Five Powers which the people of the entire world demand as one and by further aggravating the situation in the Near and Middle East area through

the reinforcement of their military personnel and war equipment and material in this area.

"Under such circumstances, the Government of the Soviet Union proposed to convene an emergency special session of the U.N. General Assembly for the discussion of the question of making the U.S. and British aggressive forces withdraw from Lebanon and Jordan.

"The Korean people warmly approve and support this measure of the Soviet Union as one which opens up new prospects for the peaceful settlement of the Near and Middle East question.

"The current emergency special session of the U.N. General Assembly must immediately take measures, in conformity with the unanimous demand and wish of the entire people of the world, for bringing to a halt the U.S.-British imperialists aggression in the Near and Middle East and for restoring peace in this area.

"However, the U.S. and British imperialists are brazenly describing the aggressive acts they are committing in the Near and Middle East as if they were prompted by a certain "indirect aggression", which does not exist.

"Such trickery of theirs is not a new one.

"They are occupying the Southern part of our country by armed force and running wild in introducing various new types of weapons including atomic into South Korea and setting up an atomic and guided missile base there in flagrant violation of the Korean Armistice Agreement.

"Just as the Korean question cannot be solved by peaceful means without the withdrawal of the U.S. imperialist aggressive army from Korea, peace and security in the Near and Middle East cannot be ensured unless the U.S. and British aggressive armies pull out of the Lebanon and Jordan.

"The Korean people strongly demand the U.S.-British aggressive armies to withdraw from the Lebanon and Jordan.

"We fervently support and encourage the

people of the Arab countries in their struggle for the withdrawal of the U.S. and British aggressive armies and for their freedom and national independence.

"Today no force on earth can block the current of the times in which the colonial system is rapidly collapsing in the Asian and African area.

"We strongly demand that at the current emergency special session of the U.N. General Assembly, the U.N. member nations, proceeding from the lofty mission assigned to them, take effective measures for the withdrawal of the U.S. and British aggressive armies from the Lebanon and Jordan and check the intervention of the colonialists in the internal affairs of the Arab countries.

"Today the powerful peace forces headed by the Soviet Union are decisively prevailing over the imperialist war forces. Should the U.S. and British imperialists continue their bankrupt military adventure, disregarding the voice of the world people, they will not be able to escape the severe punishment of the people of the whole world."

Indonesia

The statement of Indonesian Peace Committee on Taiwan situation is given below:

"The question of Taiwan was exclusively an internal one of the People's Republic of China, it was conflict resulting in year's long civil war among the Chinese.

"Basing on the principle of peaceful co-existence and on the principle of mutually respecting the integrity and sovereignty of countries as had been decided in the Asian-African Conference in Bandung, that not one country had the right to interfere in the People's Chinese internal affairs.

"American intervention in the Chinese internal dispute, which had gone on for years, and which had caused many tensions in various countries such as Burma and Indonesia, had now reached a stage which was endangering world peace.

"In such circumstances as at present the Soviet Union was bound to agreement of mutual assistance and friendly relations with the People's Republic of China. Such was also the case with other countries, who kept friendly relations with China. It was therefore logical that these countries would not stand aloof on facing such dangerous military adventures.

"The Indonesian Peace Committee then for the sake of avoiding dangerous tensions and of preventing the outbreak of another world war demanded that the USA withdraw its troops from Taiwan and other Chinese islands and also demanded that the USA respect the 12 mile territorial waters line of the People's Republic of China, in order to prevent war between the two nations.

"The Indonesian Peace Committee appeal to all the people and the government of Indonesia to curse the intervention of the USA and declare solidly that the question of Taiwan is the internal problem of China which will be finished by the Chinese themselves".

INDONESIAN Religious leader denounces U.S. aggression in Taiwan :

An Indonesian Moslem leader denounced United States' intervention in the Chinese Formosa strait affair and demanded the immediate withdrawal of American troops and military equipment from Taiwan and the Chinese off-shore islands.

Harsono Tjokroaminoto, leading member of the Moslem political association P.S.I.I. and Chairman of the A.A. People Solidarity Council in Indonesia, declared that China's mainland and off-shore islands like Quemoy and Formosa formed one entity and the peoples there one nation. The problem regarding Taiwan and Quemoy (where armed skirmishes are taking place between Chinese People's Republic and Kuomintang forces) are nothing but a sequel of the Chinese Peoples' resolution to determine its own fate and Governmental system.

For the reasons, Tjokroaminoto said, any foreign interference — in this case by the United States — is unjustifiable.

Vietnam

Statement issued by the political parties and organizations of the Vietnam peoples in protest against the armed intervention of American imperialism in Lebanon and other Arab countries :

"On the 15th of July 1958 American Imperialist troops landed on Lebanese soil and opened fire on its citizens. The British on their part dropped their troops from the air by means of parachutes on Jordanian territory during the morning of July 17, 1958. In an attempt to justify their armed intervention in Lebanon the American government advanced the pretext of protecting the lives of American residing in Lebanon and of safeguarding the sovereignty and independence of that country. Meanwhile no one has been dupe enough to believe in such vile arguments. The truth of the matter is that in face of the just struggle of the Lebanese people against an unpopular government serving nought else save the interest of the imperialist elements, and in face of the grand and glorious victory of the Iraqi people who installed a republican government in their country very much devoted to the safety of its sovereign rights and national independence, then again in face of the expanding movement of the Arab peoples who are opposed to the Baghdad bloc and the Eisenhower-Dulles Doctrine, the American imperialists and their satellites were seized by panic and committed the insane act of intervening militarily in Lebanon and in other countries of both the Middle and Near East with the view of protecting their unjust and illicit interests represented by the petrol fields and of maintaining their fertile rapidly disappearing colonial domination.

"The aggressive act of American imperialists and their gang shall meet with a shameful defeat, as it was the case in Korea, in Vietnam, in Egypt and in Syria".

DE GAULLE'S DUPLICITY IN AFRICA

The Hoax of the French 'Referendum' STATEMENT OF THE PERMANENT SECRETARIAT ON POLITICAL SITUATION IN AFRICA BEFORE THE FRENCH "REFERENDUM"

(1) Africa strongly aspires to independence and unity :

Ever since the Algerian military coup of May 13, 1958, Africa has reaffirmed its will and determination for independence and unity. This is apparent not only in Algeria and the Kamerun where fighters for freedom continue heroically their struggle against the reinforced armies of De Gaulle, but the whole of Black Africa and Madagascar.

Since May 15, Committees for the Defence of Democratic Liberties have been formed all through the continent. At the same time, definite anti-De Gaulle stands have been taken in every part of Africa. The African Independence Party for instance launched an appeal warning populations that "a serious danger is threatening the liberation prospect of Black Africa under French domination, as Fascism is restored with its spirit of reconquest and the terror it generates".

On the other hand, the Constitutive Congress of the African Regroupment Party, assembled in Cononou in July, with the participation of all Black Africa under French domination, unanimously adopted the following resolution :

"The Congress recommends the creation of a solid and progressive African community, with every possibility to co-operate in the political field with any other community, in the framework of liberty and equality : it urges France and its people to contribute in facilitating the early reunion of Black African Constituent Assemblies, it assumes the countersign of immediate independence and decides to take all necessary measures to call out the African masses under the banner of this coun-

tersign and to transform this will for independence into concrete facts.

"These demands for unity and independence are also expressed by all other organizations : cultural, labour, students, etc. The powerful Black Africa Student's Federation in France has described De Gaulle as "the man who rejects continuously the colonised people's claims for independence". The UOTAN, the great head syndicate that unites more than 90% of workers in Black Africa under French domination has declared :

"The establishment of new relations between France and Black Africa will have to be carried out, not on the basis of a granted charter, not even through a referendum including the Metropolis and the Overseas territories, but on the basis of a free discussion between the French representatives, on one hand, and the African representatives, on the other hand, in order to reach a conclusion preserving the indisputable rights of the African populations to independence".

Therefore, there exists now in Africa a powerful stream in favour of Unity and Independence. Its power was displayed during the constitutional tour of De Gaulle. Everywhere, nationalist leaders asked that the Constitution be amended to recognize the African peoples' rights to independence. The crowds, mainly in Dakar, have demonstrated to support this idea.

(II) For the following reasons De Gaulle's referendum is an obstacle to this popular stream :

1. It is a French referendum, and we all know that a people that does not entirely govern itself cannot link its fate to the destiny of a foreign nation.

2. We also know that a popular consultation organized only by the colonial powers is never a democratic one. We state as an example the following maxim: "The Algerian-like elections" which proves that gerrymanded elections practised by imperialists, are of universal reputation.
3. De Gaulle's Government is already taking legal actions against African patriots who called for independence, during his stop-over in Dakar.
4. The fact that he (De Gaulle) is trying to impose this referendum upon Algeria; also its consequences in the Kamerun — a country in a state of war — while the French Constitution declares that every constitutional decision taken while the country is occupied is null and void.
5. The Constitution they are trying to impose upon the African peoples aims at perpetuating their domination and exploitation.
6. It is the President of the French Republic and the French imperialists who possess all the power, not only in the Republic, but also in the so-called "French-African Community" (arts. 78, 80 and 83 of the draft constitution).
7. The new constitution is opposed to the granting of independence to the African territories since, such a decision could not take effect before being approved by French authorities. Now, imperialists are too much interested in the human and natural wealths of Africa, to accept willingly to loose them.
8. For the same reason, the new constitution opposes itself to African unity, for, "the status, extent, eventual regroupment, and organisation of the overseas territories" depend entirely upon the laws of the Republic. Moreover, their organisation being defined and modified by the French Law (art. 74), these territories risk to be par-

celled out like Algeria and the Sahara. French imperialists dream in particular to annex the whole Sahara-Mauritania region, in order to be able to protect it more efficiently against Arab and African nationalism and against the rival covetousness of other imperialists.

In the light of this, and :

- Considering that every people has an undisputable right to organize itself into an independent and sovereign State ;
- Considering that a people that is not entirely self-government cannot possibly link its fate to the destiny of another nation ;
- Considering as contradictory to this double-objective contained in the United Nations Charter.
 - The colonial wars in Algeria, in the Kameruns and in other French colonies.
 - The French Government decision to associate the populations of Algeria, Black Africa and Madagascar to the De Gaulle Referendum,

The Permanent Secretariat for Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity :

- (1) Condemns any more to associate the peoples of Africa and Madagascar to the French referendum, as opposed to the will of independence and unity expressed by these peoples ;
- (2) Urges the French Government to enter into immediate negotiations with the Algerian National Liberation Front, on the basis of full independence for Algeria ;
- (3) Also urges the French and British governments to open immediate negotiations with the U.P.C. (Union of the Populations of the Kameruns) for Reunification and Independence of the Kamerun ;
- (4) Suggests to the United Nations Visiting Mission, expected soon in the

Kamerun, to make all efforts in order to receive all petitions and all petitioners, in private, and avoid to meet them in the presence of officials, in the very spirit of the U.N.'s Charter.

13-9-58.

REIGN OF TERROR IN MADAGASCAR ON EVE OF "REFERENDUM"

The following communication received at the Permanent Secretariat from the Congress of Independence of Madagascar describes the situation in the area on the eve of the French "referendum" :

On September 18, 1958, two delegates of the "Permanent Delegation of the Congress of Independence of Madagascar", Messrs. Rakotomanga Eloi and Jorondrazana, in charge of propaganda in the Realanana District (Province of Majunga), went to Mangindrano to hold an electoral conference. As they were addressing the crowds, instigators started to beat them with bludgeons. Mr. Rakotomanga Eloi, badly hurt, was transported to Majunga to receive the necessary medical assistance.

On September 13, 1958, in Bolampona, Andapa District (Province of Diego-Suarez), Mr. Rabearise, who dared to contradict members of the Social Democrat Party, during one of their informal meetings, was slapped on the face and beaten by one of the speakers, Belazaina. On the same day, in the village of Amba Amanasy I, canton of Marovato (Andapa District) citizen Tsarasidy and members of the Social Democrat Party destroyed the huts of Messrs. Randriambololona and Rakotozafy Thomas.

On September 20, 1958, Mr. Randrianiaina, who lived in Faratsiho (Antsirabe District, Province of Tananarive), and who is mandatory for the "Permanent Delegation" was caught in the street by young men from Antsirabe, distributing pamphlets in favour of the De Gaulle Constitution. They asked him what he thought of the Constitution, and having replied that he was against it, Mr. Randrianiaina was violently beaten by the mob which threatened to set fire to his house in no time. Mr. Randrianiaina filed a complaint at the Gendarmerie of Faratsiho.

During the night of the 20 to the 21st September, "unidentified" elements set fire to a garage belonging to Mr. Saka Pierre, member of the Provincial Council of Tamotabe and mandatory for the "Permanent Delegation". The fire destroyed two cars.

These facts, cited from many similar others, give a clear picture of the reign of terror that has been instituted throughout the island on the eve of the "Referendum"

Moreover, we wish to emphasize that during the different conferences held by our propaganda agents in favour of a "NO", instigators went on fomenting troubles and threatening that a "NO" vote would mean a recurrence of the events of 1947-48.

All these acts of vandalism and violence are well known to all government officials. They are kept informed of their occurrence by our representatives, and sometimes they witness for themselves the brutal treatment inflicted by "Yes" supporters. However, we have not yet recorded any reaction from their part.

In the presence of these facts, in addition to many others, we cannot but reserve our opinion as to the fairness and incorruption of the referendum due to take place on the 28th September 1958.

ON SITUATION IN FRENCH SOMALILAND STATEMENT OF PERMANENT SECT.

The Permanent Secretariat of Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity wishes to draw the attention of world opinion to the hypocrisy of the so-called French Referendum in what is known as French Somaliland.

Behind a cryptic news item in the daily press a few days ago announcing the dismissal by the French Governor of Prime Minister M. Mahmoud Harbi of French Somaliland lies a tale of deceit and trickery in which the imperialist colonialists are so adept.

The real and effective truth is that the people of French Somaliland rejected De Gaulle's fake constitution by an overwhelming majority of 80 per cent. The strange mathematics of the French imperialists, however,

told the world that the freedom loving Somalis have voted for their slave constitution by a majority of 70 per cent.

In arriving at this bogus result the French imperialists have without the least qualm of conscience added together the votes of such farflung territories as Madagascar, French Equatorial Africa and many other places. Imperialist mathematics is thus exposed as false and hollow and far from reality.

The people of French Somaliland in fact stand solidly behind their dismissed Prime Minister, M. Mahmoud Harbi, who fearlessly declared in Paris sometime ago that French Somaliland will reject De Gaulle's constitution and vote unhesitatingly for freedom.

The announcement of this bogus and fake result and the dismissal of Prime Minister M. Mahmoud Harbi has caused a wave of protest in French Somaliland. There have been huge protest demonstrations all over the country. The French imperialists have resorted to traditional colonial methods to suppress this wave of mass anger by resorting to indiscriminate firings on peaceful demonstrations and letting loose a reign of terror over the land. Dozens

of unarmed people have been killed by French bullets and thousands have been put behind prison bars. And the reign of terror continues unabated in French Somaliland.

The Permanent Secretariat of Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity strongly protests against French highlandness and tyranny in Somaliland. While assuring the brave Somali people of the fraternal support that they have of the freedomloving peoples of Africa and Asia, it warns the French colonialists to desist from their tyrannical ways and bow before the surging wave of freedom which is sweeping across the African continent.

The Permanent Secretariat appeals to all National Committees of Afro-Asian Solidarity to raise their voice of protest against this French tyranny on the Somali people and mobilise public support for the just cause of freedom of our Somali brethren. It also calls upon the Afro-Asian representatives in the United Nations to raise the question of French Somaliland in the general Assembly and expose the hypocrisy and tyranny of French imperialism.

13 10.58

Announcing our Publication

Afro-Asian Quarterly

(Quarterly Journal of the Permanent Secretariat of Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity)

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(Quarter October-December 1958)
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AFRO-ASIAN BULLETIN

A F R I C A

*"With man-traps stole upon you those hunters
whose fierceness was keener than the fangs
of you' wolves,
Whose pride was blinder than your lightless forests
The savage greed of the civilised stripped
naked its unashamed inhumanity.*

*You wept and your cry was smothered,
Your forest trails became muddy with tears and
blood,
While the nailed boots of the robbers
left their indelible prints
along the history of your indignity."*

— Rabindranath Tagore

KAMERUN NUMBER

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BAHIA KARAM

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AFRO-ASIAN BULLETIN

MONTHLY JOURNAL OF THE PERMANENT
SECRETARIAT OF AFRO-ASIAN SOLIDARITY

Vol. I

Cairo, January 1959

No. 9

Kamerun Will Be Free

The United Nations is again on trial, and this time it is the case of a resurgent African country, the Kamerun.

On more than one occasion the United Nations has been tried and found wanting. To the vast Afro-Asian humanity it has increasingly revealed itself as a tool of U.S. imperialism, which today seeks to bolster up all puppets and reactionaries all over the world. And all dying imperialisms like those of Britain and France.

Though repeatedly exposed, the U.S. imperialists yet claim on the one hand to be the champions of "freedom", and on the other hand show their utter blindness and hypocrisy on innumerable issues, e.g., the case of the admission of People's China in the United Nations, to mention only one.

And yet again, that master of imperialist chicanery, John Foster Dulles, has recently mentioned that his U.S. Government will "champion" the cause of African freedom.

Well, here is a concrete case, the case of the heroic Kamerunian people. The United Nations General Assembly meets on February 20 in a special session to discuss the Kamerun case for freedom. It will have before it the report of an U.N. Visiting Mission, which visited this Trust territory towards the end of last year.

With the U.S. as chairman, the U.N. Visiting Mission had as its members Haiti, New Zealand and India. From the very be-

ginning the U.P.C. leaders of Kamerun have entertained grave doubts about the possible usefulness of this Mission. The world well knows what the U.S. imperialists are. Tiny Haiti and New Zealand have always been in the pockets of this imperialist or that, and nothing much was expected of them except dittoing what the U.S. imperialist master told them. The only hope was from India, and the Kamerun leaders have expected the Representative of this Asian country to play the role in accordance with India's traditions of freedom and fairplay. This high hope they entertained even when earlier performances of some Indian representatives in the U.N. on the Kamerun question had left much to be desired for.

The Report of this Visiting Mission of the U.N. has not yet seen the light of the day, and it would not be fair to anticipate its findings. It is, however, certain beyond a shadow of doubt that on the fairness or otherwise of the findings of this U.N. Visiting Mission directly depends the future of the entire Trusteeship system of the United Nations. The Trusteeship system of the late unlamented League of Nations was revealed as a conspiracy of imperialist robbers to loot and pillage the trust territories under high sounding phrases. Whether the U.N. Trusteeship is different will to a large extent be decided on what the Visiting Mission has to say on the Kamerun.

So far as the Kamerun people are concerned, and as far as one can judge from what the Kamerun leaders say, they hope for the best, but are prepared for the worst. The Kamerunians are a most heroic people, and up-to-date, perhaps the freedom battle of no other African country except Algeria has reached those levels of bravery, deathless determination and heroism as that of the Kamerun people. Though shrouded by a veil of imperialist censor, trickery and blackmail, the heroic tales of the brave struggle of the Kamerunians has spread far and wide over the entire African Continent, and the recent stirrings of the Congolese people is only a direct result of the Kamerun battle across their frontier.

In the Union of the Populations of Cameroons, and in its leadership headed by Dr. Felix-Roland Moumie, one comes across a determined set of people and leaders whom no power on earth can awe, whom no one however mighty can curb, who compare with the bravest men who ever rose and fought for freedom.

The French and the British imperialists

are never tired of maligning the U.P.C. and its leaders and have created puppets to hoodwink world opinion. This, however, is an old and outdated trick, and too outmoded to cut any ice.

The demand of the Kamerunian people headed by the U.P.C. are simple and straight. The All African People's Conference at Accra has wholeheartedly supported them and the same demands have been endorsed by the Permanent Secretariat of Afro-Asian Solidarity. We publish the Secretariat's Statement for observance of February 20, 1959, as Kamerun Day elsewhere in this issue.

On this coming February 20, the entire Afro-Asian world will rise as one man behind the demand of the Kamerunian people headed by the U.P.C. The brave Kamerunian people will determinedly march forward to wrest their freedom with the specific assurance that the masses of Africa and Asia are behind them. Even if the U.N. fails once again, the freedom of Kamerun can not be far off.

THE KAMERUNIAN CASE

Ravings Of An Imperialist Mouthpiece

By
FELIX-ROLAND MOUMIE
(President of the U.P.C.)

In its editorial of December 27, 1957, the "Economist" of London wrote: "The future of the Kamerun which the United Nations will discuss next February is an urgent matter and at the same time a tangled and a complicated one". A little further in the same article the "Economist" affirms: "It seems perfectly possible that the year 1960 will witness the

birth of the first Communist republic in Africa".

Decidedly, the Kamerunian problem is an urgent and a complicated one: urgent because the rottenness of its situation exists since 1955 on account of the stubbornness of the administrative authorities who refuse to accept the peaceful and democratic solution proposed by

the U.P.C., which, whether these authorities admit it or not, is the incarnation of the aspirations of the Kamerunian people. Complicated because the same authorities, that is to say, the French and the British — naturally refused to cooperate together in coordinating their plans in such a manner as to ensure the solution of the urgent Kamerunian question, in conformity with the aspirations of the people concerned. In this, we are in perfect harmony with the editor of the "Economist".

On the other hand, we disagree with the statement in which the editor endeavours to forecast, without proof or argument, that the first Kamerunian republic in Africa will be of a Communistic nature. It is true that whoever wishes to destroy his dog will accuse it of qistemper. Apparently, the greatest menace which exists in the Kameruns — in the opinion of the "Economist" — is the Communist menace, and not the puppet government and assembly which the administrative authorities seek to set up and foster against the people's will. The inevitable consequence of this unpopular policy is that the Kamerunian people, on seeing their lawful rights frustrated, will have no alternative but to revolt against tyranny and oppression and continue their armed resistance until their national rights have been recognized. This is exactly what happened and still happens in the Middle East and South America, where peoples deprived of their liberty and aspiring to their independence took up arms and revolted against the usurpers. The case of Iraq and Cuba speak eloquently for themselves and need no commentary. Here then is the real danger threatening the Kamerun. The supposed Communistic menace is but a veiled alibi which is only cited to cover the real sordid interests of the foreigner in a

country where the love of peace and liberty has been amply proved since the second world war. The only solution for warding off this menace is to accept the propositions of the U.P.C. which are modest enough in themselves and which reflect our ardent desire of arriving at a peaceful and democratic solution of the Kamerunian problem. The principles of the United Nations which aims at the conservation of peace, should be able to solve this problem. The whole world will misinterpret the intention of the United Nations under the pretext that in order to gratify France in particular, they have created in the heart of Africa a situation the nature of which is likely to lead to another world war. For our part, we do not think that any serious attention should be attached to the editorial of the "Economist" and its fantastic allegations. The fact that it recognizes implicitly the power of the U.P.C., is in itself a sufficient admission of our logic and reasoning. We have always maintained and still repeat that facts will finally prove that the U.P.C. is the immortal spirit of the people of the Kameruns. It is wrong to imagine that it is possible to destroy an idea by bullets.

This is why, conscious of this historical fact, the Afro-Asian countries in particular will champion our cause in the debates of the special session which will be held by the United Nations. In finding a peaceful and democratic solution to the Kamerunian problem as suggested by us, the United Nations would have given proof of its existence, prestige, and responsibilities.

The whole world should therefore endeavor on the 20th February to impose its will on the United Nations in order to spare humanity and all the people of Africa and Asia a new bloodshed.

OBSERVE KAMERUN DAY ON FEBRUARY 20, 1959

CALL OF THE PERMANENT SECRETARIAT OF AFRO-ASIAN SOLIDARITY

The Permanent Secretariat of Afro-Asian Solidarity has issued the following statement to the press :

Ever since 1955, the Kamerunian peoples had to carry out an armed struggle to obtain their national unity and independence. By despatching new reinforcements to the Kamerun, the De Gaulle Government only worsened this situation which is unique in the history of Trust Territories. The Government's agents even announced with much pride their having murdered the Secretary General of the Union of the Population of Kamerun, the organization which represents the peoples' aspirations. By hundreds of thousands, patriots (men, women, children and old people) are thrown into jails and concentration camps. The curfew is observed in most parts of the country permanently, and this gives advantage to the soldiers to kill during the night, and throw bodies in the rivers and lakes.

In spite of these atrocities, the Kamerunians remain determined to continue their liberation struggle. This was clearly expressed to the United Nations Visiting Mission in November 1958. At that time, the administering powers tried their best to forbid Kamerunian patriots to approach the U.N. Visiting Mission. That is why the French authorities accommodated the Visiting Mission in the military barracks, and placed many guards around them, who had the orders to shoot on sight any nationalist not authorized to meet the Mission. In the meantime, using U.N. cars and lorries, soldiers went to gather petitions.

Despite everything, the popular will was expressed with an irresistible force. Only in Douala, more than 46,000 petitions were handed over to the Mission. Thousands of others were sent directly to New York. In all

regions of the country, the Visiting Mission was received by thousands of people in the streets, expressing their popular aspirations : Full amnesty, re-establishment of political parties, dissolution of puppet assemblies, holding a referendum and free elections under U.N. exclusive control.

All troop reinforcements, all the curfew and all brute forces were incapable of stopping the action of the U.P.C. freedom-fighters. This was admitted by the French Newspaper «LE MONDE» which writes in its issue of December 19, 1958 : "Some kind of tension still prevails in the Mungo region as well as in Bamileke country, on the western border, and in Douala. Incidents which have occurred in the Kamerun's economic capital on the occasion of the U.N. Visiting Mission's passage have largely proved the existence of this tension".

In point of fact, the challenge of the savage violence of the French imperialists has been taken up by the brave Kamerunian people, and with arms in their hands they are fighting back the forces of French imperialism with such bravery and determination as has few parallels. And this brave armed struggle of the Kamerunian freedom fighters has today become an irresistible force.

The situation in the Kamerun thus appears quite clearly : On one hand, a people led by the U.P.C. and determined to obtain, at any price, its unity and independence ; on the other hand, the French and British governments determined to fight those aspirations by means of a handful of puppets. In order to put an end to this situation, the United Nations have decided to hold an extraordinary session exclusively devoted to the Kamerunian problem. This is a unique fact in the history

of the United Nations, and demonstrates the seriousness of the situation in this African country.

The recent Accra All African Peoples Conference has also realised the seriousness of this situation, and has expressed a particular interest in the Kamerunian peoples' struggle. Unanimously, this Conference has decided to send a delegation to New York, in order to attend the debates on the Kamerunian problem. It has also decided to celebrate the 20th of February as the "Kamerun Day".

It should be emphasized that this decision was adopted following a draft resolution submitted by the Nigerian delegates to the Conference. Imperialists always tried to picture the Nigerians as opposing Kamerun's reunification and independence. Thus, it indicates the growing force of anti-colonialist solidarity all through the African continent.

This is why the Permanent Secretariat for Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity very warmly supports the decision. We wish to remind that the Accra Conference has invited all anti-colonialists throughout the world to join in with the African Peoples to express our solidarity with our Kamerunian brothers. To this effect, the Steering Committee of this Conference has suggested taking the following steps :

Preparing :

- 1) A series of press articles, radio broadcasts and meetings to deal with the heroic struggle of the Kamerun peoples and the atrocities and treachery of colonialists and the immense economic potentialities of Kamerun.

Staging

- 2) Peaceful demonstrations before the embassies and consulates of France and the United Kingdom as well as before the centres of the U.N. for the immediate peaceful and democratic solution of the Kamerunian problem.
- 3) Collecting : funds, clothes, books and medicines for the victims of the colonialists war. The funds thus collect-

ed should be forwarded to the office of the Union of the People of the Kamerun, (5, AHMED HESHMAT Str., ZAMALEK, CAIRO, U.A.R.) or to the Permanent Secretariat for Afro-Asian Solidarity.

Addressing :

- 4) Individual and collective petitions to the President of the General Assembly asking for :
 - a) The immediate establishment of a normal political life in the Kamerun through the withdrawal of foreign troops, the issuing of a law of total unconditional amnesty, and also the re-establishment of the U.P.C. and all other organizations which were previously dissolved.
 - b) A totally democratic Referendum in the two parts of the Kamerun simultaneously on the following question : "FOR or AGAINST" the Reunification of the country.
 - c) General Elections in the two parts to elect a Constitutive National Assembly.
 - d) Sending a Commission of the UNITED NATIONS, to be elected by the General Assembly to organize and supervise this popular referendum.

The Permanent Secretariat of Afro-Asian Solidarity whole-heartedly supports the appeal of the All-African Peoples' Conference at Accra, and calls upon all National Solidarity Committees to observe February 20, 1959, as the Kamerun Day to lend their powerful support to the freedom battle of the brave Kamerunian people. The support to the freedom battle of Kamerun is at the same time a support to the struggling peoples of Congo, Angola, Kenya and all other African Peoples, who are determinedly fighting for their independence from the Imperialist Yoke. 24th, January 1959.

PROFILE OF THE KAMERUN LEADER

Dr. FELIX-ROLAND MOUMIE

On November 1, 1926, a son was born to a Protestant couple of Fouban in the Cameroons. The father was an agricultural official named Moumie. (He has, incidentally, recently been released from prison). The son was christened Felix. When he was ten years old, however, he read the story of Roland, the legendary hero who died for his country, and himself adopted the name of "Roland" to bear witness to his patriotism for the Cameroons. The Moumies were members of the Bamoum tribe who, numbering about 80,000, are famous for their warrior tradition, as well as for their ancient artistic reputation. Later Felix had a little sister — a deaf mute — from the same mother. When his father re-married, there were four more girls, and three more boys. Felix-Roland was an apt pupil, and studied hard. He was sent to a series of schools at Bafoussam, at Dschang, and at Brazzaville. When he was 12 years old he went to Ryos at Dakar. Here he studied for five years (1942-1947), and here too he met Gabriel d'Arboussier for whom Moumie feels a strong affection, and whom he calls to this day "the most learned of Africans". At Dakar Moumie studied medicine. They were, however, difficult years for the students. In 1947 a strike broke out in the medical school, and Moumie found himself one of the student leaders. "We obtained 100% satisfaction of our demands", he remembers. Through his political friends in Dakar he became interested in the Rassemblement Democratique African of Houphouet-Boigny, and became the Secretary-General of the party's student section.

Nineteen forty-seven was also the year that Felix-Roland returned to the Cameroons. At this time he made a vital friendship that was to alter the course of Cameroonian history. He was travelling in a railway carriage. Down the corridor of the car, in another compartment, he could hear a conversation being carried on. Both the voice and the sentiments of the principal speaker

were much to his liking — so much so that he sat up suddenly in his seat. "That man speaks the same language that I do!" he said to himself, "I must go and meet him at once". The voice of the unknown speaker turned out to belong to Um Nyobe, of the Bassa tribe. The language that he and Moumie spoke in common was the language of African nationalism! Before the train reached its destination — Yaounde — Nyobe and Moumie together had founded the U.P.C., the Union of Populations of the Cameroons, which today is known throughout the world as the strongest political party in the territory, and which plays a role in the Cameroons similar to that played by the F.L.N. in Algeria.

The French, however, were conscious of the power of the movement, and before long they managed to disperse the principal U.P.C. leaders to different parts of the territory, so that they would no longer be able to meet together. It was, on the part of the French, a cardinal mistake, which they will never be able to rectify, and may be compared to the British attempt to weaken the power of Nkruma's C.P.P. by dispersing its leaders in similar fashion. For, although the leaders could not talk to each other, they were individually able to make contacts with people in all parts of the country, and to spread the new concept of nationalism far and wide among people who, up to then, had usually been thinking in tribal terms. By 1955 it was too late to put the clock back — although, in accordance with the national trait of illogicality, this did not prevent the French from making a disastrous attempt to do so. Governor Roland Pre was sent from Paris to destroy the U.P.C. His first act was to recall all the U.P.C. leaders from their scattered regions of "exile", and to concentrate them in Douala. Thus Moumie was recalled from the North, where he had been performing autopsies in his capacity of doctor, and uniting teams of nationalists in his capacity as a poli-

tician, and was assigned to the hospital at Douala. The French then began their concerted campaign of provocation to persuade the people to rebel so that they might instantaneously be crushed and charged with "violence". On a morning in May 1955 when breaking point came, Moumie was operating in the Douala hospital when men came running into the operating theatre and cried out that "the war has begun". Despite the confusion, and the clamour around him, Moumie never forgot that he was a doctor. True to his Hippocratic Oath he continued to operate until past midday. Then at 12.30 friends whisked him out of the theatre, before the French could come to arrest him, changed his clothes, put him in a taxi, and got him down to U.P.C. headquarters. From here he sent telegrams to the Governor, and to Soppo Priso. Over 20,000 people had by this time congregated round the U.P.C. offices, and soldiers also arrived. "I never saw a scene like it", remembers Moumie. Then he learned that the soldiers were coming for him. The people were prepared for violence to defend him. Moumie then got on the roof of Soppo Priso's car and spoke to the people for four hours to ask them to remain calm. Then word came that the French had arrested some people and taken them to prison. At this news the people broke loose from control, they rushed to the prison, and the sound of shooting was heard. A few minutes later five corpses were brought into the offices of the U.P.C. Among them were friends of Moumie whom he had last seen only a few minutes earlier. "Then", he says, "I understood that the war had begun". It was decided that Um, the Secretary-General of the U.P.C., should be in charge of external diplomacy, Ouandie in charge of propaganda, Kingue in charge of internal affairs, and Moumie in charge of the legal aspects of the struggle. They remained in the U.P.C. offices for several sleepless nights in a state of siege while the French let loose a veritable jacquerie of repression throughout the country. The Cameroons endured the first of a series of waves of French terrorism, with villages burnt, arrests, and massacres by troops brought in

from other territories. When the U.P.C. headquarters was at last burnt down by the French, the leaders had succeeded in escaping — Um into hiding in the Cameroons, where he remains to this day, and Moumie, disguised, to the British Cameroons on the back of a motor-bicycle.

From 1955 to 1957 Moumie remained peacefully in the British Cameroons, writing legal studies of the question (the French banning of the U.P.C. lacking any legal basis, being done under a law inapplicable to the colonies, let alone a Trust Territory). Then in 1957 the British, who had permitted the U.P.C. to contest elections, suddenly, apparently as a result of collusion with the French, banned the U.P.C., and, after a few embarrassed weeks of keeping the leaders in jail, deported them by air to Sudan. The British official who deported Moumie told him, in extreme embarrassment, that it was with the greatest regret that he took this action. "I have never before been asked to do such a thing for my country", he said, "but I am obliged as a VERY ACTIVE DECISION has been taken". So the colonial powers sent a brilliant young man of 31 — a skilled surgeon and a student of international law — into exile in the Sudan. The exile was an unjust and barbaric act. With Moumie was sent his wife. His seven-year-old daughter was, however, left behind. He did not know, until he reached New York, who was looking after her.

Khartoum is, of course, on the road to Cairo. The French, it is reported, are now angry with the British for sending Moumie into exile.

Dr. Moumie has been strongly attacked by Premier M'Bida of the Cameroons as being a Communist — an accusation that he has denied both in 1957 and in 1958, and, indeed, at all times. In Cairo and the Middle East he has made firm friends with Egyptians and Indians, who understand his love of country. At the Cairo Conference he was responsible for preparing one of the basic papers for discussion — the report on colonialism. Slight in build, serious in manner, motivated first, last and always by Cameroonian patriotism, more will certainly be heard of Dr. Moumie.

MISSION OF PLUNDER

OSENDE AFANA
(Kamerun Representative on
Afro-Asian Permanent Secretariat)



Ask any administrator of colonies what he is doing in Africa, why his government does not let the Africans run their own affairs. He will invariably answer that he is in Africa on a mission of civilisation. "If Europeans were to pull out", he would say, "it would mean chaos, anarchy and misery".

Africa, birthplace of civilisation

So then, Africa, birthplace of humanity and civilisation would be a jungle without the presence of the imperialists... Where, then, were these when the Africans were building those brilliant civilisations, which the cultured world admires today, in the canyons of Oldoway in Kenya, on the plateaus of Silva Porto in southern Angola or in the sand hills of Tihodaine in the Sahara? Are the Belgians and the French to be credited for the kalinian of the Congo or the paleolithic and neolithic cities of Yaounde? Who does not know that Belgium was born in 1829? France completed its territorial unity only one hundred years ago. But one thousand years ago, a good part of Western Africa, now under French administration, formed a mighty State: the Mali Empire. The emperor was so rich and sumptuous that Alexandria gold rates fell drastically when he visited that city in the 13th century.

At this period of time all the African peoples, with the exception of the Boschimens, knew how to use iron. They even possessed crucible furnaces, in which iron was extracted directly from the ore.

The Benin gulf remains famous for its remarkable bronze sculptures, dating from the 15th and 16th centuries.

Indeed, as Paul Valery wrote, "we of other civilisations know now that we are mortal". But why did many African civilisations die? Why were so many others not able to further their normal development? Is it not mostly due to European intervention? Can one deny that in destroying the town of Benin the British bombers destroyed artistic treasures and thwarted an original, material evolution? In 1916, French imperialists moved into the Kamerun. They found there, among other creations of the Kamerunian genius, a script invented by King Njoya and taught at the time in the schools of the country. Acting like worthy descendants of the Vandals and the Goths, they closed all these schools and torbade the teaching of this writing, unique among others.

Likewise, King Njoya's head printer had invented a maize mill; also, through observation of the Haoussa weavers, he succeeded in introducing the pedal loom to the handicraftsmen of Fouban. Unfortunately, less than two years after the arrival of the French imperialists, all these innovations were relegated to museums, banned, and infringements to this ban carried extremely severe sanctions.

So they say they came to civilise us, these obscurantists, these birds of prey, these manhunters! For countless centuries, they wrested off Africa more than 150 million of its children,

(Contd. on page 19)

Memorandum Submitted To The United Nations Visiting Mission By The Union Of The Peoples Of The Cameroons

The U. N. Mission visited Cameroon in November 1958. The following memorandum lucidly explains Kamerun's case for freedom. Editor

According to the terms of Resolution 1907 (XXII) of the Trusteeship Council, your mission has been appointed, firstly, "to investigate and report as fully as possible on the steps taken in the two above-mentioned Trust Territories towards the realization of the objective set forth in Article 76 b of the Charter, taking into account the terms of General Assembly resolution 321 (IV) of 15 November 1949 and other relevant General Assembly resolutions;

"2. to give attention, as may be appropriate in the light of discussions in the Trusteeship Council and the General Assembly, and of resolutions adopted by them, to issues raised in connexion with the annual reports on the administration of the two Trust Territories concerned, in petitions received by the Trusteeship Council relating to the Territories, in hearings in the General Assembly of petitioners from the Territories, in the reports of the previous periodic Visiting Missions to the Territories and in the observations of the Administering Authorities on those reports;

"3. to receive petitions, without prejudice to its acting in accordance with the rules of procedure of the Council, and to investigate on the spot, after consultation with the local representative of the Administering Authority concerned, such of the petitions received as, in its opinion, warrant special investigation".

This is a most important mandate, and on its results depend

a) The lives of 5 million inhabitants of the Cameroons under United Nations trusteeship, entrusted to the administration of France and Great Britain;

b) The U.N.'s prestige;

c) The confidence which has been placed in the U.N. for the preservation and streng-

thening of peace and security, and especially in view of the importance accorded by the U.N. to the right of peoples to self-determination.

This is a case for conscience, but it also entails either respect or utter disregard for the terms of the Charter.

A. The right to petition, as understood by the Administering Authorities and as stipulated in Article 87 of the Charter.

We are glad to note that the Mandate (paragraph 2) of the Visiting Mission directs it "to give attention... to issues raised in connexion with the annual reports of the administration of the two Trust Territories concerned, in petitions received by the Trusteeship Council relating to the Territories, in hearings in the General Assembly of petitioners from the Territories, ...etc".

After certain delays, it is true, the Trusteeship Council has authorized explicitly its Mission to take into account all petitions, including those submitted by the U.P.C., and to report on them to that Council.

It could not be otherwise, since, according to the terms of the Charter (Chapter XIII) and resolution 1211 (XII) of the General Assembly of the U.N., supreme authority in trusteeship matters is not vested in the Trusteeship Council or the Administering Powers, but in the General Assembly itself, which does not recognize the ban placed arbitrarily on the U.P.C. and other organizations which have met the same fate.

We believe, therefore, that you will take into account the care which the General Assembly and the Trusteeship Council have taken to receive all Cameroonians' views on their fate and that, before leaving, you will receive all the petitions and all the petitioners

who may come to you, without excluding any individual or organization due solely to the fact that they are displeasing to the Administering Authorities.

We know that it is the intention of the Administering Authorities to press for a renewal of the partisan position taken by the 1955 Mission. But we also know that in view of the reaction of world opinion on this position, and in view of the respect which you have for the Charter by virtue of which you are travelling to our country, your Mission will not allow itself to bow to the injunctions and the whims of the Administering Authorities.

B. Resolution 1211 (XII) of 13 December 1957.

The 12th Session of the General Assembly — one might even say at the instance and with the support of the Administering Authorities — adopted resolution 1211 (XII) requesting these powers to re-establish a normal political life in the Cameroons, according to a series of measures enumerated during the debates, and which we shall merely mention here :

1. The withdrawal of foreign troops from the Cameroons ;

2. The reestablishment of all dissolved political parties, i.e., the U.P.C. the U.D.E.F. F.C. and the J.D.C.

3. The restoration of all political liberties, particularly those of assembly, expression, association, etc.

4. A total and unconditional amnesty for acts of a political nature penalized or prosecuted since 1955, as well as the return of deportees and political exiles ; and

5. Lastly, as a natural corollary expressly provided for in paragraph 5 of that resolution, "the realization in both Territories of the final objectives of the Trusteeship system, in accordance with the free expression of the wishes of the populations concerned, taking into account any alternative relative to their future status".

Although the representatives of France and Great Britain also voted for this resolution, it is precisely the opposite policy that they have pursued. Anyone may judge this from these facts, chosen among thousands :

1. Anyone may read in "Le Monde" of 22 November 1957 that the Franco-Cameroons Government enacted the following measures : "regrouping of villages, prohibition against travelling at night, suppression of common markets and transportation. These measures, moreover, do not preclude direct action against the agitators of the Union of the peoples of the Cameroons". We may note that decisions so harmful to political liberty are taken solely by the French Parliament. However, the Government has allowed itself to promulgate them by simple decree, and this in a territory under international trusteeship. At present, in Sanaga-Maritime, there are mushroom villages formed by the forcible regrouping of from five to ten villages or rural centers. These villages are surrounded by palisades from 6 to 8 meters high, topped by posted sentries. At the slightest motion of a shadow outside the palisade these alert the soldiers who open fire without warning and without mercy. We may easily imagine the tragic consequences of such a regime in a region where the populations live in scattered hamlets far removed from their fields. The Authorities have had to set up convoys to allow their prisoners to obtain supplies from the fields once every month. Outside of these movements, all interned persons found absent are treated as rebels. This regime, applied in Malaya and Kenya, is thus a regime of extermination by starvation, and also by assassination. For the population, in its overwhelming majority, has refused to leave its villages.

2. Already at the time of the 12th Session of the General Assembly, the French Government boasted of having sent troop reinforcements to massacre the people of the Cameroons under international trusteeship. Since that time, Radio-Brazzaville announced, on May 6, that new reinforcements sent from Ubangi, Lake Chad and the Middle Congo were on their way to the Cameroons to subjugate the U.P.C. resistance movement in Sanaga-Maritime and in the western part of the country. Presently, besides the considerably increased forces of the police and the **gendarmerie**, 60,000 soldiers of the French army are carrying out operations in the Ca-

meroons, as against 2,000 in normal times. Congratulating himself on this intensification of the war, the so-called head of the Cameroons Government stated, on 20 June, 1958 : "The Government and the French Authorities are sparing no effort to allow the restoration of calm in the country". The "Presse du Cameroun", a colonialists' newspaper which related this item (issue of June 21 and 22), added that a "U.P.C. general Fanjock Isaac Nyobe, was killed near Makak", without mentioning a word about the resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations quoted above.

3. This solidarity between the colonialists does not cease to operate fully against the Cameroons patriots. Thus, last May 24, the British security forces massacred Cameroonian in the Eastern zone who, in order to visit brothers in the Western zone, had taken a trail which is not ordinarily in use. This is because, since December, the borders of our country, down to the slightest trails, are guarded by the military. The State under trusteeship has even passed a law authorizing customs inspectors to bear arms while on duty. In support of this pretended law's proponent, one of the so-called ministers added that it is in effect, the regularization of an already accomplished fact (Cf. "La Presse du Cameroun", issue of 18 June 1958).

4. Another example of the solidarity between the imperialists in their disregard for their most solemn commitments resides in the arrests and arbitrary detentions, both in the western and the eastern zones. The British Government has pushed its inhumanity to the point of turning over Cameroonians placed under its administration to the French Authorities, such as Degrand and Ebode Engelbert. For the record, here is the expulsion order sent to each of these patriots : "The Native Authority of Kumba, in conformity with the powers vested in all Native Authorities by Section 29 of Chapter 140 of Nigerian Law, does order you, Mr. Ebode, who, although subject to our jurisdiction, are a member of the Native Community, to leave the sector placed under the jurisdiction of the Kumba Authority within 40 days, unless within that

time you submit proof that your means and your work allow you to live decently, you and your family".

This expulsion order calls for many remarks. First, it is based on a Nigerian Law. This reference, therefore, testifies to integrationalist designs contrary to the Trusteeship Agreements. This expulsion order also constitutes a violation of the Charter of the United Nations, whose Articles 73 and 76 require that the Administering Powers conform to the paramount interests and the freely expressed aspirations of the natives. Now, in this instance, the latter intend to reside in Kumba, or, more generally, in the Western Cameroons. To expel them from there is again a violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which recognizes every man's right to choose his residence freely within any State, and especially in his own country, particularly if he is a member of the native community, as the expulsion order itself recognizes. Thus, legally, it is entirely unwarranted. Its authors insinuate that it is justified due to failure to carry on lawful work. This condition is absolutely inadmissible, since this would allow any country to export to its neighbours its own unemployed workers or those citizens who are incapable of earning a decent living. Let us look further into this inhuman and irrational viewpoint of the imperialists. In order for them valdly to justify this expulsion, they must first prove that actual possibilities for decent work exist within their borders for all citizens without exception, and, further, that the victims of these expulsions do not have honest or sufficient means of existence. Now, in this case, the imperialists cannot furnish this twofold proof. The entire Cameroons remains an under-developed country, where, by definition, un-employment is rife. Also, because it is under foreign domination, its inhabitants suffer from racial discrimination. This double evil of unemployment from under-development and racial discrimination is even more pronounced in the Western zone under British administration than in the Eastern zone under French administration.

The United Nations themselves have pointed this out on several occasions. How, then, can the English authorities validly reproach the natives with not having work? Even more, despite this general situation, the victims of expulsion whose names have reached us up to now, i.e., Ebode Engelbert, Ewondjo Degrande and his companions expelled from Tombel on June 9 last, all these patriots are perfectly in order even with the Nigerian Law which has been wrongfully applied in the Cameroons. This is proven by the fact that they have all regularly paid their taxes to date, and some of them have done so for many years. They are among the most influential members of the native community. Thus, their expulsion can be justified neither by facts nor by law. On what is it ultimately based? On political motives only. During a contradictory public lecture, Mr. Endeley, the lecturer, was reduced to stuttering and stammering by the questions and arguments advanced by Ebode Engelbert and other patriots. The so-called prime minister could not bear such a defeat; rather, he built it up into a treasonable crime and, abruptly ending the lecture, he immediately sent expulsion orders to these patriots, giving them not 40 days as provides the already unjust law, but only 15 days. This is how the United Nations Charter, the Trusteeship Agreement and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights are disregarded by these puppets who, nevertheless, pretend that in this way they are struggling for the reunification and independence of the Cameroons.

5. The British Government is all the more guilty in allowing these expulsions to take place, since:

a) They cause numerous Nigerians, who are accorded more rights than the natives, to pour into the Cameroons;

b) The patriots turned over to the French Authorities are subjected to a particularly inhuman treatment. First, they are herded together and ill fed in unsanitary prisons, which are more densely populated than the villages.

On 19 July 1958, in Stockholm, Mr Jacques Ngom admitted that the concentration camps

alone contained at that time 50,000 patriots cut of the 3,000,000 inhabitants listed in the census for the Eastern Cameroons. At present, the prisons are even more numerous than the concentration camps, there being at least one for each administrative post (sub-regional or regional center) and even for the conformist districts. This is how these prisons are filled with victims delivered by the English. Since 19 February 1955, a decree of the governor has granted all authorities the right to arrest, detain or incarcerate all persons deemed suspect. The homes of these prisoners, exiles and resistance members are encircled at night. Other homes are set afire, with women and children in them, and yet others are broken down with trucks or tractors, like that of Njebet Jean-Claude in Doula New-Bell. After such operations, they dare arrest all homeless persons as vagrants and evil-doers. All these arbitrarily and brutally arrested persons are subjected to a veritable regime of hard labour. Thus the populations of the Bambini Sector are forced, under the gun-butts of the soldiers, to construct roads to facilitate troop movements, particularly the roads of Ngambe, Mangombe, Ndom, Ndog-Mbock, Basso-Balikol, Nkonkwalla, Log-Noug, Ibong, Bisseng, Bongan and Bafia. Many die from these ordeals, especially since the hard labour is accompanied by different tortures.

When a person is arrested, an electric current is attached to his genitals and his ears, to force him to inform against the resistance members. Other detainees are placed on screens above lighted fireplaces. Yet others have their limbs attached to a rope, the other end of which is tied to a ram. At very brief intervals, the soldiers hit the ram to make it run, thus quartering their victims.

These masters of civilization of the Franco-African community have just invented another particularly odious torture, the pit-torture. Large pits have been dug, particularly at Nom and Boon-Djock. In those at Nom, "suspects" are confined alive, then covered by metal sheets on top of which are lighted fires. After a certain time has elapsed, the pit is uncovered and the bodies are taken out. If there are any survivors, they are interrogated to force

KAMERUN TA NIURAMA

OUR PICTURE PAGES

KAMERUN LEADER

DR. FELIX-ROLAND MOUMBE



Addressing the United Nations
Trusteeship Committee

KAMERUN AT THE UNITED NATIONS

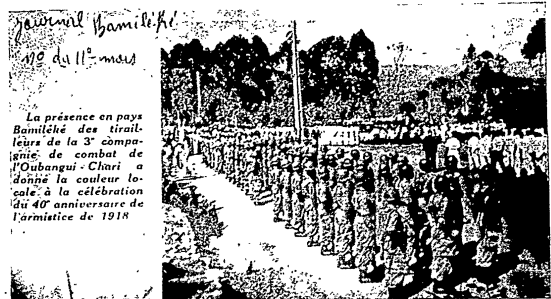


Dr. Felix. Roland Moumie addressing the IV th Committee at the United Nations



The Moroccan Delegation at the United Nations gave a party to meet the U.P.C. leaders. Dr. Moumie and Mr. John Kale of the Uganda National Congress can be seen in the picture along with others.

HOW CIVILISED ARE THE FRENCH "CIVILISERS"?



La présence en pays Bamileké des tirailleurs de la 3^e compagnie de combat de l'Oubangui-Chari a donné la couleur locale à la célébration du 40^e anniversaire de l'armée de 1918

Besides 60,000 French troops, French imperialists have poured into Cameroon African troops from their West African colonies to drown in blood the heroic resistance of the U.P.C. Seen in the picture is 111rd company of African troops from Oubangi-chari, a French colony near Cameroon. They were brought to the Bamileke country of Cameroon.

AFRICANS RALLY IN SUPPORT OF THEIR CAMEROON BRETHREN



A demonstration in Conakry, capital of newly liberated Guinea, in support of Cameroon freedom.

AFRO-ASIAN SOLIDARITY



Mrs. Rameshwan Nehru, President, Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity, visited the office of the Union of Populations of Cameroons in Cairo recently. She is seen in the picture with the leaders and staff of the U.P.C. of Jive. U.P.C. President Dr. Felix Roland Moumie, Cameroon Representative on the Permanent Secretariat of Afro-Asian Solidarity, Dr. Osende Afana and others can be seen in the picture.

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them to reveal the location of the resistance. At Boon-Djock, the pits which have been dug are filled with water, and the arrested patriots have a rubber strip wound about their chests and are thrown in, with only their heads remaining above water. Some of them are taken up dead. As for the more resistant ones, they are subjected to interrogation on the location and the movements of the resistance.

This is the "civilizing" and "humanitarian" work which France is accomplishing in the Cameroons under international trusteeship. This is the "liberalism" of the Ahidjo Government, and its desire to come to an understanding with the U.P.C. These are facts which we ask to be verified on the spot by all observers who are even the slightest bit objective, and particularly by those appointed by the United Nations.

6. As a consequence of this military situation and the inhuman treatment meted out in the various places of detention, civilians can no longer find room in the public hospitals of the principal towns in the South, Yaounde, Douala, Ebolowa, Nkongsamba, Dschang, etc.

The "Presse du Cameroun" quoted above, relates in its issue of June 13, 1958, that the soldiers themselves have been obliged to place several ambulances at the disposal of the population.

7. As for the number of dead, it is difficult for us to imagine it. Many perish from being shot, other following the ordeals and the hard labour, and some, finally are deported to unknown destinations and are sometimes found floating in watercourses. As a single example, Lake Yaounde was recently drained by order of the Government. In its bed were found upwards of 600 skulls.

8. Not content with carrying out arbitrary police and judicial action and military terror, and dealing death themselves, the Authorities also allow some of their lackeys to organize bloody gangsterism. The former "government head", Mr Mbida, publicly stated (Cf. Journal of Debates of the Legislative Assembly of the Cameroons, February 1957), that his accomplices in the Legislative Assembly are armed. Moreover, "Le Monde" of 17 July, 1958, informs us that this former prime minister

caused a poor, aged and defenceless citizen to be beaten to death by his hired killers. Mr. Mbida was ready to slaughter others when the police intervened. Despite his flagrant crimes, Mbida and his henchmen were let free. This encouraged them to pillage markets and perpetrate other attempted murders. How can the Authorities ensure order when their own agents loot and burn even more furiously than the private mercenaries, and when the Government itself distributes uniforms, arms and ammunition to private individuals, asking them to set up groups for "self-defense"?

9. This was the situation before the arrival to power of General de Gaulle. Despite the liberalism which some observers seek to find in his African policies, he has only aggravated this very alarming state of affairs. This is supported by these few facts: Last July 11, some patriots were able to photograph, at their own risk, tanks and armored cars sent by de Gaulle to the combat zones, particularly in Sanaga-Maritime. Copies of these photos have been sent to the U.N. Secretariat by our central office in Cairo.

Since September, a state of emergency prevails in the Western part of the country (Mungo and Bamileke region). Finally, the radio and various agencies have recently announced a vast encircling and "pacification" operation during which the Secretary General of the U.P.C. is reported to have been killed. This is an absolutely odious murder. Either France recognizes that it is in a state of war against the people of the Cameroons, in which case we cannot but be indignant that the French troops have killed a leader, instead of keeping him alive after his "capture" as required by international law; or else the French Government refuses to admit that it has unleashed a colonial war in our country; in which case, how can we explain these "pacification" operations, and these reinforcements of troops and arms? The French colonialists themselves speak of the people rallying. This is absolutely fictitious, of course as in Algeria, but it is still significant for the real situation in the Cameroons. Objectively, unfortunately, we must note that, for the first time in history, a colonial war is

unfolding in a Territory under international trusteeship. And if, so far as we know, the French Government is not using against us modern means of extermination, it is sparing neither its mercenaries, known as "Senegalese Rifles", nor its military equipment. Thus, for the past three years, Sanaga-Maritime has acquired more roads than in 40 years, solely to facilitate troop movements. The radio has also been mobilized to the utmost, with frequent special broadcasts beamed at Douala, Yaounde and Garoua in order to demoralize the population by false reports, while constantly attacking the patriots.

We must emphasize that this technique is in no way different from that developed by Colonel Lacheroy, one of the factious soldiers of Algiers. He recommended a three-fold action: taking up arms, a fictitious rallying of the population, and especially an extensive radio campaign against independence. Thus the funds collected from the Cameroonian taxpayers go far more towards a war budget than the development of their country. We cannot but question the legality of this public campaign in a Trust Territory whose very status calls for national independence. The Administering Authorities are bolstering their open campaign with a merciless struggle against any manifestation of non-conformist political opinions. We may recall that Dr. Eyidi Bebey, who appeared before the General Assembly in February 1957, was imprisoned less than a year later, merely because of some nationalist articles in his newspaper. Even worse, a decree has been promulgated in the Eastern Cameroons condemning to heavy sentences any persons possessing or distributing publications of the U.P.C. Such a decision violates both freedom of expression and the internal jurisdictional structure, since only a judicial

authority may decree such severe penalties. This clearly reveals the colonialists' firm determination to oppose our aspirations. This firm determination has also been concretized by the expulsion of numerous attorneys from the Cameroons, or the refusal to issue them a visa permitting them to defend their clients. How can an impartial system of justice thus deprive the defense of all its legal safeguards? The truth of the matter is that colonialist justice is becoming increasingly summary and partial, since the magistrates requested and obtained, in December 1957, the right to take into consideration nothing beyond the defense of the regime. They have again recently condemned to death numerous patriots accused of the murder of Delangue, although to date the Authorities have declared that no one was arrested for his assassination; meanwhile, we see a former "prime minister" murdering his fellow-citizens with impunity. The British Government is also resolutely engaged along the same path. At the beginning of this month, it had a number of patriots arrested at night. Although most of them were militants in a legal organization, "One Cameroons", they nevertheless received heavy sentences.

C. The assassination of Ruben Nyobe, Secretary General of the U.P.C.

With fanfares and with rejoicing, the French Authorities announced that, on 13 September, 1958, they "stuck down" Mr. Ruben Um Nyobe, Secretary General of the U.P.C.

We do not intend to confirm or to deny this report. We merely wish to draw certain conclusions, in case it should be true.

1. As we pointed out above, this is a unique act in the history of the international trusteeship system: the extermination of political leaders so as to leave, as negotiators, only

those who agree, the lackeys of the Administering Powers, with the tacit blessings of the U.N.

2. After the set-backs in Togoland, where the "minority" became a majority, France thinks that she can avoid, by the assassination of Ruben Um Nyobe, the whole problem of the Cameroons. Those masquerading behind such a manoeuvre must know that "you cannot kill an idea with bullets" (said by Soustelle after the attempt on his life).

3. France thereby recognizes the frauds instituted in the elections which she organized on 23 December, 1956, and the puppet nature of the institutions resulting therefrom. All the Cameroonian petitioners who appeared before the General Assembly and the Trusteeship Council after these elections were unanimous in objecting to the non-representative character of the so-called Legislative Assembly of the Cameroons.

4. By this dishonest method, France believes that she can impose a "choice" for a "community of free peoples" and "Beni Oui-Oui" spokesmen upon the Cameroonians. This was revealed to us by a Tunisian newspaper, "La Presse", on the day following the referendum of 28 September, 1958. Speaking of the choice made by Guinea, this newspaper asserted that "France will find in the Cameroons and the Ivory Coast the agricultural products which she will lose in Guinea upon the latter's independence". More clearly expressed, this means that France has decided to remain in the Cameroons, even by the use of force.

5. It is normal for all those measures to have been cunningly worked out between France and Great Britain so as to avoid the attainment of our national objectives, immediate unification and independence. This was revealed to us by the Delegate of New Zealand during the 21st Session of the Trusteeship Council. He stated: "... it was difficult

to conceive for this Territory — Western Cameroons a future which is not linked to that of the great neighbouring Territory". (Report of the Trusteeship Council, Volume II, Doc. 4/A/3822, p. 75, paragraph 55). This is why we agree with the Representative of Burma in supposing that the Administering Authorities "in the execution of a large-scale plan, had already succeeded in destroying the unity of the Cameroons, parcelling out this solid national entity, and having the Territory absorbed into the Nigerian Federation and the French Union", newly baptized under the designation "community of free peoples".

D. What do we propose?

1. We believe that your Mission should visit all the places to which its attention is drawn by the natives: the prison-tombs, the concentration camps, the watercourses into which the Franco-British soldiery throw the patriots bodies.

2. It should, further, receive all petitions and all petitioners, not only without discrimination, but also without the presence of the official authorities.

Without these two conditions, a United Nations Mission would be absolutely useless, for the reports furnished directly by the Administering Authorities to the U.N. contain the information which a Mission would gather which did not take these two considerations into account.

3. It is therefore necessary to collect all information in details, but it is just as necessary to take note most faithfully, and to defend unflinchingly within the United Nations, the aspirations and the state of the populations. It is, however, quite evident that the work of the United Nations Commissioners requires calm and the respect of political liberties. However, circumstances greatly militate against these elementary conditions,

British Imperialist Lie Exposed :**DECLARATION BY THE NIGERIAN DELEGATES TO THE ALL AFRICAN PEOPLES' CONFERENCE ON KAMERUN, AND A CALL BY THE SAID DELEGATES ON THE NIGERIAN PEOPLE TO VIEW WITH CONCERN THE SLANDER DIRECTED TOWARDS NIGERIA BY THE COLONIAL POWERS ADMINISTERING KAMERUN**

In the United Nations and everywhere else, British representatives state that it is we in Nigeria who do not appreciate and who combat our brothers of Kamerun struggling for the reunification and independence of their country. This campaign which presents us as African imperialists desiring the annexation of Kamerun, is dangerous and likely to sow artificial discord between the friendly peoples of Nigeria and Kamerun.

We the undersigned, representing the undermentioned Nigerian delegations at the All African People's Conference, wish to express our concern over the growing impression of Nigerian complicity in the victimization of Kamerun nationalists, and Kamerun progressive organisations.

Here in this grand meeting of African peoples for solidarity in the struggle for freedom and national sovereignty, we wish to assure Kamerun delegates at the Conference, and all Kamerunians at home :

- a) that we believe in Nigeria having a strong, viable and friendly nation as her neighbour
- b) that to that end we support the struggle of Kamerun people for unity and independence
- c) that we regret the dissolution of Kamerun progressive organisations and the deportation of their leaders, especially as the impression has been created that Nigeria has been responsible for this when we are not yet in control of foreign policy, and
- d) that believing in African solidarity we do not appreciate that these people

Accra, 12th December, 1958

Signatures . One for each Nigerian delegation at the Conference.

N.C.N.C.
Action Group
Northern Elements Progressive Union
N.C.N.C. Youth Association

Dynamic Party
A.N.T.U. Federation
Zikist National Vanguard
N.E.P.U. Women's Wing

(Contd. from page 10)

The Kamerunian pre-colonial economy

calling them by a very much significant appellation : "pieces of ebony" !! There you have the crux of their civilisation : to transform us into objects, into instruments of production . Whereas we, thousands of years before them, were creating civilisation... It was unfortunate that we lost our technical start over them but we remain trustees of human qualities which have long deserted their cities : hospitality, solidarity, acceptance of all that is human and a tangible contempt for their god : Money.

The technical start... we can catch up with that, but on one condition only that we regain mastery of our destinies "If the Europeans go, the Suez Canal will fill up with sand", said they three years ago. Yet, now that the Egyptian Government and the Egyptian people have taken over their canal, does it not work better ?

What Africans need is, above all, liberty, national independence. They can master even the most complex modern techniques. I shall cite only the example of the Kamerunian banana growers Here is how the "Union Française" review paid homage to the growers in its issue of July 2, 1953 : "The African banana production is a recent thing, subsequent to 1946. Until then one had thought that the hazards of the market would discourage the African growers producers were content to sell to their European neighbours. But for many years now, the small planter has adapted himself : grouped into syndicates, the farmers are developing their sales. in 1947, 438 tons, in 1951, 16,700 tons, and thus the planters, from 13.8 per cent, reach 34 per cent of the total tonnage". Today, they have overshot by far the 67 per cent mark in banana exports, although they themselves consume a good part of their production Imperialists must, then, in all good faith, evacuate immediately our country. "their mission" has never been a cultural one or one of collective well-being : it has always been and always will be a "mission" of plunder.

They have been in the Kamerun for sixty years. Not only have they thwarted our cultural and technical evolution, but also they have completely disorganised our economic system, and, in doing so, have not even bothered to replace it by another, at least likely to satisfy our ever-growing needs. Far be it from my thoughts to exalt and praise to high heaven the African pre-colonial economy. Having been founded on a basis now obsolete, it could not answer the needs of the sputnik era. But one must at least recognise its existence : it is not the imperialists who brought us a sound economic system. We had some agricultural techniques which can still be well used : terrace growing, alternating of the culture of shallow-root plants with that of tap-root plants, aeration and fertilisation of the soil by such processes as ridge-plantation, vegetable and even animal manure. "Fertilisers soften the earth, strengthen it, are pleasant", said humourously the Ndiikis of northern Kamerun.

The eminent geographer, Ch. Roquebain, notes : "In the mountains of Manda, in the south of Tchad, the peasant tries his best to limit the ravages of soil erosion : he carves terraces on to slopes, holds them up by walls made of dry stones, grows supargues and graminaceous plants on the borders. Work on the soil is performed as near as possible to sowing time : the earth is mellowed over the whole of its surface only at the time of weeding, when the young plants, already tall, can defend it against water-rills". It even seems that our peasants used processes of multiplication and cross-breeding of species : Prof. Porteres counted more than 37 varieties of rice on the border of the savannah and the forest. The Ndiikis of northern Kamerun knew of 45 varieties of yams ; today even, inhabitants of the forest grow 12 varieties of yams, one of which originated in Indo-Malaya. This small detail stresses the age of Afro-Asian exchanges. Moreover, the fact that the most important exported African cultures originated abroad

(cocoa, coffee, etc.) show to what extent the African peasant welcomes progress.

I shall not extoll upon the iron industries, those of the bronze, copper, gold, etc. In fact, it is useless to try and knock down an open door: powerful populated centres like those of Yaounde, Maroua, or that of the Bamileke region (150-400 inhabitants to the square km.) disposed of techniques allowing for an important volume of production. In spite of the precariousness of means of communications, our big centres of economy entertained relations with each other and with the world abroad, mainly the Mediterranean world. We had our money, our positions in commerce and trade. Concluding a study of family budgets, administrator Binet wrote of our country that "it possesses traditions and an indigenous commercial organisation". Markets, which are deeply imbedded in the customs, are numerous there, and very frequented.

Some means of plundering

The economic system which enabled our ancestors to live gave way 70 years ago to another system destined to further enslave our Country for the benefit of the imperialists, without, however, raising our living standards and enabling us to catch up with our technical delay. Agriculture has been almost entirely dismantled. First, the colonialists took our best land-plots. Permits for exploitation and cultivation covered 230,000 hectares in 1946 and two million hectares in 1956, equal to an increase of 860% over a period of ten years, solely in Eastern Kamerun. Peasants are forced to work hard on the remaining lands in order to pay heavy taxes and cover ever-increasing needs. In the already-mentioned study, administrator Binet wrote: "Proportionally, fiscal taxation is much harder on the poor", that is to say on the Africans. Example: 21 per cent of the FOB price of cocoa goes to taxes; cocoa, the main product exported by the country, is entirely in the hands of the autochtones. On the other hand, the assessments of tax on mentioned statements of affairs amount only to 2%.

In general, indirect taxation — which weighs more upon the mass of African consumers — is much heavier than direct taxation of a personal character. To fiscal taxations, can be added the high prices of the franc zone. Mr. Pierre Moussa, Director of Economic Affairs at the Colonial Ministry in Paris, admits that the African peasants pay their free-traders additional costs amounting to three per cent over their incomes. According to his own examples, products coming from France are taxed in the Kamerun in noticeable proportions as compared with world rates: 23 per cent. for cotton cloth, 25 per cent for machines and instruments as well as for wines, 30 per cent. for vehicles, 60 per cent. for products of milk, 85 per cent. for sugar, etc.

On the other hand, Kamerunians only charge a diminishing part on the price of their products.

Here are some statistics to show the changes in the producer's share through the years 1938-52:

Product	1938	1952
Nuts	53 %	54 %
Palmyras	61 %	44 %
Cocoa	55 %	40 %
Coffee	81 %	65 %

Since 1953, this tendency must have been accentuated, at least by reason of the heavier and heavier taxation of the autochtones. To this must be added the fact that between 1938 and 1951 France's share in imports from Eastern Kamerun jumped from 30% to 77%, and that of exports to the Kamerun from 56.4% to 63%.

One has a clearer idea, then, of how much these unequal exchanges cost the Kamerunian people.

Low salaries is another factor to be added to the principal means of plundering the autochthonous masses, the others being, as we have already shown, theft of land, unjust taxation, unfair exchanges... A Governor's decree of January 5, 1956, brought into being nine classes of salaries. For agricultural work, the hourly pay varies from 12 to 38 French

francs, and for other work from 14 to 38 francs. In fact, this hourly pay is theoretical rather than effective, for the administration constantly supports the employers. Were this pay even effective, it would only amount to a salary of misery: it is, to the worker, the only means by which he can pay taxes, medical care, school fees, and is all that he has to support, apart from himself, a wife, children, his parents and many other relatives.

Actually, unemployment is a permanent and acute problem in the Kamerunian economy: the authorities themselves listed 25 per cent of the inhabitants of Douala (about 200,000 inhabitants) as permanently unemployed. Naturally, all these workless people live off the income of their parents and friends.

This income, to say the least, is ridiculous for craftsmen and food-stuffs producers as well as for employees and exporters. Craftsmanship has been completely ruined by the competition of Franco-British imports. The authorities make no bones about this. Thus, administrator Guillou wrote on the subject in "Revue Etudes Camerunaises", Nos. 31-32, 1950, p. 207: "The iron industry in the subdivision of Babimbi used to be in force over the whole territory: it is gradually disappearing. The ease with which the natives can obtain imported articles is the cause of this: actually, they find tools of a superior quality cheaper. However, there remain in the region of Babimbi III three founderies."

The agriculture or edibles for inland consumption is submitted to the same fate as that of traditional industry, although, it is true, on a slower pace, which is due to a fundamental difference: the necessity of having, while hampered with a technique of weak production, cultures of exportation in order to get indispensable currency. Thus, statistics show that between 1949 and 1955, areas given to cultures of exportation augmented by 12%, however, those areas devoted to agriculture of plants for inner consumption have diminished by 8% and production by 4%.

One understands, then, why an essentially agricultural country like the Kamerun is forced to import more than 10% of its food-stuffs. And at what prices! Even for essentials, that is those which will enable the autochtones to exist, they have to use credit: many of them must sell their harvests before they are reaped; and, of course, at the price of the money-lender.

Unusually high interest on loans and purchase prices maintain the heavy majority of the autochtones population in misery. One can judge for oneself by the living conditions in the economic capital of the country, Douala. "Figaro", the ultra-reactionary newspaper of Paris described the native quarter of that town in the following terms: "Imagine a heap of rotten straw-huts, barracks made of torch-wood, wooden shacks leaning one upon another. There are no streets, or even paths. As soon as one leaves the tarmac road which cuts in two this prodigious heap of rubbish, one must go through sodden shacks, and make one's way between crumbling walls, cross streams of excreta, awaken sleeping bodies, stride over children..." ("Figaro", Feb. 3, 1956, page 5).

The Beneficiaries

As opposed to this "prodigious heap of rubbish" inhabited by the autochtones, superb European quarters are being built in all our towns.

Activities of the country, mostly the economic, are centred around the colonialists. These easily impose their policy of prices and salaries, as well as exercise special control of the public finances. A few examples: private enterprises doing public work benefit from extremely advantageous markets: a very strong profit margin is guaranteed them, usually 33 per cent. The material is given to them and becomes their private property at the end of the job. Their costing is unusually overestimated. Thus, to build the 80 kms. of road which separate Edéa from Douala, the Ratzel Bros. enterprise obtained, in 1953, 2,800,000,000 French francs, or 35,000,000 francs per kilometre! Mixed economical en-

terprises keep the benefits and spread the losses. A typical example is that of the Alucam and Enelcam Societies (Aluminium and Electricity of the Cameroon), which utilise electrical energy produced in Edea, although the state participates very deeply in production expenses; Alucam pays 0.80 frs. the kw. and sells that same kw. for 60 frs. in Douala! Moreover, the State guarantees the shareholders of these societies against all political risks, meaning against any eventual nationalisation.

Who then, can be astonished at seeing the profit curve of the imperialists remain high in spite of the war for liberation? In 1956, the Manager of the Broadcasting Institute in Douala declared that in that year the sums gained in Eastern Kamerun amounted to 7.5 milliard francs whereas French investments amounted only to 4.5 milliards.

The State favours exploiters by giving them the congested currency acquired thanks to the work of the Kamerunian people. The receipts of Western Kamerunian customs have never been statistised. An Indian newspaper "The Bharat Jyoti", of May 6, 1956, said that for the year of 1955, these receipts amounted to £ 8,000,000. Out of this sum the Nigerian Governor gave the Kamerun only £ 400,000. This is so because the repartition of receipts to the different regions of the Nigerian Federation is performed constitutionally on the following basis: 15% for the North, 20% for the West, 41.5% for the East and only 1% for the Kamerun.

Plundering of public receipts of the Kamerun is thus facilitated through the Kamerun's integration with Nigeria, and the absence of a distinct financial system. Thus, what these budgetary excesses served for was never learned. The Visiting Mission of 1952 wrote: "Since the financial exercise of 1949-1950 the budget of the territory has always been increasing. The excess of 1949-1950 amounted to £ 226,000 sterling, that of 1950-1951 to £ 204,000 sterling". To this can be added excesses of £ 352,911 for 1951-1952 and

£ 200,000 for 1952-1953. Sure, a deficit of £ 50,000 was registered in 1953-1954, but the next year the gains were again of £ 40,000. It has been said that this money is used for the interest of the country; yet Nigeria is covered with nice roads and palaces, whereas Western Kamerun remains in misery.

The same thing happens in the Eastern zone. The common assembly of all currencies in the franc zone and their unilateral management by the French Government ensures colonialists not only a remarkable treasure gain and fruitful devaluations for the African countries, but also, in a more direct fashion a substantial reserve of currencies. Since the last war, the balance of payments of Eastern Kamerun is regularly filled by an excess of foreign currencies: it is officially said that it was 4,661,000 dollars for 1956.

Economic promotion?

If really the imperialists had come to free us from misery, would they not use these sums for our economic promotion? Why does our oil, our gold, our iron, our uranium, manganese, copper and even beauxite, remain unexploited? Even the cocoa and rubber, etc., plantations are exploited only up to 80%, and even less than that.

Everyone knows the importance of means of communication in economic growth. Yet, in the Kamerun, these are only maintained, to say the least, in a belligerent manner, and only in strongly-populated European quarters. Communication elsewhere is left to rot. A typical example is the prolonging of the Douala — Yaounde railroad to the Tchad. This prolonging would considerably lower the rail tariffs and seriously stimulate the economic development of the Tchad and Chari basins.

A factor of particular interest for us is that the prolonging of the railroad is constantly requested by Africans of the Kamerun, of the Tchad and of the Oubangui (these latter have already proposed a federation!). But it would ruin the colonialists, who are great road transport users and shareholders in the Congo-

Brazzaville railroad. That is why the prolonging has been simply projected for 30 years.

In Eastern Kamerun, even more scandalous ill will is shown towards bettering rail communications.

Even the particularly reactionary Visiting Mission of the United Nations which visited the country in 1955 branded this situation. That is so because, since 1920, the English have been proposing to drag all the traffics of the Tchad basin towards "their Nigeria", notwithstanding the territory under trusteeship which will, by definition, "escape" them. That is why they are prolonging by 200 kms into the Tchad the Nigerian railroad.

Thus, Article 73 of the Charter, which prescribes unconditional "first thought" to the interests of the autochtones is unobserved.

This policy has, for long, been the object of much vigorous opposition among all the social layers.

To stop this current, the colonialists have tried to bribe certain Kamerunians.

On March 12, 1955, Mr. Hubert, one of the high officials of the general administration gave his subordinates the following orders: "The best thing we can do is to excite African oppositions and to make life impossible for the U.P.C. leaders by putting them against decided and energetic Africans. I know that this is not easy to do in Boulou country but it is however not impossible to find a few persons who do not agree with the policy of the U.P.C. and who accept to manifest their opposition openly".

Soon afterwards, the March massacres happened, and the dissolution of the U.P.C., the so-called elections organised in a reign of terror, confusion and corruption, in order to form a budgetary Assembly which was thereafter called Legislative. Contrary to their electoral promises, the so-called Deputies finance the war of colonial reconquest, for, as long as it lasts, as long as there are no really free elections, they are getting richer and richer through the sweat and toil of our people. Here is a list of their gains in French francs:

Prime Minister: Monthly salary 700,000; Daily transportation cost 20,000; special funds every three months 5,000,000.
Vice Prime Minister: Monthly salary 600,000.
Minister: Monthly salary 540,000; daily transportation costs 15,000.
Secretary of State: Monthly salary 500,000; daily transportation costs 12,000.
Deputies: Monthly salary 400,000.

To this list of high gains must be added a list of substantial advantages: very comfortable housing, servants, car and driver paid by the State! One of these leeches dared to recognise in the course of a public meeting that "The comparative study of indemnities owed to deputies of the Kamerun has shown that they are placed third, after the U.S.A and Canada". (cf. "La Presse du Cameroun", June 6, 1958). Such disinterest, such sense of responsibilities, in a country where the annual income is of 20,000 frs!!

Once the colonialists and their lackeys have taken their share and more, what is left for the economic development of the country? The equipment budget, regularly lower and lower since 1955, amounts to 2% of the budget of functioning and only covers in fact the expenses of cushioning and upkeeping: 300,000,000 frs. in a country where investments ten times higher are needed in order to obtain rise in standards of life by just 1 per cent.!!

In these conditions, one guesses easily the depth of the social crisis which the Kamerun is traversing, a crisis even more sharpened by the unusual plunders and destruction resulting from the colonial war. Moreover, and in spite of all the slogans praising the civilising mission of colonialism, the current policy is still absolutely incapable of pulling the Kamerun off its underdevelopment crisis. One example: at the present rhythm, it would take 144 years for all the five millions Kamerunians to learn how to read and write! Whereas the more advanced imperialist countries continue to further their development thanks to our resources and work, how can we ever catch up

with them in the framework of the present regime?

The Kamerunian people are firmly resolved to eradicate to its foundation the present regime. Economically they prove it daily by the great material sacrifices to which they consent in favour of the U.P.C. Here is the testimony of a great French newspaper, "Le Monde" which is resolutely hostile to our cause. "In 1956", it writes, "about 1 million C.F.A. francs in specie were taken by the U.P.C. in the Bamileke region and the 30,000 inhabitants of the Baham head district, headquarters of the U.P.C., furnished 400,000 frs. monthly".

Although limited to one region and to one year, this example shows clearly the popularity of the U.P.C., mostly in this area of liberating war and great social misery. On the other hand, the Administration is forced to finance by itself the shadow parties which are told to

U.P.C. Is The National Expression Of The Cameroons

By
JOHN K. KALE

(Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Uganda National Congress)

I have been personally associated with leaders of the Union des Populations du Cameroun (U.P.C.) both in Africa and overseas. But having witnessed the battle of the U.P.C. at the last General Assembly of the United Nations I feel quite qualified to express an informed opinion on this mass country-wide Nationalist Movement.

In sincere hope that this article will be read in British and French colonies where no effort was spared to try to discredit and describe the U.P.C. as anything except what it was, I will appeal to our readers to bear with me so that I go a little in the history of the U.P.C.

U.P.C. Was Banned Because It Demanded

Independence:

The U.P.C. represents 85% of the population of the Cameroons. This statistical assessment is obtained from French authorities and is well recognised in the French Press. Voicing the true National aspirations of the Cameroon people, the U.P.C. was from its inception fighting hand in hand with the Ca-

meroon Democratic Youth (C.D.Y.) and the Democratic Union of Cameroon Women (U.D.F.C.). These two popular organisations had, it must be accepted, their own specific aims and demands, but to be realistic they could not expect their fulfilment till the independence and unification of the Cameroon which was the other name of the U.P.C.

To all those who believe in the firm determination of the Kamerunian people led by the U.P.C. to liberate themselves immediately, to all those who, like us, think it necessary to have an effective anti-colonialist solidarity to oppose the colonialists, we appeal to contribute greatly to the immediate peaceful and democratic solution of the Kamerunian problem by making the Kamerun Day a real success on a world scale.

meroon Democratic Youth (C.D.Y.) and the Democratic Union of Cameroon Women (U.D.F.C.). These two popular organisations had, it must be accepted, their own specific aims and demands, but to be realistic they could not expect their fulfilment till the independence and unification of the Cameroon which was the other name of the U.P.C.

The U.P.C. like any other nationalist organisation in maturing and displaying its competence to take over power from the colonial rulers had a thorny path. The K.N.U.C. in Cameroon under British rule and led by Mr. Endeley, a leader who dramatically changed his outlook on unification after marrying a Nigerian lady, faded from the U.P.C. as it insisted in its demands for independence and unification of the Cameroon. The imperialists were not satisfied with this disunity on a well known national cause. They sponsored political clubs. You cannot call them parties, 35 in number to combat the U.P.C. Keeping in mind the population of the Cameroon and the fact that the U.P.C. represented 85% you can well

imagine the representativity of these other 35 parties.

To make the long story short however the U.P.C. in conjunction with its associated youth and women organisations agreed on 22nd April 1955 on a common programme of action which unequivocally demanded full National Independence and immediate unification. To translate into action their demands, they requested the establishment of an executive council which in co-ordination with the U.N. would supervise free general elections conducive to a Constituent National Assembly which would in turn enter negotiation to terminate the trusteeship administration by France. The plan was very logical and well worked out. The French colonialists were frustrated and as usual resorted to the strength power policy. Failing to answer its legitimate, reasonable and justified demands the administrative authority was crude enough to find a solution in banning the U.P.C. and her sister organisations. The French could justify this action in whatever propaganda language they chose but that was the truth and the truth alone.

Nationalism Cannot Be Killed.

The French imperialists could claim any number of casualties of the U.P.C. militants but the last they could say would be the suppression of the national freedom vanguard under the leadership of the U.P.C., C.D.Y. and U.D.F.C. As their reputation is, the French were more ruthless than the British though really it all comes to the same thing — who with a different colonial plot left the U.P.C. legal in the Western Cameroon till two years later when it was banned on June 3rd 1957. A month later, to be precise on the 30th June 1957, the British authority under the cover of a Nigerian law which guards against the "danger to good government" deported the heroic leaders of the Union of the Population of the Cameroon, the Cameroon Democratic Youth and the Federation of the Cameroon Democratic Women.

The British Colonial authorities, in their short-range-view thought that was the end of the Cameroon struggle. A proof of that was the destination of the deportees which they wrongly judged would be partner in the Cameroon drama. In Sudan the Cameroon heroes could not find better friends, the population

that is, to the great chagrin of the imperialists. It was from this cradle that the Cameroon problem assumed its current international character. The atrocities of the imperialists and the martyrdom of the Cameroon freedom fighters was very well displayed to the justice of mankind the world over. The deportation of these leaders turned, as contemporary politics would have it, a blessing in disguise. All the French murders could be frankly shown to the outside world; the guerilla warfare in the Cameroon could be known: world opinion in support of the Cameroon struggle could be mobilised and above all the petitioning to the United Nations which had started as far back as 1952 but interrupted at the time of the U.P.C. persecution, could be resumed. If the imperialists will ever regret ever "loosing", the Cameroons, they will first be sorry of their deportation orders.

Cameroon-Unique Trustee Territory.

The problem of the Cameroon is singular. It could be seen but not described. This country, a gift to the imperialists in an exchange of bloodshed of the Africans in World War I, is a nice example of the civilising mission of the Western World. It is the only Trust Territory in which the Administrative Authority has used military rule to honour the United Nations Trusteeship Agreement. It is in the Cameroon that France has openly challenged the Binding nature of the United Nations. The Cameroon is the only U.N. agreement State in which there is complete absence of political life. The Cameroon is also unique in another aspect. No nationals of any Trusteeship country have been so adamant for their rights to freedom so as to necessitate colonial political suppression and the deportation of their leaders as the people of this bisected country. The Cameroons have also petitioned the United Nations more than all other U.N. trusteeship people put together.

France Chose the Wrong Path.

While recognising the fact that the U.P.C. was the universal Cameroon National Freedom front, the French colonial authorities constantly conspired against it by using Cameroonians agents to spread their colonial interest. This became increasingly clear when the Cameroonian Leaders in exile uncovered the truth of the Cameroon problem to the world. In competition with the U.P.C. the French co-

lonialists sent many Cameroon pseudo-representatives to international conferences to mislead world opinion. This they could not do. Freedom is indivisible and its pursuers could not be divided. The world was a better judge and the French were the losers.

As there could not be a vacuum the French tried to replace the U.P.C. with their puppets. The 35 "parties" were no longer necessary. They had nobody to oppose. The U.P.C. and its associated organisations were banned. The French then established their puppet government in the Cameroon. The overthrow of the "Mbinda" regime was more than a proof of the imposed character of this government. The lesson was not convincing enough. By trial and error then the French made Ahijo a successor. I met Ahijo in New York. He had been brought by France to give witness to French good intentions in the Cameroon. He is the most desperate Premier I have ever met. **The U.P.C. and the United Nations.**

Another Anglo-French plot against the Cameroon was exposed by the United Nations at its 13th General Assembly. France surprisingly and almost dramatically announced her intention of terminating her trusteeship of the Cameroon on 1st January 1950. The United Kingdom did not delay to make her plan known: "Her Majesty's Government would consider the termination of the Trusteeship of the Cameroon under British administration by 1st October 1960".

France and Great Britain know as we all do that there is one Cameroon. That the Cameroon was arbitrarily divided to satisfy imperialists needs is just a historical fact. Britain and France know more than anybody else that independence and unification of the Cameroon is a national aspiration of the population. If these powers were genuine in granting such "independence" to the same country how on earth could they choose different dates? How is it they made no provision for free elections preceding independence? How could this independence be achieved before normal political life was resumed in the Cameroon? Which ruling circle in Paris or London, if we may ask further questions, could neglect the reality of the representative and Nationalist character of the U.P.C., C.D.V. or U.D.F.C.? Could real independence be given before complete political amnesty of the leaders of these

movements some of whom were in exile and others in detention camps? Both France and Great Britain recognised the unification of the Cameroons to be not only a possibility but a likelihood after independence. But we know neither of them envisaged a national referendum supervised by the United Nations whereby the Cameroon people could freely determine their own future. These are few of the many questions we must ask ourselves before we fall prey of another disguised imperialism in the Cameroon.

The French and British declarations at the United Nations were as vague as they could be. They coincided with a U.N. Visiting Mission in the Cameroon which they hoped would rubber-stamp their validity. But even then the Visiting Mission could not give such a comprehensive and convincing evidence, since as we all know it stayed in the Cameroons only for 34 days and the mass of the people had no access to it. How could their findings reflect the aspirations of approximately six million people scattered over an area of 525,000 sq. kilometres just in such a short time. The French authority to make the assurance of their plan doubly sure flew the "Prime Minister" Ahijo to New York to join the French Delegation on behalf of the "Cameroon Government".

The Future of the Cameroons to be Determined by the U.N.

The 20th February 1959 is a historical day for the Cameroon. It has rightly been called the Cameroon Day by the All African People's Conference. It will mark the reconvening day of the 13th General Assembly of the United Nations "to consider the future of the Cameroons".

France and Great Britain with all their diplomatic ingenuity could not convince the United Nations of their good intentions in the Cameroon. France was the weaker defendant because her witness, "Premier" Ahijo "committed perjury". With all the French briefings he got, he ultimately had to confess that independence and unification of the Cameroon was the universal aspiration of its population. France was let down and before Mr. Ahijo could answer questions from members of the Committee, France sent him back to the Cameroons. The argument was "official duty" obliged his early return to Yaounde. It was

all a hoax! Such a drama was an advantage to the U.P.C. petitioners led by Mr. Felix-Roland Moumie, its President. The public confession of "Premier" Ahijo of the aspiration of the Cameroon people as advocated by the U.P.C. and frustrated by France and her puppet government led by him left the 4th Committee in no doubt of the political forgery prevailing in the Cameroon. There and then the delegation of Iraq asked for the "immediate restoration of the Party led by Mr. Moumie". What Mr. Pachadhi, the Iraqi representative, precisely meant was that the U.P.C. was the only Cameroonian national expression and its legal existence in the country was a prerequisite to the solution of the Cameroon problem. At this stage most delegates thought twice and discovered the trap enmeshed by France. This together with flooding cables supporting the U.P.C. Petitioners and the subsequent sympathy of the Committee to Mr. Moumie and his colleagues left no doubt of the universality of the U.P.C.

How the 20th February Was Unanimously Accepted.

The determined, and genuine stand of the Cameroon petitioners as opposed to the conspiracy of Mr. Ahijo coupled with the trickery of France and Great Britain enflamed the Afro-Asian group, the Socialist and a majority of the Latin American countries. Delegates expressed their concern on how administering authorities of Trusteeship countries were usurping the rights of the United Nations and outshadowing its responsibilities. It must be remembered that the United Nations is the supreme organ in so far as matters affecting Trusteeship Territories are concerned. The administering authorities only shoulder responsibilities of its behalf. Great Britain and France were not shy to tramp on the U.N. charter under naked pretences.

The Afro-Asian countries stood solidly behind the U.N. charter and the Trusteeship agreement of the Cameroons by the United Nations on the one hand, and France and Great Britain on the other. They felt the independence of a trust Territory, and the Cameroons for this matter, was not a matter to be decided by the administrative authorities alone. In fact they felt offended by the way France and Great Britain were alienating the U.N. from the realisation of the objective of the trusteeship agreement, to which the

United Nations was a party. Consequently Ghana, Haiti, India, Iran, Iraq, Liberia, the Philippines and Yugoslavia sponsored a resolution that the United Nations "decides to resume the General Assembly on 20th February 1959 to consider exclusively the question of the future of the Trust Territories of the Cameroons under French administration and the Cameroons under United Kingdom administration".

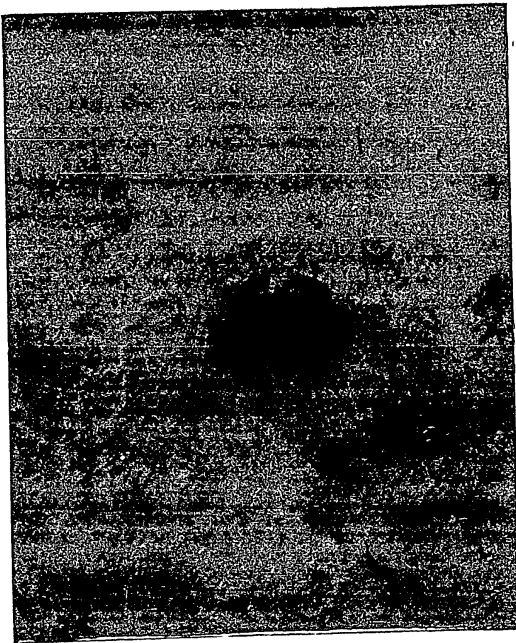
This was a great blow to Administrative Authorities who never expected it. You could see the British and French Representatives openly lobbying delegates. Session after session was adjourned to allow "extra committee discussions" and "informal consultations".

The motion took several days and you could see undisguised uneasiness among many quarters of the chamber of the 4th Committee. A satisfactory compromise could not be reached. The Afro-Asian block were in to move the motion willy nilly. As Great Britain and France were directly concerned, the United States chose to speak for them and of all people her spokesman was a negress singer, Miss Marion Anderson, the head of the delegation. The U.S. delegation felt convening a special U.N. session for the United Nations' future of the Cameroon was tantamount to a degradation of the former's prestige and that such a move would create a serious precedent. The delegation also expressed the happiness that there was no threat to world peace and security to warrant a special session of the U.N. No doubt the delegation had in mind the Middle East precedent!

Miss Anderson was touched and she made a public "personal statement" which wined delegates that there was none amongst them to whom the freedom and independence of an African state meant more. She alluded to her African descent and reminded delegates that she worked on instructions as any delegation did. This contradiction of a personal opinion of a delegate from the official delegation view was an important precedent in the history of the United Nations, and to be frank an important factor in the determination of the future of the Cameroons.

The decisions of the forthcoming United Nations will have far-reaching effects on the remaining Trust Territories as well as the other dependent African countries.

FLY HIGHER AND HIGHER THE CAMEROON FLAG



RED with the blood of patriots who gave their lives for the national cause.
Symbol in the centre of CRAB of Rio dos Cameroes, original name of Kamerun.

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Data on Atrocities of
U.S. Army in South
Korea

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Pyongyang, 1958

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PREFACE

Korea has been divided into the north and south for more than 12 years since her liberation from the Japanese colonial rule.

The southern half of Korea is still under the occupation of the American forces, and the demarcation line which is by no means a frontier has artificially severed her in half.

This long bisection of the territory and split of the nation has brought to the Korean people immense sufferings and misfortunes, and has been retarding the political, economic and cultural development of Korea.

The division of our territory is not only hampering the concerted development of the national economy of Korea but also preventing the uniform, planned use of her rich national resources, and greatly hindering the inheritance and development of the national literature and arts which have a long and brilliant tradition.

Besides, the division of the country brings grave calamity for the individual life of the Korean people. It prevents family members and relatives from meeting with each other and even from exchanging letters.

Therefore, the peaceful unification of the country is the supreme task for the whole Korean people, which proceeds from their vital interests.

Then, why do we, Koreans of the same blood, have to suffer from this national calamity under these intolerable, abnormal circumstances? This, of course, is entirely due to the aggressive policy of the American imperialists and the country-selling policy of the Syngman Rheeites who have been persistently hindering Korea's unification, independence and freedom.

From the very first day of their occupation, the American imperialists have been trying hard to convert South Korea into an object of squeezing out maximum profit for the millionaires of the Wall Street and an outpost for their aggression of the Asian continent.

The US imperialists enforced the military administration and paved a way to their reactionary rule over South Korea, oppressing and persecuting the patriotic and democratic forces there. They oppressed and forcibly dissolved the people's committees of all levels which were organized soon after the liberation on the initiative of the people.

The US Military Governor enforced on Feb. 20, 1946, his Ordinance No. 55 — "Law on Registration of Political Parties" — with a view to restricting and oppressing the activities of the democratic political parties in South Korea and issued on May 4, 1946, the "Ordinance Concerning Violation of Orders and Laws of Military Government" aimed at suppressing the entire patriotic and democratic forces. He put into effect the "Law on Registration of Publishing" on May 29 of the same year, which was followed by "Ordinance on the Press and Periodicals" aimed at exterminating freedom of the press. It enforced a number of other fascist laws including "Rules on Assembly and Demonstration" of Dec. 1947.

Brandishing these evil laws, the US imperialists perpetrated all sorts of outrageous acts, restricted the activities of the democratic political parties and social organizations in South Korea, dissolved them by force and trampled upon the freedom of speech, press and assembly and association.

Running amuck in converting South Korea into their military base, the American imperialists concocted in Nov., 1945 the "National Constabulary," predecessor of the "ROK Army," in order to collect cheap cannon fodder. At the same time they laid out and enlarged big military highways which run along the 38th parallel from the eastern coast to the western coast of Korea and fortified their positions along the 38th parallel.

In addition to this, they enlarged the Kimpo air base for B-29 bombers, and newly constructed many air bases including the Musolpo Air Base, Chejoo island, and also completed a large scale expansion

project of the naval bases in Chinhae, Pusan, Incheon and Pohang. Thus they carried out a frenzied construction and expansion of military establishments in South Korea.

On Nov. 13, 1945, by the order of the Military Governor in Korea they established the "National Defence Command" and on June 15, 1946 formed one company of "Korean Constabulary" and reinforced the "Coast Guard" from Sept. 1946. On July 27, 1948, the puppet "Air Force" has been formed.

The American imperialists who hate Korea's unification and independence intentionally disrupted the resolution of the Three Power Foreign Ministers' conference in Moscow, and concocted the "UN Commission on Korea" by the unlawful "decision" on Korean problem in the United Nations.

Then on May 10th, 1948, they forcibly carried out the separate election in the southern part of Korea at the point of the bayonet of the US occupation forces and fabricated Syngman Rhee's puppet regime. More, they attempted to "legalize" the regime on the ground that the "election" was held under the "supervision" of the "UN Commission."

They thus began to carry out their aggressive policy more unscrupulously and more craftily through Syngman Rhee's puppet government. Syngman Rhee carried forward the US Military Government's high-handed policy and fascist laws, proclaimed the "Law on State Security" and further intensified the middle-age-like oppression of the South Korean people. The Syngman Rheeites rounded up 118,621 people during 1949 alone, and arrested 32,018 people from Jan. to April, 1950, by this notorious law. (Figures quoted from the Report of UN Korean Commission which was submitted to the 5th General Assembly of the United Nations.) During the period from Oct. 1945 to May 1955, as many as 159,723 people were imprisoned or put to death without a trial and 85,532 of them were massacred on the spot of arrest. These figures eloquently tell how furious their barbarous action was.

On the other hand, the American imperialists took every possible step to destroy the South Korean economy and convert South Korea into their market, object of investment and source of raw materials for their industry.

The American imperialists, who seized the key industry of South Korea by the single ordinance of the Military Governor, strengthened the control of the properties formerly owned by the Japanese, by "Property Custodian's Ordinance No. 8" on management of vested property dated Jan. 31, 1946. This ordinance provided for the transfer of right of custody and supervision of former Japanese-owned properties in fifteen main branches—enterprises, companies, corporations and organizations of all types including even schools—from the Property Custodian of the Military Government to the American advisors and departments, sections and agencies of the Military Government.

Thus the former Japanese-owned enterprises which came under the American imperialist's control soon after the liberation amounted to more than 85 per cent of the whole of the South Korean industrial enterprises (Seoul Shinmoon, Jan. 23, 1955)

The US imperialists began to sell or destroy the former Japanese-owned property. They sold during the year of 1947 alone more than 8,000 dwelling houses, 2,000 vessels, 5,000 small-scale enterprises. ("Chosen Keizai" published in Tokyo on Dec. 20, 1956 by the Toyo Keizai Shimpo)

Besides, they destroyed or converted into their military repair shops many industrial enterprises including the Chosun Steel Works, the Ulsan Oil Refinery and the Poopyong Arsenal. As a result, in 1948, the industrial production level of South Korea went down to 20.2 per cent as compared with 1940 when Korea was under the Japanese rule. (Annual Economic Review, Bank of Korea, Seoul, 1949)

In the field of agriculture, the US imperialists started to loot the Korean peasants through the

"Oriental Development Co., Ltd.," the rapacious organ of the Japanese imperialists for their exploitation of Korean peasants, which the US imperialists renamed the "New Korea Company" on Feb. 21, 1946, by "Military Government Ordinance No. 52." This company owned 320,000 hectares of land, including 230,000 hectares of orchards as well as arable land, or 12 per cent of the total area of arable land in South Korea. (Annual Economic Review, 1955)

The volume of exploitation through this "New Korea Company" amounted to 2,714,650,000 won in the period from Aug. 15, 1945 to March 31, 1948, even according to figures of the US Military Government.

Following the concoction of the Syngman Rhee puppet government in 1948, the US imperialists have concluded a number of aggressive treaties with the Syngman Rhee clique and embarked upon firmly establishing the system of colonial rule over the South Korean economy. The first step for this was the "US-ROK Agreement on Transfer of Finance and Property" concluded on Sept. 1, 1948.

This agreement stipulated that every possessory right and ownership of properties and appendages in South Korea the US Government is interested in, regardless of their forms, will be transferred at the request of the US Government. It also says that all that happened during the US military administration will be admitted as fait accompli and provides for the free use of places and buildings necessary for the US occupation forces.

The US imperialists forced South Korea to pay annually the interest for the 25 million dollar credit they gave to South Korea in 1946 in the form of surplus commodities and surplus agricultural produce and to hand over to the United States for part of the credit the Bando Hotel and other big buildings in Seoul and a huge area of land for military use.

The American imperialists enlarged the scope of their control and exploitation by concluding the "Mu-

tual Aid Agreement" with the Syngman Rhee puppet government on Dec. 10, 1948.

By this agreement they firmly grasped the control of the whole of the South Korean economy, from the control of production and distribution of raw materials and products to that of currency issue, finance and credit, foreign exchanges, exports and imports of all items, compulsive collection of Korean rice and obligatory distribution of the US cereals to the Korean people.

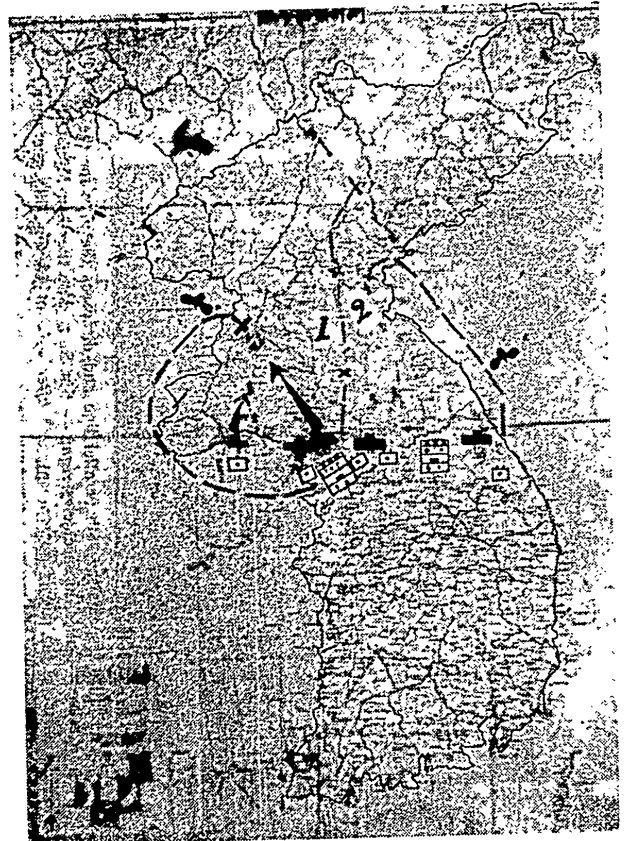
Having seized the control in the political, economic and military fields of South Korea, the US imperialists concluded in Jan. 1950 "US-ROK Agreement on Military Aid" and "US-ROK Agreement on Military Advisory Group" with the Syngman Rhee government, thus completely taking the right of commanding the puppet army into their hands. They concentrated puppet army units into the area along the 38th parallel on April 5, 1950. They had been causing provocative incidents with greater frequency since then, looking out for a chance, till they unleashed the aggression against the northern part of the D.P.R.K. on June 25, 1950, which led up to the three-year war in Korea.

The American imperialists have committed atrocities unprecedented in the history of mankind in their aggressive war in Korea.

They have massacred at random innocent people in North Korea, destroyed more than 8,700 buildings of factories and enterprises as well as 600 thousand dwelling houses with a total floor space of 28 million square metres and devastated 370 thousand hectares of agricultural land, reducing the acreage by 90 thousand hectares

Moreover, they have destroyed and pillaged more than 5,000 schools, 1,000 hospitals and clinics, 260 theatres and cinemas and thousands of other cultural and sanitary establishments.

Indeed, the total amount of damages even according to a rough estimation amounts to 420,000 million won



The diagram of the plan of operations for the aggression against the northern half of the Republic mapped out by the US imperialists and the Syngman Rhee clique (seized by the Korean People's Army at the time of liberating Seoul)

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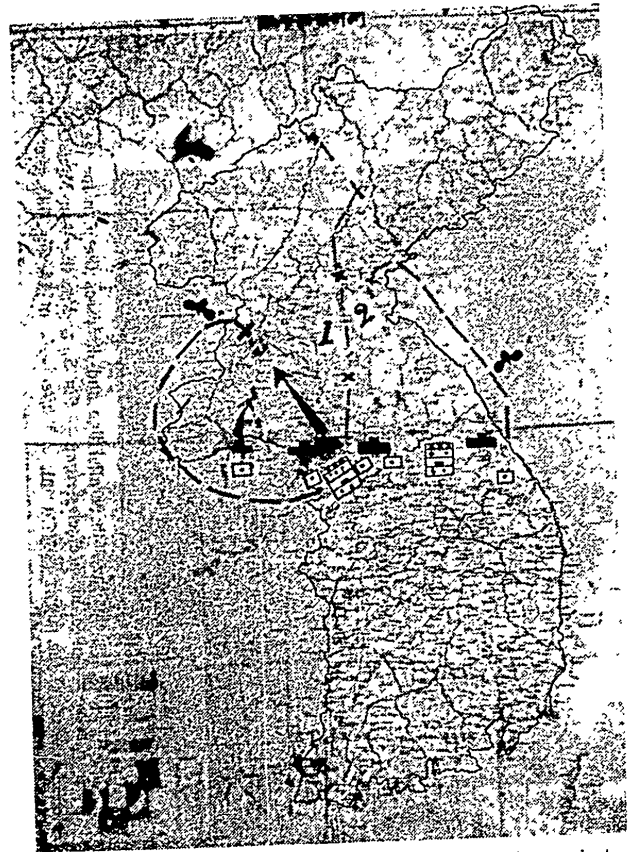
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The Warmonger, Dulles inspects the 38th parallel line and discusses the plan for the aggressive war (Centre) — Dulles, in spectacles, right — Sin Sung Mo, the then Minister of the National Defence of the puppet government, and after — Kim Byung Jik, the then Minister of Foreign Affairs of the puppet government).

Besides this, the American soldiers have destroyed and plundered factories, schools, hospitals, houses and other properties of the people in South Korea, amounting to 3,000 million dollars (cf. 1955 "Economic Year Book" edited by the Research Department of the ROK Bank).

During the three years of the Korean war, the American soldiers have committed most cruel and inhuman atrocities and massacres unprecedented in the history of mankind.

To have an idea of these atrocities, it is enough to cite the fact that the number of innocent people massacred in Korea by the US troops during the 14 months from June 25, 1950, to Aug., 1951, reached more than 2 million.

Their atrocities were unparalleled not only in the number of people they massacred but also in the cruelty of methods they used. How cruel were their acts can be seen through the following instances:

On October 18, 1950, the American soldiers in Shinchun county arrested more than 900 innocent inhabitants, tied them up with ropes and cords, and put them into a pit. Then the American soldiers poured gasoline and set them on fire, and shot those who tried to creep out. They then buried them on the spot including those who were still alive.

On Oct. 20, 1950, in the same county, the American soldiers massacred over 520 people en masse by another cruel method. The American soldiers, after stripping those people naked, drove them into an underground shelter, blocked the entry with boards and earth, and after leaving them to suffer from suffocation for a long while, massacred them by exploding the dynamites that had been placed inside the shelter in advance.

On Oct. 9, 1950, in Seoul, the American soldiers arrested 16 innocent inhabitants, and killed them by cutting off their hands, legs, tongues, ears, noses, and breasts when they were women, and scooping out their eyeballs.

In Oct. 1950, in Inchon, the American soldiers arrested Kim Bu Ing (27 years of age), wife of Li Sang Kyoan, a dock worker in Inchon, for the only reason that she was a member of the Women's Union. After violating and torturing her by every means, they stripped her naked, burnt her breasts and sexual organ with a heated iron poker and then killed her.

On Oct. 18, 1950, in Wonsan-ri, Chori myun, Shinchun county, the American soldiers arrested a peasant called Bak Do Se only because he was a model farmer, passed wire through his nose and ears, pierced his hands with a bayonet, nailed the words "model farmer" on his forehead and dragged him around the village before they killed him. And American soldiers tied his daughter-in-law Li Ok Bong to a chestnut tree on a hill, inserted into her vagina a stick wet with petrol, and killed her by setting it on fire. All this brutality because she resisted them when the latter tried to violate her.

These are only a few instances of the atrocities and massacres committed by the US troops during the war in Korea.

Even after the conclusion of the Armistice Agreement, the American imperialists consistently pursuing their aggressive policy, have continued to commit atrocities against the Korean people.

Constantly obstructing the peaceful unification of the country, the unanimous desire of the Korean people, the American imperialists have intensified their colonial enslavement policy in South Korea, and become more and more frenzied in oppressing and exploiting the people.

Flagrantly violating the Armistice Agreement, they are trying to perpetuate the occupation of South Korea as their aggressive "advanced assaulting base."

To begin with, the American imperialists concluded the "ROK-US Treaty for Mutual Defence" with the Syngman Rhee clique on Aug 8, 1953, only 10 days after the signing of the Armistice Agreement,

a treaty granting wholly to the American imperialists the prerogative of supreme command over South Korean puppet army and providing for the permanent occupation of South Korea by the US Army.

The very fact that this treaty was concluded even prior to the opening of the preliminary talks to prepare for the political conference envisaged in the Armistice Agreement, proves without the slightest doubt that, from the beginning, they were not the least inclined towards the peaceful unification of Korea.

On the other hand, the American imperialists and the Syngman Rhee clique are resorting to continuous provocative acts violating the military demarcation line. The number of cases of the violation of the Armistice Agreement by the American imperialists and the Syngman Rhee clique that our side took up with the US side as of April 15, 1958, alone reached 780, including the cases of intrusion by their military aircraft since the Armistice Agreement.

Moreover, they systematically organized all kinds of provocations for the purpose of obstructing the activities of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission even threatening the lives of its members. At the end of this, they unilaterally suspended the lawful activities of the Neutral Nations inspection teams in the whole area of South Korea in June 1956.

And on June 21, 1957, they unilaterally renounced the observation of paragraph 13-d of the Armistice Agreement which prohibits the illegal introduction of military weapons into Korea, and they openly tried to bring about the overall abolishment of the Korean Armistice Agreement.

On July 1, 1957, the American imperialists brought the "United Nations Command" in Seoul. On Oct. 15, they transferred the 1st Cavalry Division from Japan to South Korea, integrated it with the 24th Division of the US Army stationed in South Korea and formed a new "Atomic Division" together with the 7th Division of the US Army.

And the South Korean puppet army which consisted of 16 divisions at the time of armistice has been expanded to 21 divisions with 720,000 effectives in active service and 10 divisions of "reserves." They are still continuing to reinforce fervently the puppet army enrolling the youth by force.

Besides this, they have introduced into South Korea atomic guns of 280 mm. calibre, an Honest John rocket battalion from Japan, and conducted large scale "mobile atomic manoeuvres."

The American imperialists are still continuing to supply the Syngman Rhee puppet army with a large amount of new type weapons.

The colonial policy of the American imperialists to enslave the South Korean economy has also been intensified after the war in Korea.

Today the South Korean economy is completely subordinated to American imperialists. Among the capital goods needed in South Korea, 100 per cent of machine tools, rubber, sugar, fertilizer, 95-98 per cent of cotton, and 80 per cent of cement are supplied by the United States.

Such aggressive policy of economy pursued by the American imperialists has inevitably caused severe damages to the national economy in South Korea.

In 1956, the industrial output in South Korea was reduced to 57 per cent that in the last days of the Japanese imperialist rule (according to the calculation based on the reports of Tonga Ilbo dated Jan. 10, 1957, and Seoul Shinmoon dated Aug. 15, 1955) and between Oct. 1955 and Jan. 1957, 1,176 medium and small enterprises went bankrupt as against Oct. 1955 (see Chosun Ilbo dated Feb. 17, 1957).

The aggressive policy of economy pursued by the American imperialists has also brought grave consequences in the field of agricultural economy.

Under the Japanese imperialist rule, South Korea did not feel any shortage of food although the Japa-

nese imperialists shipped out every year several million suk of rice to their country.

However, today South Korea has turned into an area of starvation and is obliged to import several million suk of rice from foreign countries every year.

This is the result of the aggressive scheme of the American imperialists who are trying to reduce South Korea into a consuming market where they can sell their surplus agricultural products. They have systematically ruined South Korean agriculture. For example, in 1955, the cultivated land in South Korea diminished by 310,000 hectares as against the last days of the Japanese imperialist rule. (See the 1957 Economic Year Book of the Bank of ROK) and the agricultural output in South Korea decreased in 1956 by 30 per cent as against the last days of the Japanese imperialist rule (ditto). The output of cotton in 1957 was reduced to 18 per cent as against 1945 (Kyung-hyang Shinmoon dated Oct. 30, 1957).

Under such circumstances, every year, in the lean spring season, more than 700 thousand households of farmers run out of food (Dongyang Tongshin, Jan. 9, 1958) and at the end of March, 1957, the number of foodless peasant households reached 1.2 million.

And, this year also, according to the figures compiled by the end of January, the number of foodless peasant households was expected to reach 700 thousand by the end of February (Sege Tongshin, Feb. 13, 1958).

Because of the impoverishment of the peasants, their debts are growing yearly, and in 1957, the amount of their debts increased to 100,000 million hwan, 5 times that in the year of 1954. (See the South Korean review Jaijung No. 6, 1957.)

As a result of the aggressive policy pursued by the American imperialists in South Korea, the mass unemployment, the chronic state of starvation, the skyrocketing prices and taxes are producing untold sufferings and misfortunes in South Korea today.

Thus the South Korean people are placed in an unbearable situation due to the pauperization, non-rights and the unbridled atrocities perpetrated by the U.S. Army occupying South Korea.

DATA ON ATROCITIES OF U.S. ARMY IN SOUTH KOREA

The atrocities of the US Army in South Korea have been steadily increasing since the armistice.

The cases of atrocities committed by the US Army during the period from the signing of the Armistice Agreement on July 27, 1953, to April 1958 amount to more than 200, even according to reports of the South Korean press.

The atrocities of the US Army in South Korea have become more cruel and frequent since last year, especially since the moving of the "U.N. Command" to Seoul.

Such atrocities as those committed by Girard in Japan and Reynolds in Taiwan which stirred up the world public opinion are an "everyday occurrence" in South Korea.

The US Army authorities are taking no due, legal sanctions against the atrocities of the US Army which evoke national indignation of the Korean people and insult the conscience of civilized mankind. On the contrary, they are shielding and encouraging the criminals under this or that pretext.

Here we are citing some instances out of the many atrocities committed by the US Army in South Korea since the armistice as reported by the South Korean press.

I. Raping and Killing Women

As reported by the South Korean press, there has been an unbroken chain of violence and murder cases committed by the US Army against Korean women all over South Korea.

At about 11 a.m. on September 15, 1957, American M.P.s named Carrol B. Taylor and Edward T. Young,

guards at the US Kunsan Air Base, fired carbines at seven Korean girls who were cutting grass nearby, hitting 18-year-old Kim Jung Re and 17-year-old Kang Keum Soon. (Kyunghyang Shinmoon, Sept. 20)

Both girls were seriously wounded, and Kim Jung Re died on Sept. 25.

With regard to the homicide case, the US Air Force authorities announced: "The girls fled when the guards attempted to apprehend them for questioning. When the girls failed to halt, the guards fired at them." (Kyunghyang Shinmoon, Sept. 21, 1957)

It was on Dec. 10, three months after this occurrence that a court martial took up the homicide case of Carrol B. Taylor.

At the court, the truth of the case was brought to the open by eye-witnesses.

Three girls including Kang Keum Soon who came into court as witnesses all testified that the US guards permitted them by gesture to cut grass in the area.

They also stated that no order to halt was given by the guards. (Hankook Ilbo, Dec. 11, 1957)

It became clear that the announcement of the US Air Force authorities did not tally with the true state of affairs.

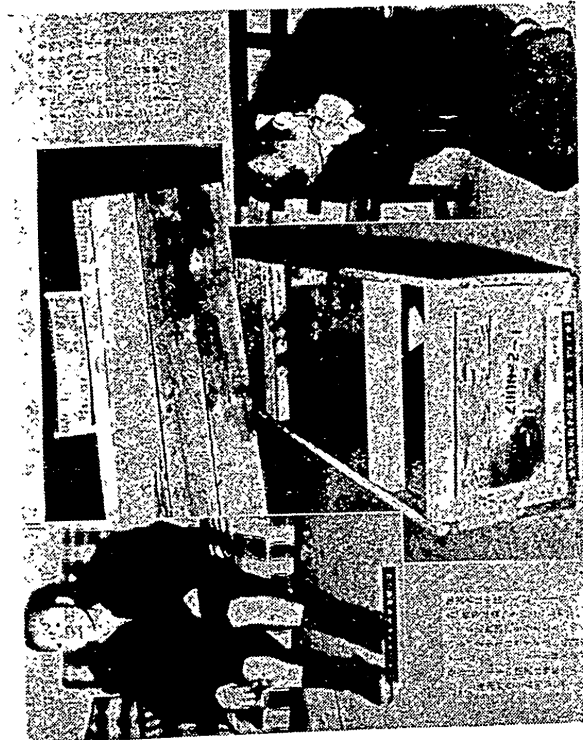
Taylor, one of the accused, who killed the Korean girl, was given by the court martial a penalty of 9 months confinement at hard labour and the reduction of his salary by 75 dollars for the same period.

A court martial of Edward T. Young who killed Korean girl Kim Jung Re was held on January 6, 1958, five months after the occurrence of the incident.

At the court, murderer Edward Young, who had been pleading innocence, could not but admit his guilt, when he was driven to the corner by the testimonies of the eye-witnesses.

On the 9th, the 4th day of the trial, the accused Edward Young was given a penalty of three months confinement and pay cut of 30 dollars for the same period. (Hapdong Tongshin, Jan. 9)

According to a March 20, 1958 report of AP-Hapdong Tongshin, the reexamination committee of the US



On February 25, 1958, in Poopyung, Kyunggi Province, 4 U.S. soldiers under the command of Major James of the U.S. 8th Army Aircraft Maintenance Centre ruthlessly tortured a Korean boy, 13-year-old Kim Choon Il, nailed him into a wooden box, and tried to kill him. (Photo shows Kim Choon Il confined in the box)



The American imperialists murdered great numbers of patriots imprisoned at prisons in every place of South Korea right before the liberation of Seoul by the Korean People's Army on June 28, 1950.
Photo: Bodies of our patriots slaughtered near the Wolmi island, Inchon

court martial which reviewed the Taylor case on Dec. 10, 1957, delayed the putting into effect of the verdict.

Reports on similar incidents began to appear in the South Korean press as soon as the armistice was signed.

On Jan. 19, 1954, on the road in front of a hospital in Torim-dong, Seoul, an American truck ran over several Korean women who were cleaning the street, killing one woman on the spot and mortally wounding three others. (Chosun Ilbo, Jan. 21, 1954)

On July 28, 1954, on the roadside of Hyangdang-dong, Seoul, an American soldier stabbed a 19-year-old Korean woman named Kim Yung Soon in the left side of her chest without any reason whatsoever, killing her on the spot. (Kyunghyang Shinmoon, July 31, 1954)

On November 6, 1954, three American soldiers who were guarding an army train at the Kunsan railway station yard dragged by force into an empty freight car a 19-year-old Korean girl named Ahn Bok Hi, residing in Eulchi-ro, Kunsan city, who was passing the yard. The soldiers raped the Korean girl in turn, one raping her and two holding her arms and legs. Then they threw her out when she lost consciousness. (Seoul Shinmoon, Nov. 11, 1954)

On March 4, 1955, in the vicinity of the barbed-wire fence of the US Army barracks in Keumpa-ri, Papyungmyun, Pajoo county, a guard fired his carbine at 24-year-old Chung Sang Bok and four other Korean women who were passing there, killing them on the spot. (Kyunghyang Shinmoon, March 9, 1955)

On June 19, 1955, a US soldier of an artillery unit stationed in Inchon was practising shooting a revolver at the place only four or five metres off the street. He shot a bullet at the head of a passer-by Song Ok Boon, an 18-year-old girl student of the Inchon Normal School. (Kyunghyang Shinmoon, July 28, 1955)

On July 16, 1955, a soldier of the US 728th M.P. unit broke into Li Chan Kyoo's house in Kalsan-dong, Inchon, carrying a revolver with him. When the family prevented him from entering the room of the 13-year-



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old daughter of Li Chan Kyoo, who was in bed, he beat the father and girl's mother Pak Bok Ryong with his revolver, inflicting heavy wounds requiring two weeks and one week treatment respectively. (Inchon Shinmoon, July 18, 1955).

On Nov. 29, 1955, in Ichon-dong, Ryongsan ward, Seoul, an American soldier on guard duty fired his carbine at a 14-year-old girl named Kim Shin Ja who was catching the gasoline drippings from a leaking oil pipe. A bullet pierced her breast, inflicting heavy wounds requiring one month's treatment. (Chosun Ilbo, Nov. 30, 1955)

On December 12, 1955, K.I. Menth, (transcribed from Korean), a soldier belonging to the C company of the 15th Anti-aircraft Unit, US 7th Division, stationed in Masan-ri, Papyung myun, Pajoo county, Kyonggi province, kidnapped 25-year-old Korean women Kim Choon Ha and took her out to a hill in Yongsang-dong of Masan-ri. In fear of the exposure of his crime after gratifying his carnal desire, he beat Kim Choon Ha to death with his fists. (Inchon Ilbo, Jan. 19, 1956)

It is an everyday occurrence for US soldiers to commit atrocities against South Korean women in broad daylight in the streets of cities.

On January 22, 1956, two American soldiers appeared in Torim-dong, Yungdeungpo ward, Seoul, and detained 19-year-old Korean girl Choi Keum Im who was going home from a theatre. Failing to gratify their lust due to her resistance, they fired two revolver bullets, one passing through her left arm. (Chosun Ilbo, Jan. 24, 1956)

On April 8, 1956, a guard of the 32nd Regiment, US 7th Division, stationed in Ryonghyun-dong, Inchon, forcibly took with him to the guard-house a 33-year-old woman teacher of the 2nd class of the 3rd form of the Ryonghyun Primary School, on the false charge of gasoline theft without any ground whatsoever and shot his M1 rifle at this pregnant woman, killing her on the spot.

In this connection, the April 10 issue of Inchon Ilbo carried an item denouncing the audacious atrocity of

the US soldier. It said: Guards of US units stationed in Inchon are using their arms at random, thus frequently causing incidents resulting in the death of citizens. The peaceable citizens appeal to the US Army authorities to put an end to the acts of violating civil rights

Disregarding the ever mounting voices of protest of the South Korean people against the frequent homicidal outrages of the US Army in South Korea, the US soldiers are committing more and more atrocities.

At about 4 p.m. on May 9, 1956, near a US oil pipeline in Ryonghyun-dong, Inchon city, an American guard fired his shot-gun at 45-year-old Korean woman Pak Kyung Oh residing in No. 530, Ryonghyun-dong who was coming back from the market after shopping. She was mortally wounded when a bullet passed through her waist. The criminal brazen-facedly blared that he took her for a gasoline thief. (Inchon Ilbo, May 12, 1956)

On July 27, 1956, a soldier of a US Army unit stationed in Inchon pursued to her house the wife of Chang Sung Won residing in Soongeui-dong, Inchon, who collected gasoline leaking from an oil pipe. He sprinkled gasoline over the house and burnt six family members alive. (Inchon Ilbo, July 30, 1956)

On May 16, 1957, Corporal Thomas Amendahuri and one other US soldier belonging to the Headquarter Company, 3rd Battalion, 17th Regiment of the US Army stationed in Woonchun-ri, Yungbook myun, Pochun county, Kyonggi province, swooped down upon two Korean women, Byun Keum Soon and Chang Myung Sook, who were passing by the barbed-wire fence. Coming up against the stubborn resistance of the girls, the American soldiers kicked Byun Keum Soon off a 120 foot cliff, killing her instantaneously and beat up Chang Yung Sook, inflicting serious injuries. (Chosun Ilbo, May 18, 1957)

Around 2 p.m. on March 11, 1957, in Dukchun-ri, Papyung myun, Pajoo county, Kyonggi province, an unidentified US soldier belonging to the 48th Field Artillery Unit, 24th Division of the US Army, seeing

Korean women Li Ai Dol, 43, and Choi Soon Hi, 25, doing a washing at a river-side, attempted to rape Choi Soon Hi. When she ran away, he attacked Li Ai Dol. Coming up against her resistance, the US soldier shot and killed her with his carbine. (Tonga Ilbo, March 13, 1957)

On August 10, 1957, Corporal C. Maik of the Supply Battalion, 3rd Regiment, US Army, broke into the house of Song Soon Ok at No. 92, Bookchang-dong in the Central District of Seoul, and attempted to rape her. When she offered resistance, he injured four women in the room, and ran away breaking 18 window panes. (Chosun Ilbo, Aug. 12, 1957)

On September 10, 1957, a US guard belonging to the "Haiaria" Unit stationed in Pusan, fired his carbine at Kim Ok Ki, 22, and one other Korean woman who were passing near the barbed wire of the unit. A bullet pierced the shoulder and passed into the breast of Miss Kim Ok Ki. (Hankook Ilbo, Sept. 11, 1957)

On Sept. 17, 1957, a Korean woman Ki I Song sustained a wound on her arm, hit by a splinter of 35 inch rocket shell discharged by the US Army at the shooting ground near Wabang-ri where the US 7th Division is stationed. (Kyunghyang Shinmoon, Sept. 21, 1957)

Around 8 a.m. on Sept. 20, 1957, several US soldiers appeared in Haje village, Okkoo myun in the suburbs of Kunsan, and took away the draught cow of peasant Choi Bong Wha. When Choi's wife Kim Soon Rye (62 year old) begged the US soldiers to return the cow, they set a military dog on her. For the purpose of halting such uninterrupted atrocities of the US soldiers, the correspondents in the Kunsan area requested an interview with the commander of the US soldiers, but even this request was rejected. (Seoul Shinmoon, Sept. 23, 1957)

On Oct. 3, 1957, a 60-year old woman Kim Ho Hi, while working in a paddy field in the vicinity of Pajoo-ri, Pajoo county, Kyonggi province, was shot by hunting-gun bullets fired by Mgt. Joseph E. Woodin belonging to the 24th Division of the US Army. The US

side brazen-facedly announced that the US soldier fired his hunting gun at a pheasant, but the bullet hit the upper part of her body. She died on the way to a hospital for first aid. (Tonga Ilbo, Oct. 6, 1957)

On Oct. 5, 1957, Pfc. Ronald Smith, a guard of the Engineer Battalion, 7th Division of the US Army stationed in the Dongdoochun area, Kyonggi Province, fired his gun at random at Chun Bok Soon, 50, Li Chun Soon, 23, and two other Korean women who lost their way in the vicinity of the Battalion area, killing Li Chun Soon and wounding Chun Bok Soon in her left arm.

In connection with this incident, the US 8th Army authorities alleged that the women intruded into the battalion compound breaking the barbed wire fence and approached their supply house and were shot because they attempted to run away when they were ordered to halt by the guard. It was also announced that the 2 other women were also caught and put under custody. (Chosun Ilbo, Oct. 7, 1957)

But the result of the "ROK-US joint investigation" proved that the women were fired at while trying to find their way in a thick fog. (Hapdong Tongshin message from Seoul, Oct. 5, 1957)

On Oct. 27, 1957, in 6th Street Eulji-ro, Seoul, Sgt. Blick Wall belonging to the "O.E.C. Officers Club" caught a Korean woman Kim Soon Ja for no reason, beat and wounded her. (Kookje Shinbo, Oct. 30, 1957)

On Nov. 2, 1957, Sfc. Constle Williams belonging to the 68th Artillery Company of the US Army stationed on the Wolmi island, Inchon, attempted to rape a Korean woman Kim Yung Ai, 22, residing in Choon-gang-dong of the city, and beat her up and heavily wounded for refusing his demand. (Chosun Ilbo, Nov. 8, 1957)

At night on Nov. 9, 1957, US soldiers Wilk Sumalcom and Girat belonging to the 633rd Engineer Company, 36th Engineer Battalion of the US Army, broke into the bed-room of a Korean woman Oh Yung Soon,

27. and attempted to gratify their carnal appetite. When she resisted the two US soldiers pommelled her, inflicting serious wounds upon her. (Chosun Ilbo, Nov. 13, 1957)

Around 3 p.m. on the 23rd of Nov. 1957, Pfc. Elkis and one other of the US 50th Artillery Battalion stationed in Inchon intruded into the house of a Korean woman Kim Yong Ja, 26, at No. 777, Dongchoon-dong, Inchon, and attempted to violate her. When she resisted they beat her up, seriously injuring her. (Chosun Ilbo, Nov. 27, 1957)

On December 20, 1957, in front of a US Army club in Moonrai-dong, Yungdeungpo district, Seoul, Corp. Bensontnal of the US Air Force beat for no reason Choi Kil Ja, 32, and one other woman who were standing in the road, inflicting wounds requiring two weeks treatment. (Chosun Ilbo, Dec. 22, 1957)

On the evening of April one, on the 1st wharf of Pusan, US Army train guard Mckenney, 21, raped a passing Korean woman and then shot her for the fear of the exposure of his crime.

In this connection, the US Army authorities announced that the guard fired a carbine bullet at two Koreans who were approaching him, and this bullet hit the woman, killing her. (Sege Tongshin, April 2, 1958)

But according to the result of the investigation of the South Korean side to the "ROK-US Joint Investigation Group" semen was found through the autopsy of the body and thus it was made clear that she was violated. (Dongyang Tongshin, April 5, 1958)

2. Atrocities against Children, Youth and Students

Among the barbarous acts of the US Army in South Korea, its merciless atrocities against innocent children go beyond the imagination of the sobre-minded people.

The incidents in which South Korean children fell victim to the villainous amusement of the US Army

after the war reach an astounding figure even according to the extremely restricted data reported by the South Korean press.

Follows some instances of those atrocities that aroused the particular wrath of the South Korean public:

On February 25, 1958, in Poopyung, 2 US officers and 1 Corporal ruthlessly tortured a Korean boy, nailed him into a wooden box and carried him away by a helicopter.

According to the investigation of the "ROK-US Joint Investigation Group," around 3 a.m. on Feb. 25, three US armymen including Captain Marvin. E. Kemp of the US 8th Army Aircraft Maintenance Centre in Poopyung, under the command of Major Thomas G. James, beat a Korean boy Kim Choon Il, 13, and stabbed with a knife his legs and arms on the false charge of "theft."

He was stabbed with a knife three times by the captain and ruthlessly beaten by another soldier.

The boy's hair was cut off with a pair of electric hair-clippers and tar-like substance was daubed on his head.

Then the boy was put into a box used for transporting airplane parts and the lid was nailed down.

At 8 a.m. Major James loaded the box into a helicopter and took it to Euijungboo north of Seoul where he dumped the cargo.

According to what the Korean boy Kim Choon Il said, he asked a man in Euijungboo the way to Poopyung and then set out. (Hapdong Tongshin of March 1.)

He said that he resisted with all his strength when he was being put into a box.

At an interview with an AP correspondent, he said, "I was sure that I would be sent to far-away place and killed."

Information released by the US Army side was at variance with the deposition of Kim Choon Il. The AP-Hapdong Tongshin confirms this fact on March 3 in the following words:

To the question of the AP correspondent the boy described the persecution, crying bitterly. "They kicked, stabbed and beat me, tarred my head and nailed me down in a box.

"On the 25th, I was tortured for nearly 5 hours in an officer's room. Until I was put into the box, two American soldiers endlessly tortured me, kicking and stabbing. A certain Major told them to agonize me. A captain and master sergeant beat me with a leather strap and a two-foot-long stick, until the leather tore to three pieces. They also stabbed me with a fruit knife on my arm and leg, leaving one inch gashes. Moreover, they cut my hair with a clipper or pulled it out with pliers.

"After that they took me to a guard house and put me in a box. Before they nailed me down they poured something black like tar on my head. That stuff ran down in my ears and my left ear was almost stopped up."

After he returned from Euijungboo, the boy said, he used 1.5 gallons of gasoline to wipe off the tar.

When he was sent to Euijungboo in a box, he was almost unconscious. But he happened to see, through a crack of the box, people passing, so he called out for help with all his might.

To the question of the AP reporter asking if he has any relative, the boy answered, again crying, that his mother died when he was ten years old, his elder brother was in the army and his father living in Masan.

This is the rough account of the circumstances of the case.

Recently the "court martial" of the US Ground Force acquitted those American soldiers who com-

mitted such outrage and passed the sentence of "reprimand" and 1,200 dollar "fine" upon Captain Kemp alone.

More cruel than this is the case of shooting 3 year old baby in Inchon last year.

At about 8:30 a.m., on July 6, 1957, Pfc Ronald Fasset belonging to a US guard detachment stationed at the Inchon port, who was guarding oil pipe, shot with his carbine Kim Yung Ho, 3 year old (western count 2 years of age) son of Kim Chang Jin residing at house No. 442, Soongin-dong, Inchon, who was playing on an oil pipe. (July 11, 1957 issue of Chosun Ilbo.) Local Police report No. 3,422 on this case, presented to the "Security Bureau" said, "While the American soldier was playing with the baby, Yung Ho, his carbine was fired by accident and the bullet went through the baby's head." (July 15, 1957 issue of Hankook Ilbo.)

However, according to a Hankook Ilbo report from the spot quoting a local witness, it was not confirmed that the American soldier played with the baby, but it was established that he shot at the head of the baby. (Hankook Ilbo of July 15, 1957.)

The result of the investigation conducted by the US Army side was made public on the 19th through the US 8th Army. According to the announcement Pfc Ronald Fasset committed an accidental homicide and he would be court-martialed accordingly. The American military tribunal decided to acquit him and only imposed a penalty of pay-cut for three months upon him. (Seoul Shinmoon of Sept. 30, 1957)

At about 4:40 p.m. on August 25, 1957, a few days after the incident, 18 year old Cho Byung Kil who lived at house No. 135, Soongeu-dong, Inchon, was killed by the bullet fired by Pfc Martin Mills belonging to the "K" Detachment of the Guard Unit of the 21st Port Command. The Korean boy was swimming with his friends in a saltern reservoir on the outskirts of Inchon.

Concerning this incident, the authorities of the 8th Army made an official announcement on the 26th saying that the shooting at Cho Byung Kil, who was swimming in Inchon, by Pfc Martin Mills of the Guard Unit of the Port Command of the US Army was an accident resulting from the shooting for a warning against approaching an oil pipe.

Hankook Ilbo of Aug. 28 reported about this incident as follows:

Over one hundred youth and children were swimming in the Yonghyun-dong reservoir on the afternoon of the 25th.

Li Jung Woo, a witness of the day's incident, said, "Martin Mills threw stones at the swimming children at first. The children swam away and climbed up to the western bank. The American soldier leveled his M-1 rifle for two or three minutes at them who were in some 80 meters distance looking toward him, and pulled the trigger. Two bullets dropped in the water and the third one hit Cho Byung Kil."

A joint investigation was conducted by the authorities concerned of the Kyonggi Provincial Police and the officers concerned of the US Army stationed in the area.

At first the US Army side insisted that the shooting by Martin Mills was a legitimate act of a guard, but at 2 p.m. on the 27th it agreed that Cho Byung Kil was shot without any reason and Pfc. Martin Mills should be dealt with by law at a court martial.

Notwithstanding this, on Sept. 24th, a US court martial sentenced Pfc Martin Mills to two months confinement at hard labour and a fine of 30 dollars per month for a period of 3 months on the charge of "involuntary man-slaughter and failure to obey a lawful order."

Disregarding even the agreement reached after the joint investigation, the court martial alleged that Pfc Martin Mills fired blank shots for warning the swimming Korean children not to approach the oil pipe.

Seeing no result, it went on, he shot into the water but the bullet bounced in the water and hit the abdomen of Cho Byung Kil.

This court decision utterly ignores the fact that a guard can only shoot towards the air for warning. (Kyunghyang Shinmoon of Sept. 26, 1957.)

While this killing of a boy was stirring South Korean public opinion, another shooting of a middle school boy took place at the Kimchun Railway Station in North Kyungsang Province.

At about 8:30 a.m. of Oct. 3, Song Joon Won, 16 years of age and a third year student of the Keumreung middle school, and three other boys were crossing the compound of the Kimchun Railway Station for a short-cut on their way to school. At that time US boxcar train No. 126 halted at the northern end of the platform for a repair, stretching far out to the compound. The boys passed by the end of the train. At this time, Raymond L. Bailey, an M.P. of the "B" company, 728th US M.P. Unit, who was guarding the train, pulled out a revolver and shot at those boys without any rhyme or reason. The American M.P. shot again at running boys and the second bullet hit the thigh of Song Joon Won and killed him.

Bailey, the murderer, hid himself in a "ROK" M.P. unit, which gave him protection and transferred him to the US Army CID.

In the close wake of the shooting, numerous villagers ran onto the scene and launched a demonstration in demand of the handing over of the criminal to the Koreans, and thus a serious situation was created for a time.

As to this murder case, the US Eighth Army authorities announced that "Bailey shouted halt in Korean" when the Korean students allegedly hung onto the train and that "he fired one shot into the air and, when they ran, fired on the ground in the general direction of the fleeing youths."

However, the results of an investigation by a

"ROK-US joint investigation group" consisting of personnel of the "Provincial Police Criminal Investigation Section" and US Second CID in Taegu as well as the testimony of a student named Li Kil Si (16 years of age) who witnessed the incident proved that the announcement of the US Eighth Army was apart from the truth.

The South Korean paper Hankook Ilbo said that Bailey's allegation about the student hanging on the train was totally groundless and that the students were only passing the shortcut taken by hundreds of students every day and, therefore, there was no reason for them to be ordered to halt. Though it was alleged that the first shot was fired into the air, investigations proved that it was fired at the boy from behind, at a distance of 72 meters, the paper added. Both the first bullet, which was allegedly fired into the air, and the second one, which was said to have been fired on the ground, left shot-holes on a wall of a nearby briquette factory covered with barrel iron plates. (Hankook Ilbo, Oct. 8, 1957)

According to the testimonies given at the court-martial by Li Kil Si, Chung Woon Do, 46-year-old coal and water supply man, and another witness named Chun Choon Dol (40 years of age), they heard no order to halt and only saw the G.I. firing. (Seoul Shinmoon, Oct. 30, 1957)

A US Army Master Sergeant who investigated the spot of incident also stated that the barrel iron plate behind the spot bore two bullet-holes," thus disproving the statement of Bailey to the effect that one shot was fired into the air.

Though facts proved that the US soldier committed an intentional murder, the US Army court-martial convicted him of "accidental homicide" and sentenced him to "nine months confinement at hard labour, a bad conduct discharge and loss of all pay and allowances." (Kyunghyang Shinmoon, Oct. 30, 1957)

With regard to this incident, Chosun Ilbo wrote:

"Recently there have been a steady stream of incidents of shooting committed by US soldiers in the capital and in various localities — Pajoo, Kunsan, Inchon and other areas. And, now, a US M.P. fired bullets at young students for no reason and killed one of them. This sparked a near riot by citizens, who demanded that Bailey be turned over to them."

Hankook Ilbo said on Oct. 8, 1957, that "what is felt in this area is that only a severe punishment of the murderer will mitigate the anger of the people" and that "the US Army authorities should stop their perverse, crafty apology." It added that "this incident aroused the anger of the inhabitants there.... and they were on the verge of staging a reproduction of the Taipei anti-US riot."

Stamping the blood-stained ground, the father of the victim said: "As I am uneducated, I sent my son to school at all cost. This fatal day he had only a spoonful of boiled barley before going to school. If I had known he would die like this, I would have fed him to his fill."

This was not the first atrocity committed by US soldiers against innocent children and young people. And this is not the culmination of their cruelty and cold-bloodedness either.

Below we cite some of the atrocities committed by them prior to this.

On Jan. 12, 1956, on the street of Moonrai-dong, Yongdungpo district, Seoul, a lorry driver of the US 10th Artillery unit killed with a pistol 20-year-old Chang Kap Joon who asked him to give a lift. (Kyunghyang Shinmoon, Jan. 14, 1956)

On March 18, 1956, at about 7 in the evening, two Turkish soldiers belonging to the "UN forces" enticed Pak Myung Je, a 16-year-old boy residing in Bangsung-ri, Paiksuk myun, Pajoo county, to bring 100 dollars in military script by offering to sell him six cases of coffee. When the boy brought the money, they took him into a nearby mountain, pretending to lead

him to their quarters, killed him and robbed him of the money. (Pusan Ilbo, March 23, 1956)

On April 5, 1956, at about 11 in the morning, a truck driver named Menold (transcribed from Korean) belonging to the 78th unit stationed in Inchon ran over Chung Chang Jin, fourth year pupil of the Sin-heung Primary School, and escaped, paying no heed to the dead boy. (Inchon Ilbo, April 7, 1956)

On April 8, 1956, in Ryonghyun-dong, Inchon city, a guard named J. Young of the 32nd Rgt., 7th Div. of the US Army took by force to the guard house a 12-year-old girl by the name of Chun Yung Soon, fifth year pupil of a primary school residing in the same area, manhandled her and fired bullets at her, severely injuring her in the thighs, on the false charge of gasoline theft. (Inchon Ilbo, April 10, 1956)

In April 1956, 17-year-old boy Kim Bak of Choon-gangdong, Yongdungpo district, Seoul, who had been working as a house-boy in the US 505 unit was shot and killed by US soldiers for no reason. (Chosun Ilbo, April 26, 1956)

On May 11, 1956, an 18-year-old boy Li Yung Hoon, who was passing along the street near his home, House Number 500, Hakik-dong, Inchon, was hit by a bullet discharged by Pfc. Dorington (transcribed from Korean), a US guard. The boy died the next day. The US Army authorities announced that the guard shot the boy, mistaking him for a thief. (Inchon Ilbo, May 15, 1956)

On July 18, 1956, L.S. Duncie (transcribed from Korean) belonging to the US unit stationed at the Kimpo airport killed with three pistol bullets a 16-year-old Korean boy Son Se Woon working in the unit, when the boy asked him to return 56 dollars which the US soldier had received from the boy by promising to sell goods. (Tonga Ilbo, July 20, 1956)

On Sept. 23, 1956, Pfc. Maxwell A. Soljon (transcribed from Korean) of the US signal corps stationed in Dairyungdong, Pusan, inflicted a severe injury with a pistol upon a Korean student Kim Jon Soon

(20 years of age) when a quarrel started between the Korean student and another US soldier. (Tonga Ilbo, Sept. 27, 1956)

On Sept. 24, 1956, a US soldier named Hobel (transcribed from Korean) who was guarding a gasoline pool of the US 24th Division in Moonsan-ri, Imjin myun, Pajoo county, Kyonggi province, fired a revolver at two passers-by — 19-year-old Woo Won Whan and 30-year-old Kim Eun Kum — on the suspicion of being gasoline theft, killing Woo and severely injuring Kim. (Chosun Ilbo, Sept. 26, 1956)

On Dec. 16, 1956, two US soldiers shot a wild duck in the river near Dukpo-ri, Sasang myun, Tong-rai county, South Kyungsang province. When they lost trace of the duck, they concluded that it had been stolen by the children of the village who were watching the hunting from the other side of the river, and fired shot-gun bullets at the children numbering over forty, thus severely wounding 15-year-old Whang Baik Kwang and 17-year-old Pak Dong Joo in thighs. (Kyunghyang Shinmoon, Dec. 19, 1956)

On the same day, when a train from Moonsan bound for Inchon was passing through Soosaik-dong, Seoul, S. Mills (transcribed from Korean) belonging to the US 728th M.P. Company fired a shot-gun from the train at a 17-year-old boy Pak Kyung Deuk who was passing the vicinity, thus severely wounding him in the face. (Kyunghyang Shinmoon, Dec. 19, 1956)

On Jan. 11, 1957, at the entrance of Yongdunpo railway station a US guard fired a fatal bullet at 17-year-old Li Koo Ryong on the false charge of coal theft. (Chosun Ilbo, Jan. 13, 1957)

In Jan. 1957, two US soldiers belonging to the 55th airfield, who were having pistol shooting practice on the road, killed "Corporal" Han Sul Yung of the 25th Regiment of the "ROK Army," who was passing by. The US Army side refused even to hand over the body of Han to his bereaved family member. (Inchon Shinbo, Jan. 15, 1957)

On Jan. 13, 1957, a US soldier on board a transport train, while passing by Mansuk-dong, Inchon City,

fired at children running after the train, killing one of them Choi Bang Bai (age 16) of the afore-mentioned dong. (Chosun Ilbo of Jan. 16, 1957)

On February 19, 1957, Clayton Wilson, a sentry belonging to the 8208th Unit of the US Army stationed at Dock No. 3, Choryang-dong, Pusan, shot a Korean youth Kim Hak Soo (age 19) of Choryang-dong, who was intruding into the unit compound through the barbed-wire fence. (Tonga Ilbo of Feb. 23, 1957)

On March 29, 1957, Sgt. Bill Tejo, a guard of the US Army Oil Supply Station No. 55 in Joore-ri Sasang myun, Tongrae county, South Kyongsang province, fired on Chan Sang Keun (age 17) who was returning home along the nearby highway, and caused him mortal wounds on the lower abdomen and thigh. (Chosun Ilbo of March 31, 1957)

On April 12, 1957, Wilson, a US M.P., plotted in conspiracy with Ahn Tai Wan and 8 other Koreans to steal goods from a US Army supply train on the section between Euijungboo and Dukjung, Kyonggi province. They melted the window bars of a waggon with oxygen, and stole packs of cigarettes worth 2 million hwan in market price.

He tried to restore the window bars to its former status. When he failed in this, to cover up his crime, he opened a concentrated fire with his pistol and light machine gun upon his collaborators, killing one and seriously injuring two of them. (Tonga Ilbo of June 13, 1957, Hapdong Tongshin of April 23, 1957)

On June 6, 1957, two American soldiers of the Central "PX", 24th Division of the US Army, stationed in Yunpoong-ri, Tongrae myun, Pajoo county, Kyonggi province, had a haggling with a shoe-shine boy Chang Ka Won (age 18). They told him to quit, but before he walked some 15 metres away, they fired at him with carbines. One bullet penetrated his cheeks and another broke one finger of his right hand. (Tonga Ilbo of June 9, 1957)

On July 15, 1957, Chi Sang Ryul (age 20, a third year student of Kyungjoo higher school, from Hyoja-



In this way the U.S. imperialists massacred the patriots confined in prisons (at the Incheon prison right before June 28, 1950)



Miserable children of South Korea in search of food under the occupation of the U S imperialists.

dong, Yungil myun, Yungil county, North Kyungsang province) was beaten on a US army train bound for Seoul from Pusan by American soldier Swanson and five others just before the train reached Taegu. Having nearly lost consciousness under heavy blows, the student still tried to get off the train at Taegu Station, but the American soldiers locked him up in a water-closet until the train pulled out. Then the soldiers dragged him out of the water-closet and started beating him again, after which they kicked him off the running train near Waikwan Station. The student was seriously wounded. (Kyunghyang Shinmoon of July 18, 1957)

On July 16, 1957, at the railway siding in front of the ice-manufactory of the US Army at Sungnam-dong, Taejon, Robert Tejohn, a railway guard of the 728th M.P. Station of the US Army, threatened a Korean boy Yoo Jung Bok (age 15) of Sungnam-dong, Taejon, with a carbine, for hanging on to a freight car. When the boy ran in fright, he fired at the boy. The bullet penetrated the boy's lower abdomen, causing a mortal wound. (Hankook Ilbo of July 19, 1957)

On August 26, 1957, a US Army truck ran over four Korean children playing on the street of Hain-dang-dong, Sungdong Ward, Seoul. One boy named Choo Eul Ki (age 12) was killed and the others, Ro Sun Kyoo (age 11) and Han Baik Kyoo (age 11) were mortally injured. (Chosun Ilbo of Aug. 28, 1957)

On Aug. 29, 1957, a rushing US Army truck killed a Korean boy (about 10 years old) on the street before No. 10, Hannam-dongsan, Ryongsan Ward, Seoul, and ran away. (Kyunghyang Shinmoon of Aug. 31, 1957)

On Sept. 4, 1957, Pfc Hand Beljjei, on guard at the barbed-wire fence in the vicinity of "Haiaaria" dock, Bumjun-dong, Pusan, made a Korean shoe-shine boy Han Yup (age 14) polish his shoes, sticking out his leg through the barbed wire. When the boy asked to be paid, the soldier fired on him sending a bullet through the calf of his left leg. (Kyunghyang Shinmoon of September 17, 1957)

In connection with this case, the 8th Army Command reported that the sentry, seeing a Korean boy

trying to climb the fence of the US Army unit, ran toward him to stop him. But he fell on the ground and discharged his carbine by mistake, causing a wound on the boy. (Chosun Ilbo of Sept. 6, 1957)

On Aug. 31, 1957, in the vicinity of Dock No. 3, Pusan, two American soldiers fired at random on Kim Hyung Tai (age 14) and Choi Bong Book (age 17), causing them serious wounds. (Hapdong Tongshin of Aug. 31, 1957)

On Oct. 16, 1957, Chung Soon Ho (age 4) was killed by a US Army truck at a place 4 k.m. north of Euijungbo, Kyonggi province. (Kyunghyang Shinmoon of Oct. 19, 1957)

According to an announcement of the US Air Force in South Korea as quoted by U.P. on Oct. 23, 1957, William Colman belonging to the 6122nd US Air Force Command, while hunting pheasant with a hunting gun in the vicinity of Kangneung, injured by mistake a Korean boy Kim Jong Shik (age 18). (Hapdong Tongshin, Seoul, of Oct. 24, 1957)

On Oct. 24, 1957; Nataro (age 33) of the US 8th Army, while hunting pheasant in Doi-ri, Hyangnam myun, Hoisung county, Kyunggi province, killed a Korean boy Chung Jai Kyung (age 9). (Seoul Shinmoon of Oct. 26, 1957)

On Oct. 24, 1957, Robert Wilkies, an American marine attached to the US Embassy in Seoul killed with his hunting gun a 10 year old Korean boy Chung Choi Koong while hunting pheasant at a place 35 miles south of Seoul. (A.P. Oct. 26, 1957)

On Nov. 3, 1954, a truck of the Turkish unit of the "UN Forces" ran against a Korean private house, killing a 4-year-old child in the Kalkon-ri, Chungyung myun, Pajoo county, Kyunggi province. (Kyunghyang Shinmoon of Nov. 6, 1957)

On Nov. 7, 1957, a Korean girl Kim Soon Yong (age 10 of No. 79, Koojun-dong, Pusan) was killed by a US Army Three Quarter on the street of Pusan harbour. (Sangupkyungje Shinmoon of Nov. 21, 1957)

On Nov. 16, 1957, Kim Soon Yong (age 10 of Koojun-dong, Pusan city) was run over by a Three Quarter

driven by an American soldier in Pusan and died. (Kyunghyang Shinmoon of Nov. 20, 1957)

On Nov. 24, 1957, Brace Benjo (serial No. 01924524) and 5 other American soldiers of the A.C.P. Unit of the US Army at the Central Dock, Pusan city, fired 7 shots with hunting guns at Li Hak Soo (age 11, a third-year pupil of Primary school, Habang village, Sangnam myun, Woolsan county, South Kyung-sang province) who was gathering firewood in the mountain in front of the Habang village, inflicting him mortal wounds on the bosom, shoulder and leg.

The assailants alleged that they took him for a pheasant. (Hankook Ilbo of Nov. 26, 1957)

On Dec. 17, 1957, Moncle, a sergeant of the 42th Engineer Corps of the US Army stationed at Ryoolkok-ri, Patong myun, Pajoo county, Kyonggi Province, fired two shots with his hunting gun at a Korean youth Choi Ki Yung (age 25), an employee of the laundry of the corps, inflicting wound in his face. (Hankook Ilbo of Nov. 20, 1957)

3. Other US Army Atrocities Against South Korean People

Apart from the atrocities against women and youth, the US Army in South Korea has been committing murder, beating, robbery, fraudulence, violence and other outrageous acts more frequently with every passing day, since with the mass violation and plunder case of the US M P. in Pajoo in April last.

In the Pajoo incident of April 16, last year, 80 US MPs attacked in the broad daylight Yongjoo-dong, Yunbong-ri, Choonai myun, Pajoo county, Kyonggi province. They ransacked 184 private houses including Baik Bong In's, and robbed the villagers of 2,324 items of goods amounting to roughly 35 million hwan in market price.

Here is how the incident first broke out. A Korean boy Yoon Bok Ryong (age 18) of the said village, who was leading a miserable life as a shoe-shine boy, gave a US 5 dollar note to American M P. Kelles of the

24th Division for the American cigarettes which the M.P. had promised to buy him. Several days passed. Yoon Bok Ryong demanded the M.P. to give him the promised cigarettes, but the latter flatly refused this. Then Yoon Bok Ryong asked the M.P. to pay back the 5 dollar. The M.P. refused this, too, and even beat Yoon up.

On the other hand, Smith, M.P. Captain and Commander of the M.P. Company to which the M.P. belonged, mobilized 80 men of his company to attack the afore-mentioned village. (Tonga Ilbo of April 23, 1957)

The M.P. Commander of the 8th US Army described it as a lawful act.

In this connection the "Security Bureau" of the Syngman Rhee puppet government, pointing out the unjust attitude of the US Army, lodged a protest against the 8th US Army, but it was of no avail.

Even the South Korean "National Assembly" called for making a strong protest against the US military authorities.

Kim Dal Ho, member of the "National Assembly" denounced the case saying, "The mass violation by the 80 US MPs, who are supposed to maintain military discipline, and their insincere attitude toward the case are so humiliating."

In March, this year, an incident took place in which a farmer was beaten up by a group of American soldiers. On March 8, 1958, at 1 p.m., corp. Kelly and three of his colleagues belonging to the 6147th US Air Corps stationed at Kimpo, Kyonggi province, saw farmer Li Jung Pyo (age 63) pick up a piece of board near the Air Corps on his way home from field work, and beat him with clubs for one hour on the charge of being a robber. The farmer fell unconscious with two ribs on his right side broken and his body covered with cuts and bruises. (Sege Tongshin, March 13, 1958)

To cite only a few examples of US atrocities committed after the Armistice Agreement:

On Nov. 22, 1953, an American soldier jumped into a private car driven by Yoo Tai Ho (age 46) of Wolnan-dong, Seoul and ordered Yoo to drive the car to the Ryongsan Ward and, there, after forcing him to get off, robbed the car from him. (Tonga Ilbo of Nov. 24, 1953)

On March 15, 1954, on board a train in the Kyung-sang-Komo section of the Kyungpu Line, Brown, a master sergeant of the 772th US M.P. Company B. beat Li Jong Keun, a railway man and, after binding his hands and legs together, threw him out of the running train. (Seoul Shinmoon of March 21, 1954)

On May 21, 1954, US military policemen stationed at Pusan beat Chung Ki Do, a railway man, to death, who was discharging his duty as a shunter. (Seoul Shinmoon of May 23, 1954)

On July 5, 1954, on the Eulji-ro in Seoul, some 30 American soldiers committed an act of violence to Li Byung Hoon (age 33) and two other Koreans for no reason whatever. Li Byung Hoon was severely injured and the other two received injuries on their faces. (Seoul Shinmoon of July 17, 1954)

On Nov. 24, 1954, on the street in front of No. 12, Kaman-dong, Pusan, a US Corporal of the 226th Ordnance Corps stabbed a passer-by Ra Ki Chool (age 35), and seriously injured him. (Tonga Ilbo of Dec. 2, 1954)

On January 17, 1955, on the street near Dock No. 3, Taichang-dong, Pusan, some 15 American soldiers broke into a shop run by Woo Man Soo (age 36) and after beating and stabbing him with a dagger on the arms, plundered goods worth some 6,000 hwan. Coming out of the shop, they stabbed passers-by Kim Duk Rim (age 35 living at No. 22, Third Street, Taichang-dong) on the back, and Pak Tai Woo (age 37. Third Street, Yungjoo-dong) in the face. They also attacked two Korean women and another passer-by, with clubs. (Chosun Ilbo of January 19, 1955)

On July 19, 1955, some American soldiers belonging to the Artillery Company, 1st Battalion, 32nd Re-

giment, 7th Division of the US Army, while stealing gasoline with two jeeps in the railway section between Ryongsan and Yunchon, beat up and wounded a railway conductor who happened to pass by there. (Kyunghyang Shinmoon of July 19, 1955)

On Aug. 6, 1955, an American soldier on guard of the quarters of the Neutral Nations Observation Team members at Bumil-dong, Pusan, stabbed with his bayonet Li Jai Woo and 3 other Koreans, inflicting wounds requiring one week to one month medical treatment. (Kyunghyang Shinmoon of Aug. 9, 1955)

On Aug. 12, 1955, fishermen who were fishing in the sea near Wolmi Island, Inchon, saw a US patrol boat approaching them. They signaled that they were engaged in fishing. In spite of this, the American soldiers opened fire with their carbines, killing two and seriously injuring another two. (Kookje Shinbo of Aug. 13, 1955)

On Oct. 26, 1955, Kim Soo Hyung and two other officers of Inchon Customs House, being informed of the fact that large quantities of smuggled goods were being transacted in a British ship anchored in the port, approached the ship to investigate the case. But when they went on board the ship, they were knocked down by a group of unidentified Englishmen. (Kyunghyang Shinmoon, Oct. 30, 1955)

On Nov. 29, 1955, Tonis Napi, a private of the 55th unit of the US Army, who was driving a Three Quarter along the street from Chongro to Kwanghwamoon, fired at a certain Min Yoon Sik who asked for a lift. The bullet penetrated through his right knee. (Tonga Ilbo, Dec. 1, 1955)

In December, 1955, two American soldiers, who got as far as Dock No. 4 at Choryang-dong by a taxi driven by Li Myung Yoo (age 32) of Yungsun-dong, Pusan, didn't pay the fee for the drive. When the driver asked them to pay the fee, they cut the driver's hand and throat with a razor and ran away. (Kookje Shinbo, Dec. 21, 1955)

On Dec. 19, 1955, an American fighter circling in the sky over Horim-dong, Dasan and Kopyong coun-

ties, North Kyungsang province, fired 20 shots from its machine gun on two occasions at a farmer Li Keun Cho (age 44). The victim got a serious wound on the waist. (Jayoo Shinmoon of Dec. 22, 1955)

On December 25, 1955, Luck, a Corporal of the K6 Airfield of the US Air Force at Sujung-ri, Pyungtaik county, Kyonggi province, while driving a car at a speed of 60 miles per hour, hit against the house of Lim Jai Sun (age 36), killing three and seriously injuring four of the family members. (Inchon Ilbo of Dec. 27, 1955)

On Jan. 15, 1956, a Corporal of the US Army in Inchon stole Yankee cigarettes from a street-stall and ran away. (Inchon Ilbo of Jan. 15, 1956)

On Jan. 21, 1956, some guards of the US Army on Dock No. 3 in Pusan opened fire upon two privately-owned boats which were approaching the dock, killing Kim Tan Sik (age 32) and injuring Shin Soo Bok (age 31) and three others. (Chosun Ilbo of Jan. 24, 1956)

On March 3, 1956, at about 7 p.m., in the P.O.L. of the Oil Supply Corps of the US Army at Ryonghyun-dong, Inchon, a US guard shot to death with a hunting gun Li Seung Il (age 29 of No. 331, Ryonghyun-dong) on the ground that the latter had unlawfully intruded into the oil storage house, as reported by Inchon Ilbo.

On Feb. 19, 1956, at 9 a.m., B. Oriel, a private of the 32nd US infantry corps in Inchon, broke into the house of Chung Ki Hong, No. 35, First Street, Shinheung-dong, Inchon and approached the room where women were sleeping, when the master of the house woke up and prevented him from going there. Then the American soldier went wild, beat the people around him and broke furniture. (Inchon Ilbo, Feb. 21, 1956)

On April 1, 1956, three American soldiers entered the house of Kim Myung Hye (age 56) at Sasang myun, Pusan city and, waking the family members up, robbed them of 66,600 hwan of money and other goods. (Kyunghyang Shinmoon, April 3, 1956)

On April 24, 1956, at Chungdo Railway Station a US M.P. fired his pistol at Chung Seung Pyo (age 27) who was about to get on the train, hitting his leg and head. Then he robbed him of his personal belongings and 11,000 hwan of money. Also he sent a bullet through the right leg of Pai Seung Chul. (Kyung-hyang Shinmoon, April 27, 1956)

On Aug. 6, 1956, on the street of Ryongheung-dong, Inchon, an American soldier struck Byun Hyun Nam (age 20) with his rifle-butt and then shot him on the head.

On Aug. 9, 1956, Billy James, a Private, M Thomas, a Sergeant and two other American soldiers of the 32nd Regiment, 7th Division, broke into the guard's room of "Hankook Keumkang Industrial Company Ltd. and, after dragging out Choi Seung Joon (age 46), Choi Jung Ho (age 40), Jung Myung Keun (age 50) and three others on the street, beat them for no reason, inflicting upon each of them serious wounds requiring one month treatment. (Inchon Ilbo of Aug. 12, 1956)

On September 8, 1956, Wiliam Rod, Pfc of the 565th unit of the US Army stationed at Sangkok-dong, Inchon, shot Cho Duk Soon and seriously injured Cho Yong Shik within the compound of the unit on the charge of having stolen US made water-pipes. (Seoul Shinmoon, September 10, 1956)

On Sept. 24, 1956, Fulbert, a Pfc of the US Army gasoline depot at Moonsan-ri, Imjin myun, Pajoo county, Kyonggi province, fired his pistol at Woo Won Hwan (age 29) and one other Korean on the charge of entering the depot, calling them robbers. Woo Won Hwan died on the spot and the other was seriously wounded. (Chosun Ilbo of Sept. 26, 1956)

On Oct. 11, 1956, an American guard on duty near the US Army Air Corps at Sojang-ri, Songam myun, Pyungtaik county, Kyonggi province, shot Kim Sung Ha (age 23), a passer-by on the charge of being a robber. (Chosun Ilbo of Oct. 17, 1956)

On Oct. 13, 1956, in the vicinity of Keumpo airfield, an American soldier working at the chemical



South Korean youngsters leading their life, wandering about streets.



The South Korean foodless peasants are digging out their living, digging and eating roots.

department of the airfield fired at Li Seung Chul (age 20), Kim Jai Chul (age 30) and Kim Il Man (age 26) from Ogo-ri, Ojung myun, Bookchun county, calling them thieves of gasoline. Li Seung Chul and Kim Il Man died on the spot and Kim Jai Chul received a mortal wound. (Dongyang Tongshin of Oct. 7, 1956)

On Nov. 15, 1956, at Ryonghyun-dong, Inchon, an American guard of a gasoline-pipe by the name of Washington George, shot Kim Yang Kyoo from the nearby district under the false charge of having stolen gasoline. (Chosun Ilbo of November 16, 1956)

On Nov. 16, 1956, at Roryangjin, Seoul, two American soldiers, after having a taxi drive throughout the city, robbed the taxi driver Li Jong Chul (age 30) of 10,000 hwan of money. (Tonga Ilbo of Nov. 18, 1956)

On Nov. 17, 1956, on the street of Taihang-dong, Yungdeungpo Ward, Seoul, two American soldiers severely injured a taxi driver Li Suk Rak (age 47) and wrested 4,790 hwan in cash from him. (Chosun Ilbo of Nov. 19, 1956)

On Jan. 18, 1957, on the street of No. 329, Shinkil-dong, Yungdeungpo Ward, Seoul, an unidentified US Army truck ran over Li Ki Ram, mother of a shoemaker living at No. 262, Taibang-dong, Yungdeungpo Ward, and drove away. (Chosun Ilbo of Jan. 20, 1957)

On April 14, 1957, in the vicinity of the cemetery of Yooyun county Clark Eacle and one other American soldier stopped a taxi driven by Kim Jong Man (age 29) and after beating him and robbing him of 3,000 hwan of money, ran away. (Tonga Ilbo of April 19, 1957)

On April 12, 1957, at noon, Clark D. Ledly (age 32), belonging to the 2nd Company, 2nd Battalion, 24th Division of the US Army stationed at Doopo-ri, Papyung myun, Pajoo county, Kyonggi province, fired his M-1 rifle at two Korean young men Chun Sung Woo (age 24) and Song Tai Chul (age 25) from Keumkok-ri, Chunhyun myun of the same county, who were gathering fagot in the mountain. When the surprised young men took to flight, American MPs pur-

sued after them and arrested them. Seeing that they were carrying sickles with them, the MPs beat them with the handle of a pick on the charge of "unlawful possession of weapons." Chun Sung Woo sustained a contusion in the face and Song Tai Chul on the head requiring two weeks treatment. (Tonga Ilbo of April 24, 1957)

On April 27, 1957, Chun Seung Kyoon and two others from Tosung-dong, Pusan, and Pai Seung Chul (age 20) from Soojung-dong, Pusan, wanted to get on a military train bound for Taegu from Chungdo, when a US M.P. fired 8 shots at them with his pistol without giving any warning. Both Chun Seung Kyoon and Pai Seung Chul got wounded. Then they searched Chun Seung Kyoon and robbed him of his personal belongings and 13,000 hwan of money. (Kyunghyang Shinmoon of April 27, 1957)

On April 24, 1957, a patrol of the 32nd Regiment, 7th Division of the US Army, fired at 5 Koreans and killed one of them, Ham Yong Kwan. (Hapdong Tongshin, April 25, 1957)

On April 27, 1957, 5 American soldiers belonging to the 7th Division dropped in the grocer run by Kang Tai Sung (age 33) at Yunpoong-ri, Choonai myun, Pajoo county, Kyonggi province, and drank beer. When Kang Tai Sung demanded him to pay for the beer, the soldier beat him up. (Kyunghyang Shinmoon, April 30, 1957)

On April 27, 1957, Rim Chang Ryong (age 35), Li Soon Bong (age 29) and Hong Bong Kyoon, who were passing by a river in Yunpoong-ri, Choonai myun, Pajoo county, were beaten by three unidentified American soldiers who got down from an army truck which came rushing after them. After knocking them down, the American soldiers threw the victims over the bridge 40 metres high. (Kyunghyang Shinmoon, April 30, 1957)

On April 27, 1957, a US soldier who was driving a truck battered a 49-year-old peasant Whang Jong with ale bottles, inflicting a wound of 5 cm long on his head, at Shinsan-ri, Kwangtan myun, Pajoo county,

Kyonggi province. Then he cut with a knife the left shoulder of a Korean youth Ryoo Myong Whan (27 years of age) to the depth of 10 cms in Dongsan myun, Pajoo county, and when he reached the vicinity of Shinsan-ri, he gave cuffs and kicks to a 21-year-old youth named Ra Hong Kyoon, thus severely wounding him. After a while he appeared on the road in front of the aerodrome at Pajoo, and, brandishing a knife, he gave gashes of 3.5 cms deep on the faces of peasants Choi Won Kyung (26) and Choi Soo Jong (26) who happened to pass by. (Kyunghyang Shinmoon, April 30, 1957)

On May 5, 1957, on the road-side of Osan-ri, Jori myun, Pajoo county, Kyonggi province, two US soldiers belonging to the 3rd Engineering Company, 24th Division, picked a quarrel with a villager named Pak Tong Scon (40) and beat him with pistols, inflicting an injury which will take three weeks to heal. (Chosun Ilbo, May 8, 1957)

On May 13, 1957 Cpl Naon, a guard of the 55th oil supply centre at Choorai-ri, Sasang myun, Tongrai county, South Kyungsang province, seeing two villagers, Pak Sang Dong (32) and Kim Jai Ran (41), scooping up light oil which was flowing out of the compound to the river, fired carbine bullets at them, one bullet piercing their legs. (Chosun Ilbo, May 17, 1957)

On June 28, 1957, at Moonsan station, Kyonggi province, a US M. P. shot the trainmen on account of their refusal of his request to start the train before the time and inflicted a piercing bullet-wound on Kim Ryang Pyo, the assistant locomotiveman. (Sanup-Kyungje Shinmoon, July 7, 1957)

On July 12, 1957, at Kalwul-dong Ryongsan District, Seoul, two US soldiers forced Pak Jong Kook, a ROKA HQ driver, to pick them up, but soon they kicked off the driver and concealed themselves with the jeep and all. (Tonga Ilbo, July 14, 1957)

On July 26, 1957, a US soldier belonging to the 13th Field Artillery Battalion stationed at Ryoolkook-ri, Papyong myun, Pajoo county, Kyonggi province, fired two carbine bullets at a peasant Kim Dong Whan

(50) who was gathering firewood on the hill and fatally wounded him in the breast. According to the plea of the US side, the US soldier fired, mistaking the peasant for a thief. (Chosun Ilbo, July 31, 1957)

On July 29, 1957, a sergeant named G. Lois belonging to the 19th supply unit stationed at Yongdeungpo District, Seoul, unlawfully imprisoned three Korean employees of the unit—Kwon Byong Chil (24), Li Hyun Soo (26) and Kim In Sok (24)—and battered them with a club. His reason for this was that some meat was lost from Building No. 10 of the unit. (Kyunghyang Shinmoon, Aug. 31, 1957)

On Aug. 21, 1957, a soldier named R. Griss of the Inchon Port Command who was standing on guard at the 3rd post of the US oil pipe-line in Okryun-dong, Inchon, severely wounded a watch-dealer Li Kyung Hi (29) residing in Hooam-dong, Ryongsan District, Seoul, by firing two M-1 rifle bullets, when the latter refused to sell a watch at the low price he offered. (Chosun Ilbo, Aug. 4, 1957)

On Aug. 4, 1957, on a road of Shindaibang-dong, Yongdeungpo District, Seoul, two US soldiers belonging to the 58th ammunition supply unit set an army dog at an old man Chun Whan Sop (65), who was taking a rest near them. (Tonga Ilbo, Aug. 7, 1957)

On Aug. 5, 1957, at Kookje Hotel in Dongja-dong, Central District, Seoul, two US soldiers belonging to the 304 signal corps began to quarrel with each other, but when Um Ki Sung, an employee of the hotel, got between them, they suddenly turned to him, stabbed him with a kitchen-knife and ran away. (Tonga Ilbo, Aug. 7, 1957)

On Aug. 15, 1957, at House No. 287, Boojun-dong 1-dong, Pusan city, a US M.P. Corporal named Torry belonging to a unit stationed at Pusan beat for no reason a wine carrier Suh Tai Kun (34) who was passing by on a bicycle and, when he fell unconscious, the US soldier stabbed him in the side, thus mortally wounding him. (Tonga Ilbo, Aug. 18, 1957)

On Aug. 23, 1957, Pvt Gainsson (transcribed from Korean) and another US soldier stationed at Inchon

broke into the tiny shop of Whang Myong Soon (age 33) and robbed her of chewing-gums and cakes as well as 5,000 hwan in cash. (Chosun Ilbo, Aug. 26, 1957)

On Sept. 9, 1957 when a peasant Oh Kyong Ah (46) residing in Jeduk-ri, Woongchon myun, Changwon county, South Kyungsang province, was gathering firewood on the hill, two non-commissioned officers of the US naval air force unit stationed at Chinhae fired shot-guns at him and wounded him in the belly. (Kyunghyang Shinmoon, Sept. 7, 1957)

On Sept. 4, 1957, at about 9 p.m., Kim Man Bok (36), driver of taxi No. 452 of the taxi service run by Seoul city, carried a US soldier from before the Bando Hotel to Hyangchon-dong, Suhdaimoon District, but when he asked the fare he was struck severely by the US soldier. (Chosun Ilbo, Sept. 5, 1957)

On Sept. 5 1957, at Euijungboo, a Korean was killed by the US sentry. (Tonga Ilbo, Sept. 6, 1957)

On Sept. 18, 1957, when an old man Kim Hyang Doo (60) residing in 2nd District, Sonrok-ri, near the Kunsan aerodrome, was cutting grass for compost in the vicinity of the aerodrome, a US sentry unleashed army dogs to jump at him and severely injure him. (Seoul Shinmoon, Sept. 23, 1957)

On Sept. 22, 1957, on the road in front of House No. 425, Hooam-dong, Ryongsan District, Seoul, when Choi On Joon (32), Han Jong Ryol (31) and Li Moon Kyong (31) accosted a passing-by US soldier, another US soldier suddenly drove his dagger into the breasts of Choi On Joon and Li Moon Kyong, inflicting fatal wounds upon them. (Seoul Shinmoon, Sept. 24, 1957)

At 2 p.m. on Sept. 28, 1957, a US truck (G.M.C.), unidentified, ran over a passer-by Li Bong Soon (60) on the road near the House No. 33, Bon-dong, Yongdeungpo District, Seoul, and got off after giving him an injury which will take two weeks to heal. (Tonga Ilbo, Sept. 30, 1957)

On Oct. 3, 1957, three drunken US soldiers belonging to the 116th Ordnance Platoon stationed at Shinam-dong, Taegu, North Kyungsang province, made an attack with jack knives on a laundryman Yoon Yong

Wha (26) on the road, inflicting a wound of ten cms long and 2 cms deep on his face. They brandished their knives at random and seriously injured Li Sam Ryong (35), a by-stander, before they slipped away. (Tonga Ilbo, Oct. 6, 1957)

On Oct. 11, 1957, Kim Sam Ryong, a janitor of the "Metropolitan Cinema" in Anyang-ri, Dong myun, Shiheung county, Kyonggi province, when he was patrolling the compound, was suddenly attacked by two US soldiers and received serious wounds. (Tonga Ilbo, Oct. 14, 1957)

On Oct. 14, 1957, on the road of Boopyong, Bopyong city, Kyonggi province, three US soldiers of the 55th unit stationed there struck a villager Ahn Yong Bok (48) in the face and smashed two of his teeth, and then battered his wife together with his son-in-law Kim Jung Ok. (Hankook Ilbo, Oct. 16, 1957)

On Oct. 16, 1957, at 1 p.m., a US guard who was on board a US transport ship near the Wolmi island, Inchon, seeing Li Dong Woon (38), an inhabitant of Songrim-dong, Inchon city, gathering drifting pieces of wood by ship, fired four successive bullets from his rifle without any warning and inflicted two fatal bullet-wounds on his breast. (Hankook Ilbo, Oct. 17, 1957)

On Oct. 28, 1957, a US soldier named Migis Tayder (transcribed from Korean) belonging to the 2nd Company, 20th Field Artillery Battalion, 1st Cavalry Division, stationed at Hyangsang-ri, Joonai myun, Pajoo county, Kyonggi province, after palming off cigarette packages stuffed with flour upon Pak Yong Kyoo (47) residing in House No 260, Pajoo-ri, fell on him and smashed four teeth, when the latter requested the return of the money he paid for the fake cigarettes. (Chosun Ilbo, Nov. 3, 1957)

On Nov. 3, 1957, a Korean named Yoo Kyong Son residing at San-dong, Boopyong, Gyonggi province, was killed by two unidentified US soldiers after being robbed of 5,200 hwan in cash. The US Eighth Army authorities had to admit it in an announcement on Nov. 4. (Kyunghyang Shinmoon, Nov. 6, 1957)

On Nov. 7, 1957, Sfe Benice C. Belton (transcribed from Korean) and another soldier of the 39th Ordnance Company stationed at Euijungboo locked up a Korean employee Ham Kook Bin (24) in a wood-working room and beat him up on the suspicion that he stole goods. (Hapdong Tongshin, Nov. 9, 1957)

On Oct. 17, 1957, Sic Moncle (transcribed from Korean) of the 43rd engineering unit stationed at Ryoolkok-ri, Padong myun, Pajoo county, Kyonggi province, fired a shot-gun at a Korean employee Chui Ki Yong working in the laundry of the unit and inflicted serious wounds upon him. (Hankook Ilbo, Dec. 12, 1957)

On Dec. 24, 1957, four Thai soldiers attached to the 17th Regiment stationed at Woonchun-ri, Yongbook myun, Pochun county, Kyonggi province, broke into the tea-room kept by Hwang Ok Sun in Woonchun-ri, and smashed window glasses with chairs. They destroyed the doors of Li Dong Yong's house next to it, and then Kim Tai Ik's, and as the latter tried to check them, they beat him up and even sprayed gasoline and set fire to the house. (Hankook Ilbo, Dec. 26, 1957)

These are only a fraction of the atrocities by the US Army in South Korea.

When one thinks of the fact that there are numerous cases which are not reported, one can easily imagine how terrible the atrocities committed by the US Army are.

Though a bitter public censure has been aroused by the brutality of the US Army, which no sound-minded common man will forgive, the South Korean authorities are trying hard to justify and defend the US soldiers.

Last year, when the South Korean people and the public opinion were infuriated by the murder of a middle-school boy at Kimchon railway station on Oct. 3, Syngman Rhee's "Ambassador to the US" Yang Yoo Chan declared in Washington that such homicidal incidents "can happen anywhere" and on Oct. 16, Syngman Rhee himself, describing the repeated atrocities of the US Army as "troubles between

individuals," said "we must not impress the US unfavourably." No explanatory remarks are necessary in showing the shamelessness and traitorousness of these words. Had he had even an iota of conscience, he would not have defended the cruel murderers with such heat.

The unheard of atrocities committed by the US Army in South Korea are neither "accidental," nor are they "troubles between individuals."

During the ten odd years since the US Army occupied South Korea, not a single day passed without an innocent Korean being insulted, robbed or killed by the US Army. This is clear even from the above-quoted far-from-complete data.

The unbearable national humiliation, agony and disaster the South Korean people are undergoing are beyond description. It is not without reason that South Korea, today, which is under the US occupation, is called a living hell.

These are what the Americans, who post themselves as "civilized people," are doing in South Korea at a time when the cosmic journey became feasible.

How could we tolerate further repetition of such atrocities? An end must be immediately put to the atrocities of the US Army in South Korea and the South Korean people must be delivered from these terrible conditions at the earliest date.

This can be realized only by the instant withdrawal of the US Army and the peaceful unification of Korea.

This is why the Government of the D.P.R.K., in its statement issued on Feb. 5 of this year, once again clarified its program for the peaceful unification of Korea — the most reasonable program for its realization through the withdrawal of all foreign troops and all-Korean elections on a democratic basis. These proposals included in the statement of the Government must be realized at the earliest date. This is the ardent aspiration of the entire Korean people, and this accords with the desire of all the peace-loving people the world over.

STAT

RACIAL SEGREGATION

RACIAL SEGREGATION

In 1946, the peoples of the different nations of the world assembled and pledged to work for the promotion of world peace and world community. Among other things, they pledged to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights and in the dignity and worth of the human person. Yet there are still some advanced countries who in utter disregard of their pledge and of repeated injunctions from the U.N. do not even endorse the principle that law must not distinguish between human beings on the grounds of race. ...

In every country citizens enjoy the exercise of certain privileges in return for the fulfilment of certain obligations. These privileges include freedom of speech, thought and faith, immunity of one's home, freedom of movement, equal opportunities in education, free choice of employment, access to the courts, etc. within the limits prescribed by the law.

Yet for decades the intensity of racial segregation in the Union of South Africa and the United States has been increasing. The class of white settlers who rule the Union of South Africa has been enforcing more and more restrictions on the coloured natives.

In addition to previous measures taken, the 1956 session of the South

Africa Parliament was largely devoted to legislation on racial questions. Important measures adopted included the Industrial Conciliation Bill which forbade the formation of racially-mixed trade unions and provided for the division of existing mixed unions into separate racial bodies. The natives' right of access to the courts was also restricted.

Early this year an act was passed by which the population of the Union will be divided into white, coloured Asiatic and natives. As a result of this procedure many of the white people descended from coloured parents were considered coloured and thus removed into a completely different social order and racial group— with all the humiliations and indignities that follow in the wake of racial reclas-

sification. They have to give up social contracts and face ostracism from people who have regarded them as white. They also have to live in coloured areas, their children are taken away from white schools and transplanted into institutions that cater for the non-whites. They woke up to find that the «whites only» notices in public places applied to them too.

Any normal human being would revolt against the indignities piled upon the coloured natives of the country by the white settlers who had come in as masters and reduced the original inhabitants of the country to the status of slaves and menial servants and kept apart lest they contaminate the more fortunate whites who come from a superior race.

In 1956, the authorities of Capetown announced that apartheid (segregation) would be enforced on many of the city's bus and tram routes by order of the National Transport Commission which had directed that certain seats on public vehicles in a number of routes in the Cape Peninsula should be reserved exclusively for European passengers.

The same year the Capetown City Council adopted without opposition a proposal to provide separate facilities for Europeans and non-Europeans in amenities and offices under municipal control.

Natives of the High Commission Territory are forbidden to enter Urban areas without permits.

Coloured voters are placed on a separate electoral roll.

Moreover, an act was passed establishing work camps for « idle and undesirable » native youth but the Natives Amendment Act (1956) empowered municipalities to banish without trial any native whose presence was considered « detrimental to the maintenance of peace and order ».

It is noteworthy that these laws not only apply to the coloured natives but also to the Indian and Pakistani community in South Africa.

Noteworthy also is the fact that the outrageous difference in the treatment of whites and non-whites

also applies to the wages received by workmen. A coloured family whose members all have a job earn altogether less than can keep them above starvation level. ...

The problem of segregation in South Africa was submitted to the U.N. on more than one occasion.

The U.N. condemned the Union government's racial policies saying that South Africa was almost the only country in the world which did not at least endorse the principle that law must not distinguish between human beings on grounds of race. It repeatedly appealed to South Africa to revise its apartheid policy in the light of the principles and purposes of the U.N. Charter and world opinion on the grounds that no U.N. member can justifiably be excused from trying to fulfil its

U.N. Charter pledge to work towards the observance of human rights and fundamental freedom.

In protest to what it termed «interference in its domestic affairs» the Union of South Africa withdrew from the U.N. in 1956.

This is the situation of negroes in South Africa. In the U.S.A. though they enjoy a slightly better lot, their situation is no less revolting. The system of segregation is not even questioned. It has been practiced for so long that any attempt at integration is very strongly opposed. In the Deep South no non-white would dare to sit at the counter in a «white» restaurant. No non-white would even in jest climb the first step of a «white» dance-hall in the South.

The recent crisis at Little Rock shows which way the wind blows in the country that is the champion of democracy. A mob stirred by Governor Faubus of Arkansas, stood in the way of nine Negro youngsters who, by court order, were entitled to join 2,000 whites at Little Rock Central High School. At the opening of the school year he called out the National Guard against school integration. Caught in this embarrassing situation, President Eisenhower ordered the use of U.S. Armed forces to uphold the law of the land in Little Rock. The ground and air forces of the Arkansas National Guard were placed in federal service safely out of the hands of Governor Orval Faubus who had used them to stop integration in the schools.

Despite the Supreme Court's ruling that Little Rock Central High School must proceed immediately with its programme of integration, Governor Faubus ordered closed the senior high schools in order to avoid the impending violence and disorder which would occur, and to preserve the peace of the community.

A quick glance at the negroes' right to employment will show that despite the fact that they are entitled by law to free choice of employment they actually have access only to the lower occupations. Though their qualifications may be equal or superior to those of their white countrymen they still have to fight for their rights in an equal opportunity to participate in the economic development financed by the federal government.

CASES IN POINT

Azeglia Barthelemy married Tony Rice (white) at New Orleans in 1920. She had borne him seven children before he definitely deserted her in 1931. In 1946 he sold the house where she and her seven children lived to a certain Mrs. Eileen Ryan who produced a judgment ordering the eviction of the wife and her children from the house.

The wife appealed from this judgment and demanded the invalidation of the sale contract on the plea that it emanated from a non-owner, considering that she herself was a co-partner with the seller in the ownership of the house, in virtue

of the marriage contract and the fact that the house was registered in her name and that of her husband. Consequently, it was not proper that he should sell the whole house individually, as he would thus be considered as having disposed of property which was not his own and the sale contract would be null and void.

Mrs. Ryan in a rejoinder maintained that the woman who alleged to be a wife was not considered as such in the eye of the Law, for State statutes made it unlawful for a white man to marry a coloured woman and would not recognise such a marriage. Consequently, it was not admissible that she should be a co-partner on the strength of an illegal marriage.

Mrs. Ryan furthermore proved that Tony Rice married that coloured woman without realising that he was violating the State statutes by doing so.

In March 1947, the New Orleans Court rendered judgment ordering the invalidation of the marriage contract, in accordance with the Louisiana State statutes and the immediate eviction of the wretched wife.

The wife appealed from this unjust judgment, yet it was confirmed by the Appeal Court.

The American Senate has even approved a draft law providing for the fixing of labels on bottles in which blood for transfusion is

preserved, to indicate the type and group of such blood, which be made known to the patient to whom it would be transfused. In introduction the measure, Senator Salmon said it was a precautionary measure to guard against the mingling of races. He also alleged that negro blood was infected with the germs of anaemia for the treatment of which no remedy had as yet been discovered.

Segregation is also applied with equal, if not greater rigour and vigour in the financial field, with equal disastrous and distressing results to the unfortunate victims. In fact, no Negro or coloured man can under any condition or in any circumstance own property in certain districts reserved for the white.

The following is a case in point.

Samuel Matthew and his wife had built themselves a house at the corner of Street No. 1 and Street No. 2 at Birmingham in 1947, but were prevented by the City Authorities from moving their furniture to the house on the plea that the City statutes make it unlawful for coloured people to own property in it.

Matthew brought a case before the City Court, demanding the vindication of his right to the ownership of the house, but the Court gave judgment in August 1947 rejecting his demand, and upholding the City Authorities' plea that the State Statutes made it unlawful for coloured people to own property in that district.

It is the same story with the legislation relating to the investment of capital in companies and other concerns that usually undertake the various commercial, financial and other private and public projects and enterprises.

Despite the fact that such companies and concerns mainly deal with the Negroes and the coloured inhabitants, yet statistics have established the fact that the latter's share in the capital of these establishments is so meagre that it hardly bears comparison with that of the members of the white communities.

POLITICAL RIGHTS

A. — Conditions in the Union of South Africa.

Contrary to all constitutional laws and parliamentary procedure all the negroes and coloured people in the Union of South Africa, and their number is no fewer than 11,000,000, have been since the formation of the first Union Government, and are still being denied the exercise of even the most elementary of the citizen's political rights -- those of voting, nominating candidates or taking part in parliamentary or other elections.

Indeed, Governments fall and new governments are formed, Parliaments are dissolved and new Par-

liamentary elections are held and none of these governments or parliaments, nor even any of the political parties that form the backbone of such governments or parliaments, has ever included a single coloured man, the part of these unfortunate people being restricted to that of the non-lookers, and that for no other reason than their dark skin, despite the fact that they are the country's real owners.

Replying to the question whether it would not be advisable, in an endeavour to placate the coloured masses and avert the disastrous results of a calamity that is bound to happen sooner or later, as they will not continue to tolerate their being deprived of their legitimate rights for ever, a Union Government spokesman said the coloured

people would never make any progress unless they became acclimatized and embraced Western customs and manners. Then, but not until then, he added, they could be looked upon as good citizens and granted whatever rights they prove themselves worthy to exercise.

The spokesman went on to say that the negroes and coloured people were, moreover, divided among themselves, hating and despising each other, while the Indians considered themselves as far superior to both. Certainly it would not be prudent to grant such people the right of voting, under these conditions, he said, and we find it our duty to maintain our trusteeship a bit longer.

All of which goes to show that depriving the negroes and coloured

people of their legitimate political rights is a deliberate and premeditated act.

B. — Conditions in the United States.

Many indeed were the occasions when the contradictory statutes of the various 49 American states, particularly in respect of those dealing with the negroes and other coloured elements, threatened to break the Federation. In fact, most of the States believed in the necessity of liberating the negroes and coloured people and granting them all rights that place them on an equal footing with any other citizens, particularly political rights. The Northern States were so pressing in their demand that the Southern States began seriously to con-

sider the question of separation, but after a grave dispute they finally decided to concede the Northern States demand in respect of the political status of their coloured inhabitants, but procrastinated in regard to other rights.

It thus became clear to the white communities that by gaining their political rights, the coloured people began to exercise the right of voting and got busy electing their representatives on political bodies, so much so indeed that they even succeeded in presenting themselves as candidates for the representation of others.

Yet on October 21, 1957, the Southern Council, one of the great American bodies whose membership consists of coloured and whites,

issued a statement to the effect that it has been noticed that the coloured Americans were showing a keen desire to share in shouldering political responsibilities and are striving to exercise the right of voting in increasing numbers in the coming elections.

The statement then goes on to say that the Council carried out a minute investigation into the causes that prevented the coloured people from the full exercise of their voting and parliamentary representation rights in the past ten years in the thirteen Southern States.

The statement, however, neither explained the meaning of what it called full exercise of rights nor gave any indication as to how and when would the exercise of rights be full or otherwise.

Perhaps the Council feared to incur the displeasure of the Men at the Helm in the Southern States.

On March 27, 1958, an Associated Presse message from Atlanta said that America was taking measures to strip the coloured people of all their rights. The message added that the Governor of the State of the Georgia had just signed a Decree-Law depriving the coloured inhabitants of the right to vote and obliging illiterate people to answer a number of long questions as evidence that they fully understand the meaning of the right of voting.

If we add to the foregoing the fact that the number of coloured members of the American Congress, as given in official records for the last

34 Congresses — from the 46th to the 80th Congress — varied between one and two members at the utmost, and that the same obstructions and obstacles are placed in the way of negroes and other coloured elements in respect of the exercises of their rights of voting and nomination to Municipal and Rural Councils, we can form a fairly accurate idea of the conditions under which they are labouring throughout the whole of the United States.

As evidence of the extremes to which the coloured population of the U.S.A. have been reduced in so far as the occupation of Government and diplomatic posts is concerned, the following Associated Press message from Washington,

dated the 18th of February, 1958, serves as a telling case in point :

« The American Government has appointed Clifton Howarthon, a negro, as United States Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary to Rumania.

« Mr. Howarthon was American Consul in Marseilles and is the only coloured official in the State Department ».

The condition of the Negroes and coloured people in the United States would seem to be better when compared with those in the Union of South Africa, in that they are considered as citizens and exercise than anything else. Yet many significant is the extent to which they enjoy other rights and privi-

leges. In fact, theirs is more of an internal humanitarian problem than anything else. Yet many indeed amongst them persistently demanded and as many are still pressing for equality with the whites.

As recently as September 12, 1957, Dr. Ralph Bunche, Assistant Secretary-General of the United Nations who himself is one of their great leaders, in a statement quoted by practically all news agencies, particularly Reuters, the United Press and the Associated Press, said the persecution of the Negroes and the coloured people in the United States, particularly in the Southern States, was doing great harm to the reputation of the United States in the International field. Such pictures as those of White

Americans making fun of Negroes could not be considered as a good point in public relations, he said, adding that the occurrence of such events against the coloured inhabitants was a matter for great regret, particularly following the enthusiastic welcome world public opinion accorded to the Congress approval of the Civil Rights Law, which abolished racial discrimination.

In the Union of South Africa, however, their problem is social, economic, humanitarian and political combined, for the Whites there consider the negroes and the coloured people, who are the real owners of the land, as mere servants and slaves, no more no less.

Dr. Zouma, the African Nationalist Congress Leader, referring in

a recent statement to the rules and regulations in force in the Union, particularly those relating to the social barriers, said they were a source of suffering and humiliation to the coloured population, and expressed the view that if the various negroed and coloured elements united and closed their ranks, which he strongly urged them to do, they would surely surmount all obstacles in the way to the attainment of their aim. He added that their efforts could not but be crowned with success, they being the real owners of the land.

STAT

IMPERIALISTIC AMBITIONS IN AFRICA

FACTS ABOUT AFRICA AND THE AFRICANS...

The struggle for freedom throughout Africa has become a constant nightmare to imperialism; a nightmare leading to the bitter reality of a gloomy future threatened by economic crisis.

Europe as it is now, owes a great deal of its culture, wealth and civilization to Asia and Africa; the two continents which played a very important role in the progress of the human race. For example, modern art has an African foundation, Greece sought inspiration from Africa, Rome saw Africa as a main part of her empire, and European Renaissance had some of its roots in Africa. This continent was also the main centre from which the Moslem empire spread. The American world owes its initial growth to the African slave trade, which established capitalism in Europe later.

The Africans who were blind to the ambitions of imperialism for the last two

centuries are now beginning to see the truth. They will no longer stand aggression, nor will they allow imperialism to develop and flourish at the expense of their lives, and the welfare of their countries. Colonizers and exploiters ought now to give up the idea of taking advantage of the trusting Africans, and having priority for their interests, while depriving the owners from their rights. Moreover, they must reconcile themselves to the fact that the people of Africa are now hand-in-glove to win their freedom and reclaim what is theirs.

None of us is unaware of the fact that Africa produces a considerable amount of metal and crop for the world market. But who among us have given a thought as to how those things are produced? Again and again we see long articles in European and American papers telling of the outstanding increase in the production of a number of Africa's export as proof of the great success achieved. But they refrain from saying « whose success » and « to whose benefit ».

If we go back to the year 1903-4, when a group of Englishmen first acquired titles to the Land of Kenya; Colonel Ewart S. Grogan, one of the last of that group, and was

himself the recipient of a 200,000-acre forest concession parcelling out of land in Kenya; wrote the following statement. « There are two distinct standpoints from which I view the Africans. As a spectator and student of social evolution, I see a people infinitely wiser infinitely more decent, infinitely saner than we. The absolute logic of their life bewilders our distorted minds. We can never learn to understand them. They soon see through us. The second standpoint is the man in their midst with work to do. We are dependent upon their aid. To assist us they must be moulded in our ways. But they do not want to be, and yet they must. Either we give up the country commercially or we must make them work ». Then he goes on to say. « I have little sympathy for the capitalist regime. But it is the regime under which we still live and till it top-heavy crumbles to the ground, the native too must fall in line. We have stolen his land. Now we must steal his limbs. Compulsory labour is the corollary of our occupation of the country ».

This is but one example of the inhuman schemes of work that Europeans imagine they will succeed in carrying out. But they will soon find out that the people of Africa have other schemes, completely different from theirs. In

the near future the white man will not be able to treat the natives of Africa in the same way he is doing now. There will be no master and slave, and sugar-coated policy will fail to work.

Birds of Prey

Wherever there is a source of wealth in an African land, «White settlers», as they call themselves, descend like birds of prey, taking all they can lay hands on, depriving the natives of what is their right, and grudging them their mere existence.

Segregation

South Africa gold and diamonds, instead of being a source of wealth to the natives, attracted and influx of settlers and immigrants, who practised every kind of human injustice to humiliate the natives and take every advantage of their trusting nature and good will. This is proved by the living-conditions of the South African natives and the way they are treated by the white settlers.

The whites regard the cities in which they live as being their own, and consider it neces-

sary to do whatever they can to keep them exclusively their own.

The first rule of the white cities might be stated: keep the Africans out unless their labour is needed. The second rule: they can work for us but not live with us. The net result of the application of these two rules over the years, is seen everywhere in the special « native » areas, slum districts, set apart from, and on the periphery of the white cities.

There are another of the same sordid details in the picture of these places. Algiers have their Bidonville (a settlement of the very poorest people, crowded into huts made of rotting wood and beaten-out petrol tins, devoid of the most elementary sanitary provisions) Casablanca, Morocco, has its « Carrières Centrales », a poverty-stricken suburb of old tin huts. Dakar has its Medina district housing 150,000 Africans in make-shift dwellings lining alleys of loose sand. «...Settlements of closely packed huts are to be seen on the fringes of all the larger towns in East Africa », states a recent British Royal Commission survey of the area. It cites an official, but unpublished, report describing Africans employed in Nairobi, Kenya, in 1948 living in dangerous shacks in the

swamp, in buses parked on the roadside, and fourteen to the room in Punwani, two in a bed and the rest on the floor.

This is how the African natives are rewarded for the strenuous work they do for the white settlers, who flourish and prosper. They accumulate wealth and forget that the poor native is entitled to a fair share of what his own land and soil produce by his own sweat and labour.

Here is another proof of the sufferings the natives under imperial rule in Africa have to undergo : About nine miles outside Johannesburg lies Alexandra Township with its 80,000 crowded tenants. Every morning and every night there are long lines of Africa men and women waiting to board the buses that carry them to and from work in the city. A commission of inquiry in 1944 stated : «...The national policy of segregation and the necessity for finding land needed to house Africans under this policy, away from the areas occupied by other races, have created in South Africa the unique phenomenon that the lowest paid workers have to live furthest from their work». Those, it goes without saying, are the poor overworked natives.

In 1943 the bus companies increased the Alexandra-Johannesburg fare from 4d. to 5d. Just 1d. more is something not worth mentioning, many of us might say. But little do we know that one penny meant so much to the poor worker, that every morning and every evening about 15,000 of men and women workers forming a line about three miles long, walked in a procession for the distance of nine miles twice a day to and back from work, and after a very hard day's work. This went on for nine days. At last, failing to get the employees to consent to pay the extra fare, the companies agreed to keep the fare at 4d. One penny more on top of starvation wages, high rent, soaring food costs and taxes are bound to create a revolutionary spirit against foreign rule, and rightly too.

Restrictions to add to Misery

Let us take the case of an African in the Transvaal province who wants to go to Johannesburg, for instance. He first has to produce his identification pass. On arrival in Johannesburg he has to report to the pass office within 24 hours. There he gives up his travel pass and gets a permit to look for work. This permit is good for just six days ; it may sometimes be renewed, but not more than twice. If

is not renewed, or if he doesn't find a job within the allotted time he must leave Johannesburg or face arrest. If he does find a job, he then has his service contract reigstered. He must report to have his registration renewed every month.

Cross Currents

At the end of the World War II, bright promises were made that Africa shall march forward with the rest of the world. This was declared at the first Trade World Union Congress held in Paris in October, 1945. That was what Jono Kenyatta, Kwame Nkrumah and others said at the Fifth Pan-African Congress held later the same month in Birmingham, England and presided over by Dr. W.E. Burghardt Du Bois, founder of the Pan-African Movement in 1919.

They said, « We are unwilling to starve any longer, while doing the world's drudgery, in order to support, by our poverty and ignorance, a false aristocracy and a discredited imperialism », the Pan-African Congress declaration read : « All colonies must be free from foreign imperialist control, whether political or economic ».

Against this came the demand from Africa and Africans to produce more and more of the the raw materials required by Europe and America, to recoup the imperialist losses sustained in Asia, and to remain subservient.

Thus arose the series of revolts, strikes and boycotts throughout Africa in the years immediately following the war, and in subsequent years.

To have a clear picture of the European American postwar rush for Africa's resources, one must first understand something of the general dimensions of what the whole long history of foreign exploitation of these resources has amounted to.

Let us just consider the mineral wealth of Africa. It is to be remembered that Europeans have been taking this from the continent for nearly five centuries. In 1471 the Portuguese first sailed around the western bridge of Africa to find and take away gold dust. « The Gold Coast » was the name they gave to the place where they found gold dust ; that's the present Ghana. It's also a well-known fact that such things as gold and diamond mines produce a

limited harvest and that once they're dug out, they leave nothing behind but a hole in the ground.

Bewildering Figures

The total of recorded sales of gold and diamond in the Union of South Africa through the year 1955 comes to \$13.7 billion. Nearly four fifths of that amount came from gold — about 18,874 tons of it. Over 40 tons of diamonds!

In the Belgian Congo, the European mining of gold began in 1904, copper in 1911, diamonds and tin in 1913. Cobalt and manganese are other major exports. Mineral production averaged under \$7 million a year in 1936-38; for the five years 1950-54 it averaged over \$50 million for a total of \$258 million.

The northeastern corner of Angola is diamond country.

In 1945 the Director of Geological & survey in the Gold Coast estimated the value of the minerals extracted by the British from the British West African colonies since 1880 at \$480 million, three fourths of that amount representing gold.

The Ashanti Goldfield Corp., wealthiest of the present-day mining companies in Ghana, was established in 1897 with a nominal capital of £250,000 (\$700,000) and now has an issued capital of about \$35 million. Up to 1954 it had produced some 7 million ounces of fine gold, today worth \$245 million.

Diamonds and manganese are the other chief mineral efforts coming from Ghana.

In Nigeria it is mainly tin; from 1910-54 a half million tons of tin ore, valued at \$336 million, was exported.

In Sierra Leone, it is diamonds and iron ore. From 1933-52 over 15 million tons of ore were taken, 1,328,000 tons of it were exported in 1956.

Two Extremes; Profits and Poverty

Twenty billion dollars worth of minerals, more or less from subequatorial Africa and additional massive quantities from other areas, and yet they say Africa is poor. If it is the mass of population, they refer to, they are certainly right. But why should the people be

poverty-stricken when the continent's sub-soil yields such wealth? The answer is obvious: the mineral riches and the profits therefrom are taken by non-Africans.

It is a serious charge to make — that the wealth of Africa is drained away, (writes Dr. Rita Hinden, a Fabian Socialist, in the Challenge of African Poverty). Minerals are one of Africa's precious assets, yet the mines are almost always operated by European capitalist companies, which pay dividends to their overseas shareholders, heavy remuneration to their directors, as likely as not the lion's share of their taxes to the British Exchequer, royalties to venerable but functionless companies, and enormous wages to local European employees. What remains for the African workers and for the African exchequers are the crumbs from the rich man's table.

And a Nigerian comments: « The fabulous sums drawn away from our mines alone, had they been at the disposal of a government of Nigerians, might have transformed the face of our country in a decade. We would have had those things which we are now vainly seeking for: schools, factories and hospitals ».

The Flowing Treasure

Oil is another attraction for money makers in Europe, England and the United States. It is one of the big economic question marks in Africa. The search for it has been going on for years. So far, only Egypt has achieved a small regular production, yet enough to provide for more than two thirds of its consumption needs. Algeria and Morocco have yielded only a little fraction of Egypt's output. Elsewhere there has been a good deal of exploration and drilling, but while occasional oil traces and strikes are reported here and there, no substantial finds of the liquid gold have yet been disclosed.

Yet with so little to show for their efforts, the oil companies continue their search and extend their concession holdings.

« The great white hope of Algeria and Tunisia is oil », it was reported in 1953, when continued French political control of these territories was still taken for granted, and « millions of dollars in direct and indirect American money and in French francs are being expended in a frantic search for it ». The vast Sahara region has become the new « white hope » of France. Hence the major reason why it fights to hold Algeria.

President Nasser's thunder-clap proclamation of July 26, 1956, cancelling the Suez Canal Company's concession and nationalizing the operation of that strategic waterway naturally cast a sudden, heavy cloud over the sundry oil concessions in Egypt and the surrounding area. Naturally, the cloud became darker and heavier with the Anglo-French invasion of Egypt in November. Particularly bleak was the immediate outlook for Anglo-Egyptian Oilfields, the largest British commercial interest remaining in Egypt with assets of \$ 98 million including a refinery at Suez. Under Egyptian experts, the work is flourishing.

Awareness

« Africans are not opposed to economic, industrial, commercial and political development. On the contrary, this is welcomed. But they would rather forego all the benefits of these developments if they bring in their wake political and economic domination by outsiders ».

Such was the view expressed by a delegation from Uganda which came to London in December, 1953. Economic expansion, the

pointed out, had not brought peace or well-being to Africans in South Africa, nor did imposition of Federation for the sake of the same objective promise anything good for Africans in Rhodesia and Nyasaland. There was concern, the delegation stated, lest with the economic schemes under way in Uganda — the Kilemke mines and other projects — Africans... will wake up one day to find that they are dominated by powerful factors over which they have no control.

From various sections of the continent comes evidence of a wide spread bitterness, often erupting in action and not only words. Hungering for a new way of life, the African hears and sees economic expansion schemes talked about and developing all around him. His relationship to them is almost like that of a poor man looking through the window of a rich man's restaurant. Except that the African is not just an onlooker ; he is compelled to give his labour for projects which he knows full well are aimed at the white man's benefit. not his, and point to the prolongation of the white man's domination, not to African freedom. Professor Harry R. Rudin of Yale University says, « It is ominous that just when the West needs Africa most, Africans are demanding greater freedom and better economic opportunities for

themselves». In this fundamental conflict of interests there is dynamite.

A prominent member of the Malan-Strijdom regime in South Africa, Dr. T.E. Donges, Minister of Interior, in 1951 put it very concisely: « Regarded from the point of view of Europe and America, answer is still the same — Africa must be kept within that orbit. Its raw materials are the complement of the highly-industrialized Europe and America ».

On one occasion in 1951, Mr. Oliver Lyttelton (now Lord Chandos), criticising the policy of the Labour government, said: « Britain is living on the dollar earnings of the colonies, who are prevented freely converting their sterling into either goods or dollars, and must willy-nilly run up their balances ».

In view of the often-mentioned financial « help » given by Britain to her colonies through the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund and other government agencies, it should be mentioned in passing that, according to the report of Eden's Economic Secretary to the Treasury (May 14, 1956), in the six years 1950-55, the colonies added £ 700 million in sterling balances to Britain's finances while

London was providing £ 300 million in government grants and loans to the colonies. One further foot-note: the larger portion of such loans went to the white settler territories in East and Central Africa whereas by far the largest contribution of sterling balances came from the West African colonies, notably Nigeria and the Gold Coast.

The Congo's trade provides Belgium with a surplus of many millions of dollars yearly. Coffee, cocoa, sisal and other exports from Mozambique and Angola earn considerable sums for Portugal.

The continuation of this arrangement whereby Europe is kept in spending money by control of the trade in Africa raw materials rests on two assumptions. First, it is assumed that Africa is and will remain a « passive » continent subject to European domination, or that even with the necessity of granting political concessions sooner or later in various areas, the economies of these « liberated » countries, as well as the rest of the continent, can be controlled as before by the metropolitan powers.

The second assumption is that the era of go-it-alone colonialism is ended and that there

is now required an increasing amount of international collaboration for the control, planning, investment in, and marketing of Africa raw material production.

European Immigration Schemes

One important point to Europe is to populate Eastern, Central and Southern Africa, where European settlers have already gone, with as many more as can be secured and as quickly as possible, in order to fulfill the West's economic aims and ensure its continued hegemony in the continent.

« A hundred thousand Belgian colonists before ten years or the Congo may well no longer be Belgian », said the Federation des Associations de Colons du Congo in 1952, and others have set a target of 800,000 for the Congo's Belgian population in 50 years. « We need a hundred thousand more Portuguese in Angola within the next ten years. Then there will be no non sensical talk about African independence in this country », was what a civil servant in that colony said.

The white settlers, whether technicians or anything else, are not asked to come help train

Africans to play their part in all phases of the expanding productive process. On the contrary, they are being brought in with the objectives of trying to keep the existing economic relations between white and black permanently frozen.

Lord Malvern defined the pattern some 20 years ago when, as Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, he said, « In the European areas the black man will be welcomed, when tempted by wages, he offers his services as a labourer ; but it will be on the understanding that he shall merely assist and not compete with the white man ». At present, since it happens that Africans are increasingly « tempted » by wages to keep from starving, one finds the same idea voiced again and again by the upholders of the rights of white rule. South Africa's Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. H.F. Verwoerd, for instance, states his opinion that « Natives », on farms are no more an integral part of the economy than the oxen, and that South Africa can function industrially without economic integration being necessary ».

In Kenya, Mr. E.A. Vasey, Minister of Finance and Development, explains, « Our economic structure developed in three horizontal layers : with the African providing the

worker, the unskilled labourer, as the broad base, the Asian, the artisans and traders, as the middle layer ; the European, with a few Asians, the executives and the administrators, the top layer.

Segregation again

- The line between the African's permissible work and that of the white artisan is often very finely drawn. The managing director of a building concern in East London, South Africa, received a sentence of a £ 10 fine or 20 days' jail as a result of a government building inspector having come upon one of the African labourers with a trowel in his hand applying cement. The court ignored the excuse of the defendant's attorney that said, « My client gave his foreman strict instructions that the labourer should only use his fingers or a piece of wood to fill in the openings with cement, believing that it was legal ».

Can anybody call this a human act ?

The African has a brain and physical strength that entitle him to the same human rights as any white man. The following is a testimony of some Rhodesian employees who

have had the sense and decency to allow Africans to break through the racial barrier in industry. « Our African crane drivers are as good as any European crane driver. Africans learn shoe machine work very quickly — sometimes more quickly, and better, than Europeans. All our employees start by knowing nothing. Some, after 3 months, can operate turret lathes costing £ 5,000. The individual productivity of the African is equal to that of the European at all levels of jig operation ».

Obviously, it is not that the African can't do the job, and as well as the European, if given a chance ; they just don't want him to except, sometimes, at a lower wage.

This question of segregation will remain unsolved so long as a white settler is made to believe that his superior status in life, as measured not only against the African's status but against his own former less prosperous condition back home, can be won and maintained only by supporting and preserving the status quo of white domination.

Another report concerning the same question was written by Professor Rayford W.

Logan of Howard University. It is about French settlers in West Africa, particularly in the Ivory Coast. The report says, « Almost every plane and boat brings « petits français » who compete with Africans for jobs. Some Africans received 6,000 West African francs, a month for doing the same work for which Frenchmen received about four times as much. Sometimes Africans were discharged after training Frenchmen for a job.

Race conflict is the least that one can expect after such behaviour and ill treatment.

Africans on the Move

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importance in the success of the campaign. It is true that the campaign failed of its objective of winning equality and justice but it succeeded in cementing unity of action toward democratic goals embracing all national and racial sections of the population.

The Defiance Movement spread over into Northern Rhodesia. In 1953, The African Congress of that country began a Challenge the Colour Bar campaign in the main towns. As crowds of Africans watched, « defiers » entered post offices, shops, cafés, and public places reserved to whites. In succeeding years, butcher shops and other stores were taught the necessity of serving Africans over the counter side by side with whites instead of on the outside through special hatches as had been done before.

The one weapon that won the battle for the defiers was « the boycotting » of those stores and shops. The whites could hardly believe that Africans were capable of such planning, organization and discipline.

The Education Problem

Once, about four years ago, when Lord Malvern was Governor of Southern Rhodesia, acknowledged that «one criticism against «colonialism» which had substance, was that raw materials had been taken away for the industries of distant countries at a price which did not leave enough in the country of origin for the provision of adequate health, education and other social services». He immediately added that this was now being changed with the development of secondary industries in the country. But a year and a half later, we find him saying, «It is the abject poverty of the masses which is the cause of the trouble. We have not the money to educate them. Later, in 1956, after all the appropriations for the Kariba dam, railroad expansion and other capital works, Mr. R.S. Garfield Todd, Southern Rhodesia's Prime Minister, spoke of the inability of the Government to raise the funds reasonably required to develop... the African population.

Why couldn't they raise the funds required for education matters, etc.? The Rhodesians are not to be classed among the poorer countries of Africa. The real reason is that the African

is cheated. He is cheated first by the copper companies and other employees who would rather pay extra taxes on their profits to the government than give their African workers more money. He is cheated also by a government which spends its revenues to provide facilities for the further expansion of the copper and other business interests, and to promote the size and welfare of the white population.

The State of African education in Rhodesia is typical of that in all settler-ruled territories, though perhaps a little better than in some.

A Belgian commission which surveyed the Congo's schools not very long ago, reported how African children, supposed to be getting some primary education, were found to be spending their time attending to the coffee, peanuts and other crops grown for the market. On Kenya's European farms in 1954, there were officially reported to be 39,784 children employed, most of them on monthly contracts and the rest as day labourers, resident labourers, or domestics. A Rhodesian newspaper reports: «Many industrial and commercial firms make use of child labour in and around

Salisbury. The age of the children in some case is about six to seven years... Many of them look miserable and show of malnutrition. Nearly all these children are illiterate and have never seen the door of a school ».

What future is awaiting those children when they grow up ?

The Road to Freedom

Prime Minister Nkrumah was asked in an Edward R. Murrow television interview in April, 1956, what he thought was Africa's most urgent need today. His answer was, «...I think the first essential thing is political emancipation, because once they are politically emancipated, they are in the position to develop their own country in a way in which they think fit ».

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Africans will not be held down by force any longer. What could be a stronger proof than the protests in West Africa over the sending of 30,000 Senegalese to help the French

fight Algerians ? Some of the Senegalese surrendered and changed into uniforms of the North African Army of Liberation, which in turn pledged solidarity with all Africans in their struggle for independence.

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STAT

IMPERIALISTIC AMBITIONS IN AFRICA

FACTS ABOUT AFRICA AND THE AFRICANS...

The struggle for freedom throughout Africa has become a constant nightmare to imperialism; a nightmare leading to the bitter reality of a gloomy future threatened by economic crisis.

Europe as it is now, owes a great deal of its culture, wealth and civilization to Asia and Africa; the two continents which played a very important role in the progress of the human race. For example, modern art has an African foundation, Greece sought inspiration from Africa, Rome saw Africa as a main part of her empire, and European Renaissance had some of its roots in Africa. This continent was also the main centre from which the Moslem empire spread. The American world owes its initial growth to the African slave trade, which established capitalism in Europe later.

The Africans who were blind to the ambitions of imperialism for the last two

centuries are now beginning to see the truth. They will no longer stand aggression, nor will they allow imperialism to develop and flourish at the expense of their lives, and the welfare of their countries. Colonizers and exploiters ought now to give up the idea of taking advantage of the trusting Africans, and having priority for their interests, while depriving the owners from their rights. Moreover, they must reconcile themselves to the fact that the people of Africa are now hand-in-glove to win their freedom and reclaim what is theirs.

None of us is unaware of the fact that Africa produces a considerable amount of metal and crop for the world market. But who among us have given a thought as to how those things are produced? Again and again we see long articles in European and American papers telling of the outstanding increase in the production of a number of Africa's export as proof of the great success achieved. But they refrain from saying « whose success » and « to whose benefit ».

If we go back to the year 1903-4, when a group of Englishmen first acquired titles to the Land of Kenya; Colonel Ewart S. Grogan, one of the last of that group, and was

himself the recipient of a 200,000-acre forest concession parcelling out of land in Kenya, wrote the following statement, « There are two distinct standpoints from which I view the Africans. As a spectator and student of social evolution, I see a people infinitely wiser infinitely more decent, infinitely saner than we. The absolute logic of their life bewilders our distorted minds. We can never learn to understand them. They soon see through us. The second standpoint is the man in their midst with work to do. We are dependent upon their aid. To assist us they must be moulded in our ways. But they do not want to be, and yet they must. Either we give up the country commercially or we must make them work ». Then he goes on to say, « I have little sympathy for the capitalist regime. But it is the regime under which we still live and till it top-heavy crumbles to the ground, the native too must fall in line. We have stolen his land. Now we must steal his limbs. Compulsory labour is the corollary of our occupation of the country ».

This is but one example of the inhuman schemes of work that Europeans imagine they will succeed in carrying out. But they will soon find out that the people of Africa have other schemes, completely different from theirs. In

the near future the white man will not be able to treat the natives of Africa in the same way he is doing now. There will be no master and slave, and sugar-coated policy will fail to work.

Birds of Prey

Wherever there is a source of wealth in an African land, « White settlers », as they call themselves, descend like birds of prey, taking all they can lay hands on, depriving the natives of what is their right, and grudging them their mere existence.

Segregation

South Africa gold and diamonds, instead of being a source of wealth to the natives, attracted and influx of settlers and immigrants, who practised every kind of human injustice to humiliate the natives and take every advantage of their trusting nature and good will. This is proved by the living-conditions of the South African natives and the way they are treated by the white settlers.

The whites regard the cities in which they live as being their own, and consider it neces-

sary to do whatever they can to keep them exclusively their own.

The first rule of the white cities might be stated: keep the Africans out unless their labour is needed. The second rule: they can work for us but not live with us. The net result of the application of these two rules over the years, is seen everywhere in the special « native » areas, slum districts, set apart from, and on the periphery of the white cities.

There are another of the same sordid details in the picture of these places. Algiers have their Bidonville (a settlement of the very poorest people, crowded into huts made of rotting wood and beaten-out petrol tins, devoid of the most elementary sanitary provisions) Casablanca, Morocco, has its « Carrières Centrales », a poverty-stricken suburb of old tin huts. Dakar has its Medina district housing 150.000 Africans in make-shift dwellings lining alleys of loose sand. «...Settlements of closely packed huts are to be seen on the fringes of all the larger towns in East Africa », states a recent British Royal Commission survey of the area. It cites an official, but unpublished, report describing Africans employed in Nairobi, Kenya. in 1948 living in dangerous shacks in the

swamp, in buses parked on the roadside, and fourteen to the room in Punwani, two in a bed and the rest on the floor.

This is how the African natives are rewarded for the strenuous work they do for the white settlers, who flourish and prosper. They accumulate wealth and forget that the poor native is entitled to a fair share of what his own land and soil produce by his own sweat and labour.

Here is another proof of the sufferings the natives under imperial rule in Africa have to undergo : About nine miles outside Johannesburg lies Alexandra Township with its 80,000 crowded tenants. Every morning and every night there are long lines of Africa men and women waiting to board the buses that carry them to and from work in the city. A commission of inquiry in 1944 stated : «...The national policy of segregation and the necessity for finding land needed to house Africans under this policy, away from the areas occupied by other races, have created in South Africa the unique phenomenon that the lowest paid workers have to live furthest from their work ». Those, it goes without saying, are the poor overworked natives.

In 1943 the bus companies increased the Alexandra-Johannesburg fare from 4d. to 5d. Just 1d. more is something not worth mentioning, many of us might say. But little do we know that one penny meant so much to the poor worker, that every morning and every evening about 15,000 of men and women workers forming a line about three miles long, walked in a procession for the distance of nine miles twice a day to and back from work, and after a very hard day's work. This went on for nine days. At last, failing to get the employees to consent to pay the extra fare, the companies agreed to keep the fare at 4d.. One penny more on top of starvation wages, high rent, soaring food costs and taxes are bound to create a revolutionary spirit against foreign rule, and rightly too.

Restrictions to add to Misery

Let us take the case of an African in the Transvaal province who wants to go to Johannesburg, for instance. He first has to produce his identification pass. On arrival in Johannesburg he has to report to the pass office within 24 hours. There he gives up his travel pass and gets a permit to look for work. This permit is good for just six days ; it may sometimes be renewed, but not more than twice. If

is not renewed, or if he doesn't find a job within the allotted time he must leave Johannesburg or face arrest. If he does find a job, he then has his service contract registered. He must report to have his registration renewed every month.

Cross Currents

At the end of the World War II, bright promises were made that Africa shall march forward with the rest of the world. This was declared at the first Trade World Union Congress held in Paris in October, 1945. That was what Jomo Kenyatta, Kwame Nkrumah and others said at the Fifth Pan-African Congress held later the same month in Birmingham, England and presided over by Dr. W.E. Burghardt Du Bois, founder of the Pan-African Movement in 1919.

They said, « We are unwilling to starve any longer, while doing the world's drudgery, in order to support, by our poverty and ignorance, a false aristocracy and a discredited imperialism », the Pan-African Congress declaration read : « All colonies must be free from foreign imperialist control, whether political or economic ».

Against this came the demand from Africa and Africans to produce more and more of the raw materials required by Europe and America, to recoup the imperialist losses sustained in Asia, and to remain subservient.

Thus arose the series of revolts, strikes and boycotts throughout Africa in the years immediately following the war, and in subsequent years.

To have a clear picture of the European American postwar rush for Africa's resources, one must first understand something of the general dimensions of what the whole long history of foreign exploitation of these resources has amounted to.

Let us just consider the mineral wealth of Africa. It is to be remembered that Europeans have been taking this from the continent for nearly five centuries. In 1471 the Portuguese first sailed around the western bridge of Africa to find and take away gold dust. « The Gold Coast » was the name they gave to the place where they found gold dust ; that's the present Ghana. It's also a well-known fact that such things as gold and diamond mines produce a

limited harvest and that once they're dug out, they leave nothing behind but a hole in the ground.

Bewildering Figures

The total of recorded sales of gold and diamond in the Union of South Africa through the year 1955 comes to \$13.7 billion. Nearly four fifths of that amount came from gold — about 18,874 tons of it. Over 40 tons of diamonds!

In the Belgian Congo, the European mining of gold began in 1904, copper in 1911, diamonds and tin in 1913. Cobalt and manganese are other major exports. Mineral production averaged under \$7 million a year in 1936-38; for the five years 1950-54 it averaged over \$50 million for a total of \$258 million.

The northeastern corner of Angola is diamond country.

In 1945 the Director of Geological & survey in the Gold Coast estimated the value of the minerals extracted by the British from the British West African colonies since 1880 at \$480 million, three fourths of that amount representing gold.

The Ashanti Goldfield Corp., wealthiest of the present-day mining companies in Ghana, was established in 1897 with a nominal capital of £250,000 (\$700,000) and now has an issued capital of about \$35 million. Up to 1954 it had produced some 7 million ounces of fine gold, today worth \$245 million.

Diamonds and manganese are the other chief mineral efforts coming from Ghana.

In Nigeria it is mainly tin; from 1910-54 a half million tons of tin ore, valued at \$336 million, was exported.

In Sierra Leone, it is diamonds and iron ore. From 1933-52 over 15 million tons of ore were taken, 1,328,000 tons of it were exported in 1956.

Two Extremes; Profits and Poverty

Twenty billion dollars worth of minerals, more or less from subequatorial Africa and additional massive quantities from other areas, and yet they say Africa is poor. If it is the mass of population, they refer to, they are certainly right. But why should the people be

poverty-stricken when the continent's sub-soil yields such wealth? The answer is obvious: the mineral riches and the profits therefrom are taken by non-Africans.

It is a serious charge to make — that the wealth of Africa is drained away, (writes Dr. Rita Hinden, a Fabian Socialist, in the Challenge of African Poverty). Minerals are one of Africa's precious assets, yet the mines are almost always operated by European capitalist companies, which pay dividends to their overseas shareholders, heavy remuneration to their directors, as likely as not the lion's share of their taxes to the British Exchequer, royalties to venerable but functionless companies, and enormous wages to local European employees. What remains for the African workers and for the African exchequers are the crumbs from the rich man's table.

And a Nigerian comments: « The fabulous sums drawn away from our mines alone, had they been at the disposal of a government of Nigerians, might have transformed the face of our country in a decade. We would have had those things which we are now vainly seeking for: schools, factories and hospitals ».

The Flowing Treasure

Oil is another attraction for money makers in Europe, England and the United States. It is one of the big economic question marks in Africa. The search for it has been going on for years. So far, only Egypt has achieved a small regular production, yet enough to provide for more than two thirds of its consumption needs. Algeria and Morocco have yielded only a little fraction of Egypt's output. Elsewhere there has been a good deal of exploration and drilling, but while occasional oil traces and strikes are reported here and there, no substantial finds of the liquid gold have yet been disclosed.

Yet with so little to show for their efforts, the oil companies continue their search and extend their concession holdings.

« The great white hope of Algeria and Tunisia is oil », it was reported in 1953, when continued French political control of these territories was still taken for granted, and « millions of dollars in direct and indirect American money and in French francs are being expended in a frantic search for it ». The vast Sahara region has become the new « white hope » of France. Hence the major reason why it fights to hold Algeria.

President Nasser's thunder-clap proclamation of July 26, 1956, cancelling the Suez Canal Company's concession and nationalizing the operation of that strategic waterway naturally cast a sudden, heavy cloud over the sundry oil concessions in Egypt and the surrounding area. Naturally, the cloud became darker and heavier with the Anglo-French invasion of Egypt in November. Particularly bleak was the immediate outlook for Anglo-Egyptian Oilfields, the largest British commercial interest remaining in Egypt with assets of \$98 million including a refinery at Suez. Under Egyptian experts, the work is flourishing.

Awareness

« Africans are not opposed to economic, industrial, commercial and political development. On the contrary, this is welcomed. But they would rather forego all the benefits of these developments if they bring in their wake political and economic domination by outsiders ».

Such was the view expressed by a delegation from Uganda which came to London in December, 1953. Economic expansion, the

pointed out, had not brought peace or well-being to Africans in South Africa, nor did imposition of Federation for the sake of the same objective promise anything good for Africans in Rhodesia and Nyasaland. There was concern, the delegation stated, lest with the economic schemes under way in Uganda — the Kilemke mines and other projects — Africans... will wake up one day to find that they are dominated by powerful factors over which they have no control.

From various sections of the continent comes evidence of a wide spread bitterness, often erupting in action and not only words. Hungering for a new way of life, the African hears and sees economic expansion schemes talked about and developing all around him. His relationship to them is almost like that of a poor man looking through the window of a rich man's restaurant. Except that the African is not just an onlooker; he is compelled to give his labour for projects which he knows full well are aimed at the white man's benefit, not his, and point to the prolongation of the white man's domination, not to African freedom. Professor Harry R. Rudin of Yale University says, « It is ominous that just when the West needs Africa most, Africans are demanding greater freedom and better economic opportunities for

themselves». In this fundamental conflict of interests there is dynamite.

A prominent member of the Malan-Strydom regime in South Africa, Dr. T.E. Donges, Minister of Interior, in 1951 put it very concisely: « Regarded from the point of view of Europe and America, answer is still the same — Africa must be kept within that orbit. Its raw materials are the complement of the highly-industrialized Europe and America ».

On one occasion in 1951, Mr. Oliver Lyttelton (now Lord Chandos), criticising the policy of the Labour government, said: « Britain is living on the dollar earnings of the colonies, who are prevented freely converting their sterling into either goods or dollars, and must willy-nilly run up their balances ».

In view of the often-mentioned financial « help » given by Britain to her colonies through the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund and other government agencies, it should be mentioned in passing that, according to the report of Eden's Economic Secretary to the Treasury (May 14, 1956), in the six years 1950-55, the colonies added £ 700 million in sterling balances to Britain's finances while

London was providing £ 300 million in government grants and loans to the colonies. One further foot-note: the larger portion of such loans went to the white settler territories in East and Central Africa whereas by far the largest contribution of sterling balances came from the West African colonies, notably Nigeria and the Gold Coast.

The Congo's trade provides Belgium with a surplus of many millions of dollars yearly. Coffee, cocoa, sisal and other exports from Mozambique and Angola earn considerable sums for Portugal.

The continuation of this arrangement whereby Europe is kept in spending money by control of the trade in Africa raw materials rests on two assumptions. First, it is assumed that Africa is and will remain a « passive » continent subject to European domination, or that even with the necessity of granting political concessions sooner or later in various areas, the economies of these « liberated » countries, as well as the rest of the continent, can be controlled as before by the metropolitan powers.

The second assumption is that the era of go-it-alone colonialism is ended and that there

is now required an increasing amount of international collaboration for the control, planning, investment in, and marketing of Africa raw material production.

European Immigration Schemes

One important point to Europe is to populate Eastern, Central and Southern Africa, where European settlers have already gone, with as many more as can be secured and as quickly as possible, in order to fulfill the West's economic aims and ensure its continued hegemony in the continent.

« A hundred thousand Belgian colonists before ten years or the Congo may well no longer be Belgian », said the Federation des Associations de Colons du Congo in 1952, and others have set a target of 800,000 for the Congo's Belgian population in 50 years. « We need a hundred thousand more Portuguese in Angola within the next ten years. Then there will be no non sensical talk about African independence in this country », was what a civil servant in that colony said.

The white settlers, whether technicians or anything else, are not asked to come help train

Africans to play their part in all phases of the expanding productive process. On the contrary, they are being brought in with the objectives of trying to keep the existing economic relations between white and black permanently frozen.

Lord Malvern defined the pattern some 20 years ago when, as Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, he said, « In the European areas the black man will be welcomed, when tempted by wages, he offers his services as a labourer ; but it will be on the understanding that he shall merely assist and not compete with the white man ». At present, since it happens that Africans are increasingly « tempted » by wages to keep from starving, one finds the same idea voiced again and again by the upholders of the rights of white rule. South Africa's Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. H.F. Verwoerd, for instance, states his opinion that « Natives », on farms are no more an integral part of the economy than the oxen, and that South Africa can function industrially without economic integration being necessary ».

In Kenya, Mr. E.A. Vasey, Minister of Finance and Development, explains, « Our economic structure developed in three horizontal layers: with the African providing the

worker, the unskilled labourer, as the broad base, the Asian, the artisans and traders, as the middle layer; the European, with a few Asians, the executives and the administrators, the top layer.

Segregation again

The line between the African's permissible work and that of the white artisan is often very finely drawn. The managing director of a building concern in East London, South Africa, received a sentence of a £ 10 fine or 20 days' jail as a result of a government building inspector having come upon one of the African labourers with a trowel in his hand applying cement. The court ignored the excuse of the defendant's attorney that said, « My client gave his foreman strict instructions that the labourer should only use his fingers or a piece of wood to fill in the openings with cement, believing that it was legal ».

Can anybody call this a human act ?

The African has a brain and physical strength that entitle him to the same human rights as any white man. The following is a testimony of some Rhodesian employees who

have had the sense and decency to allow Africans to break through the racial barrier in industry. « Our African crane drivers are as good as any European crane driver. Africans learn shoe machine work very quickly — sometimes more quickly, and better, than Europeans. All our employees start by knowing nothing. Some, after 3 months, can operate turret lathes costing £ 5,000. The individual productivity of the African is equal to that of the European at all levels of jig operation ».

Obviously, it is not that the African can't do the job, and as well as the European, if given a chance; they just don't want him to except, sometimes, at a lower wage.

This question of segregation will remain unsolved so long as a white settler is made to believe that his superior status in life, as measured not only against the African's status but against his own former less prosperous condition back home, can be won and maintained only by supporting and preserving the status quo of white domination.

Another report concerning the same question was written by Professor Rayford W.

Logan of Howard University. It is about French settlers in West Africa, particularly in the Ivory Coast. The report says, « Almost every plane and boat brings « petits français » who compete with Africans for jobs. Some Africans received 6,000 West African francs, a month for doing the same work for which Frenchmen received about four times as much. Sometimes Africans were discharged after training Frenchmen for a job.

Race conflict is the least that one can expect after such behaviour and ill treatment.

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**POSITIVE NEUTRALISM : WHAT IT IS,
AND WHAT IT STANDS FOR**

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Positive neutralism is a political creed that took form after the second world war, and developed fully in several of the Afro-Asian countries, such as the United Arab Republic (Egypt and Syria) India, Indonesia, Afghanistan. This creed is founded upon an independent personality in foreign and international affairs. That does not mean that this third force in the international sphere should only stand aloof and apart from the two main power blocs. Quite the contrary, for such an attitude does not serve world peace; but rather, that these countries are guided in their policies by their own national self interest—not pressure from the great powers—and by the considerations of world peace.

However, if a particular stand of the positive neutralist countries should coincide with that of one of the great powers, this does not mean that there has been a breach of this neutralism. Thus, the official policy of the United Arab Republic, Yugoslavia, and India regarding nuclear tests is that they should be totally banned. That also happens to be the official attitude of the Soviet Union, whereas the United States has persistently followed an opposing course.

But it cannot therefore be said that the U.A.R., India, and Yugoslavia have become aligned to the Soviet Union, for their

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policy is not the outcome of sympathy with the Soviet Union alone, but of considerations of higher self-interest : the desire to spare the world the horrors of nuclear destruction ; to build up their national economies ; and to raise their standards of living in peace, far from the constant threat of nuclear and thermo-nuclear «fall-out».

Neutralism here, of course, is far removed from the neutralism embraced by Switzerland over the last few decades. This Swiss-type neutrality could only be adopted during the past eras of conventional warfare, when it was possible for civilian population to enjoy a large degree of protection from armies fighting it out in the field. Nowadays, the outlook is radically different : it has been estimated by American strategists, for instance, that a thermonuclear attack launched against the Soviet Union would wipe out three million persons in Western Europe, thousands of miles away from the actual targets of attack. This estimate does not even take into consideration the millions of casualties that would be suffered in a Russian reprisal attack on American bases in Western Europe and Africa itself.

Again, the national governments in Africa and Asia readily appreciate that neutralism in this sense is only a negative attitude in world affairs. This stand may at one time have been defensible, but in the present day it is as if to hide one's head in the sand. For these nationalist countries in Africa and Asia know full well that the main struggle going on today is between the colonialist countries, and those countries striving

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to achieve independence or to protect their newly-won liberty. They know that not only in theory, but in actual every-day practise ; because their leaders, men like Nasser, Nehru, and Sukarno, have lived its reality with the people. There is, then, no neutralism in the fight against imperialism, for the Africans cannot maintain a neutralist attitude towards French colonialist massacres in Algeria ; neither can the Arabs remain neutralist to British imperialism in Kenya ; nor can the Afro-Asians feel neutralist about American-Dutch colonialism in Indonesia. For colonialism is like a disease, which if not totally stamped out, is bound to break out again in the same or another part of the body politic. Neutralism in this case can only amount to an acceptance of imperialism, instead of its refutation ; it can only mean the protection of colonialism, instead of exposing it and mobilising world opinion against it.

Hence we have the word «positive» added. It is a meaning that rejects negativism, yet at the same time it does not commit the struggling Afro-Asian countries to any policy but that dictated by their own national self-interest, in the international sphere and at home.

If we want to define more closely the basic essentials of positive neutralism, they may be summed up as follows :

FIRST : positive neutralism in the first instance means the full protection of national independence against the aggressions of imperialism ; while we now find that international circumstances permit of that at present. That

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means an active struggle against imperialism wherever it may be, the liberation of the national economy from foreign influence, and the rejection of alien pacts and alliances focussing local and world attention on imperialism and its evils, and the support of national movements in those countries seeking independence, or whose national independence is threatened.

SECOND: and this is the logical development of the first point, and that is that imperialism continues to wage battle against the national movements as a whole, using the most violent means. The positive neutralist nations must, in order to face this onslaught, seek their natural allies, the more to be able to resist external imperialist aggression, and internal plotting; as well as resistance to economic warfare, in order to consolidate the basis of independence by a sound economy and a policy of industrialisation.

These natural allies are to be found in the other countries that embrace positive enutralism in Africa and Asia, and who are ready to assist each other by binding together to face the intrigues and blockades of imperialism. These are also found in countries with a socialist political order, and in whose interest it is to shatter these intrigues, blockades and aggressive military pacts.

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It may be superfluous to add that without the Afro-Asian solidarity there can be no positive neutralism. For without a forceful and active nationalist policy positive-neutralism cannot survive; and without solidarity there can be no real basis for common nationalist policy. It is no accident that this policy has led to the conference of Afro-Asian governments at Bandung, and the wider Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference in Cairo.

ي. ستالين

ثورة اوكتوبر
و خطة الشيوعيين الروس

ثورة اوكتوبر
وطابعها الاممي

دار الطبع والنشر باللغات الاجنبية

يا عمال العالم اتحدوا!!

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موسكو

ثورة اكتوبر وخطة الشيوعيين الروس

مقدمة لكتاب «في طريق اكتوبر»

١. ثورة اكتوبر وظروفها الخارجية والداخلية

ثمة ثلاثة ظروف ذات طابع خارجي حددت تلك السهولة النسبية التي تمكنت بها الثورة البروليتارية في روسيا من ان تحطم سلاسل الاستعمار ومن ان تقلب، بهذا الشكل، السلطة البرجوازية.

اولا، واقع أن ثورة اكتوبر قد بدأت في فترة صراع عنيف بين الفريقين الاستعماريين الاساسيين، الانجليزي-الفرنسي والنسائي-الالمانى، في وقت لم يجد فيه هذان الفريقان المشتبكان في صراع مستميت لا الوقت ولا الوسائل لتوجيه انتباه جدى الى النضال ضد ثورة اكتوبر. وكان لهذا الظرف اهمية كبرى بالنسبة لثورة اكتوبر، اذ انه اعطاها امكانية الاستفادة من الاصطدامات العنيفة في داخل معسكر الاستعمار بقصد تعزيز وتنظيم قواها.

رابعا - وجدت ثورة اكتوبر امامها اعداء التغلب عليهم سهل نسبيا كالبرجوازية الروسية الضعيفة لحد ما وطبقة كبار ملاكي الاراضى التى انهارت معنوياتها نهائيا من جراء «عصيانات» الفلاحين والحزبين التوفيقيين (حزبي المناشفة والاشتراكيين - الثوريين) اللذين افلسا افلاسا تاما في مجرى الحرب. خامسا - وجدت تحت تصرفها المساحات الشاسعة التي قامت عليها الدولة الفتية، حيث كان بإمكانها ان تناور بحرية، أن تتقهقر عند ما يتطلب الظرف، ان تأخذ فترة راحة، أن تعبي قواها، الخ.

سادسا - كان بإمكان ثورة اكتوبر ان تعول في نضالها ضد اعداء الثورة على وجود احتياطات كافية من المؤن والوقود والخامات في داخل البلاد.

ان هذه الظروف الخارجية والداخلية مجتمعة قد كونت الحالة الخاصة التي جعلت انتصار ثورة اكتوبر سهلا نسبيا. ولا يعني ذلك، بالطبع، أن ثورة اكتوبر لم تجد ظروفها غير ملائمة إن في الوضع الخارجي او في الوضع الداخلي. ليس ببالغ الاهمية مثلا كظرف غير ملائم واقع عزلة ثورة اكتوبر، من بعض الوجوه، عدم وجود بلاد سوفيتية الى جانبها وبجوارها يمكنها ان تستند عليها؟ ولا شك في أن ثورة مقبلة، في ألمانيا مثلا، ستكون من هذه الناحية في وضع أفضل، إذ انها ستجد بجوارها بلادا سوفيتية كبيرة الوزن من حيث قوتها كاتحادنا السوفييتي. هذا فضلا عن ظرف آخر غير ملائم لثورة اكتوبر هو عدم وجود أمثرية بروليتارية في البلاد.

ثانيا، واقع ان ثورة اكتوبر قد بدأت في مجرى الحرب الاستعمارية، في وقت سار فيه منطلق الاحداث نفسه بجماهير الشغيلة الذين انهكتهم الحرب والمتعطين الى السلام الى ثورة اكتوبر بوصفها المخرج الوحيد من الحرب. وكان لهذا الظرف اهمية في منتهى الخطورة بالنسبة لثورة اكتوبر، إذ انه وضع في يدها اداة السلام القوية وسهل لها امر ربط الانقلاب السوفييتي بانها الحرب البغيضة واكسبها بهذا الشكل عطف الجماهير سواء في الغرب، بين العمال، او في الشرق، بين الشعوب المظلومة. ثالثا، وجود حركة عمالية قوية في اوروبا وواقع ان الازمة الثورية الناشئة عن الحرب الاستعمارية الطويلة كانت تنضج في الغرب والشرق. وكان لهذا الظرف اهمية بالغة بالنسبة للثورة في روسيا، إذ انه ضمن لها، خارج روسيا، حلفاء امانا في مقارعتها للاستعمار العالمي.

ولكن ثورة اكتوبر قد وجدت، عدا الظروف ذات الطابع الخارجي، جملة من الظروف الداخلية الملائمة، سهلت لها الانتصار. وينبغي أن توصف التالية منها بأنها الرئيسية.

اولا - وجدت ثورة اكتوبر أنشط التأييد من جانب الاكثرية الكبرى من الطبقة العاملة في روسيا.

ثانيا - وجدت تأييدا لا شك فيه من جانب فقراء الفلاحين واكثرية الجنود الظمأى الى السلام والارض.

ثالثا - وجدت على رأسها، بصفة قوة قائدة، حزبا مجربا هو الحزب البولشفي القوي لا بخبرته ونظام الطاعة الذى أنشأه في صفوفه طيلة السنين وحسب، بل كذلك بالروابط الكثيرة التي تربطه بجماهير الشغيلة.

حركة ثورية برجوازية ديموقراطية عميقة بين الفلاحين، الامر الذي مكن حزب البروليتاريا من تبني مطالب حزب الفلاحين الثورية (حزب الاشتراكيين - الثوريين المعادي للبولشفية بأكثرية اشد العدا) ومن تنفيذها على الفور بفضل استيلاء البروليتاريا على السلطة السياسية. - هذه الظروف الخاصة لا وجود لها الآن في اوربا الغربية، وتكرار مثل هذه الظروف ليس بالامر الهين. ولهذا السبب، عدا جملة من الاسباب الاخرى، فإن البدء بالثورة الاشتراكية اصعب على اوربا الغربية مما هو علينا» (راجع المجلد ٢٥، ص ٢٠٥).

من غير الجائز نسيان كلمات لينين هذه.

٢. بصدد خاصتي ثورة اكتوبر او اكتوبر ونظرية تروتسكي عن الثورة «المتواصلة»

لثورة اكتوبر خاصتان ايضاحهما امر لا بد منه قبل كل شيء لفهم كنه هذه الثورة واهميتها التاريخية. ماهما هاتان الخاصتان؟
انهما، اولاً، واقع أن ديكتاتورية البروليتاريا قد ولدت عندنا بوصفها سلطة نشأت على أساس تحالف البروليتاريا

ولكن من شأن هذه الظروف غير الملائمة ان توضح وحسب مبلغ اهمية هذه الظروف الداخلية والخارجية الخاصة التي جرت ضمنها ثورة اكتوبر والتي تحدثنا عنها اعلاه.
لايجوز أن تنسى هذه الظروف الخاصة ولو لحظة. وينبغي أن لا تغيب عن البال بوجه خاص عند تحليل حوادث خريف سنة ١٩٢٣ في المانيا (٢). وينبغي، في الدرجة الاولى، ان لا تغيب عن بال تروتسكي الذي يقارن دونما تفریق بين ثورة اكتوبر والثورة في المانيا والذي يقرع الحزب الشيوعي الألماني دونما وازع لما اقترب وما لم يقترف من اخطاء.

يقول لينين: «في ظرف سنة ١٩١٧ التاريخي المعين والفريد في بابه، كان من السهل على روسيا ان تبدأ الثورة الاشتراكية، في حين انها ستواجه من الصعوبات في امر متابعتها والسير بها الى النهاية ما لن تواجهه البلدان الاوروبية. لقد سبق لي أن اشرت الى ذلك في اوائل سنة ١٩١٨، وخبرة السنتين التاليتين اكدت بصورة تامة صحة هذا الرأي. فثمة ظروف خاصة منها: (١) امكانية ربط الانقلاب السوفييتي بانهاء الحرب الاستعمارية بفضلها، هذه الحرب التي سببت للعمال والفلاحين عذابات لا يمكن تصورها، (٢) امكانية الاستفادة لزمان معين من الصراع المستهيت بين فريقين من الضواري الاستعماريين قوين في النطاق العالمي، لم يمكنهما الاتحاد ضد العدو السوفييتي، (٣) امكانية تحمل حرب اهلية طويلة نسبياً، لدرجة ما بسبب ضخامة اراضي البلاد ورداءة وسائط المواصلات، (٤) وجود

الوحيدة القائدة للجماهير الغفيرة من الشعب الكادح في المدينة والقرية.

ان من لم يفهم ذلك لا يفهم بحال من الاحوال لا طابع ثورة اكتوبر ولا كنه ديكتاتورية البروليتاريا ولا سمات السياسة الداخلية التي تنتهجها سلطتنا البروليتارية. فديكتاتورية البروليتاريا ليست مجرد نخبة حكومية «اصطفتها» «بهارة» يد «ستراتيجي خبير» رفيقة و «تستند بحكمة» على هذه الفئة او تلك من فئات السكان. ان ديكتاتورية البروليتاريا هي تحالف طبقي بين البروليتاريا وجماهير الفلاحين الشغيلة لاسقاط رأس المال ولانتصار الاشتراكية النهائي، بشرط ان تكون البروليتاريا القوة القائدة في هذا التحالف.

وعلى ذلك فالقضية هنا ليست اذن قضية «بعض» تفريط او «بعض» افراط في تقدير الامكانيات الثورية في حركة الفلاحين كما يجب ان يعبر في الوقت الحاضر بعض الديبلوماسيين المدافعين عن «الثورة المتواصلة». ان القضية هي قضية فحوى الدولة البروليتارية الجديدة التي انبثقت نتيجة لثورة اكتوبر. ان القضية هي قضية طابع السلطة البروليتارية، قضية أسس ديكتاتورية البروليتاريا ذاتها.

يقول لينين: «ديكتاتورية البروليتاريا هي شكل خاص لتحالف طبقي بين البروليتاريا، طليعة الشغيلة، والفئات الغفيرة من الشغيلة غير البروليتاريين (البرجوازية الصغيرة، صغار اصحاب الاعمال، الفلاحين، المثقفين، الخ) او مع اغلبيتهم،

وجماهير الفلاحين الشغيلة وقيادة البروليتاريا للاخيرين. وهما، ثانيا، واقع ان ديكتاتورية البروليتاريا قد توصلت عندنا نتيجة لانتصار الاشتراكية في بلاد واحدة، التطور الرأسمالي فيها ضعيف، مع بقاء الرأسمالية في البلدان الأخرى التي سارت شوطا ابعد في التطور الرأسمالي. وهذا لا يعني، بالطبع، انه لا توجد خصائص اخرى لثورة اكتوبر. ولكن ما يهمنا الآن هو، بالضبط، هاتين الخاصيتين، لا لأنهما تظهران بوضوح كمنه ثورة اكتوبر وحسب، بل كذلك لأنهما تكشفان بجلاء تام عن الفحوى الانتهازية في نظرية «الثورة المتواصلة». فلنفحص هاتين الخاصيتين باختصار.

ان مسألة جماهير الشغيلة من البرجوازية الصغيرة في المدينة والقرية، مسألة اكتساب هذه الجماهير الى جانب البروليتاريا، هي مسألة هامة جدا بالنسبة للثورة البروليتارية. ففي النضال من اجل السلطة، هل يؤيد الشعب الكادح في المدينة والقرية البرجوازية أم البروليتاريا، احتياطيا لأيهما يكون، احتياطيا للبرجوازية أم احتياطيا للبروليتاريا؟- على هذا يتوقف مصير الثورة وماتة الديكتاتورية البروليتارية. لقد هلكت ثورتا سنة ١٨٤٨ و ١٨٧١ في فرنسا، بالدرجة الأولى لأن الفلاحين ظهروا احتياطيا الى جانب البرجوازية. وقد انتصرت ثورة اكتوبر لأنها استطاعت ان تنتزع من البرجوازية احتياطياها من الفلاحين، لانها استطاعت ان تكتسب هذا الاحتياطي الى جانب البروليتاريا، فظهرت البروليتاريا في هذه الثورة القوة

تحالف ضد رأس المال، تحالف هدفه اسقاط رأس المال اسقاطا تاما والقضاء التام على مقاومة البرجوازية ومحاولاتها لبعث النظام القديم، تحالف هدفه انشاء وتوطيد الاشتراكية نهائيا». (راجع المجلد ٢٤، ص ٣١١).

ثم يقول: «ان ديكتاتورية البروليتاريا، اذا ما ترجمنا هذا التعبير اللاتيني العلمي التاريخي الفلسفي الى لغة ابسط، تعني: أن طبقة بعينها، عمال المدن وبوجه عام عمال المعامل، العمال الصناعيين، هي وحدها الكفوء لقيادة جمهور الشغيلة والمستثمرين بأكمله في النضال لقلب نير رأس المال، وفي مجرى اسقاطه، في النضال لاحراز الانتصار وتوطيده، في امر انشاء النظام الاجتماعي الجديد، الاشتراكي، في كامل النضال من اجل القضاء التام على الطبقات» (راجع المجلد ٢٤، ص ٣٣٦).

هذه هي نظرية ديكتاتورية البروليتاريا كما صاغها لينين. ان احدى خصائص ثورة اكتوبر هي كون هذه الثورة تطبيق نموذجي لنظرية لينين عن ديكتاتورية البروليتاريا. يحسب بعض الرفاق ان هذه النظرية هي نظرية «روسية» صرف لا علاقة لها بغير الواقع الروسي. وهذا غير صحيح. ان هذا غير صحيح بتاتا. فلينين، اذ تحدث عن جمهور الشغيلة من الطبقات غير البروليتارية وقيادة البروليتاريا لهم، لم يكن يقصد الملاحين الروس وحدهم، بل انما قصد ايضا عناصر الشغيلة في اطراف

الاتحاد السوفييتي التي كانت حتى الامس القريب مستعمرات لروسيا. لقد قال لينين وكرر غير مرة انه بدون التحالف مع هذه الجماهير من ابناء الأمم الاخرى، لا يمكن للبروليتاريا في روسيا أن تنتصر. وقد قال لينين غير مرة في مقالاته حول المسألة الوطنية وفي خطاباته في مؤتمرات الاممية الشيوعية ان انتصار الثورة العالمية امر مستحيل بدون تحالف ثوري، بدون كتلة ثورية بين البروليتاريا في البلدان المتقدمة والشعوب المظلومة في المستعمرات البستعبدة. ولكن ما هي المستعمرات ان لم تكن الجماهير الكادحة المظلومة وبالدرجة الاولى جماهير الفلاحين الكادحين؟ ومن يجهل ان مسألة تحرير المستعمرات هي في الجوهر مسألة تحرير جماهير الشغيلة من الطبقات غير البروليتارية من ظلم واستثمار رأس المال المالي؟

يستنتج من ذلك، اذن، ان النظرية اللينينية عن ديكتاتورية البروليتاريا ليست بنظرية «روسية» صرف، بل انما هي نظرية الزامية لجميع البلدان. فالبولشفية ليست بظاهرة روسية فقط. لقد قال لينين ان «البولشفية» هي «نموذج خطى للجميع» (راجع المجلد ٢٣ ص ٢٨٦).

هذه هي السمات المميزة للخاصة الأولى من خواص ثورة اكتوبر.

وكيف تبدو نظرية تروتسكي عن «الثورة المتواصلة» من وجهة نظر هذه الخاصة من خواص ثورة اكتوبر؟ لن نتناول موقف تروتسكي في سنة ١٩٠٥ عندما نسي «بيسر» الملاحين بوصفهم قوة ثورية والتي شعار «بدون قيصر،

«في الفترة الواقعة بين ٩ كانون الثاني واطراب
اكتوبر سنة ١٩٠٥ على وجه الدقة تكونت نظرات البوليف
عن طابع تطور روسيا الثوري، هذه النظرات التي سميت
بنظرية «الثورة المتواصلة». وهذه التسمية العوصاء كانت
تعرب عن فكرة ان الثورة الروسية التي تواجهها مباشرة
اهداف برجوازية لايمكنها مع ذلك ان تقف عند هذه
الاهداف. فالثورة لا تستطيع ان تحل المهام البرجوازية
المباشرة الموضوعية امامها مالم ترفع البروليتاريا الى
السلطة. وعند ما تتسلم البروليتاريا السلطة بأيديها لا يمكنها
البقاء ضمن اطار الثورة البرجوازية. بالضد، فلكيما تضمن
الطليعة البروليتارية انتصارها، يتأتى عليها منذ الايام
الاولى لسيادتها ان تغير اعق الغارات لا على الملكية
الاقطاعية وحسب، بل على الملكية البرجوازية ايضا. وهي،
اثناء ذلك، تشتبك بأصطدمات عدائية ليس فقط مع جميع
الفرق البرجوازية التي ايدها في المراحل الأولى لنضالها
الثوري، بل وايضا مع جماهير الفلاحين الغفيرة التي
وصلت الى السلطة بمساعدتها. فالتناقضات في وضع حكومة
عدالية في بلاد متأخرة سكانها بأكثريةهم الساحقة فلاحون
لا يمكن ان تجد حلولها الا في النطاق العالمي، على مسرح
الثورة البروليتارية العالمية».*

* خط التشديد لي. ي. ستالين.

حكومة عمال»، أي شعار الثورة بدون الفلاحين. فرادك نفسه،
هذا المدافع الديبلوماسي عن «الثورة المتواصلة»، قد اضطر الآن
الى الاعتراف بأن «الثورة المتواصلة» كانت تعني في سنة ١٩٠٥
«قفزة في الهواء»، ابتعادا عن الواقع. ويظهر ان الجميع يعترفون
الآن بأن هذه «القفزة في الهواء» لم تعد تستحق انفاق الوقت عليها.
ولن نتناول كذلك موقف تروتسكي اثناء الحرب، في
سنة ١٩١٥ مثلا، عندما انطلق من واقع اننا «نعيش في عصر
الاستعمار» وان الاستعمار «لا يضع الامة البرجوازية مقابل النظام
القديم، بل البروليتاريا مقابل الامة البرجوازية» ويخلص في
مقاله «النضال في سبيل السلطة» الى استنتاج ان دور الفلاحين
الثوري سيسير في تناقص وان شعار مصادرة الاراضي قد فقد
الاهمية التي كانت له في السابق. ومن المعروف ان لينين قد
فند مقالة تروتسكي هذه واتهمه آنذاك بـ «انكار» دور الفلاحين
قائلا ان «تروتسكي يساعد في الواقع الساسة العمال الاحرار
في روسيا الذين يفهمون من «انكار» دور الفلاحين عدم الرغبة
في استنهاض الفلاحين للثورة» (راجع المجلد ١٨ ص ٣١٨).
من الافضل ان ننقل الى مباحث تروتسكي الاحدث حول
هذه المسألة، الى المباحث التي وضعها في الفترة التي تسنى
فيها لديكتاتورية البروليتاريا ان تتوطد ووجد فيها تروتسكي
امكانية التحقق عمليا من نظرية «الثورة المتواصلة» وامكانية
اصلاح اخطائه. فلنأخذ «المقدمة» التي وضعها تروتسكي في
سنة ١٩٢٢ لكتاب «سنة ١٩٠٥». واليك ما يقوله تروتسكي في
هذه «المقدمة» عن «الثورة المتواصلة»:

هو أن تزبل متسكعة بين تناقضاتها وان تتعفن على جنورها
بانتظار الثورة العالمية.

ماهي ديكتاتورية البروليتاريا في رأى لينين؟
ديكتاتورية البروليتاريا هي سلطة تستند على تحالف
البروليتاريا وجماهير الفلاحين الشعبية لأجل «اسقاط رأس المال
اسقاطا تاما»، لأجل «انشاء الاشتراكية وتوطيدها بصورة نهائية».

وماهي ديكتاتورية البروليتاريا في رأى تروتسكي؟
ديكتاتورية البروليتاريا هي سلطة تشتبك في اصطدامات
عدائية مع «جماهير الفلاحين الغفيرة» ولا تبحث عن حل
«للتناقضات» الا «على مسرح الثورة البروليتارية العالمية».

بم تختلف «نظرية الثورة المتواصلة» هذه عن النظرية
المعروفة البنشفية التي تنكر فكرة ديكتاتورية البروليتاريا؟
لا تختلف بشي في الجوهر.

لا مجال للشك. «الثورة المتواصلة» ليست مجرد تقليل من
اهمية الامكانيات الثورية في حركة الفلاحين. ان «الثورة
المتواصلة» هي تقليل من اهمية حركة الملاحين يفضي الى انكار
النظرية اللينينية عن ديكتاتورية البروليتاريا.

ان «الثورة المتواصلة» التي يقول بها تروتسكي هي لون
من المنشفية.

هكذا يستقيم امر الخاصة الاولى من خواص ثورة اكتوبر.
فما هي السمات المميزة للخاصة الثانية من خواص ثورة
اكتوبر؟

هكذا يتكلم تروتسكي عن «الثورة المتواصلة» التي
يقول بها.

وما ان يقارن المرء هذه العقرة بالفقرات المذكورة اعلاه
والمقتبسة من مباحث لينين عن ديكتاتورية البروليتاريا حتى
يرى مدى عمق الهوة التي تفصل النظرية اللينينية عن ديكتاتورية
البروليتاريا ونظرية تروتسكي عن «الثورة المتواصلة».

يتحدث لينين عن التحالف بين البروليتاريا وفئات الفلاحين
الشفيلة باعتباره أساسا لديكتاتورية البروليتاريا، في حين نجد
عند تروتسكي «اصطدامات عدائية» بين «الطلبة البروليتارية»
و «جماهير الفلاحين الغفيرة».

يتكلم لينين عن قيادة البروليتاريا للشفيلة وجماهير
المستثمرين. في حين نجد عند تروتسكي «تناقضات» في وضع
حكومة عمالية في بلاد متأخرة سكانها بأكثريةهم الساحقة فلاحون.
يؤخذ من اقوال لينين ان الثورة تستمد قواها بالدرجة
الأولى من بين العمال والفلاحين في روسيا نفسها. في حين نجد
عند تروتسكي ان القوى الضرورية لا يمكن ان تستمد الا «على
مسرح الثورة البروليتارية العالمية».

ولكن كيف العمل اذا قدر للثورة العالمية ان تأتي متأخرة؟
أمن خيط من أمل لثورتنا؟ ان تروتسكي لا يترك لنا أى خيط
من أمل، اذ أن «التناقضات» في وضع حكومة عمالية... لا يمكن
ان تجد حلولها الا... على مسرح الثورة البروليتارية العالمية.
وبموجب هذا المشروع لا يبقى امام ثورتنا غير سبيل واحد:

(١) «آلت الرأسمالية الى نظام عالمي للظلم الأثري الكبرى من سكان الارض استعماريًا وخنقها ماليًا من قبل قبضة من البلدان «المتقدمة»» (راجع مقدمة الطبعة الفرنسية لكتاب لينين «الاستعمار»، المجلد ١٩ ص ٧٤).

(٢) «يجري اقتسام هذه «الغنيمة» بين ضارين أو ثلاثة ضواري أقوى» في النطاق العالمي ومسلحين من الرأس حتى أخص القدمين (اميريكًا، انكلترا، اليابان) يجرون الأرض برمتها الى حربهم من اجل اقتسام غنيمةهم» (المصدر نفسه).

(٣) اشتداد التناقض في داخل النظام العالمي للظلم المالي وحتمية الاصطدامات الحربية يفضيان الى جعل جبهة الاستعمار العالمي سهلة العطب تجاه الثورة واختراق هذه الجبهة من قبل بلدان منفردة امرا محتملا.

(٤) والمحتمل اكبر الاحتمال ان يحدث هذا الاختراق في النقاط وفي البلدان التي تكون فيها سلسلة الجبهة الاستعمارية اضعف ما تكون، أي حيث تكون حصون الاستعمار اضعف ما يكون وحيث تستطيع الثورة الانطلاق بأسهل ما يكون.

(٥) وبناءً على ذلك فأن انتصار الاشتراكية في بلاد واحدة - حتى ولو كانت هذه البلاد اقل تطورًا من الناحية الرأسمالية، مع بقاء الرأسمالية في البلدان الاخرى، حتى ولو كانت هذه البلدان اكثر تطورًا من الناحية الرأسمالية - ممكن كل الامكان ومحتمل.

هذه هي باقتضاب أسس النظرية اللينينية عن الثورة البروليتارية.

ان لينين، بدراسته للاستعمار وبوجه خاص في زمن الحرب، قد توصل الى قانون التناقض والقفز في تطور البلدان الرأسمالية الاقتصادية والسياسي. ومعنى هذا القانون ان تطور المؤسسات والتروستات وفروع الصناعة والبلدان منفردة يجري على اساس التناقض، لا على اساس نظام من التتابع مقرر، لا بشكل يسير فيه ابدا في المقدمة تروست من التروستات او فرع من فروع الصناعة او بلد من البلدان، في حين تبقى التروستات الأخرى او البلدان الأخرى في الخلف حسب التتابع المقرر، بل انما يجري على أساس القفز، على انقطاعات في تطور هذه او تلك البلدان وقفزات الى الامام في تطور البلدان الأخرى. هذا ونزوع البلدان المتأخرة «المشروع تماما» الى الاحتفاظ بمواقعها القديمة والنزوع «المشروع» بالقدر نفسه الى الاستيلاء على مواقع جديدة من جانب البلدان التي قفزت الى الامام يفضيان الى صيرورة الاصطدامات الحربية بين البلدان الاستعمارية ضرورة لا مناص منها. هذا ما حدث مثلا لمانيا التي كانت منذ نصف قرن مضى بلدا متأخرا بالنسبة لفرنسا وانكلترا. والشيء نفسه ينبغي ان يقال بشأن اليابان بالنسبة لروسيا. غير أن اليابان واليابان كانتا، كما هو معروف، قد قفزتا حتى اوائل القرن العشرين قفزة كبيرة الى الامام فسبقت الأولى فرنسا وأخذت تضيق على انكلترا في السوق العالمي وسبقت الثانية روسيا. ومن هذه التناقضات انبثقت، كما هو معلوم، الحرب الاستعمارية الماضية.

ونقطة انطلاق هذا القانون هي:

حسب نظريتهم - الا في البلدان المتطورة صناعيا، وأن هذه البلدان بمقدار ما تكون متطورة من الناحية الصناعية، تكون امكانية انتصار الاشتراكية فيها اكبر، هنا وهم ينفون امكانية انتصار الاشتراكية في بلاد واحدة، لاسيما اذا كان تطور الرأسمالية فيها ضعيفا، باعتبار ذلك أمرا غير محتمل بتاتا. ولكن لينين، استنادا على قانون التطور المتفاوت للدول الاستعمارية، قد عارض منذ زمن الحرب الانهازيين بنظريته عن الثورة البروليتارية، النظرية القائلة بانتصار الاشتراكية في بلاد واحدة، حتى ولو كانت بلادا التطور الرأسمالي فيها ضعيف. ومن المعروف ان ثورة اوكتوبر قد اكدت بصورة تامة صحة نظرية لينين عن الثورة البروليتارية. وكيف تبدو «ثورة» تروتسكي «المتواصلة» من وجهة نظر النظرية اللينينية القائلة بانتصار الثورة الاشتراكية في بلاد واحدة؟ فلنأخذ كراس تروتسكي «ثورتنا» (سنة ١٩٠٦).

كتب تروتسكي: «بدون تأييد مباشر من جانب الدولة تقدمه البروليتاريا الاوروبية، لا يمكن للطبقة العاملة في روسيا ان تحتفظ بالسلطة وان تحول سيادتها الموقته الى ديكتاتورية اشتراكية طويلة. ولا يمكن الشك في هذا ولو للحظة».

عم تتحدث هذه الفقرة؟ انها تقول ان انتصار الاشتراكية في بلاد واحدة، روسيا في هذه الحالة، يستحيل «بدون تأييد مباشر من جانب الدولة تقدمه البروليتاريا الاوروبية»، أي انه يستحيل قبل ان تستولي البروليتاريا الاوروبية على السلطة.

بم تتلخص الخاصة الثانية من خواص ثورة اوكتوبر؟ تتلخص الخاصة الثانية من خواص ثورة اوكتوبر في كون هذه الثورة نموذجا للتطبيق العملي للنظرية اللينينية عن الثورة البروليتارية.

ان من لم يفهم هذه الخاصة من خواص ثورة اوكتوبر لا يفهم بحال من الاحوال لا طابع هذه الثورة الاممي ولا قوتها العالمية الهائلة ولا سمات سياستها الخارجية.

يقول لينين: «تفاوت التطور الاقتصادي والسياسي هو قانون الرأسمالية الطلقة. ومن هنا يستنتج ان انتصار الاشتراكية امر ممكن باديء ذي بدء في عدد قليل من البلدان الرأسمالية او حتى في بلاد رأسمالية واحدة مأخوذة على حدة. والبروليتاريا الطافرة في هذه البلاد، بعد ان تصادر الرأسماليين وتنظم الإنتاج الاشتراكي في بلادها تهب ضد بقية العالم الرأسمالي، جاذبة اليها الطبقات المظلومة في البلدان الأخرى، مستنهضة اياها للانتفاض على الرأسماليين، ممارسة، عند الضرورة، حتى القوة العسكرية ضد الطبقات المستثمرة ودولها لان «التوحيد الحر للامم في الاشتراكية لا يمكن بدون نضال طويل لحد ما وعنيد بين الجمهوريات الاشتراكية وبقية الدول». (راجع المجلد ١٨، ص ٢٣٢-٢٣٣).

يزعم الانهازيون في جميع البلدان ان الثورة البروليتارية لا يمكنها ان تبدأ - اذا كان لا بد لها أن تبدأ في مكان ما

ومن هنا خلصت «السوسيال ديموقراطه» الى استنتاج ان انتصار الاشتراكية ممكن في بلاد واحدة وانه ما من داع الى اشتراط ديكتاتورية البروليتاريا في كل دولة بمنزلة بانشاء الولايات المتحدة الاوروبية، اما من حيث ان التطور الرأسمالي في مختلف البلدان غير متساو، فهو امر لا يقبل الجدل. ولكن هذا التفاوت نفسه هو متفاوت جدا. فالمتوى الرأسمالي في انكلترا والنمسا والمانيا او فرانسوا ليس واحدا. ولكن جميع هذه البلدان، اذا ما قورنت بأفريقيا وآسيا، تكوّن «اوروبا» الرأسمالية الناضجة للثورة الاجتماعية. ومن حيث انه لا ينبغي لاية بلاد ان «تنتظر» البلدان الاخرى في نضالها، فهي فكرة اولية من المفيد والضروري تكرارها لكيلا تستبدل فكرة العمل الاممي المتوازي بفكرة الخمول والانتظار الاممي. فنحن دون ان ننتظر الاخرين، نبدأ النضال ونستمر فيه على الصعيد الوطني موقنين كل اليقين بأن مبادرتنا ستكون حافزا للنضال في البلدان الاخرى، اما اذا لم يحدث ذلك فلا مجال للامل - وتدل على ذلك خبرة التاريخ والاعتبارات النظرية - بأن تستطيع روسيا الثورية مثلا الصمود امام اوروبا المحافظة، او بأن تستطيع المانيا الاشتراكية البقاء في عزلة في العالم الرأسمالي».

وترون أننا حيال نفس النظرية القائلة بانتصار الاشتراكية في وقت معا في البلدان الاوروبية الرئيسية، النظرية التي

وهل من شيء مشترك بين هذه «النظرية» وصيغة لينين عن امكانية انتصار الاشتراكية في «بلاد رأسمالية واحدة مأخوذة على حدة»؟

واضح انه لاشيء بينهما مشترك.

ولكن فلنسلم بأن كراس تروتسكي هذا المطبوع سنة ١٩٠٦، عندما كان من العسير تحديد طابع ثورتنا، يتضمن اخطأ غير مقصودة وبأنه لا يتفق تماما مع النظرات التي تبناها تروتسكي فيما بعد. فلننحص كراسا آخر لتروتسكي، «برامج السلام»، الذي صدر قبيل ثورة اكتوبر سنة ١٩١٧ واعيد طبعه الآن (سنة ١٩٢٤) في كتابه «١٩١٧». في هذا الكراس ينتقد تروتسكي النظرية اللينينية عن الثورة البروليتارية فيما يتعلق بانتصار الاشتراكية في بلاد واحدة ويعارضها بشعار الولايات المتحدة الاوروبية. وهو يزعم ان انتصار الاشتراكية في بلاد واحدة مستحيل، وان انتصار الاشتراكية لا يمكن الا بأعبثه انتصارا لعدد من البلدان الاوروبية الاساسية (انكلترا، روسيا، المانيا) متحدة في ولايات متحدة اوروبية، والا فهو مستحيل تماما. وهو يقول دون لبس او ابهام ان «الثورة المظفرة في روسيا او في انكلترا امر لا يمكن تصوره بدون الثورة في المانيا، وبالعكس».

يقول تروتسكي: «ان الاعتراض التاريخي الوحيد والملموس لحد ما على شعار الولايات المتحدة قد صيغ في «السوسيال ديموقراطه» السويسرية (جريدة البلاشفة المركزية في ذلك العهد - ي. ستالين) بالعارة التالية: «تفاوت التطور الاقتصادي والسياسي هو قانون الرأسمالية المطلقة».

العمل الانشائي الجدي؟ اجل، لقد ظهر كافيا. وهذا التحديد، أهو في تزايد أم تناقص؟ انه في تزايد دون شك. فهل لدينا الظروف المواتية، لا لنُدفع الى الامام قضية تنظيم الاقتصاد الاشتراكي وحسب، بل كذلك لنقدم بدورنا الأييد سواء للعمال في اوربا الغربية او لشعوب الشرق المظلومة؟ اجل، توجد لدينا هذه الظروف. وهو ما يظهره لنا بكل الجلاء تاريخ ديكتاتورية البروليتاريا في روسيا خلال سبع سنوات. أو يمكننا أن ننكر ان نهوضا قويا في حقل العمل قد بدأ عندنا؟ لا، لا يمكننا ذلك.

وبعد كل هذا، ما هو معنى ادعاء تروتسكي بأن روسيا الثورية لا يمكنها ان تصمد امام اوربا المحافظة؟

ليس له غير معنى واحد: اولا، ان تروتسكي لا يشعر ببأس ثورتنا الداخلي، ثانيا، ان تروتسكي لا يفهم اهمية المساعدة المعنوية الثمينة التي يقدمها لثورتنا عمال الغرب وفلاحو الشرق، ثالثا، ان تروتسكي لا يحس الضعف الداخلي الذي يتأكل الاستعمار في الوقت الحاضر.

ان تروتسكي، وقد انهمك في انتقاد النظرية اللينينية عن الثورة البروليتارية، دحض نفسه عن غير عمد في كراسه «برنامج السلام» الصادر في سنة ١٩١٧ والمعاد طبعه في سنة ١٩٢٤.

ولكن لعل كراس تروتسكي هذا قد شاخ ايضا ولم يعد لسبب ما يتفق ونظرا به الحالية؟ فلنأخذ مباحث تروتسكي الاحداث التي كتبها بعد انتصار الثورة البروليتارية في بلاد واحدة،

تمفي، كمعادة عامة، النظرية اللينينية عن الثورة، النظرية القائلة بانتصار الاشتراكية في بلاد واحدة.

غني عن القول ان انتصار الاشتراكية التام، ان الضمان التام ضد بعث الاوضاع القديمة يقتضي جهودا مشتركة من البروليتاريين في عدد من البلدان، وغني عن القول ان البروليتاريا في روسيا لم يكن بإمكانها ان تصمد بوجه الضغط العام لولا التأييد الذي وجدته ثورتنا من جانب البروليتاريا في اوربا، كما انه لولا التأييد الذي وجدته الحركة الثورية في الغرب من جانب الثورة في روسيا لما كان بإمكان هذه الحركة ان تتطور بمثل السرعة التي تطورت بها بعد قيام الديكتاتورية البروليتارية في روسيا. غني عن القول اننا بحاجة الى التأييد. ولكن ما هو تأييد البروليتاريا في اوربا الغربية لثورتنا؟ تحييد العمال الاوروبيين لثورتنا واستعدادهم لافساد ما يضره الاستعماريون من خطط للتدخل - كل ذلك أليس بتأييد، أليس بموازرة جديدة؟ اجل أنه كذلك دون شك: فلو لا هذا التأييد، لولا هذه الموازرة، لا من جانب العمال الاوروبيين وحسب، بل ايضا من جانب البلدان المستعمرة والتابعة، لوجدت ديكتاتورية البروليتاريا في روسيا نفسها في محنة. وهذا التأييد، وهذه الموازرة، هل ظهرا حتى الآن كافيين بالاضافة الى بأس جيشنا الاحمر واستعداد العمال والفلاحين في روسيا للندود عن الوطن الاشتراكي بصورهم، هل ظهر كل هذا كافيا لصد هجمات الاستعماريين وللحصول على الظرف الضروري للانصراف الى

الامكان الا بعد انتصار* البروليتاريا في البلدان الاوروبية الرئيسية.

هكذا يتكلم تروتسكي مقترفا الاثم البين ضد الواقع ومحاولا باصرار انقاذ «الثورة المتواصلة» من الانهيار النهائي. واذن فكيفما عملنا «لم نصل» الى بناء المجتمع الاشتراكي، حتى و «لم تقترب» منه. ويظهر انه كان عند البعض امل ب «اتفاقيات مع العالم الرأسمالي»، ولكن هذه الاتفاقيات لا تعطي هي ايضا شيئا على ما يبدو، اذ اننا، كيفما عملنا لانصل الى «النهضة الحقة للاقتصاد الاشتراكي» مالم تنتصر البروليتاريا «في البلدان الاوروبية الرئيسية».

وبما أن الانتصار في الغرب لا وجود له بعد، لا يبقى امام الثورة في روسيا الا ان «تختار»: اما الزبول على الجنود واما الحؤول الى دولة برجوازية.

وليس من باب المصادفات ان يتكلم تروتسكي منذ سنتين عن «انحلال» حزبنا.

وليس من باب المصادفات ان تنبأ تروتسكي في السنة الماضية ب «الهلاك» لبلادنا.

كيف، نوفق بين هذه «النظرية» الغربية ونظرية لينين عن انتصار الاشتراكية في بلاد واحدة؟

كيف نوفق بين هذه «الطريق» الغربية وطريق لينين

* خط التشديد لي. ي. ستالين.

في روسيا، لناخذ، مثلا، «الخاتمة» التي وضعها تروتسكي للطبعة الجديدة من كراس «برنامج السلام» وكتبها في سنة ١٩٢٢. اليكم ماكتبه في هذه «الخاتمة»:

«ان التأكيد الذي تكرر عدة مرات في «برنامج السلام» والقائل بأن الثورة البروليتارية لا يمكنها ان تنتهي مظفرة في النطاق الوطني قد يبدو، كما نحسب، لبعض القراء وكأن خبرة جمهوريتنا السوفييتية في نحو خمس سنوات قد دحضته. ولكن مثل هذا الاستنتاج لا يقوم على أساس. فواقع ان دولة عمال قد صمدت في وجه العالم كله وفي بلاد واحدة، متأخرة فوق ذلك، ينبغي أن قوة البروليتاريا جسيمة وبأن البروليتاريا تستطيع في البلدان التي سارت شوطا ابعد في طريق الرقي والحضارة ان تأتي بمعجزات حقا. ولكننا وان كنا قد صمدنا بوصفنا دولة من الناحيتين السياسية والعسكرية، لم نصل الى بناء المجتمع الاشتراكي، حتى ولم تقترب منه... فما بقيت السلطة في يد البرجوازية في الدول الاوروبية الأخرى، فنحن مضطرون، في النضال ضد العزلة الاقتصادية، الى البحث عن اتفاقيات مع العالم الرأسمالي. وفي الوقت نفسه يمكننا ان نقول ونحن على كل اليقين ان هذه الاتفاقيات، يمكنها في احسن الحالات، ان تساعدنا على اشفاء هذه الجراح الاقتصادية او تلك، وعلى السير خطوة او اخرى الى الأمام، ولكن النهضة الحقة للاقتصاد الاشتراكي في روسيا لا تصبح في

هذا كل ما يلزم لكي نبني، بواسطة جمعيات التعاون وجمعيات التعاون وحدها، جمعيات التعاون التي كنا ننظر اليها سابقا نظرتنا الى جمعيات ذات صفة تجارية والتي يحق لنا، من ناحية معينة، ان ننظر اليها الان ذات النظرة في ظل السياسة الاقتصادية الجديدة، أليس هذا كل ما هو ضروري لكي نبني مجتمعا اشتراكيا كاملا؟ أن هذا ليس بناء المجتمع الاشتراكي بعد، ولكن هذا كل ما هو ضروري وكاف لهذا البناء» (راجع المجلد ٢٧ ص ٣٩٢).

واضح ان التوافق هنا معدوم ولا سبيل اليه. ف«الثورة المتواصلة» التي يقول بها تروتسكي هي انكار للنظرية اللينينية عن الثورة البروليتارية، وبالتقابل فإن النظرية اللينينية عن الثورة البروليتارية هي انكار لنظرية «الثورة المتواصلة». ان الجنود التي تتغذى منها نظرية «الثورة المتواصلة» هي عدم الايمان بقوى ثورتنا وكفائتها، عدم الايمان بقوى البروليتاريا الروسية وكفائتها.

حتى الآن كان يشار عادة الى ناحية واحدة من نظرية «الثورة المتواصلة»، هي ناحية عدم الايمان بالامكانيات الثورية في حركة العمال. والآن ينبغي ان تتم هذه الناحية، لوجه العدالة، بناحية اخرى هي ناحية عدم الايمان بقوى البروليتاريا الروسية وكفائتها.

بم تختلف نظرية تروتسكي عن النظرية المنشقية العادية القائلة ان انتصار الاشتراكية في بلاد واحدة، لاسيما في بلاد

القائل بأن السياسة الاقتصادية الجديدة تعطينا امكانية «بناء» أسس الاقتصاد الاشتراكي؟ كيف نوفق بين هذا القنوط «المتواصل» وكلمات لينين التالية مثلا:

«لم تعد الاشتراكية الان مسألة مستقبل بعيد، او فكرة مجردة، او ايقونة من الايقونات. وفيما يخص الايقونات فنحن ما نزال على رأينا القديم، وهو سيء جدا. لقد ادخلنا الاشتراكية في الحياة اليومية، ومن واجبنا ان نبحث عنها ونفهمها في هذا الحقل. هذه هي مهمتنا المباشرة. هذه هي مهمة عصرنا. فأسمحوا لي ان اختتم معربا عن اليقين بأننا، مهما كانت هذه المهمة عسيرة، مهما كانت جديدة بالقياس الى مهمتنا السابقة، ومهما كانت الصعوبات التي تسببها لنا كثيرة، بأننا سننهض بها معا ومهما كلف الأمر، لا في الغد، بل في غضون بضع سنوات، بشكل تخرج فيه من روسيا النيب روسيا الاشتراكية» (راجع المجلد ٢٧ ص ٣٦٦).

كيف نوفق بين هذا اليبأس «المتواصل» وكلمات لينين التالية مثلا:

«وفي الواقع، سلطة الدولة على جميع وسائل الأنتاج الضخمة، سلطة الدولة في ايدي البروليتاريا، تحالف البروليتاريا مع الملايين الغيرة من الفلاحين الصغار والصغار جدا، ضمان قيادة هذه البروليتاريا للعاملين والخ، - أليس

المتواصلة» ي. ستالين' قد ظهر في الواقع المرحلة الثانية من التطور التاريخي».

وما من كلمة هنا أبيت بتحريف.
فليس بصحيح انه في اثناء الحرب «غدا في الامكان ليس ديكتاتورية الطبقة العاملة والفلاحين، بل ديكتاتورية للطبقة العاملة تستند على الفلاحين». فالواقع ان ثورة شباط سنة ١٩١٧ قد كانت تحقيقا لديكتاتورية الطبقة العاملة والفلاحين متشابهة بشكل معين مع ديكتاتورية البرجوازية.
وليس بصحيح ان نظرية «الثورة المتواصلة» التي يصمت عنها رادك بخجل قد عرضت في سنة ١٩٠٥ من قبل روزا لوكسيمبورغ وتروتسكي. فالواقع ان هذه النظرية قد عرضت من قبل بارفوس وتروتسكي. والآن، بعد مضي عشرة أشهر يستترك رادك معتبرا من الضروري توبيخ بارفوس من اجل «الثورة المتواصلة». ولكن العدالة تتطلب من رادك ان يوبخ كذلك زميل بارفوس، تروتسكي.

وليس بصحيح ان «الثورة المتواصلة» التي دحضتها ثورة سنة ١٩٠٥ قد ظهرت صحيحة في «المرحلة الثانية من التطور التاريخي»، أي في اثناء ثورة اكتوبر. فهجرى ثورة اكتوبر بأكملها ومجرى تطورها بأكملها قد اظهرا وبرهنا ان نظرية «الثورة المتواصلة» باطلة تماما وانها لا تنفق بتاتا مع أسس الليينينية. وتعجز الخطابات المعسولة والديبلوماسية المتعذرة عن تغطية الهوة الصحيحة التي تفصل نظرية «الثورة المتواصلة» عن الليينينية.

متأخرة، هو أمر مستحيل اذا لم يسبقه انتصار الثورة البروليتارية «في البلدان الرئيسية بأوروبا الغربية»؟
لا تختلف بشيء في الجوهر.
لامجال للشك. ان نظرية «الثورة المتواصلة» التي يقول بها تروتسكي هي لون من المنشفية.
في الأونة الاخيرة تسرب الى صحافتنا ديبلوماسيون متعفنون يحاولون تمشية نظرية «الثورة المتواصلة» على أنها شيء يتفق مع الليينينية. وهم يقولون: ان هذه النظرية قد ظهرت بطبيعة الحال غير صالحة في سنة ١٩٠٥. ولكن خطأ تروتسكي يتلخص في كونه قد استبق الزمن آتئذ محاولا ان يطبق في ظروف سنة ١٩٠٥ ما كان تطبيقه في ذلك العهد أمرا ليس في الامكان. وهم يقولون: ولكن فيما بعد، في اكتوبر سنة ١٩١٧ مثلا، عندما تسنى للثورة ان تنضج نضجا تاما، ظهرت نظرية تروتسكي في مكانها المناسب، كذا! وتبين بيسر ان الرئيسي بين هؤلاء الديبلوماسيين هو رادك. هلا تريدون أن تسمعو:

«لقد حفرت الحرب هوة بين الفلاحين الطامحين الى اكتساب الارض والى السلام وبين احزاب البرجوازية الصغيرة، لقد وضعت الحرب الفلاحين تحت قيادة الطبقة العاملة وطلعتها - حزب البلاشفة. وما غدا في الامكان ليس ديكتاتورية الطبقة العاملة والفلاحين، بل ديكتاتورية للطبقة العاملة تستند على الفلاحين. وما اقترحته روزا لوكسيمبورغ مع تروتسكي في سنة ١٩٠٥ ضد لينين (أي «الثورة

٣. حول بعض خصائص لخطة البلاشفة في مرحلة تحضير اكتوبر

لفهم خطة البلاشفة في مرحلة تحضير اكتوبر لابد للمرء من ان يفهم على الأمل بعضا من خصائص هذه الخطة في منتهي الاهمية. وهذا امر لابد منه لا سيما وان الكراريس العميقة التي تتناول خطة البلاشفة تغفل في الاغلب هذه الخصائص بالذات.

ما هي هذه الخصائص؟

الخاصة الأولى: اذا ما استمع المرء لتروتسكي يبدو له ان تاريخ تحضير اكتوبر لا يتضد سوى مرحلتين اثنتين لا غير، مرحلة الاستطلاع ومرحلة الانتفاض، وان كل ما خرج عن ذلك فهو من عالم الغيب. ما هي مظاهرة نيسان سنة ١٩١٧؟ «ان مظاهرة نيسان التي اتجهت الى «اليسار» اكثر مما كان ينبغي قد كانت استطلاعا هدفه التحقق من نفسية الجماهير واستيضاح موقفها من الأكثرية في مجالس السوفييت». وماهي مظاهرة تهوز سنة ١٩١٧؟ في رأى تروتسكي: «في الجوهر لم يتمد الأمر في هذه المرة أيضا حركة استطلاع اوسع في مرحلة جديدة اعلى من مراحل الحركة». ومن الجلي ان مظاهرة حزيران سنة ١٩١٧ التي نظمت بناء على اصرار حزبنا اخرى بها ان تمت حسبما يتصور تروتسكي بأنها «استطلاع».

يستنتج، اذن، انه كان لدى البلاشفة منذ آذار سنة ١٩١٧ جيش سياسي على أتم الاستعداد من العمال والفلاحين، وان البلاشفة، اذا كانوا لم يوجهوا هذا الجيش الى الانتفاض لا في نيسان ولا في حزيران ولا في تهوز، واذا كانوا قد اقتصرنا على «الاستطلاعات» وحدها، فسبب ذلك اولا وآخرا ان «الاستطلاعات» لم تعط آنذاك «الافادات» الايجابية. وغني عن القول ان هذا النهج المبسط لخطة حزبنا السياسية ليس سوى خلط بين الخطة الحربية العادية وخطة البلاشفة الثورية.

فالواقع ان كل هذه المظاهرات قد كانت قبل كل شيء نتيجة لاندفاع الجماهير العفوى، نتيجة لسخط الجماهير من الحرب سخطا اندفع الى الشارع.

والواقع ان دور الحزب قد اقتصر آنذ على اعطاء النضالات الجماهيرية المنبثقة بصورة عفوية الشكل والقيادة التي تتفق وشعارات البلاشفة الثورية.

والواقع انه لم يكن لدى البلاشفة جيش سياسي على اتم الاستعداد في آذار سنة ١٩١٧، وانه كان من غير الممكن ان يكون لديهم مثل هذا الجيش. كل ما فعله البلاشفة انهم انصرفوا الى تشكيل هذا الجيش في مجرى نضال الطبقات واصطداماتها من نيسان حتى اكتوبر سنة ١٩١٧ (وانجزوا تشكيله في النهاية حوالي اكتوبر سنة ١٩١٧). لقد انصرفوا الى تشكيله عن طريق تظاهرة نيسان، وعن طريق مظاهراتي حزيران وتهوز، وعن طريق انتخابات مجالس الدوما في المناطق والمدن، وعن طريق النضال

واضح ان «الاستطلاعات» وحدها لا تسفر عن نتيجة. وليست القضية، كما يظهر، قضية «استطلاعات». بل هي واقع: (١) ان الحزب كان طيلة مرحلة اعداد اكتوبر يستند على النوام في نضاله على النهوض العفوى للحركة الجماهيرية الثورية؛

(٢) ان الحزب قد استند على النهوض العفوى محتفظا لنفسه بقيادة الحركة دون ان يشاطر هذه القيادة احد؛ (٣) وان قيادة الحركة بهذا الشكل قد سهلت على الحزب امر تشكيل جيش سياسي جماهيري لانتفاض اكتوبر؛ (٤) وان من شأن هذه السياسة ان تفضي لامحالة الى جعل تحضير اكتوبر يتم بأكمله تحت قيادة حزب واحد هو الحزب البولشفي؛

(٥) وان تحضير اكتوبر بهذا الشكل قد افضى بدوره الى واقع ان السلطة قد غدت بنتيجة انتفاض اكتوبر في ايدي حزب واحد، هو الحزب البولشفي. وعلى ذلك فان السمة المميزة لثورة اكتوبر، الخاصة الاولى من خصائص خطة البلاشفة في مرحلة تحضير اكتوبر، هي اضطلاع حزب الشيوعيين بأعباء القيادة وحده، دون ان يشاطر القيادة اي حزب آخر، باعتبار ذلك النقطة الأساسية في تحضير اكتوبر.

ولانحسب ان ثمة حاجة للبرهان على انه لولا هذه الخاصة في خطة البلاشفة لكان انتصار ديكتاتورية البروليتاريا في ظروف الاستعمار امرا مستحيلا.

ضد كورنييلوف، وعن طريق اكتساب مجالس السوفييت. فالجيش السياسي ليس بالجيش العسكري. فلئن كانت القيادة العسكرية تبدأ الحرب وفي يدها جيش جاهز، فإن الحزب مضطر الى تشكيل جيشه في مجرى النضال نفسه، في مجرى الاصطدامات بين الطبقات وبمقدار ما تقتنع الجماهير نفسها على اساس خبرتها بصحة شعارات الحزب وبصحة سياسته.

واضح ان كل مظاهرة من هذه المظاهرات قد القت في الوقت نفسه بعض النور على توازن القوى غير البادى للنظر، وانها كانت نوعا من استطلاع، ولكن الاستطلاع لم يكن هنا سبب المظاهرة، بل كان نتيجة الطبيعية. لقد قال لينين محملا الحوادث التي وقعت قبيل انتفاض اكتوبر ومقارنا بينها وبين حوادث نيسان-تموز:

«يختلف الحال عما كان عليه قبيل ٢٠-٢١ نيسان، ٩ حزيران و ٣ تموز، فقد كان آئند فورانا عنويا اما أننا، بوصفنا حزبا، لم نتحسس (٢٠ نيسان) او علمنا على حجه واعطائه شكل مظاهرة سلمية (٩ حزيران و ٣ تموز) لأننا كنا نعرف آئند خير معرفة ان مجالس السوفييت لم تكن بعد معنا، وان الفلاحين ما يزالون يؤمنون بطريق ليبر-دان تشيرنوف (٣)، لا بالطريق البولشفي (الانتفاض) وانه تبعا لذلك لا يمكن ان تسير معنا اكثرية الشعب، وان الانتفاض، تبعا لذلك، يكون سابقا لوانه (راجع المجلد ٢١ ص ٣٤٥).

الكاديت لا سبيل الى الأمل بفصل الفلاحين عن القيصرية، وبدون ضمان هذا الانفصال، لا سبيل الى الأمل بانتصار الثورة. ان كثيرين لم يفهموا في ذلك العهد هذه الخاصة من خصائص الاستراتيجية البولشفية وكانوا يتهمون البلاشفة بالافراط في «كره الكاديت» زاعمين ان النضال ضد الكاديت «يغطي» عند البلاشفة النضال ضد العدو الرئيسي، ضد القيصرية. ولكن هذه الاتهامات التي لا تقوم على اساس قد كشفت بصورة واضحة عن عدم فهم الاستراتيجية البولشفية التي تقضي بعزل الاحزاب التوفيقية بقصد تسهيل وتقريب الانتصار على العدو الرئيسي. ولا نحسب ان ثمة حاجة للبرهان على انه لولا هذه الاستراتيجية لكانت سيادة البروليتاريا في الثورة الديمقراطية - البرجوازية امرا مستحيلا.

وفي مرحلة تحضير اكتوبر انتقل مركز ثقل القوى المتنازلة الى وضع جديد. لم يبق قيصر. اما حزب الكاديت فقد تحول من قوة توفيقية الى قوة حاكمة، الى قوة الاستعمار المسيطرة. والنضال لم يعد يجرى بين القيصرية والشعب، بل بين البرجوازية والبروليتاريا. وفي هذه المرحلة غدا حزبا البرجوازية الصغيرة الديمقراطيان، حزبا الاشتراكيين - الثوريين والناشقة، اخطر دعامة اجتماعية يستند عليها الاستعمار. لماذا؟ لأن هذين الحزبين كانا في تلك الفترة حزبين توفيقيين، حزبين للتوفيق بين الاستعمار وجماهير الشغيلة. وبديهي ان وجه البلاشفة آتت ضرباتهم الرئيسية لهذين الحزبين، لانه بدون عزل هذين الحزبين لم يكن من سبيل الى الأمل بفصل جماهير

وهذا ما يميز ثورة اكتوبر لمصلحتها عن ثورة سنة ١٨٧١ في فرنسا، حيث تقاسم قيادة الثورة حزبان لا يمكن لأى منهما ان يسمى بالحزب الشيوعي. الخاصة الثانية. وهكذا فان تحضير اكتوبر قد جرى تحت قيادة حزب واحد، هو حزب البلاشفة. ولكن كيف مارس الحزب هذه القيادة، ولى اتجاه سلكت؟ لقد سلكت هذه القيادة اتجاه عزل الاحزاب التوفيقية باعتبارها اكثر الفرق خطرا في مرحلة اندلاع الثورة، اتجاه عزل الاشتراكيين - الثوريين والناشقة. بم تلخص القاعدة الاستراتيجية الاساسية للينينية؟ انها تتلخص بالاعتراف بما يلي:

(١) ان اخطر دعامة اجتماعية يمكن ان يستند عليها اعداء الثورة في مرحلة اقتراب اندلاع الثورة هي الاحزاب التوفيقية؛ (٢) ان اسقاط العدو (قيصرية او برجوازية) يستحيل بدون عزل هذه الاحزاب؛ (٣) ولذلك فان السهام الرئيسية في مرحلة تحضير الثورة ينبغي ان توجه الى عزل هذه الاحزاب، والى فصل جماهير الشغيلة الغنيرة عنها.

في مرحلة النضال ضد القيصرية، في مرحلة تحضير الثورة الديمقراطية - البرجوازية (سنوات ١٩٠٥ - ١٩١٦) كان حزب الاحرار الملكي، حزب الكاديت، يمثل اخطر دعامة اجتماعية تستند عليها القيصرية. لماذا؟ لانه كان حزبا توفيقيا، حربا للتوفيق بين القيصرية واكثرية الشعب، أى الفلاحين بمحورهم. وبديهي ان وجه الحزب آتت ضربات الرئيسية للكاديت، لانه بدون عزل

الشفيلة عن الاستعمار، وبدون ضمان هذا الانفصال، لم يكن من سبيل الى الامل بانتصار الثورة السوفييتية. ان كثيرين لم يفهموا في ذلك العهد هذه الخاصة من خصائص الخطة البولشفية، واتهموا البلاشفة بـ «الافراط في الحقن» على الاشتراكيين الثوريين والمناشفة وبـ «نسيان» الهدف الرئيسي. ولكن مرحلة تحضير اكتوبر بأكملها تظهر بأنهم الجلاء ان البلاشفة ما كان بإمكانهم ان يضموا انتصار ثورة اكتوبر الا على اساس هذه الخطة. والسمة المميزة لهذه المرحلة هي اشتداد الروح الثورية بين جماهير الفلاحين الشفيلة وخيبة املهم بالاشتراكيين - الثوريين والمناشفة وابتعادهم عن هذين الحزبين وانعاطفهم في اتجاه الائتلاف المباشر حول البروليتاريا باعتبارها القوة الوحيدة الثورية حتى النهاية والكفؤ لا يصلح البلاد الى السلام. ان تاريخ هذه المرحلة هو تاريخ النضال بين الاشتراكيين - الثوريين والمناشفة، من جهة، والبلاشفة، من الجهة الاخرى، في سبيل جماهير الفلاحين الشفيلة، في سبيل اكتساب هذه الجماهير. وقد قرر نتيجة هذا النضال مرحلة الائتلاف، مرحلة كيرينسكي، وتخلي الاشتراكيين الثوريين والمناشفة عن مصادرة اراضي كبار ملاكي الاراضي ونضال الاشتراكيين الثوريين والمناشفة لمواصلة الحرب، وهجوم حزينان على الجبهة، واصدار احكام الاعدام على الجنود، وانتفاضة كورنيلوف. وقد قررت هذه الاحداث نتيجة هذا النضال لمصلحة الاستراتيجية البولشفية بصورة تامة. اذ ان اسقاط حكومة الاستعماريين لم يكن بالامكان بدون عزل الاشتراكيين - الثوريين والمناشفة، ولان الخلاص من الحرب لم يكن بالامكان بدون اسقاط

هذه الحكومة. وقد ظهر ان سياسة عزل الاشتراكيين - الثوريين والمناشفة هي السياسة الوحيدة الصحيحة. وعلى ذلك فان الخاصة الثانية من خواص خطة البلاشفة هي عزل حزبي المناشفة والاشتراكيين - الثوريين باعتبار ذلك الاتجاه الرئيسي في قيادة تحضير اكتوبر. ولانحسب ان ثمة حاجة للبرهان على انه لولا هذه الخاصة في خطة البلاشفة لبقى تحالف الطبقة العاملة مع جماهير الفلاحين الشفيلة معلقا في الهواء. والجدير بالذكر ان تروتسكي في كتابه «دروس اكتوبر» قد اغفل هذه الخاصة من خصائص الخطة البولشفية بصورة تامة او تكاد تكون تامة.

الخاصة الثالثة. وهكذا فان قيادة الحزب لقضية تحضير اكتوبر قد سلكت اتجاه عزل حزبي الاشتراكيين - الثوريين والمناشفة، اتجاه فصل الجماهير الغفيرة من العمال والفلاحين عن هذين الحزبين. ولكن كيف عزل هذين الحزبين عمليا وبأى شكل وتحت أية شعارات؟ لقد تحقق ذلك بشكل حركة الجماهير الثورية في سبيل سلطة السوفييت، تحت شعار: «كل السلطة لهيئات السوفييت!»، عن طريق النضال من اجل تحويل مجالس السوفييت من هيئات لتمثلية الجماهير الى هيئات للانتفاضة، الى هيئات للسلطة، الى جهاز للدولة البروليتارية الجديدة. لاذًا تشبهت البلاشفة بهيئات السوفييت بالضبط ورأوا فيها المخل التنظيمي الأساسي القادر على تسهيل عزل الاشتراكيين - الثوريين والمناشفة والكفؤ لدفع قضية الثورة البروليتارية الى

الامام والذى من شأنه ان يوصل الجماهير الغفيرة من الشغيلة الى انتصار ديكتاتورية البروليتاريا؟
ما هي مجالس السوفييت؟

قال لينين منذ ايلول سنة ١٩١٧: «مجالس السوفييت هي جهاز الدولة الجديد الذى يعطي، اولاً، قوات العمال والفلاحين المسلحة، قوات مسلحة ليست منفصلة عن الشعب كما هو حال قوات الجيش النظامي القديم، بل هي مرتبطة بالشعب اشد الارتباط، وهذه القوة هي من الناحية العسكرية اشد من السابقة بأساً بما لا يقاس. وهي، من الناحية الثورية، قوة لا يمكن استبدالها بأى شيء آخر. وهذا الجهاز يعطي، ثانياً، امكانيات الارتباط بالجماهير، بأكثرية الشعب، بروابط متينة، وثيقة العرى، التثبت منها وبعثها سهل لحد يجعل كل جهد يبذل في البحث عن شبيه لكل ذلك في جهاز الدولة السابق عديم الجدوى. ثالثاً، ان هذا الجهاز، بحكم كون اعضائه ينتخبون ويستبدلون بمشيئة الشعب وبدون تشكيلات بوروقراطية، هو جهاز الديمقراطية فيه أكمل جداً مما في الاجهزة السابقة. رابعاً، انه يعطي صلات وثقى بشتى المهن على اختلافها، مسهلاً بذلك اجراء عمق الاصلاحات على اختلافها وبدون بوروقراطية. خامساً، انه يعطي شكلاً لتنظيم الطليعة، أى القسم المتقدم الاكثر وعياً والابدءية من الطبقات المظلومة، من العمال والفلاحين، مشكلاً على هذه الصورة الجهاز الذى تتمكن طليعة الطبقات المظلومة بواسطته من ان ترفع وتربي وتعلم وتجر خلفها

جبهور هذه الطبقات اللجب بأكملة، هذا الجهور الذى ظل حتى الآن خارج الحياة السياسية بصورة تامة، خارج التاريخ. سادساً، انه يمكن من الجمع بين منافع البرلمانية ومنافع الديمقراطية المباشرة، أى من الجمع بين وظائف التشريع وتنفيذ القوانين بشخص ممثلي الشعب المنتخبين. وهذه، بالقياس الى البرلمانية البرجوازية، هي، في تطور الديمقراطية، خطوة كبرى الى الأمام ذات اهمية تاريخية عالية...

ولو ان ابداع الطبقات الشعبية المظلومة لم يخلق مجالس السوفييت، لكانت الثورة البروليتارية في روسيا امراً لارجاء منه، اذ ان البروليتاريا لم يكن بإمكانها دونما شك ان تحتفظ بالسلطة بواسطة الجهاز القديم، ولأن تكوين جهاز جديد دفعة واحدة امر ليس بالامكان» (راجع المجلد ٢١، ص ٢٥٨-٢٥٩).

لهذا السبب تمسك البلاشفة بمجالس السوفييت تمسكهم بالحلقة التنظيمية الرئيسية التي يمكنها ان تسهل تنظيم ثورة اكتوبر وانشاء جهاز جديد قوى للدولة البروليتارية. ان شعار: «كل السلطة لمجالس السوفييت!» قد اجتاز، من وجهة نظر تطوره الداخلي، مرحلتين: الاولى (حتى هزيمة البلاشفة في تموز، اثناء ازدواج السلطة) والثانية (بعد هزيمة انتفاضة كورنيلوف).

ففي المرحلة الاولى كان هذا الشعار يعني فصل كتلة المناشفة والاشتراكيين-الثوريين عن الديمقراطيين-الديستوريين

لأن مجالس السوفييت كانت قد أصبحت باكثريتها بلشفية. لقد غدا هذا الشعار يعني في المرحلة الثانية اقتراب الثورة مباشرة من ديكتاتورية البروليتاريا عن طريق الانتفاض. وفوق ذلك قد غدا هذا الشعار يعني في هذه المرحلة تنظيم ديكتاتورية البروليتاريا واقامتها في دولة.

ان الامة القصى لخطه تحويل مجالس السوفييت الى هيئات لسلطة الدولة تتلخص في كونها فصلت عن الاستعمار الجماهير الغفيرة من الشغيلة وفضحت حزبي المناشفة والاشتراكيين- الثوريين بوصفهما اداة في يد الاستعمار وسارت بهذه الجماهير في طريق مستقيم، ان امكن القول، الى ديكتاتورية البروليتاريا. وعلى ذلك فأن الخاصة الثالثة من خواص خطة البلاشفة في مرحلة تحضير اكتوبر هي سياسة تحويل مجالس السوفييت الى هيئات لسلطة الدولة باعتبار ذلك شرطا من اعم الشروط لعزل الاحزاب التوفيقية ولانتصار ديكتاتورية البروليتاريا.

الخاصة الرابعة لا تكون الصورة كاملة ان لم نهتم بسألة كيف ولماذا تمكن البلاشفة من جعل شعاراتهم الحزبية شعارات للجماهير الغفيرة تدفع الثورة الى الامام، كيف ولماذا تمكنوا من ان يقنعوا بصحة سياستهم لا الطليعة وحدها، ولا اكثرية طبقة العمال وحسب، بل اكثرية الشعب ايضا.

القضية في ان صحة الشعارات الحزبية لا تكفي بحد ذاتها لانتصار الثورة، اذا كانت هذه الثورة شعبية حقا تشمل الجماهير الغفيرة. فلانتصار الثورة يطلب شرط آخر لا بد منه، وهو ان تقتنع الجماهير نفسها بخبرتها الخاصة بصحة هذه الشعارات.

(الكاديت) وتشكيل حكومة سوفييتية من المناشفة والاشتراكيين- الثوريين (لان مجالس السوفييت كانت آنذاك اشتراكية- ثورية ومنشغية) وحرية الدعاية للمعارضة (أى للبلاشفة) وحرية النضال الحزبي في داخل مجالس السوفييت أملا بأن يتمكن البلاشفة عن طريق هذا النضال من اكتساب مجالس السوفييت وتغيير قوام الحكومة السوفييتية في مجرى تطور الثورة السلمي. وهذا المشروع لم يكن يعني بالطبع ديكتاتورية البروليتاريا. ولكنه كان يسهل دون شك تحضير الظروف الضرورية لتأمين الديكتاتورية. اذ انه، برفعه المناشفة والاشتراكيين الثوريين الى السلطة وبأرغامه اياهم على تطبيق برنامجهم المعادي للثورة، كان يجعل انكشاف جوهر هذين الحزبين على حقيقته، كان يعجل انعزالهما وانفصالهما عن الجماهير. غير أن هزيمة البلاشفة في تهوز قد قطعت هذا التطور، وجعلت التفوق في جانب اعداء الثورة من جنرالية وكاديت والقت بالاشتراكيين- الثوريين والمناشفة في احضانهم. وهذا الطرف قد حول الحزب على ان يرفع موقتا شعار «كل السلطة للسوفييت!» ليعود الى القائه مرة اخرى في ظرف نهوض جديد للثورة.

وكانت الهزيمة التي احاقت بانتفاضة كورنيلوف فاتحة المرحلة الثانية. وغدا شعار «كل السلطة للسوفييت!» في جدول الاعمال مرة أخرى. ولكن هذا الشعار لم يعد يعني في المرحلة الثانية ما كان يعنيه في المرحلة الاولى. فقد تغير مضمونه تغيرا أساسيا. فهذا الشعار قد غدا يعني في المرحلة الثانية، الانفصال التام عن الاستعمار وانتقال السلطة الى البلاشفة.

من القديم الى الجديد، بإمكانية المزج الموقت بين جمهورية
السوفييت والمجلس التأسيسي؟

لقد «حدث» ذلك:

(١) لأن فكرة المجلس التأسيسي كانت فكرة شعبية جدا
بين اوسع جماهير السكان؛

(٢) لأن شعار عقد المجلس التأسيسي على الفور كان
يسهل فضح الحكومة الموقته بأعناقها حكومة معادية للثورة في
كنهها؛

(٣) وللحط من شأن فكرة المجلس التأسيسي في اعين
الجماهير الشعبية كان من الضروري ايصال هذه الجماهير الى
جدران المجلس التأسيسي مع مطالبتها بصدد الارض والسلام
وسلطة السوفييت ووضعها، بهذا الشكل، وجها لوجه امام مجلس
تأسيسي واقعي حي؛

(٤) وما من طريق غير هذا الطريق يجعل من السهل على
الجماهير ان تقتنع بخبرتها الخاصة بأن المجلس التأسيسي عدو
للثورة بطبيعته وان تقتنع بضرورة حله؛

(٥) كل هذا ادى بصورة طبيعية الى امكانية التسليم بهزج
موقت بين جمهورية السوفييت والمجلس التأسيسي كوسيلة من
وسائل القضا' على الاخير؛

(٦) وهذا المزج فيما لو تم في ظرف انتقال السلطة بأكملها
الى مجالس السوفييت لا يمكن ان يكون له معنى آخر غير اخضاع
المجلس التأسيسي لمجالس السوفييت وتحويله الى ملحق لمجالس
السوفييت واضمحلاله دون الم.

وعندئذ فقط تهمي شعارات الحزب شعارات للجماهير نفسها.
عندئذ فقط تهمي الثورة شعبية حقا. واحدى خصائص خطة
البلاشفة في مرحلة تحضير اوكتوبر تتلخص في كونها احسنت
تحديد الطرق والمنعطفات التي تصل بالجماهير بصورة طبيعية
الى شعارات الحزب، الى عنية الثورة نفسها، ان امكن القول،
مسهلة على الجماهير بهذا الشكل ان تشعر بصحة هذه الشعارات
وتتحقق منها وتبين ذلك بخبرتها الخاصة. وبعبارة اخرى فان
احدى خصائص خطة البلاشفة تتلخص في كونها لا تخلط بين
قيادة الحزب وقيادة الجماهير، في كونها ترى بوضوح الفرق
بين قيادة النوع الاول وقيادة النوع الثاني، في كونها علم لا
عن قيادة الحزب وحسب. بل انما هي علم عن قيادة الجماهير
الغفيرة من الشغيلة.

والظهور الجلي لهذه الخاصة من خصائص الخطة البولشفية
هو خبرة عقد المجلس التأسيسي وحله.

فن المعروف ان البلاشفة قد القوا شعار جمهورية السوفييت
منذ نيسان سنة ١٩١٧. ومن المعروف ان المجلس التأسيسي هو
برلمان برجوازي ينافي من الجنود أسس جمهورية السوفييت.
فكيف حدث ان البلاشفة السائرين شطر جمهورية السوفييت قد
طالبوا في الوقت نفسه الحكومة الموقته بأن تدعو المجلس
التأسيسي الى الانعقاد على الفور؟ كيف حدث ان البلاشفة،
عدا انهم لم يقتصروا على الاشتراك في الانتخابات، قد دعوا
هم انفسهم المجلس التأسيسي الى الانعقاد؟ كيف حدث ان
البلاشفة قد قبلوا قبل الانتفاض بمدة شهر، في حالة الانتقال

قبل وبعد استيلاء البروليتاريا على السلطة السياسية» (راجع المجلد ٢٥، ص ٢٠١-٢٠٢).

ولماذا لم يقاطع البلاشفة المجلس التأسيسي؟ ذلك، يقول لينين، لأن:

«الاشتراك في البرلمان الديموقراطي البرجوازي حتى قبل انتصار الجمهورية السوفيتية بعدة اسابيع، وحتى بعد هذا الانتصار، عدا انه لا يضر بالبروليتاريا الثورية، ييسر لها الامكانية لتبين للجماهير المتأخرة لماذا تستحق مثل هذه البرلمانات الحل، ييسر النجاح في حلها، ييسر «الانحلال السياسي» للبرلمانية البرجوازية» (راجع المصدر نفسه).

وبلغ الدلالة ان تروتسكي لا يفهم هذه الخاصة من خصائص الخطة البولشفية، ويهر على «نظرية» الجمع بين المجلس التأسيسي ومجالس السوفييت معتبرا اياها من نمط نظريات هلفردينغ. انه لا يفهم ان التسليم بمثل هذا الجمع في حالة وجود شعار الانتفاض وتوقع انتصار مجالس السوفييت، لا يفهم ان عقد المجلس التأسيسي في مثل هذا الطرف، هو الخطة الثورية الوحيدة التي لا يجمعها جامع بخطة هيلفردينغ التي تستهدف تحويل مجالس السوفييت الى ملحق للمجلس التأسيسي وان غلطة بعض الرفاق في هذه المسألة لا تعطيه الحق في التهجيم على الموقف الصحيح جدا الذي وقفه لينين والحزب بشأن «طراز من الدولة مزيج» في حالة ظروف معينة (راجع المجلد ٢١، ص ٣٣٨).

ولا نحسب ان ثمة حاجة للبرهان على انه لولا سياسة البلاشفة هذه لما تم حل المجلس التأسيسي بهذا اليسر، ولما انتهت النضالات التي نام بها الاشتراكيون - الثوريون والمناشفة بعد ذلك تحت شعار: «كل السلطة للمجلس التأسيسي!» الى هذا الاخفاق النريع.

يقول لينين: «اشترطنا في انتخابات البرلمان البرجوازي الروسي، في انتخابات المجلس التأسيسي، في ايلول-تشرين الثاني سنة ١٩١٧. فهل كانت خطتنا صحيحة أم لا؟.. ألم يكن لدينا نحن البلاشفة الروس، في ايلول-تشرين الثاني سنة ١٩١٧، اكثر من سائر الشيوعيين في الغرب، الحق لنعتر ان البرلمانية في روسيا قد انتهت ايامها من وجهة النظر السياسية؟ واضح انه كان لدينا هذا الحق، لأن القضية ليست طبعاً قضية ما اذا كانت البرلمانات البرجوازية موجودة من زمن قريب أم بعيد، بل انما هي في مبلغ استعداد الجماهير الغفيرة من الشغيلة (فكريا وسياسيا وعمليا) لتقبل النظام السوفييتي ولحل (او للسماح بحل) البرلمان الديموقراطي-البرجوازي. اما ان الطبقة العاملة في المدن والجنود والفلاحين قد كانوا في روسيا خلال ايلول-تشرين الثاني سنة ١٩١٧، بحكم جملة من ظروف خاصة، مستعدين اتم الاستعداد لتقبل النظام السوفييتي ولحل البرلمان البرجوازي حتى الاوسع ديموقراطية، فهذا واقع تاريخي لاجدال فيه وثابت تماما. ومع ذلك، فالبلاشفة لم يقاطعوا المجلس التأسيسي، بل اشتركوا في انتخاباته

تعبير ماركس هنا بأنه «زلة لسان». فقد حوروا الماركسية فجعلوا منها احرارية فقيرة فقرا لم يعودوا يرون معه غير معارضة الثورة البرجوازية بالبروليتارية، وهم فوق ذلك يههون هذا التعارض بجمود ما بعده جمود...

في سنة ١٨٧١ لم تكن البروليتاريا تشكل اكثرية الشعب في اى بلد من بلدان القارة الاوربية. لم تكن الثورة تستطيع ان تكون «شعبية» وان تجذب الى الحركة الاكثرية حقا ان لم تشمل البروليتاريا والفلاحين. فهاتان الطبقتان كانتا تؤلفان الشعب في ذلك الحين. ويوحدهاتين الطبقتين واقع ان «ماكينته الدولة البوروقراطية العسكرية» تظلمهما وتسحقهما وتستثمرهما. وتحطيم هذه الماكينة وكسرها - هو مصلحة «الشعب» الحق، مصلحة اكثرية، العمال واكثرية الفلاحين، هو «الشرط الاولي» للتحالف الحر بين فقراء الفلاحين والبروليتاريا، وبدون هذا التحالف لا تكون الديموقراطية وطيدة ولا يمكن التحول الاشتراكي» (راجع المجلد ٢١، ص ٣٩٥-٣٩٦).

كلمات لينين هذه لايجوز نسيانها. وعلى ذلك فان الخاصة الرابعة من خصائص خطة البلاشفة في مرحلة تحضير اكتوبر هي معرفة اقناع الجماهير على اساس خبرتها الخاصة بصحة شعارات الحزب عن طريق السير بهنءه الجماهير الى المواقع الثورية، باعتبار ذلك شرطا من اهم الشروط لاكتساب الملايين من الشغيلة الى حانء الحزب. اظن ان ما قيل يكمي تماما لفهم السمات المميزة لهذه الخطة.

انه لايفهم انه لولا هذه السياسة الخاصة التي انتهجها البلاشفة حيال المجلس التأسيسي، لما تيسر لهم اكتساب جماهير الشعب الغفيرة الى جانبهم، ولولا اءكتساب هذه الجماهير لما تيسر لهم تحويل انتفاض اكتوبر الى ثورة شعبية عميقة. يستوقف النظر واقع ان تروتسكي يتهمك حتى من كلمات «الشعب» و«الديموقراطية الثورية» وما شابهها من الكلمات التي تصادف في مقالات البلاشفة، معتبرا اياها كلمات لاتليق بماركسي. ويظهر ان تروتسكي قد نسي ان لينين، الماركسي دون جدال، قد كتب حتى في ايلول سنة ١٩١٧، قبل انتصار ديكتاتورية البروليتاريا بشهر، عن «ضرورة انتقال السلطة بأكملها على الور الى ايدى الديموقراطية الثورية وعلى رأسها البروليتاريا الثورية» (راجع المجلد ٢١، ص ١٩٨).

ويظهر ان تروتسكي قد نسي ان لينين، الماركسي دون جدال، قد كتب مستشهدا بالرسالة المعروفة الوجيهة من ماركس الى كوغلان (نيسان سنة ١٨٧١) بصدء ان تحطيم جهاز الدولة البوروقراطي - العسكري هو الشرط الاولي لكل ثورة شعبية حقا في القارة وقال بكل الوضوح:

«تسترعى انتباها خاصا ملاحظة ماركس العميقة منتهى العمق: تحطيم ماكينته الدولة البوروقراطية العسكرية هو «الشرط الاولي لكل ثورة شعبية حقا». ويبدو مفهوم الثورة «الشعبية» هذا مستغربا على لسان ماركس، ونحسب ان البليخانوفيين والمناشفة الروس اتباع ستروفه هؤلاء الذين يريدون ان يعتبروا انفسهم ماركسيين يستطيعون ان يصفوا

٤. ثورة اكتوبر فاتحة وتمهيد للثورة العالمية

لا شك ان النظرية العامة القائلة بانتصار الثورة في آن واحد في البلدان الاوروبية الرئيسية، النظرية القائلة بعدم امكان انتصار الاشتراكية في بلاد واحدة، قد ظهرت نظرية مصطنعة وغير صالحة للحياة. فتاريخ الثورة البروليتارية في روسيا طيلة سبع سنوات لا يدعم هذه النظرية، بل ينقضها. وهذه النظرية، مادامت في تناقض مع الوقائع البادية للعيان، غير ممكنة القبول كمخطط لتطور الثورة العالمية. وهي غير ممكنة القبول لحد اكبر كسعار، ما دامت تقيد ولا تشجع مبادرة البلدان التي تجد بحكم ظروف تاريخية معينة امكانية القيام منفردة بخرق جبهة رأس المال، ما دامت لا تدفع الى الهجوم النشط على رأس المال من قبل البلدان منفردة، بل الى الانتظار السلبي لفترة «الاندلاع العام»، اذ انها لا تزرع بين البروليتاريين في مختلف البلدان روح الحزم الثوري، بل روح الشك على نمط هملت: «واذا لم يؤيدنا الاخرون». لقد كان لينين على كل الحق اذ قال ان انتصار البروليتاريا في بلاد واحدة هو «الحالة النموذجية» وان «الثورة في آن واحد في جملة من البلدان» لا يمكن ان تكون غير «شذوذ نادر» (راجع المجلد ٢٣، ص ٣٥٤).

ولكن نظرية لينين عن الثورة لا تقتصر على هذا الوجه وحده من وجوه المسألة. انها في الوقت نفسه نظرية تطور

الثورة العالمية*. فانتصار الثورة في بلاد واحدة ليس هدفا في ذاته. اذ ينبغي على الثورة في البلاد الظاهرة الا تنظر لنفسها كأمر قائم بذاته، بل كأمر مساعد، كوسيلة لاجل تهجيل انتصار البروليتاريا في جميع البلدان. ذلك لان انتصار الثورة في بلاد واحدة، روسيا في هذه الحالة، ليس نتاجا للتفاوت في التطور والاحلال الاستعماري باضطراد وحسب، اذ هو في الوقت نفسه فاتحة الثورة العالمية وتمهيد لها.

ولاريب في ان طرق تطور الثورة العالمية ليست بسيطة بقدر ما كان يمكن تصورهما سابقا قبل انتصار الثورة في بلاد واحدة وقبل ظهور الاستعمار المتطور الذي هو «عشبة الثورة الاشتراكية». اذ انه قد ظهر عامل جديد يفعل في ظروف الاستعمار المتطور هو قانون التفاوت في تطور البلدان الرأسمالية، القانون الذي ينبغي بهتمة الاصطدامات الحربية وبالضعف العام في جبهة رأس المال العالمية وبأمكانية انتصار الاشتراكية في هذه او تلك البلاد منفردة، اذ انه قد ظهر عامل جديد هو البلاد السوفيتية المنبسطة بين الغرب والشرق، بين مركز الاستثمار المالي للعالم ومرسح الظلم الاستعماري، والتي تطلق الروح الثورية في العالم كله بمجرد وجودها.

كل هذه عوامل (فضلا عن العوامل الاخرى الأقل اهمية) لا يمكن الا يحسب حسابها عند دراسة طرق الثورة العالمية. فيما مضى كان من المألوف التفكير بأن الثورة ستتطور عن طريق «نضج» عناصر الاشتراكية المتوازن قبل كل شي في

* راجع «في أسس اللينينية». ي. ستالين.

البلدان «المتقدمة»، الأكثر تطورا. والآن تحتاج وجهة النظر هذه الى تعديلات جوهرية.

يقول لينين: «حالة العلاقات الدولية هي الان كما يلي: هنالك في اوروبا دولة استعبدتها الدول الغالبة هي المانيا. ثم هنالك جملة من الدول، هي من اقدم الدول في الغرب. قد وجدت نفسها بحكم الانتصار في ظروف تمكنها من الاستفادة من هذا الانتصار لكي تقوم ببعض تنازلات لطبقاتها المظلومة، تنازلات وان كانت قليلة الاهمية، الا انها تعقل الحركة الثورية في هذه البلدان وتكون شيئا بمثابة «السلام الاجتماعي»».

«وهناك في الوقت نفسه جملة من البلدان: الشرق، الهند، الصين. الخ قد خرجت تماما بحكم الحرب الاستعمارية الاخيرة نفسها، عن طريقها المألوف. لقد اتجه تطورها بصورة نهائية في المجرى الرأسمالي الاوروبي العام. لقد بدأ فيها التخمر الشامل لاوروبا كلها. ومن الواضح تماما للعالم كله الآن انها انجرت الى تطور يفضي لامحالة الى ازمة الرأسمالية العالمية كلها».

نظرا لذلك وبناء عليه «تنجز البلدان الرأسمالية في اوروبا الغربية تطورها نحو الاشتراكية... لا كما كنا ننتظر من قبل. انها ستنجزه لا عن طريق «ضج» الاشتراكية فيها نضجا متساويا، بل عن طريق استثمار بعض الدول للآخرى، عن طريق استثمار اول دولة قهرت اثناء الحرب

الاستعمارية مضافا الى استثمار الشرق كله. ومن الجبهة الاخرى فإن الشرق، نتيجة للحرب الاستعمارية الاولى بالذات، قد دخل نهائيا في الحركة الثورية وانجذب نهائيا الى لجة الحركة الثورية العالمية العامة» (راجع المجلد ٢٧، ص ٤١٥-٤١٦).

وإذا ما اضفنا الى ذلك واقع ان البلدان المغلوبة والمستعمرات ليست وحدها التي تتعرض للاستثمار من قبل البلدان الغالبة وان قسما من البلدان الغالبة نفسها يتعرض للاستثمار المالي من قبل البلدان الغالبة الاقوى، امريكا وانكلترا، وان التناقضات بين هذه البلدان هي عامل كبير الاهمية من عوامل تفسخ الاستعمار العالمي، وان هنالك تناقضات اخرى، عدا هذه، عميقة جدا آخذة بالاشتداد في داخل كل بلاد من هذه البلدان، وان كل هذه التناقضات تتعمق وتتفاقم من واقع وجود جمهورية السوفييت العظمى الى جانب هذه البلدان، اذا اخذنا كل هذا بنظر الاعتبار تتكون لدينا صورة كاملة لحد ما عن هذا الوضع الدولي الخارق.

والاحتمال اكبر الاحتمال ان تتطور الثورة العالمية عن طريق انفصال عدد آخر من البلدان انفصالا ثوريا عن نظام الدول الاستعمارية، مع حصول بوليتاريا هذه البلدان على تأييد البروليتاريا في البلدان الاستعمارية. ونحن نرى ان البلاد الاولى التي انفصلت، ان البلاد الطافرة، تجد تأييد العمال وجماهير الشغيلة في البلدان الاخرى. ولولا هذا التأييد لما استطاعت الصمود.

العسكرية ضد الطبقات المستثمرة ودولها» (راجع لينين، المجلد ١٨، ص ٢٢٢-٢٢٣).

والسمة المميزة لهذه المساعدة من جانب البلاد الظافرة لانتلخص في كونها تعجل انتصار البروليتاريين في البلدان الاخرى وحسب، بل كذلك في كونها، بتسهيلها لهذا الانتصار، تضمن بذلك الانتصار النهائي للاشتراكية في البلاد الظافرة الاولى.

والمحتمل اكبر الاحتمال ان تنشأ في مجرى تطور الثورة العالمية الى جانب مراكز الاستعمار في بعض البلدان الرأسمالية والى جانب نظام هذه البلدان في العالم كله، مراكز للاشتراكية في بلدان سوفييتية منفردة ونظام لهذه المراكز في العالم كله، والنضال بين هذين النظامين سيهلا تاريخ تطور الثورة العالمية.

لأنه، كما يقول لينين، «لا يمكن توحيد الأمم الحر في الاشتراكية بدون نضال طويل لحد ما وعنيد بين الجمهوريات الاشتراكية و الدول المتأخرة» (راجع المصدر نفسه).

ان الهمية العالمية لثورة اكتوبر لانتلخص فقط في كونها مبادرة عظمى من بلاد واحدة في امر خرق نظام الاستعمار وفي كونها اول مركز للاشتراكية في محيط البلدان الاستعمارية، بل كذلك في كونها تؤلف المرحلة الاولى من مراحل الثورة العالمية والقاعدة المكيبة لتطورها المقبل.

ولذلك لا يخطيء فقط الذين ينسون ان ثورة اكتوبر ذات طابع اممي ويعلمون ان انتصار الثورة في بلاد واحدة هو

ولاشك في ان هذا التأييد سيزداد ويتعاظم ولكن لاشك كذلك في ان تطور الثورة العالمية نفسه، في ان سير انفصال عدد من البلدان الاخرى عن الاستعمار سيكون سريعا وعميقا بمقدار عمق توطد الاشتراكية في البلاد الاولى الظافرة، بمقدار سرعة تحول هذه البلاد الى قاعدة لتطور الثورة العالمية المقبل، الى مغل يعجل تفسخ الاستعمار.

ولكن كانت الفكرة القائلة بأن انتصار الاشتراكية النهائي في البلاد الاولى المتحررة يستحيل بدون جهود مشتركة يبذلها البروليتاريون في جملة من البلدان فكرة صحيحة، يكون من الصحيح بالقدر نفسه كذلك فكرة ان تطور الثورة العالمية سيكون سريعا وعميقا بمقدار ما تكون ذات فاعلية المساعدة التي تقدمها البلاد الاشتراكية الاولى للعمال وجماهير الشغيلة في جميع البلدان الأخرى.

بم ينبغي لهذه المساعدة ان تتجلى؟

ينبغي لها ان تتجلى، اولا، في ان تعمل البلاد الظافرة «اقصى ما يمكن عمله في بلاد واحدة لاجل تطوير وتأييد وايقاظ الثورة في جميع البلدان» (راجع لينين، المجلد ٢٣، ص ٣٨٥). ينبغي لها ان تتجلى، ثانيا، في ان «البروليتاريا الظافرة في بلاد واحدة» بعد ان تصادر الرأسماليين وتنظم الانتاج الاشتراكي في بلادها تهب... ضد بقية العالم الرأسمالي، جاذبة اليها الطبقات المظلومة في البلدان الاخرى، مستنهضة اياها للاندحاض على الرأسماليين. ممارسة. عند الضرورة حتى القوة

ثورة اوكتوبر وطابعها الاممي.

لمناسبة مرور عشر سنوات
على ثورة اوكتوبر

من غير الجائز ان تعتبر ثورة اوكتوبر ثورة «في النطاق الوطني» وحسب. فهي قبل كل شيء، ثورة ذات طابع اممي، عالمي، اذ انها تعنى تحولا اساسيا في التاريخ العالمي للبشرية، من العالم القديم، الرأسمالي، الى العالم الجديد، الاشتراكي. لقد كانت الثورات في الماضي تنتهي عادة بتربع فريق من المستثمرين على دست الحكم بدلا من فريق آخر. فقد كان المستثمرون يتبدلون ويبقى الاستثمار. هكذا كان الحال في زمن حركات العبيد التحريرية. وهكذا كان الحال في زمن انتفاضات الفلاحين الاقنان. وهكذا كان الحال في زمن الثورات «العظمى» المشهورة التي حدثت في انكلترا وفرنسا والمانيا. واني لا اتكلم عن كومونة باريس التي كانت اول محاولة بطولية مجيدة، وان تكن غير ناجحة، قامت بها البروليتاريا بغية تحويل التاريخ ضد الرأسمالية.

تختلف ثورة اوكتوبر عن هذه الثورات اختلافا مبدئيا. فهي لاتضع نصب اعينها بتبديل شكل من اشكال الاستثمار بشكل

ظاهرة وطنية ووطنية صرف. انما يخطيء كذلك الذين يتذكرون ان ثورة اوكتوبر ذات طابع اممي ويهملون الى النظر لهذه الثورة كشيء سلبى من شأنه تلقي المساعدة من الخارج وحسب. فالواقع ان ثورة اوكتوبر تحتاج الى تأييد من قبل الثورات في البلدان الاخرى كما تحتاج الثورات في هذه البلدان الى التأييد من جانب ثورة اوكتوبر للتعميل في قضية اسقاط الاستعمار العالمي ودفعها الى الامام. ١٧ كانون الأول سنة ١٩٢٤.

ى. ستالين
«في طريق اوكتوبر».
دار الطبع و النشر للدولة.

نقلا عن المجلد ٦
من مجموعة مؤلفات ى. ف. ستالين
ص ٣٥٨-٤٠١

ان طبقة العمال الأجراء، طبقة المضطهدين، طبقة المظلومين والمستثمرين، قد ارتفعت لأول مرة في تاريخ البشرية الى وضع طبقة سائدة، جاعلة من نفسها قنوة للبروليتاريين في جميع البلدان.

معنى ذلك ان ثورة اكتوبر قد فتحت عهدا جديدا، هو عهد الثورات البروليتارية في بلدان الاستعمار.

لقد انتزعت ادوات ووسائل الانتاج من كبار ملاكي الاراضي والرأسماليين وحولتها الى ملك اجتماعي، معارضة بهذا الشكل التملك البرجوازي بالتملك الاشتراكي. وقد فضحت بذلك كذب الرأسماليين وزعمهم ان الملكية البرجوازية هي ملكية مقسة، ابدية، لاتمس.

لقد انتزعت السلطة من البرجوازية وحرمت البرجوازية من الحقوق السياسية ودمرت جهاز الدولة البرجوازي وسلمت السلطة الى مجالس السوفييت، معارضة بهذا الشكل البرلمانية البرجوازية باعتبارها ديموقراطية رأسمالية بسلطة مجالس السوفييت الاشتراكية باعتبارها ديموقراطية بروليتارية. لقد كان لافارج على حق اذ قال منذ سنة ١٨٨٧ انه في غداة الثورة «يجرم من الحقوق الانتخابية جميع الرأسماليين السابقين».

وبذلك فضحت ثورة اكتوبر كذب الاشتراكيين الديموقراطيين وزعمهم انه يمكن في الوقت الحاضر الانتقال السلمي الى الاشتراكية عن طريق البرلمانية البرجوازية. غير ان ثورة اكتوبر لم تقف ولم يمكنها ان تقف عند هذا الحد. فهدمت النظام القديم البرجوازي، شرعت

آخر من اشكال الاستثمار، او تبديل فريق من المستثمرين بفريق اخر من المستثمرين، بل انما تضع نصب اعينها القضاء على استثمار الانسان للانسان بسائر اشكاله والقضاء على جميع فرق المستثمرين بأبواعها، واقامة ديكتاتورية البروليتاريا، اقامة سلطة الطبقة التي لاتضارعها في ثورتها طبقة من جميع الطبقات المظلومة التي وجدت حتى الآن، وتنظيم مجتمع جديد. اشتراكي، لاطبقي.

ولذا فان انتصار ثورة اكتوبر يعني انعطافا اساسيا في تاريخ البشرية، انعطافا اساسيا في المصائر التاريخية للرأسمالية العالمية. انعطافا اساسيا في حركة البروليتاريا العالمية من اجل تحريرها، انعطافا اساسيا في طرق النضال واشكال التنظيم، في معيشة جماهير المستثمرين في العالم كله وفي ثقافتهم وعقائبتهم.

وهذا الاساس لواقع ان ثورة اكتوبر هي ثورة ذات طابع أممي، عالمي.

وهذا هو أيضا اساس ذلك العطف العميق الذي تكنه لثورة اكتوبر الطبقات المظلومة في جميع البلدان، اذ ترى فيها ضمانا لتحررها.

يمكننا ان نذكر جملة من المسائل الاساسية التي يجري في اتجاهها تأثير ثورة اكتوبر على تطور الحركة الثورية في العالم كله.

١. تتميز ثورة اكتوبر، قبل كل شيء، بكونها اخترقت جبهة الاستعمار العالمي واسقطت البرجوازية الاستعمارية في بلد من اكبر البلدان الرأسمالية ورفعت الى السلطة البروليتاريا الاشتراكية.

ثورة اكتوبر قد اثرت ولايمكنها الا تؤثر تأثيرا جديدا على الحركة الثورية لطبقة العمال في البلدان الرأسمالية؟
فثمة وقائع يعرفها الجميع منها مثلا تصاعد الشيوعية في البلدان الرأسمالية ونمو عطف البروليتاريين في جميع البلدان نحو طبقة عمال الاتحاد السوفييتي، واخيرا تدفق وفود العمال الى البلاد السوفييتية تنبيء بما لا يترك مجالا للشك بأن البنور التي بنرتها ثورة اكتوبر قد بدأت تعطي ثمارها.

٢. ان ثورة اكتوبر لم تزعزع الاستعمار في مراكز سيادته وحسب، في بلدان «الميتروبول» وحسب، فقد وجهت الضربات لمؤخرات الاستعمار، لاطرافه، وضعفت سيادة الاستعمار في البلدان المستعمرة والتابعة.

ان ثورة اكتوبر، بأسقاطها لكبار ملاكي الاراضي والرأسماليين، قد حطمت سلاسل الظلم الوطني والاستعماري وخلصت منه جميع الشعوب المظلومة دون استثناء في دولة كبرى، فالبروليتاريا لايمكنها ان تحرر نفسها دون ان تحرر الشعوب المظلومة. ان الصفة المميزة لثورة اكتوبر هي انها اجرت في الاتحاد السوفييتي هذه الثورات للخلاص من الظلم الوطني والاستعماري، لاتحت لواء البغضاء القومية التصادمات بين الامم، بل تحت لواء الثقة المتبادلة والتقارب الاخوي بين عمال وفلاحى شعوب الاتحاد السوفييتي، لا بأسم القومية بل بأسم الأممية.

وبالضبط لأن ثورات التحرر من الظلم الوطني والاستعماري قد جرت في بلادنا تحت قيادة البروليتاريا وفي ظل لواء الأممية، لهذا السبب بالضبط ارتفعت الشعوب المنبوذة، الشعوب-

ببناء النظام الجديد، الاشتراكي. فالسنوات العشر التي مرت بعد ثورة اكتوبر هي عشر سنوات في بناء الحزب والنقابات ومجالس السوفييت والجمعيات التعاونية والمنظمات التثقيفية ووسائل النقل والصناعة والجيش الاحمر. ان النجاحات الواضحة التي احرزتها الاشتراكية في الاتحاد السوفييتي على جبهة البناء قد اظهرت بكل الجلاء ان البروليتاريا تستطيع ان تدير البلاد بنجاح بدون البرجوازية و ضد البرجوازية وانها تستطيع بناء الصناعة بنجاح بدون البرجوازية و ضد البرجوازية، وانها تستطيع ان تدير بنجاح الاقتصاد الوطني كله بدون البرجوازية و ضد البرجوازية، وانها تستطيع ان تبني الاشتراكية بنجاح رغم التطويق الرأسمالي.

ان «النظرية» القديمة القائلة ان المستثمرين لا يستطيعون الاستغناء عن المستثمرين كما لا يستطيع الرأس وبقية اقسام الجسم الاستغناء عن المعدة ليست وفقا على عضو مجلس الشيوخ المعروف في روما القديمة مينينيوس آغريبا. فهذه «النظرية» هي اليوم حجر الزاوية في «الفلسفة» السياسية للاشتراكية الديمقراطية بوجه عام، وبوجه خاص في سياسة ائتلاف الاشتراكية الديمقراطية مع البرجوازية الاستعمارية. ان هذه النظرية «التي اكتسبت طابع الأوهام هي في الوقت الحاضر غعبة من العقبات الكؤود في طريق تغلغل الروح الثورية في بروليتاريا البلدان الرأسمالية. ومن أهم نتائج ثورة اكتوبر واقع كونها قد وجهت ضربة قاضية لهذه «النظرية» الكاذبة.

وهل من حاجة للبرهان على ان هذه وامثالها من نتائج

البروليتارية، الاممية لتحرير الشعوب المظلومة باعتبارها الطريقة الوحيدة الصحيحة، مبنية عمليا امكانية وفائدة التحالف الاخرى بين العمال والفلاحين من مختلف الشعوب على مبادئ الاختيار والاممية. ان وجود اتحاد الجمهوريات الاشتراكية السوفياتية، وهو نموذج التوحيد القبل لشغيلة جميع البلدان في اقتصاد عالمي واحد، لا يمكنه الا يكون البرهان المباشر على ذلك. ومن البديهي الواضح ان هذه وما شابهها من نتائج ثورة اكتوبر لم يمكنها ولا يمكنها ان تبقى دون تأثير كبير على الحركة الثورية في البلدان المستعمرة والتابعة. وتنبيء بذلك دون اي شك وقائع تعاطف الحركة الثورية للشعوب المظلومة في الصين واندونيسيا والهند الخ، وتعاطف تحييد هذه الشعوب للاتحاد السوفياتي.

لقد انقضى عصر استثمار المستعمرات والبلدان التابعة وظلمها دون رادع.

وحل عصر الثورات التحريرية في المستعمرات والبلدان التابعة، عصر تيقظ بروليتاريا هذه البلدان، عصر سيادتها في الثورة.

٣. ان ثورة اكتوبر، بنورها بنور الثورة سواء في مراكز الاستثمار او في مؤخراته، باضافها لقوة الاستثمار في «بلدان الميتروبول» وبزعزعتها لسيطرتها في المستعمرات، قد جعلت بذلك وجود الرأسمالية العالمية بأكملها موضع تساؤل. فلئن كان تطور الرأسمالية العفوى في ظروف الاستثمار قد آل بحكم تفاوته، وبحكم حتمية النزاعات والاصطدامات المسلحة،

العبيد لأول مرة في تاريخ البشرية الى وضع شعوب حرة حقا ومتساوية حقا، ضاربة بذلك المثل للشعوب المظلومة في العالم كله. معنى ذلك ان ثورة اكتوبر قد استهلكت عصرا جديدا هو عصر ثورات ضد الاستعمار تجري في البلدان المظلومة بالعالم في تحالف مع البروليتاريا وتحت قيادة البروليتاريا. كان «من المألوف» فيما مضى التفكير بأن العالم مقسم منذ الازل الى عروق سفلى وعروق عليا، الى سود وبيض، الفئة الاولى منها غير اهل للحضارة ومكتوب لها ان تظل عرضة للاستثمار، والفئة الثانية هي وحدها حاملة الحضارة ورسالتها استثمار الفئة الأولى.

وينبغي الآن ان تعتبر هذه الاسطورة أمرا مدحوضا مرميا. فمن أهم نتائج ثورة اكتوبر واقع كونها قد وجهت لهذه الاسطورة ضربة قاضية، مبنية عمليا ان الشعوب غير الاوروبية، متى تحررت وانجذبت الى مجرى التطور السوفياتي، يمكنها كالشعوب الاوروبية سواء بسواء ان تدفع الى الامام ثقافة راقية حقا وحضارة راقية حقا.

فيما مضى كان «من المألوف» التفكير بأن الطريقة الوحيدة لتحرير الشعوب المظلومة هي طريقة القومية البرجوازية، طريقة انفصال الأمم بعضها عن بعض، طريقة تسعير البغضاء القومية بين جماهير الشغيلة من ابناء مختلف الأمم.

وينبغي الآن ان تعتبر هذه الاسطورة امرا تم دحضه. فمن أهم نتائج ثورة اكتوبر واقع كونها قد وجهت لهذه الاسطورة ضربة قاضية، مبنية عمليا امكانية وفائدة الطريقة

ذلك لأن ازمة الرأسمالية العالمية قد بلغت من التطور حدا لا بد معه من اندلاع نيران الثورات تارة في مراكز الاستعمار وطورا في اطرافه، جاعلة الرقع الرأسمالية بحكم العدم ومقربة من يوم لآخر انهيار الرأسمالية. تماما كما في الحكاية المعروفة: «ان سحب الذنب علق الانف وان سحب الانف علق الذنب».

معنى ذلك، ثانيا، ان ثورة اكتوبر قد رفعت الى درجة معينة قوة ووزن الطبقات المظلومة في العالم كله ورجولتها واستعدادها للكفاح، مرغمة الطبقات السائدة على ان تحسب لها الحساب باعتبارها عاملا جديدا له خطره. ففي الوقت الحاضر لم يعد بالامكان اعتبار جماهير الشغيلة في العالم «جموعا عمياء» تتخبط في الظلمات دون خيط من نور، ذلك لان ثورة اكتوبر قد كونت لهم منارة تثير لهم الطريق وتبعث الامل. فلئن لم يكن في الماضي ميدان عالمي مفتوح تعرض منه وتصاغ امانني ومطامح الطبقات المظلومة، فقد ظهر هذا الميدان في الوقت الحاضر في وجه الديكتاتورية البروليتارية الاولى.

ولا نحسب ان ثمة مجال للشك في ان تدمير هذا الميدان يلف الحياة الاجتماعية والسياسية في «البلدان الراقية» لزمان طويل بظلمات رجعية سوداء حالكه. ومن غير الجائز انكار واقع ان مجرد وجود «الدولة البولشفية» يلجم قوى الرجعية السوداء، مسهلا على الطبقات المظلومة النضال من اجل تحررها. وهذا ما يفسر ذلك الحقد الوحشي الذي يكنه المستثمرون في جميع البلدان للبلاشفة.

واخيرا بحكم الحرب الاستعمارية المنقطعة النظير الى سير تعفن الرأسمالية واحتضارها، فان ثورة اكتوبر وما نشأ عنها من انفصال بلاد كبرى عن نظام الرأسمالية العالمي قد عجلت على التأكيد هذا السير مقوضة خطوة بعد خطوة اسس الاستعمار العالمي نفسها.

وفوق ذلك. ان ثورة اكتوبر قد زعزعت الاستعمار وانشأت في الوقت نفسه للحركة الثورية العالمية في وجه الديكتاتورية البروليتارية الاولى قاعدة مكينة سافرة لم تكن لديها في السابق قط، ويمكنها ان تستند عليها الآن. لقد انشأت للحركة الثورية العالمية الركن المكين السافر الذي لم يكن لديها في السابق قط، والذي يمكنها ان تلتف الآن حوله منظمة جبهة ثورية موحدة من البروليتاريين والشعوب المظلومة في جميع البلدان ضد الاستعمار.

معنى ذلك، اولاً، ان ثورة اكتوبر قد طعننت الرأسمالية العالمية طعنة قاتلة لن تستطيع الرأسمالية العالمية بعدها ان تسترد قواها اهدا. ولذا بالضبط لن تستطيع الرأسمالية العالمية بحال من الاحوال ان تستعيد ذلك «التوازن» وذلك «الاستقرار» اللذين كانا لها قبل اكتوبر.

يمكن للرأسمالية ان تصل الى استقرار جزئي، يمكنها ان تنظم انتاجها بالصورة المعقولة، وان تسلم قيادة البلاد الى الماشيستية، وان تضيق لزمان معين على طبقة العمال، ولكنها لن تستطيع بحال من الاحوال ان تستعيد ما كانت تتباهي به في الماضي من «طمانينة» و «ثقة» و «توازن» و «استقرار».

ان ثورة اكتوبر قد اقامت بين الماركسية والاشتراكية
الديموقراطية، بين سياسة اللينينية وسياسة الاشتراكية حاجزا
لا يمكن تخطيه.

فيما مضى، قبل انتصار الديكتاتورية البروليتارية، كان
بإمكان الاشتراكية الديموقراطية ان تتباهى بلوا' الماركسية،
دون ان تنكر جهازا فكرة ديكتاتورية البروليتاريا، ولكن دون
ان تفعل شيئا، دون ان تفعل اى شيء على الاطلاق لتقريب
زمن تحقيق هذه الفكرة، ومن المفهوم ان سلوك الاشتراكية
الديموقراطية هنا لم يكن يهدد الرأسمالية بأى خطر. وأنداك،
في ذلك العهد، امتزجت الاشتراكية الديموقراطية من وجهة
النظر الشكلية بالماركسية او كادت.

والآن، بعد انتصار الديكتاتورية البروليتارية، عندما رأى
الجميع رأى العين الى الماركسية وما يمكن لانتصارها ان
يعني، لم يعد بإمكان الاشتراكية الديموقراطية ان تتباهى بلوا'
الماركسية، لم يعد بإمكانها ان تتبختر بفكرة ديكتاتورية
البروليتاريا دون ان تكون بذلك بعض الخطر على الرأسمالية.
فالاشتراكية الديموقراطية التي قطعت من امد بعيد كل صلة
لها بروح الماركسية، وجدت نفسها مضطرة الى قطع صلتها بعلم
الماركسية ووقفت على المكشوف ودون لبس او ابهام ضد وليدة
الماركسية، ضد ثورة اكتوبر، ضد الديكتاتورية البروليتارية
الاولى في العالم.

لقد كان لابد لها من ان تنفصل الآن، وقد انفصلت فعلا،
عن الماركسية، لأنه لا يمكن للمرء في الظروف الراهنة ان يسمى

ان التاريخ يعيد نفسه وان يكن على اساس جديد. ففي
الماضي، في عهد سقوط الاقطاعية كانت كلمة «يعقوبي» تبعث
في قلوب الاريسوقراطيين الهول والاشمئزاز. واليوم، في عهد
سقوط الرأسمالية، تبعث كلمة «بولشفي» في برجوازية جميع
البلدان الهول والاشمئزاز. وبالعكس، فأن موسكو هي اليوم
ملجأ ومدرسة للثوريين ممثلي البروليتاريا الناهضة، كما كانت
باريس في الماضي ملجأ ومدرسة للثوريين ممثلي البرجوازية
الناهضة. بيد ان الحقد على اليعقوبيين لم ينقذ الاقطاعية من
الانهيار. وهل من مجال للشك في ان الحقد على البلاشفة لن
ينقذ الرأسمالية من السقوط المحتوم؟

لقد انقضى عصر «استقرار» الرأسمالية حاملا في تضاعفه
الاسطورة القائلة بثبات الاوضاع البرجوازية.

وحل عصر انهيار الرأسمالية.

٤. من غير الجائز ان تعتبر ثورة اكتوبر ثورة
ميدان العلاقات الاقتصادية والاجتماعية وحدها. فهي، في الوقت
نفسه، ثورة في العقول، ثورة في عقلية الطبقة العاملة. لقد
ولدت ثورة اكتوبر وتوطدت في ظل لواء الماركسية، في ظل
لواء فكرة الديكتاتورية البروليتارية، في ظل لواء اللينينية،
وهي ماركسية عصر الاستعمار والثورات البروليتارية. ولذلك
فان ثورة اكتوبر ترمز الى انتصار الماركسية على الاصلاحية،
الى انتصار اللينينية على الاشتراكية الديموقراطية، الى انتصار
الاممية الثالثة على الاممية الثانية.

لا يمكن القضاء على الرأسمالية بدون القضاء على الاشتراكية
الديموقراطية في الحركة العمالية. ولذا فإن عصر احتضار
الرأسمالية هو في الوقت نفسه عصر احتضار الاشتراكية
الديموقراطية في الحركة العمالية.

وتتلخص عظمة ثورة اكتوبر فيما تلخص في كونها ترمز
الى حتمية انتصار اللينينية على الاشتراكية-الديموقراطية في
الحركة العمالية العالمية.

انتهى عصر سيادة الاممية الثانية والاشتراكية الديموقراطية
في الحركة العمالية.

وحل عصر سيادة اللينينية والاممية الثالثة.

«البرافدا» رقم ٢٥٥، ٦-٧ نقلا عن المجلد ١٠ من
تشرين الثاني سنة ١٩٢٧ مجموعة مؤلفات ي. ف. ستالين
التوقيع: ي. ستالين ص ٢٣٩-٢٥٠

نفسه ماركسيا دون ان يؤيد جهارا وبتفان الديكتاتورية
البروليتارية الاولى في العالم، دون ان يقوم بنضال ثورى ضد
برجوازيته، دون ان يهيب الظرف لانتصار ديكتاتورية البروليتاريا
في بلاده.

لقد نشأت بين الاشتراكية الديموقراطية والماركسية هوة
سحيقة. فحامل الماركسية وحصنها الوحيد هو، من الآن فصاعدا،
اللينينية، الشيوعية.

ولكن الامر لا يقتصر على ذلك. فثورة اكتوبر اذ فصلت
الاشتراكية الديموقراطية عن الماركسية سارت شوطا ابعد ودفعت
بها الى معسكر المدافعين الصريحين عن الرأسمالية ضد
الديكتاتورية البروليتارية الاولى في العالم. فالسادة ادلر وباور
وفيلس وليفي ولونغه وبلاوم واضرابهم، عندما يقرعون «النظام
السوفييتي» ويكيلون المديح «للديموقراطية» البرلمانية، انما
يريدون ان يقولوا بذلك انهم يناضلون وسيناضلون من اجل
بعث الاوضاع الرأسمالية في الاتحاد السوفييتي ومن اجل الابقاء
على العبودية الرأسمالية في الدول «المتدنة».

ان الاشتراكية الديموقراطية الحالية هي الدعامة الفكرية
التي تستند عليها الرأسمالية. لقد كان لينين الف مرة على حق
عندما قال ان السياسة الاشتراكيين الديموقراطيين الحاليين هم
«علاء للبرجوازية في حركة العمال، متعهدو عمال لطبقة
الرأسماليين» وانهم في «الحرب الاهامية بين البروليتاريا
والبرجوازية» سيقفون حتما «الى جانب الفرسانيين» ضد
«الكوموناريين».

تشكلت في ساكسونيا وتورينغيا حكومتا عمال وقام العمال في هامبورغ بانتفاض مسلح. وقد منيت ثورة ١٩٢٣ في ألمانيا بالهزيمة. -ص ٦

٣. ليدر ودان هما زعيما المناشفة، اما تشيرنوف فهو زعيم الاشتراكيين الثوريين. -ص ٣٢

ايضاحات

١. صدر كتاب ي. ف. ستالين «في طريق اكتوبر» في طبعتين، في كانون الثاني وايار سنة ١٩٢٥. والمقالات والخطابات التي حواها هذا الكتاب قد صدرت في المجلد ٣ من مجموعة مؤلفات ي. ف. ستالين. وقد اتم المؤلف وضع المقدمة في كانون الأول سنة ١٩٢٤ ولم تنشر كاملة الا في كتاب «في طريق اكتوبر». والقسم الاكبر من المقدمة قد صدر تحت عنوان «ثورة اكتوبر وخطة الشيوعيين الروس» في جميع الطبعات التي صدر بها كتاب ي. ف. ستالين «مسائل اللينينية» عدا مختلف المجموعات والكراريس المنفردة. ونشر في المجلد ٣ من مجموعة مؤلفات ي. ف. ستالين قسم من المقدمة كملاحظات للمؤلف حول مقال ضد الاتحادية. -ص ٣

٢. اشارة الى الازمة الثورية العميقة التي حدثت في ألمانيا في خريف سنة ١٩٢٣. فبنتيجة الحركة الثورية القوية

محتويات

- ثورة اوكتوبر وخطة الشيوعيين الروس. مقدمة لكتاب
٣ «في طريق اوكتوبر»
- ٣ .١. ثورة اوكتوبر وظروفها الخارجية والداخلية
٢. بصدد خاصتى ثورة اوكتوبر، او اوكتوبر ونظرية
٧ تروتسكى عن الثورة «المتواصلة»
٣. حول بعض خصائص لخطة البلاشفة فى مرحلة
٣٠ تحضير اوكتوبر
- ٤٨ .٤. ثورة اوكتوبر فاتحة وتمهيد للثورة العالمية
- ثورة اوكتوبر وطابعها الاممى. لمناسبة مرور عشر سنوات
٥٥ على ثورة اوكتوبر
- ٦٨ ايضاحات

Social Security in the

STAT

Soviet Union

الاتحاد السوفيتي

مورافيوفا

الضمان الاجتماعي
في
الاتحاد السوفياتي



دار الطبع والنشر باللغات الأجنبية.
موسكو. سنة ١٩٥٧

الخطاب الذي ألقته مورافيوفا وزيرة
الضمان الاجتماعي لجمهورية روسيا
الاتحادية في مؤتمر «مساواة المرأة
في الاتحاد السوفييتي» المنعقد في
سبتمبر (أيلول) ١٩٥٦ بهوسكو، وقد
ضم ممثلات من الدول الاعضاء في
«لجنة اوضاع النساء» لدى المجلس
الاقتصادي والاجتماعي لهيئة الأمم
المتحدة وممثلات عن منظمات غير
حكومية.

الضمان الاجتماعي من اهم المغام التي ظفر بها الشغيلة
السوفييتيون. وحق المواطنين السوفييتيين في الضمان الاجتماعي
انما يضمنه الدستور، اذ تنص المادة ١٢٠ من دستور اتحاد
الجمهوريات الاشتراكية السوفييتية على ان «لمواطني الاتحاد
السوفييتي الحق في الضمان المادي في شيخوختهم، وكذلك في
حال المرض وفقدان المقدرة على العمل. وهذا الحق يؤمنه النمو
الواسع للضمانات الاجتماعية التي تدفع للعمال والمستخدمين من
اموال الدولة، والخدمة الطبية المجانية للشغيلة، ووضع شبكة
واسعة من الاماكن الصحية تحت تصرفهم.»

ويضمن نظام الدولة الاجتماعي لشغيلة الاتحاد السوفييتي
الحق في الضمان الاجتماعي الذي يهيء مع الحقوق الأخرى -
الحق في العمل والراحة والتعليم - كل الشروط لحياة خلية من
الهموم المادية في حال الشيخوخة او العجز عن العمل.

لقد انفق عام ١٩٥٥ على التدابير الاجتماعية والثقافية
مقدار ١٤٧ مليار روبل. ورصد في موازنة عام ١٩٥٦، لاجل
الاهداف نفسها، مبلغ ١٦١ مليارا و ٥٠٥ ملايين و ١٨١ الف
روبل وكانت الزيادة ١٤ مليارا و ٥٠٥ ملايين و ١٨١ الف
روبل عن عام ١٩٥٥.

غير ان يخشوا ما سيؤول اليه وضعهم المادى فى المستقبل، حينما يمسون شيوخا او يفقدون القدرة على العمل. وينص هذا القانون على زيادة محسوسة فى الرواتب المدفوعة عند الشيخوخة والعجز وفقدان العائل. ويتطلب هذا القانون الجديد زيادة سنوية فى النفقات تقدر بحوالى ١٣ مليار روبل.

رواتب الشيخوخة بموجب القانون الجديد

تمنح رواتب الشيخوخة للعمال والمستخدمين الذين بلغوا السن القانونية وخدموا عددا معيناً من السنوات. وتختلف السن القانونية وعدد سنوات الخدمة باختلاف المهنة التى يزاولها العامل او المستخدم. وينص القانون على فاعدة عامة ان يمنح الراتب التقاعدى فى الستين، بعد خدمة لا تقل عن خمسة وعشرين عاماً للرجال وفى الخامسة والخمسين بعد خدمة لا تقل عن عشرين عاماً للنساء.

ولكن العمال والمستخدمين الذين سبقت لهم خدمة فى المناجم او فى الصناعة غير الصحية او فى المصانع ذات النار الكبيرة يستحقون راتبا تقاعدياً فى سن الخمسين للرجال والخامسة والاربعين للنساء. ومدة الخدمة للظفر بالراتب التقاعدى عشرون عاماً للرجال وخمسة عشر للنساء.

واما فى الاشغال الاخرى التى تكون شرائط العمل فيها شاقة فالعمال يستحقون التقاعد اعتباراً من الخامسة والخمسين

وتقوم اجهزة الضمان الاجتماعى فى الاتحاد السوفيتى بمهام ذات شأن كسر، فهى تحقق وتدفع تعويضات الشيخوخة والعجز والقدم فى الخدمة وفقدان العائل، وتتدبر امر ايوا العجزة والشيوخ، وتتوم بالثتيف المهنى واعادة تدريب وتدفع التعويضات الاستثنائية والشهرية للامهات ذوات الأسر الكبيرة وللامهات الوحيدات. واما الخبرة الطبية وتقديم الاعضاء الاصطناعية و الابحاث فى هذا المجال من شأن اجهزة الضمان.

والى جانب الضمان الاجتماعى الذى تغذيه اموال الدولة نذكر مصادر اخرى للضمان اخصها ما يناله اعضاء ارتلات * تعاونيات الانتاج الذين هم مؤمنون ويتلقون تعويضات من ارتلاتهم. وكذلك فان فى الكولخوزات صناديق لمساعدة الكولخوزيين والكولخوزيات العاجزين عن العمل او المسنين. والنساء موضع عناية خاصة واذا نحن قارناهن بالرجال وجدنا انهن يتمتعن بميزات ذات بال.

ويتلقى المواطنون السوفيتيون، اعتباراً من اول اكتوبر (تشرين الاول) ١٩٥٦، تقاعدات جديدة يزيد مجموعها عما قبل زيادة كبرى. وقد اقر السوفيت الاعلى للاتحاد السوفيتى قانوناً خاصاً للتقاعد ** ويبرهن هذا القانون على ان خير الشعب كان وسيكون ابدا اعظم ما يهتم الحكومة. ومن شأن هذا القانون ان يتيح للمواطنين السوفيتيين القيام بعملهم فى هدوء من

* فى الاصل جمعية للحرفيين الروس (المترجم).

** يسميه المصريون المعاش (المترجم).

(ب) علاوات للمتقاعدين الذين لا يزالون اى عمل اضافى
مأجور ولكنهم يعملون اشخاصا غير قادرين على العمل: شخص
واحد- ١٠ بالمئة من الراتب. شخصان او اكثر- ١٥ بالمئة.
هذه العلاوات لم تكن موجودة من قبل وهى تشكل تحسينا
اضافيا فى نظام التقاعد.
وكذلك فان مدة الخدمة الواجبة للحصول على علاوة فى
راتب التقاعد قد انقصت خمس سنوات بالنسبة للنساء دون
انقاص النسبة فيما يتعلق بالمميزات التى ينتفعن منها. فاذا كان
للمتقاعد الحق فى علاوتين- العائلية او لاجل دوام مستمر او
مدة خدمة كبرى- زاد مجموع راتبه ٢٥ بالمئة، اى الربع.
والقانون يمنح رواتب تقاعدية حتى فى حال عدم كفاية
مدة الخدمة. وهذا امر له أهمية. فاذا بلغ المواطن سن التقاعد
القانونية ولم تكن مدة خدمته كافية ولكنه يستطيع ان يبرهن على
كونه انما عمل خمس سنوات، ثلاث منها تسبق مباشرة طلبه فان طلبه
لا يرد كما كان الامر قبل ١ (اكتوبر تشرين) الاول ١٩٥٦.
انه الان يحصل على راتب تقاعدى يتناسب مع سنوات خدمته
ولكنه لا ينخفض عن ربع التقاعد الكامل. ولهذا الامر اهمية
كبرى لان المواطن (او المواطنة) قد لا تكون له مدة خدمة تعادل
ربع المدة المحددة بالقانون ومع ذلك فانه يقبض دوما ربع
التقاعد الكامل.

وخدمة خمسة وعشرين عاما للرجال وخمسين وعشرين عاما
للنساء.

وتحدر الاشارة الى ان عدد النساء اللاتى يعملن فى
الاشغال الشاقة قليل جدا وهو لا يفتأ يقل من عام الى عام.
والعميان يستحقون التقاعد اعتبارا من بلوغهم الخمسين
مع خدمة خمسة عشر عاما (رجال) او الاربعين مع خدمة عشر
سنوات (نساء).

هذه الامثال تدلنا على ان السن والخدمة اللتين يجب
توفرهما عند النساء للحصول على راتب التقاعد تقل خمس
سنوات عنهما لدى الرجال من اجل الاشغال ذاتها.
وقد أخذ القانون بعين الاعتبار كون النساء يكرسن وقتنا
كبيرا لتربية الاطفال وهذا ما يجبرهن احيانا على ترك العمل
خلال مدة معينة فنص على ان النساء اللاتى وصعن ورببن حتى
سن الثمانى السنوات خمسة اولاد او اكثر تخفض مدة السن
والخدمة لهما مدة خمس سنوات. وتحسب رواتب التقاعد سواء
للنساء او للرجال على نفس الأساس وتعادل من ٥٠ الى ١٠٠
بالمئة من الأجرة، على ألا تكون أقل من ٣٠٠ روبل او اكثر
من ١٢٠٠ روبل.

ويمكن اضافة العلاوات التالية على رواتب تقاعد الشيخوخة:
(أ) فى حال دوام غير منقطع مدته خمسة عشر عاما او
خدمة خمس وثلاثين سنة على الأقل بالنسبة للرجال وثلاثين
سنة للنساء- ١٠ بالمئة من الراتب.

وتمنح رواتب العجز لفئات من الاشخاص مختلفة جدا. فليس مستحوقها هم العمال والمستخدمين والعسكريين والانصار فحسب بل طلاب مؤسسات التعليم العالى والثانوى وطلاب الدورات التدريبية فى مختلف فروع الاقتصاد وجميع اولئك الذين اصيبوا بطارئ عمل اثناء القيام بواجبهم الوطنى او بمهمة كلفتهم اياها الدولة او بواجبهم الاجتماعية. ولا ينحصر تقاعد العجز بالزمن الذى وقعت فيه الاصابة وسواء حدثت قبل العمل او اثناءه او بعده فالتقاعد مستحق.

واما العسكريون فيحق لهم تقاضى هذا الراتب اذا وقع لهم العجز اثناء قيامهم بخدمتهم العسكرية او خلال زمن معين من تسريحهم، وعلى اثر جرح او مرض يمكن ان يعزى للخدمة العسكرية مهما تكن مدة الخدمة.

وكذلك يمنح هذا الراتب للعمال والمستخدمين الذين لا تزيد سنهم على عشرين عاما واصبحوا عاجزين عن العمل على اثر طارئ عمل او مرض سببته المهنة، بصرف النظر عن المدة التى قضاها فى الخدمة. واما العمال والمستخدمون الذين اصيبوا بعجز ليس سببه المهنة فانهم يمنحون الراتب اذا كانوا قد قضاوا فى العمل مدة— قليلة جدا— تتغير حسب السن. فاذا لم يحقق المواطن هذا الشرط منح تقاعد عجز يتناسب مع سنوات خدمته ولكنه لا يقل، بأية حال من الاحوال، عن ربع التقاعد الكامل. واما الذين يصحون اثناء العمل عجزا من الفئة الاولى او الثانية فيمنحون التقاعد النسبى دون ان يتطلب حد

ويقبض المتقاعد الذى يعمل ١٥٠ روبلا شهريا اذا كانت اجرتة أقل من ١٠٠٠ روبل. واما اذا زادت الاجرة على ١٠٠٠ روبل فان راتب التقاعد يقطع خلال مدة العمل كلها ويعاد حالما ينقطع العمل.

واما المتقاعدون الممتازون بسبب خدمات سابقة فى المناجم او الصناعات غير الصحية، اذا استهروا على العمل فانهم موضع عناية خاصة. فهم يقبضون ٥٠ بالمئة من تقاعدهم الكامل بصرف النظر عن مكان عملهم الحديد ومقدار اجرتهم.

تقاعد العجز

يستفيد العمال والمستخدمون فى الاتحاد السوفييتى، فضلا عن تقاعد الشيخوخة، من رواتب عجز تمنح على اثر عجز عن العمل دائم او طويل الامد. وينقسم العجز، حسب درجة عجزهم، الى ثلاث فئات. وثمة لجان للخبرة الطبية تتألف من اطباء مختصين ويشترك فيها ممثلون عن النقابات ودوائر الضمان الاجتماعى. هذه اللجان تحدد اسباب العجز وتصنف العجزا فئات. ولا تعتمد هذه اللجان فى تصنيف العجز على المعلومات الطبية وحدها ولكنها تأخذ بعين الاعتبار مهنة المريض وعمره وجنسه وشرائط عمله وعيشه.

وچدير بالذكر ان عدد العجز فى بلادنا يتناقص دون انقطاع، وهذا دليل عناية الدولة السوفييتية المطردة بالانسان وصحته وشرائط عمله وعيشه.

نسبة تقاعد المعجز المنوح لشغيلة المناجم او الصناعات غير الصحية او الاشغال القاسية تظل أعلى من النسبة العادية. ويحسب الحد الأدنى لتقاعد المعجز الممنوح بسبب طوارئ العمل او الامراض المهنية على الشكل التالي: ٣٦٠ روبلا شهريا للفترة الاولى، ٢٨٥ روبلا للفترة الثانية، ٢١٠ للفترة الثالثة. واما الحد الاعلى فهو على التتابع بحسب المئات ١٢٠٠، ٩٠٠، ٤٥٠. ولا ننس انه اذا كانت ادارة المؤسسة هي المسؤولة عن المعجز فان للمعجز الحق، فضلا عن راتب التقاعد، في تعويض اضافية عن الضرر الذى اصابه فى صحته. فى هذه الحال، وحسب قرار المحكمة، يتلقى المعجز من الادارة مبلغا يعادل الفرق بين راتب التقاعد والاجرة التى كان يقبضها قبل الطارىء. وتقل رواتب تقاعد المعجز الناشئ عن اسباب عادية غير العمل (من ١٠ الى ٢٠ بالمئة) عن تقاعدات المعجز الناشئ عن طوارئ العمل والامراض المهنية.

ويتلقى العسكريون الذين كانوا يعملون قبل دعوتهم الى خدمة العلم ثم اصيبوا المعجز على اثر جرح او مرض او تعطيل عصبى اثناء الخدمة العسكرية، يتلقى هؤلاء تقاعدا نسبته هى عين نسبة العمال والمستخدمين الذين عجزوا على اثر طوارئ عمل مع فارق ان الحد الأدنى لرواتب العسكريين اعلى.

واما اذا كان العسكرى لا يعمل قبل دعوته الى خدمة العلم فان التقاعد من حقه فى هذه الحال ايضا. ويزيد تقاعد

ادنى من سنوات الخدمة. ومعنى هذا ان المواطن الذى يمرض خلال الايام الاولى من عمله، وحتى لو لم يكمل شهرا واحدا، انما يحق له ربع التقاعد.

وتمتاز النساء فى انهن ينلن تقاعد المعجز اذا خدمن مدة اقل مما يتطلب من الرجال. مثال ذلك ان عدد سنوات الخدمة اللازم للرجال بين الواحدة والاربعين والسادسة والاربعين هو ١٢ سنة و هو للنساء ٩. هنا ايضا تظهر العناية بالمرأة الام وربة المنزل.

ويقل ايضا عدد سنوات الخدمة اللازمة للحصول على تقاعد المعجز لاجل شغيلة المناجم والصناعات غير الصحية والورشات ذات النار الكبيرة. وهكذا فالعامل الذى بين ٤١ و ٤٦ سنة لا يتطلب منه ١٢ و ٩ بل ٧ فقط. فضلا عن ان هؤلاء الشغيلة ليسوا مضطرين، للحصول على تقاعد عجز ممتاز الى قضاء عدد معين من سنوات الخدمة فى عمل المناجم او الصناعات غير الصحية او الورشات ذات النار الكبيرة ولكن نصفه يكفى. ولا تحسب اوقات الانقطاع عن العمل فى حساب عدد سنوات الخدمة الفعلية.

ويتوقف مقدار راتب تقاعد المعجز الذى يتناوله العمال والمستخدمون على الاجرة والفئة وسبب المعجز والمهنة وشروط العمل. ومعنى هذا انه فى حال المعجز الناشئ عن طوارئ عمل او مرض سببه المهنة، وفى شروط متساوية، يكون تقاعد المعجز اعلى مما اذا كان المعجز ناشئا عن اسباب عادية. وكذلك فان

تقاعد لفقدان العائل

في الاتحاد السوفييتي ينص القانون، فضلا عن تقاعد الشيخوخة والعجز، على تقاعد لفقدان العائل.

تمنح الاسرة التي فقدت سندها راتب تقاعد.

اذا فقدت الاسرة عائلها فان الاشخاص الذين كان يعيّلهم او الذين يتلقون منه عوناً وكان وسيلتهم الوحيدة في الحياة، انما يحق لهم ان يقبضوا تقاعداً. ان اولاد الفقيد وابويه يستفيدون من راتب تقاعد، حتى ولو لم يكن عائلهم في الماضي ولكنهم حرموا فيما بعد من الوسائل التي تكفل لهم العيش.

ان تقاعد فقدان العائل يمنح لاولاد الفقيد واخوته واخواته واحفاده الذين لم يتموا السادسة عشرة من عمرهم، واما من كان منهم يتابع دراسته فانه يتلقى هذا الراتب حتى الثامنة عشرة.

وينص قانون تقاعد الدولة ايضا على ان لاولاد الفقيد واخوته واخواته واحفاده الذين يتابعون دراستهم الحق في تقاعد حتى ولو كانت لهم منح من الدولة.

ويمنح ابو عائل الاسرة المتوفى واهله راتب التقاعد في حال العجز او الشيخوخة (اي في سن الستين للرجال والخامسة والخمسين للنساء). ولا يؤخذ بعين الاعتبار مطلقاً الزمن الذي اصيبا فيه بالعجز او بلغا الشيخوخة سواء اكان قبل وفاة العائل او بعدها.

ولرفيق المتوفى (زوجا كان او زوجة) الحق في تقاعد

العسكريين من رتبة رقيب، رقيب اول، نقيب وبحار من الصنف الاول ١٠ بالمئة عن تقاعد الجنود.

وتطراً على تقاعد العجز العالوات التالية:

(أ) في حال دوام مستمر (للعامل والمستخدمين من الفئة الاولى والثانية) مدته من ١٠ الى ١٥ سنة - ١٠ بالمئة من التقاعد. واكثر من ١٥ سنة - ١٥ بالمئة.

(ب) للعجزة من الفئة الاولى (عمال ومستخدمون او عسكريون) علاوة مداواة مقدارها ١٥ بالمئة من مجموع راتب التقاعد.

(ج) ما يسمى «التعويض العائلي» يمنح للعجزة المتقاعدتين من الفئة الاولى والثانية الذين لا يشتغلون ويعيّلون اشخاصا قاصرين او غير اهل للعمل: شخص واحد - ١٠ بالمئة من الراتب، شخصان فاشتر - ١٥ بالمئة.

على اثر تطبيق مبدأ العالوات المشار اليه اعلاه يمكن لمجموع الراتب ان يفوق الاجرة التي كان يتلقاها المنتفع من قبل. هذه الميزة الاخيرة من حق عجزة الفئة الاولى. واما عجزة الفئتين الاخرين فالحد الاقصى لرواتبهم هو ١٠٠ بالمئة من اجرتهم.

وتتمتع النساء السوفييتيات بنفس حقوق الرجال في تقاعد العجز ولكن كما سبق وقلنا تنخفض لاجلهن مدة السن وسنوات الخدمة انخفاضاً محسوساً.

الاسرة الذين لهم الحق فى التقاعد وعلى شروط عمل رب الاسرة وعلى اسباب الوفاة، ويمنح الراتب التقاعدى الاكبر للاسر التى توفى عائلها على اثر طارئ، عمل او مرض سببه المهنة. هذا الراتب الاعلى نفسه يمنح للاسر التى تضم ايتاما من الاب والام، بصرف النظر عن اسباب وفاة عائلهم او للاولاد الذين فقدوا امهاتهم اللواتى كن يربينهم وحدهن. وحرى بنا ان نشير بصفة خاصة الى ان الرواتب الممنوحة فى حال فقدان العائل قابلة للمعايير التالية:

(أ) تستفيد الاسر المؤلفة من ثلاثة اشخاص او اكثر وفقدت عائلها على اثر طارئ، عمل او مرض مهنى من علاوة مقدارها ١٥ بالمئة.

(ب) الاسر التى فقدت عائلها على اثر مرض غير مهنى بعد ان خدم من ١٠ الى ١٥ سنة دون انقطاع تستفيد من علاوة قدرها ١٠ بالمئة و ١٥ بالمئة اذا خدم اكثر من ١٥ سنة. واما اذا كان عائل الاسرة المتوفى لا يشتغل بصفة عامل او مستخدم (كان طالباً مثلاً) فان رواتب التقاعد تدفع للاسر دفعات شهرية ثابتة تختلف بحسب عدد افراد الاسرة واسباب وفاة العائل.

وقصارى القول فى هذا الصدد ان رواتب التقاعد الجديدة وما طرأ عليها من علاوة تعنى بالنسبة للأشخاص المسنين والعجزة والاسر التى فقدت اربابها ارتفاعاً فى مستوى حياتهم. ويدخل قانون التقاعد الجديد الرفاه الى عدد عديد من اسر الشغيلة.

الشيخوخة اذا بلغ سن الشيخوخة او اذا اصيب بعجز قبل فقدان عائل الاسرة او بعد خمس سنوات من فقدانه فقط. ويمنح تقاعد فقدان العائل كذلك لجد المتوفى او جدته اذا لم يكن لهما من يعيلهما.

وينص قانون تقاعد الدولة على ان الآباء او الاولاد بالتبني يحق لهم التقاعد مثلهم مثل الآباء او الاولاد. وفى حال موت عائل الاسرة على اثر طارئ، عمل او مرض سببه المهنة او كان هو نفسه متقاعداً (مهما يكن نوع التقاعد او سبب الوفاة) يحق لاسرته راتب تقاعد بصرف النظر عن عدد سنوات خدمته.

وعلى اية حال فان التقاعد يمنح لاسرة العسكرى دون النظر الى المدة التى قضاها فى خدمة العلم او العمل الذى كان يزاوله قبل دخوله فى الخدمة العسكرية.

وكذلك فان اسر العمال والمستخدمين الذين يلتقون حتفهم على اثر مرض او تشويه غير ناشئين عن المهنة ولا يمكن ان يعزى لتأدية العمل انما تقبض تقاعداً اذا هى استطاعت ان تبرهن، يوم الوفاة، على ان فقيدتها قد قام بعدد معين من سنوات الخدمة.

ولما اذا توفى رب الاسرة عاملاً قبل ان يكون لديه عدد سنوات الخدمة المطلوبة فان التقاعد يُمنح بصورة نسبية، دون ان يقل، مهما يكن من امر، عن ربع تقاعد كامل.

و فى بلادنا يتوقف مقدار راتب التقاعد هذا على عدد افراد

شعب الضمان الاجتماعي للمقاطعات والمدن والنواحي. وفي الاتحاد السوفياتي يعمل حوالي ١٥٠٠٠ طبيب مختص من النخبة الممتازة في هذه اللجان.

تنظيم استخدام العجزة او افراد اسر الجنود المقعودين والمتقاعدين من الفئات الاخرى منوط باجهزة الضمان الاجتماعي في الجمهوريات الاتحادية.

وتدير وزارة الضمان الاجتماعي كذلك جمعيات العميان والصم البكم.

وتعمل في بلادنا، في سبيل تنظيم حسن لاستخدام العجزة، معاهد مهمة للابحاث العلمية ومشاف ومخابر ومشاغل للتجارب سواء في ميدان الاستخدام واختبار القابلية على العمل او في ميدان الاعضاء الاصطناعية وصنعها. امثال هذه المعاهد موجودة في موسكو ولينينغراد وخاركوف مع فروع في المدن الكبرى.

وتجهد هذه المعاهد الآن في سبيل تطوير الاجهزة وتنظيم عمل العجزة الذين يعملون في ارتلات وفي الصناعة والزراعة. وتستأثر قضية استخدام العميان والصم البكم والمرضى المصابين بامراض عصبية نفسية والعجزة غير القادرين على الحركة باهتمام خاص.

وتنصرف العناية بصورة خاصة الى استخدام المشوهين الشبان.

وتعتبر الحكومة استخدام عجزة الحرب الاخيرة واجبا من وجائب الدولة ازا المدافعين عن الوطن، ومهمة وطنية يجب

ولنضرب مثلا افدوكيا خروموا الجابية في مستودع الترام باومان في موسكو، التي عوصا عن ان تقبض ١٥٠ روبلا في الشهر اصبحت تقبض اكثر من ثلاثة اضعاف المبلغ، اي ٤٨١ روبلا، مع العلم ان اجرتها الشهرية قبل احوالها على التقاعد كانت ٥٨٣ روبلا.

وكذلك فاسيليف العامل في مصنع كيروف الذي تبلغ اجرته حوالي ١٠٠٠ روبل سيقبض تقاعد شيخوخة قدره ٦٦٠ روبلا في الشهر عوضا عن ١٦٥.

استخدام العجزة

تمنح الحكومة السوفياتية العجزة الذين يودون الاستثمار في العمل بقدر ما تسمح لهم قواهم، رجالا كانوا او نساء، مساعدات متعددة.

وفي الاتحاد السوفياتي يتحقق نجاح كبير فيما يتعلق باستخدام اليد العاملة من العجزة. ويعمل حاليا اكثر من ٨٠ بالمئة من العجزة.

وتدل الارقام على ان العجزة في بلاد السوفييت، رجالا ونساء، يستطيعون ان يجدوا عملا في مختلف فروع الاقتصاد الوطني.

وينص التشريع السوفياتي القائم على الا يستخدم العجزة الا بعد اجازة من الاطباء المختصين. وهؤلاء الاطباء اعضاء في جميع لجان الخبرة الطبية للعمل الموجودة في كل شعبة من

والزراعة تظهر انهم ليسوا قادرين على بذل مجهوداتهم في الاقتصاد الوطنى فحسب ولكن مردودهم واجرتهم فى الاعم الاغلب ليسا اقل من رفاقهم الاصحاء.

ويكون تقديم الجوائز* والاعضاء الاصطناعية عاملا مهما فى اناحة العمل للمعز وضمان مستوى مادى رغيد لهم. وفى الاتحاد السوفييتى ١٠٠ مؤسسة لصناعة الاعضاء العليا والسفلى الاصطناعية، وكذلك توجد مؤسسات لانتاج الاحذية الطبية والاحذية الخاصة بالجائز ومشاعل لصناعة المشدات واجهزة الاسماع والاعين الاصطناعية والضماند، الخ. وتصنع ايضا مختلف الاجهزة التى تعين المعز على العمل. وكل هذه الجوائز انما تقدم للمعز على حساب الدولة وتكلف حوالى ١٥٠ مليون روبل سنويا. وفى الاتحاد السوفييتى معاهد للابحاث تمويلها الدولة وتعمل على دراسة القضايا المتعلقة بنظرية الجوائز وتطبيقاتها.

تربية المعزة المهنية

ان تربية المعزة، ولا سيما النساء العاجزات، واعادة تربيتهم اذا اظهروا رغبة فى التريب على عمل يتناسب وحالتهم الصحية، انما تتم فى مدارس فنية ومهنية داخلية مجانية تخرج اخصائيين فى الزراعة والمحاسبة وميكانيكى السينما والراديو، وميكانيكيين لتصليح آلات الخياطة والتطريز وعمال المخابر واسكافيين * نستعمل كلمة «جوائز» لكل الاعضاء الاصطناعية (المترجم).

ان تشترك فيها المشاريع الصناعية والزراعية كافة والادارات والمنظمات جميعا.

ويعمد فى سبيل استخدام المعزة استخداما عقليا الى منحهم مجانا، فضلا عن التقاعد، اعضاء اصطناعية واحذية طبية، وعربات خاصة. وهم يستفيدون كذلك من اقامات مجانية فى المصحات والمراكز الصحية. ويستطيع كل عاجز، اذا هو اعرب عن رغبته، ان ينهب الى ملجأ يعيش فيه على حساب الدولة او الى مدرسة مهنية خاصة يتعلم فيها صنعة جديدة.

هذه التدابير كلها تهرن على ان النظام المدرس والمطبق وفق أسس علمية لمساعدة المعزة بمختلف الاشكال انما يقوم على مبادئ انسانية عليا غايتها العناية بالانسان.

وقد وفرت كل الشرائط لكى يؤدى المعزة عملا اجتماعيا مفيدا. والمعزة انفسهم يشعرون حماسة للعمل فى سبيل بلادهم فى نطاق وسائلهم ومقدراتهم.

ويعمل المعزة، نساء ورجالا، على الاغلب فى ارتلات وتعاونيات الانتاج وفى مشاريع الدولة، وفى كل عمل تسمح لهم صحتهم بهمارسته. وكثيرا ما يستخدمون فى صناعة اللوازم التعليمية والاعذية وادوات الخياطة والتريكو. وكذلك يعملون فى صناعة المطبوعات الصغيرة وفى تجارة المفرق وصناعة الاشياء الفنية واللعب. ويتلقى عشرات الالاف من المعزة زمرا وافرادا التعليم فى المصانع والمعامل لكى يزدادوا معرفة وكفاءة واجرة. وان دراسة دقيقة لمسألة استخدام المعزة فى الصناعة

وخطاطين، الخ. هذا شكل من الاشكال العديدة لمساعدة العجزة في بلادنا، وفي جمهورية روسيا الاتحادية الاشتراكية السوفيتية وحدها يبلغ عدد هذه المؤسسات التربوية الخاصة حوالي خمسين. وتؤلف النساء اكثر من ٣٠ بالمئة من طلابها. وللعجزة، نساء ورجالا، حق اختيار المهنة التي تتلاءم وتوصيات اللجنة الطبية. وتدرس النساء العاجزات مجانا في المراكز والمدارس الفنية الثانوية من سنتين حتى اربع سنوات حسب المهنة المختارة. وفضلا عن ذلك يتلقين طوال مدة الدراسة مجانا، على حساب الدولة: السكن والغذاء والشراف والعناية الطبية والادوية والثياب ومتطلبات الدراسة والكتب المدرسية، الخ. وتدفع التعويضات التي تمنح لهن خلال اقامتهن في هذه المدارس الداخلية الى افراد اسرهن التي يعلن.

وتحدر الاشارة الى ان هذه المؤسسات التي تؤمن لطلابها كل شرائط العيش الحسن انما تحرص على ان توفر لهم ايضا كل الامكانيات لاجل دراسة مثمرة في اختصاصاتهم التي يمتقنونها. وحسبما يقتضى الاختصاص يقوم التلاميذ باشغال عملية في الشاغل والمخابر والمراكز الزراعية التجريبية المنظمة خصوصا لهذه الغاية.

وتعمل النسوة العاجزات بعد تخرجهن كل حسب اختصاصها في الزراعة والصناعة الخفيفة او فروع اخرى من الاقتصاد الوطنى. ان تربية العجزة مهنيا واعادة تربيتهم، رجالا كانوا او نساء، تحرى ايضا بوساطة دروس في المشاغل والمدارس ومؤسسات

التدريب المهني لجمعيات العميان والصم البكم وفي ارتلات تعاونيات الانتاج وفي فروع مختلفة من الصناعة. وينفق ٤٢ مليون روبل في العام، عن طريق موازنة وزارة الضمان الاجتماعى في جمهورية روسيا الاتحادية الاشتراكية السوفيتية، لاجل تربية العجزة المهنية. ويقوم على هذه التربية، سواء في المدارس المهنية او في مدارس الموسيقى، معلمون ومدرسون مختصون وفق مناهج دراسية مصدقة من وزارة الضمان الاجتماعى. وكل هذه المدارس مزودة بتجهيزات خاصة للاشغال العملية.

وتتملك كل مدرسة زراعية قطعة ارض تتراوح مساحتها من ٢٠٠ الى ٥٠٠ هكتار مع جرارات وحصادات - دراسات وآلات واوائل زراعية اخرى وكذلك عدد كافي من الماشية من بقر وغنم. ولما المدارس الصناعية الخاصة فمزودة بالاولل الضرورية. وتتلقى المدارس المهنية المواد الاولية اللازمة بمقتضى المنهاج المقرر.

وتتصرف العناية في هذه المدارس بصورة خاصة الى رفع مستوى العجزة الثقافى. ويدعى التلاميذ الى الاشتراك في حلقات للفنانين الهواة، للشطرنج، للالات الوترية، للصورين، الخ. وتلقى محاضرات وتعرض افلام.

وتؤمن شعبة الضمان الاجتماعى المحلية بصورة اجبارية للعجزة المتخرجين من المدارس المهنية او الفنية عملا يتلائم مع الاختصاص الذى اختاروه.

وفي بحر السنوات الثلاث الاخيرة وزع على اسر العسكريين الذين قتلوا في الحرب وعلى عجزه الحرب والعمل ٣٩ الف رأس من البقر والسائمة الاخرى وعشرات آلاف الاطنان من الحبوب والقمح والبطاطا والخضر. وبنيت منازل ومسكن واصلحت اخرى ووضعت تحت تصرف ٤٥٥ الف عاجز ومسن وأسرهم.

ويوضع شغيلة بلادنا في ماوى للعجزة وماوى للشيوخ اذا استوجبت حالتهم ذلك. وهم يعيشون في هذه المؤسسات على حساب الدولة تماما.

ولقد احصى من هذه المنازل في عام ١٩٥٥ اكثر من ٩٠٠ منزل لجا إليها حوالي ١٢٠٠٠٠ انسان مسن وعاجز.

وفي سبيل الاستجابة لحاجات هؤلاء العجزة والشيوخ المادية تزداد الاعتمادات كل عام ويصبح الغذاء اكثر غزارة وتحسن الخدمات الطبية. وقد هيات لكثير من هذه المنازل مشاغل يستطيع العجزة ان يشتغلوا فيها على رغبتهم ويتلقوا بذلك أجرا.

كذلك قد انشئت لكثير من هذه المنازل مشاريع زراعية، ينصرف محصولها كله الى سكانها. هذه المشاريع معفاة من الضرائب والحسائم مهما يكن نوعها وكذلك من التأدية العينية للدولة.

لنأخذ مثالا «فيدنويه» احد هذه الماوى العادية للشيوخ. انه قائم في مكان جميل المناظر في ضواحي موسكو، مجهز

ولا تكتفى اجهزة الضمان الاجتماعى بتأمين العمل والعناية بتربية العجزة مهنيا بل تمنح المسنين منهم مساعدات خاصة فترسلهم للمداواة فى المصحات والحمامات المعدنية وتسهل لهم بناء منازلهم وترميمها وشراء المواشى، الخ.

وسيزوع عام ١٩٥٦ على العجزة، رجالا ونساء، اكثر من مئة الف بطاقة اقامة فى المصحات ومنازل الراحة. يضاف الى ذلك ١٥٧ مليون روبل ستنفق لتعويضات استثنائية، تمنح فى الحالات الطارئة المستعجلة.

وفى ١٩٥٥ آوت مراكز الاصطيف حوالى ٧٦٨٠٠٠ ولد من اولاد المتقاعدين وسيترقع هذا الرقم عام ١٩٥٦ الى المليون.

وتقوم ادارات الكولخوزات وصناديق المساعدة المتبادلة بتقديم المعونة المادية للكولخوزيين والكولخوزيات الذين لا يقدمون على العمل او المسنين.

وبمقتضى نظام الارتل الزراعى يؤسس اعتماد للمساعدة الجماعية فى كل كمولخوز. هذا الاعتماد يمول عينيا من نسبة تؤخذ على الحصاد ترتفع حتى ٢ بالمئة من الانتاج الاجمالى وانتاج المواشى. واما الكولخوزات الضعيف محصولها من الحبوب فيكون الاعتماد من الاموال المثلية بالنسب ذاتها. وللهيئة العامة للكولخوز الحق وحدها فى التصرف بهذا الاعتماد. وبناء على قرار منها يستطيع القسم الاعظم من هذا الاعتماد ان يحول الى صندوق المساعدة المتبادلة للكولخوزيين والكولخوزيات.

ولقد هبأت السلطة السوفييتية من الاسباب ما ينفي عن المواطن الذي اصيب بالضرر صفة النقص لان لديه كل ما يعينه على التعليم وكسب المهنة والعمل فيما اختص به والتمتع بالراحة وتكوين الاسرة.

وهكذا فقد فتحت السلطة السوفييتية للمكفوفين مجال النشاط على مصراعيه.

ومن اهم مهمات هذه الجمعيات الاستجابة الى مطامح المكفوفين، رجالا ونساء، في حياة متحركة ذلك لان العمل الخلاق وحده هو الذي يشعر الضيرير بانّه نافع حقا، هو الذي يعيده الى الحياة الاجتماعية فيشارك في بناء الحياة السوفييتية ويسهم في دعم قوة وطننا.

ان مشاريع التربية والانتاج التي احدثت لهذه الجمعيات تتمتع باستقلال مالي وتستهدف مهمتين هما تربية المكفوفين المهنية وتهيئتهم للانتاج. وفي جمهورية روسيا الاتحادية الاشتراكية السوفييتية وحدها ٢٥٠ مشروعا من هذا النوع تنتج ما قيمته ٩٠٠ مليون روبل في السنة. والدولة تمنح هذه المشاريع امتيازات كبرى.

وستظهر عناية الدولة بحاجات المكفوفين اكثر مما هي عليه الآن خلال مشروع السنوات الخمس السادس. وقد اعد مشروع مرسوم يقضى بانشاء ٣٧ ملجأ، ٤١ مشغلا، ٨٦ منزل سكن، ٣٣ ناديا، دارين للثقافة ومخيمين للطلائع. وروصد ٤٠٠ مليون روبل لتحقيق هذه الاعمال.

تجهيزا حسنا وثيرا، والغذاء الذي يقدم للشيوخ ممتاز وهم تحت الرقابة الدائمة لهيئة طبية. اوقات الراحة منظمة تنظيما جيدا. وفي الماوى ناد ومكتبة واجهزة راديو وتلفزة وتعرض افلام سينمائية.

توجد ماو من هذا النوع في اوكرانيا وبييلوروسيا وجهوريات اخرى من الاتحاد السوفييتي.

وهكذا فعلى ضفاف نهر فورسكلا الضاحكة، في ضاحية ليشينوفكا، ناحية كوبليانسك، مقاطعة بولتافا (اوكرانيا) يقوم اربعة عشر منزلا حسن التجهيز، هي ملجأ للشيوخ. هناك يعيش على حساب الدولة ٢٧٥ متقاعدا غير قادر على العمل: عمالا ومستخدمين وكولخوزيين. ان الغرف مضيئة ووثيرة، فيها تجهيزات الراديو والاثاث الحسن. والمتقاعدون يتغننون جيدا. ان في مقاطعة بولتافا تسعة منازل من هذا النوع. وفي الهمة هذا العام ان يفتح منزل عاشر.

في الاتحاد السوفييتي يتمتع المتقاعدون، رجالا ونساء، بتسهيلات متعددة فيما يتعلق بالضرائب والمكوس والمنازل والعمل والتعليم والعناية الطبية. وتضاف امتيازات خاصة على اجرة المرأة العاجزة وراتبها التقاعدي، وتزيد في ضمانتها المادية.

وفي جميع الجمهوريات الاتحادية توجد جمعيات للعميان والصم البكم لا يقتأ الدولة والمجتمع يدعمانها. وهي تقوم بعمل عظيم في سبيل تحسين الشرائط المادية لهؤلاء العجزة واسرهم.

ويستطيع الانسان ان يضرب الامثال في كمية مهمة من معامل انشاء الماكينات، حيث يعمل ٣٠٠ او اكثر من اعضاء هذه الجمعيات. وان عددا كبيرا منهم استطاع ان يتمثل تمثلا كاملا مسائل التجهيزات الصناعية الحديثة جدا، وان يسهم اسهاما نشيطا في الحياة الاجتماعية والاقتصادية في مشروعه، وان يسمو بمستواه الثقافي والفني. وقد منحت مداليات واوسمة الاتحاد السوفييتي لآكثر من ٦٠٠٠ عضو من اعضاء هذه الجمعيات مكافأة لهم على عملهم الطيب، منهم عدد كبير من النساء.

ان مشاريع الدولة الصناعية وتعاونياتها تؤمن للصم والصم البكم شرائط حياتية حسنة وسكنا؛ فاذا كان احدهم رب أسرة طهر بمسكن (شقة كاملة واما العازبون فيقطنون في بيوت داخلية حسنة الترتيب. ويرسل اولاد اعضاء الجمعية الى رياض الاطفال ومخيمات الطلاب ولهم في ذلك الأفضلية. وان رفاه الصم والصم البكم لا يبرح في زيادة. ويتلقى عدد كبير منهم كل عام بطاقات اقامة في المصحات ومنازل الراحة مجانا او بشمن مخفض.

وتدل الاحصاءات على ان بين الكولخوزيين كثيرا من الصم والصم البكم الطليعيين. وهم يعملون سائقى الجرارات وسائقى حصادات دراسات وميكانيكيين في محطات الآلات والجرارات ولخصائين في تربية المواشى والدواجن والنحل والبستنة.

نهار عمل المكفوفين ست ساعات وعطلتهم السنوية ٢٤ يوم عمل على الاقل. وهم يتمتعون بحق التنقل المجانى فى المدن، ومعفون من جميع الضرائب ومكوس اجهزة الراديو ويتلقون مساعدة طبية مجانية وتوضع تحت تصرفهم كتب مطبوعة على طريقة برايل يستطيعون استحضارها من اية مكتبة فى الاتحاد السوفييتي.

واما الاطفال المكفوفون فيتعلمون فى مدارس خاصة للتعليم العام، ويسكنون، طوال مدة دراستهم التى تدوم ١١ عاما، فى مدارس داخلية، وتتحمل الدولة نفقات دراسة هؤلاء الاطفال ومعيشتهم كلها.

ان ابواب مؤسسات التعليم العالى مفتوحة للمكفوفين على مصاريعها. وآلاف منهم قد تلقوا مثل هذا التعليم ويعملون، فى نجاح، مدرسين وحقوقيين ومحاضرين. وتصدر دور نشر الدولة، على طريقة برايل، عددا كافيا من المؤلفات العلمية والادبية.

وفى بلادنا ايضا جمعيات للصم البكم مهمتها الاساسية مساعدة هؤلاء على مشاركة فى الحياة الاجتماعية والانتاج، على تحسين الخدمات الثقافية والاجتماعية على ما يشتهون، على المشاركة فى رفع مستواهم التعليمى والمهنى واغناء معارفهم التقنية وصمهم فى صفوف بناء الشيوعية الناشطين.

ويعمل فى مختلف مناطق جمهورية روسيا الاتحادية الاشتراكية السوفييتية ومشاريعها رجال ونساء صم بكم او صم.

ولا يتعلم الصبيان صنعة فحسب ولكنهم يسكنون دورا للطلبة ويتلقون منحا وثيابا، ويتعلمون، تحت ارشاد معلمين، الخياطة وصناعة التريكو والاحذية والنجارة والتحكيم والخراطة، الخ.

وقد درست مدارس التعليم المهني التابعة للجمعية خلال مشروع السنوات الخمس الخامس فقط مهنا (٨٠٠) شخص.

وقد وظمت جمعية الصم البكم لروسيا كلها، في سبيل تحقيق هذه الغايات، جزءا مهما من مواردها في بناء دور السكن، في المحلات الصناعية، في النوادي، لاجل شراء التجهيزات الضرورية للورشات والادارات والتصليح. وسيرصدهم مبلغ ٨٧ مليون روبل لهذه الغايات خلال مشروع الخمس السنوات السادس.

في جمهورية روسيا وحدها تدفع اجهزة الضمان الاجتماعي سنويا اكثر من ثلاثة مليارات من الروبلات للامهات الكثيرات الاولاد والامهات الوحيدات.

وتجدر الاشارة بخاصة الى ان اجهزة الضمان الاجتماعي التي يتطلب عملها كثيرا من الذوق انما تستخدم النساء على نطاق واسع.

ويكفي ان نذكر ان النساء يشكلن ٧٠ بالمئة من موظفي هذه الاجهزة، ناهيك بان عددا كبيرا من النساء يشغل مراكز

ان جمعية الصم البكم في روسيا كلها تتصرف بشبكة من المؤسسات الثقافية: اكثر من ٤٥٠ ناديا وناديا منزليا، وكثير من المكاتب، وقاعات للمطالعة وتأسيسات سينمائية، وتنظم بوساطة الاشارات وابجدية حركية يدوية دروس ومحاضرات وقرارات آثار ادبية. وتعرض افلام خاصة حوارها مكتوب كتابة ايضا. وتضم المؤسسات الثقافية للجمعية حوالي ٨٠٠ حلقة للهواة فيها الوف المنتسبين.

وبين الاربعة عشر الفا من الصم البكم الذين يزاولون الرياضة في جمهورية روسيا الاتحادية عدد كبير من الرياضيين المرموقين. وتنظم في الجمهورية مباريات بصورة منتظمة. ويخصص ٦٥ بالمئة من موازنة جمعية الصم البكم للعمل الثقافي والتربوية. وترصد الحكومة مبالغ مهمة للانفاق على مؤسسات تعليم الصم البكم.

ويدرس اكثر من ٤٠٠ عضو من اعضاء الجمعية في مؤسسات التعليم العالي والفنى. ويستفيد الطلاب الصم البكم من منحة قابلة للزيادات. ويعمل الكثير من الصم البكم الذين تخرجوا من مؤسسات التعليم العالي في نجاح مهندسى دراسات وتكنيين واقتصاديين ومهندسين زراعيين.

ولجمعية الصم البكم في روسيا كلها ورشات في ٤٤ منطقة واقليميا وجمهورية ذات استقلال ذاتى. وتصنع في هذه الورشات ملابس واحذية وتريكو واثاث وأسرة معدنية واصناف اخرى مما يطرده استعماله.

ان العرض الذى اوردناه هنا يبرهن على ان قضايا الضمان الاجتماعى تظفر بانتباه كبير فى بلادنا. وسيحسن رفع الرواتب التقاعدية، حسب القانون الجديد، حل كثير من الاسر. ولكن عناية الحكومة وانصرافها الى تحسين مستوى الشعب لا يقف عند هذا الحد. وما هذا الميدان الا غيض من فيض من جهودها الكبيرة.

وتشهد التدابير التى اتخذت لمشروع السنوات الخمس السادس لاجل رفع مستوى النس السوفيت على اتساع هذه الجهود فى مختلف الميادين.

مسؤولة منها الوزارة ووكالة الوزارة فى بعض الجمهوريات ذات الاستقلال الذاتى، وادارة شعب المقاطعات والاقاليم والمدن والنواحي.

وتدير الضمان الاجتماعى فى موسكو شاخوفا وفى ليبينغراد امرأة طبيبة هى ماكاروفا.

وتعمل نسوة كثيرات فى اجهزة الضمان الاجتماعى، طبيبات ودكتورات فى العاوم الطبية ومعلمات ومربيات وهن يقمن فى نكران للذات عظيم طوال سنوات عديدة بواجبهن نحو العجزة والمسنين.

وهكذا فالاستاذة شنك الدكتورة فى العلوم الطبية التى تعمل منذ سنوات طويلة فى حقول الارتوبيديا* والاعضاء الاصطناعية توصلت الى نظرية جديدة لصنع الاجهزة المفصلية. والاستاذة مولودايا، الدكتورة فى العلوم الطبية تعمل منذ سنوات طويلة فى المعهد المركزى للابحاث العلمية لصنع الجائثر، وكان لاجرائها اهمية كبرى فى حقول الارتوبيديا والخبرة الطبية للعمل وفى قضية الاستخدام. وتعمل الاستاذة كوسينسكايا، الدكتورة فى العلوم الطبية ونائبة المدير، فى معهد الخبرة وتحديد قدرة العجزة على العمل، وكان لاعمالها اهمية عظيمة فى حسن سير اجهزة الضمان الاجتماعى.

* فرع الطب يهتم بتقويم الشوهات فى الجهاز العظلى والعظمى (المترجم).

STAT

*The Soviet Union:
Workers and Peasants State*

Н. МУРАВЬЕВА
СОЦИАЛЬНОЕ ОБЕСПЕЧЕНИЕ
В СССР

الاتحاد السوفيتي
دولة
العمال والفلاحين

رينيسوف ويوركوفسكى

الاتحاد السوفيتى
دولة
العمال والفلاحين

دار الطبع والنشر باللغات الاجنبية
موسكو

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حكم العمال والفلاحين

في خريف ١٩١٧، في دروة الحرب العالمية الاولى، كانت روسيا مسرحا لحدث ما تزال اصدائه تؤثّر في كل تطور التاريخ العالمى. فان الطبقة العاملة والفلاحين الكادحين قد قاموا بثورة اكتوبر الاشتراكية الكبرى، تحت قيادة الحزب الشيوعى. فانهار الى الابد نظام التعسف والعبودية والتمييز القومى. لقد اخرجت ثورة اكتوبر روسيا من الحرب الاستعمارية التى اوصلتها الى شفير الهاوية. ووضعت حدا لسيطرة الرأسمالين وكبار الملاكين العقارين السياسية ووضعت كامل السلطة فى ايدى الشغيلة. ومنذ ذلك غدا بامكان روسيا ان تتخلص من تأخرها المزمّن وان تصبح دولة عصرية كبيرة. وغدا بامكان العمال والفلاحين، اسيااد البلاد الحقيقيين، تحقيق حقوقهم وامنياتهم.

فى ٢٥ اكتوبر (٧ نوفمبر - تشرين الثانى) ١٩١٧، افتتح فى بتروغراد المؤتمر الثانى لسوفييت نواب العمال والجنود فى روسيا. فآلف المؤتمر اول حكومة عمال وفلاحين فى العالم، برئاسة لينين، واسماها مجلس مفوضى الشعب،

الاقتصادي، اللذين سببتهما الحرب الاستعمارية والحرب الاهلية والتدخل الاجنبي. بل ان الشعب السوفييتي المتحرر استطاع ان ينشئ صناعة جبارة فى فترة تاريخية وجيزة وان يعيد بناء الزراعة من اساسها. فحلت الزراعة الممكنة الكبيرة محل الاستثمارات الفلاحية الصغيرة.

وقد اعلن لينين يوم انتصار ثورة اكتوبر فقال: «لقد دشن التاريخ الروسى عهدا جديدا، ولا بد للثورة الثالثة التى قامت مؤخرا من ان تؤدى فى آخر المطاف الى انتصار الاشتراكية...» وقد أكد المستقبل تماما صحة هذه الكلمات النبوية. فقد انتصر فى الاتحاد السوفييتى نظام اجتماعى جديد هو النظام الاشتراكى (الاشتراكية)، الذى يقوم على اساس الملكية الاجتماعية لادوات ووسائل الانتاج، والذى الغى الى الابد استثمار الانسان للانسان. وغدا الاتحاد السوفييتى دولة اشتراكية جبارة.

واتحاد الجمهوريات الاشتراكية السوفييتية هو، كما ينص دستور ١٩٣٦، دولة اشتراكية يحكمها العمال والفلاحون.

ان نجاحات البناء الاشتراكى قد قضت عندنا على الاوضاع الاجتماعية التى كانت تستطيع فيها اقلية ضئيلة من الناس تملك وسائل الانتاج ان تعيش على حساب الجماهير لغيره من شغلة المدينة والريف. فان تأميم الاراضى قضى على طبقة كبار الملاكين العقاريين، كما قضى تأميم المشروعات الكبيرة والتجارة والمصارف على طبقة الرأسماليين. واخيرا، زالت فئة الفلاحين الاغنياء، او الكولاك، بدورها عن مسرح التاريخ.

واتخذ القرارين التاريخيين حول السلام والارض. وكان القرار الاول يعرض على جميع المتحاربين وقف العمليات الحربية فورا والشروع بمفاوضات لعقد صاج ديموقراطى، دون الحاقات ولا اغتصابات ولا غرامات. وعلى هذا النحو، رفع حكم السوفييت راية الكفاح فى سبيل تحرير الانسانية من وبيلات الحروب الاستعمارية.

اما القرار المتعلق بالارض، فقد الغى الملكية العقارية الكبيرة دون اى تعويض على اصحابها. وقضى بتسليم الارض مجانا للمدين يشتغلونها. وهكذا تحول حام الفلاحين على مر القرون الى حقيقة واقعة، منذ اليوم الاول لحكم السوفييت. ثم طبقت الحكومة السوفييتية يوم العمل من ثمانى ساعات وبسطت رقابة العمال على الانتاج. وصادرت المصارف والسكك الحديدية والبحرية التجارية من الرأسماليين. ثم اممت الصناعة الكبيرة. وقد كان لجميع هذه التدابير تأثير حاسم فى مستقبل البلاد. اذ انها نسفت من الاساس مواقع الرأسماليين والاقطاعيين الاقتصادية.

ولكن اعداء الثورة، اى الطبقات المقابو، لم يشاؤوا الاقرار بهزيمتهم. بل اعلنوها، بمساعدة من الخارج، حربا مساحرة سافرة على حكم العمال والفلاحين. وخلال عدة سنوات ادمت الحرب الاهلية روسيا. وتحملت البلاد وطأة التدخل الاجنبي المسلح واقسى حصار اقتصادى. غير ان مساندة الجماهير الكادحة وثقتها مكنتنا جمهورية السوفييت الفتية من اجتياز هذه المحن. فقد استطاعت ان تحابه المجاعة والخراب

الاقتصادى، اللذين سببتهما الحرب الاستعمارية والحرب الاهلية والتدخل الاجنبى. بل ان الشعب السوفييتى المتحرر استطاع ان ينشئ صناعة جبارة فى فترة تاريخية وجيزة وان يعيد بناء الزراعة من اساسها. فحلت الزراعة الممكنة الكبيرة محل الاستثمارات الفلاحية الصغيرة.

وقد اعلن لينين يوم انتصار ثورة اكتوبر فقال: «اقد دشن التاريخ الروسى عهدا جديدا، ولا بدّ للثورة الثالثة التى قامت مؤخرا من ان تؤدى فى آخر المطاف الى انتصار الاشتراكية»... وقد أكد المستقبل تماما صحة هذه الكلمات النبوية. فقد انتصر فى الاتحاد السوفييتى نظام اجتماعى جديد هو النظام الاشتراكى (الاشتراكية)، الذى يقوم على اساس الملكية الاجتماعية لادوات ووسائل الانتاج، والذى الغى الى الابد استثمار الانسان للانسان. وغدا الاتحاد السوفييتى دولة اشتراكية جبارة.

واتحاد الجمهوريات الاشتراكية السوفييتية هو، كما ينص دستور ١٩٣٦، دولة اشتراكية يحكمها العمال والفلاحون.

ان نجاحات البناء الاشتراكى قد قضت عندنا على الاوضاع الاجتماعية التى سادت تستطيع فيها اقلية ضئيلة من الناس تملك وسائل الانتاج ان تعيش على حساب الجماهير لفقيرة من شملة المدينة والريف. فان تأميم الاراضى قضى على طبقة كبار الملاكين العقاريين، كما قضى تأميم المشروعات الكبيرة والتجارة والمصارف على طبقة الرأسماليين. واخيرا، زالت ذمة الفلاحين الاغنياء، او الكولاك، بدورها عن مسرح التاريخ.

واتخذ القرارين التاريخيين حول السلام والارض. وكان القرار الاول يعرض على جميع المتحاربين وقف العمليات الحربية فورا والشروع بمفاوضات لعقد صاى ديموقراطى، دون الحاقات ولا اغتصابات ولا غرامات. وعلى هذا النحو، رفع حكم السوفييت راية الكفاح فى سبيل تحرير الانسانية من ويلات الحروب الاستعمارية.

اما القرار المتعلق بالارض، فقد الغى الملكية العقارية الكبيرة دون اى تعويض على اصحابها. وقضى بتسليم الارض مجانا للذين يشتغلونها. وهكذا تحول حام الفلاحين على مر القرون الى حقيقة واقعة، منذ اليوم الاول لحكم السوفييت. ثم طبقت الحكومة السوفييتية يوم العمل من ثمانى ساعات وبسطة رقابة العمال على الانتاج. وصادرت المصارف والسكك الحديدية والبحرية التجارية من الرأسماليين. ثم اتمت الصناعة الكبيرة. وقد كان لجميع هذه التدابير تأثير حاسم فى مستقبل البلاد. اذ انها نسفت من الاساس مواقع الرأسماليين والاقطاعيين الاقتصادية.

ولكن اعداء الثورة، اى الطبقات المقابو، لم يشاؤوا الاقرار بهزيمتهم. بل اعلنوها، بمساعدة من الخارج، حربا مساحة سافرة على حكم العمال والفلاحين. وخلال عدة سنوات ادمت الحرب الاهلية روسيا. وتحملت البلاد وطأة التدخل الاجنبى المسلح واقسى حصار اقتصادى. غير ان مساندة الجماهير الكادحة وثقتها مكنتنا جمهورية السوفييت الفتية من اجتياز هذه المحن. فقد استطاعت ان تحابه المجاعة والخراب

توحيدهم. وقد تجلى روح الوحدة عند السوفييتيين بقوة خاصة في غمرة النضال ضد القطعان النازية. وهو الذي اتاح لهم ان يضموا في بضع سنوات الجراح العميقة التي سببتها الحرب لبلادهم وان يواصلوا البناء السلمي على نطاق واسع جدا. ان الاتحاد السوفييتي هو اول بلد قامت فيه ديكتاتورية البروليتاريا. فالطبقة العاملة هي التي تضطلع بالدور القيادي في المجتمع السوفييتي الاشتراكي. ومرد ذلك ان الطبقة العاملة هي اكثر طبقات المجتمع الحديث تقدمية وثورية، بحكم مركزها في الانتاج الاجتماعي. وهي تقود نضال الشغيلة جميعهم في سبيل بناء المجتمع الشيوعي وتعطى المثال على الاخلاص والتفاني في تنفيذ المهمات الكبيرة الموضوعية. وفي الوقت نفسه، تسعى الطبقة العاملة الى المزيد من توطيد تحالفها مع الفلاحين، باعتباره حجر الزاوية في صرح الدولة السوفييتية، باعتباره اساسها الراسخ المكين.

اما هيئات سلطة الشعب فهي سوفييتات نواب الشغيلة، اساس الدولة السياسي، ففي ايديها، تتمركز السلطة في جميع اراضي الاتحاد السوفييتي وفي جميع الدرجات، من السوفييتات المحلية في المدن والارياف حتى السوفييت الاعلى للاتحاد السوفييتي. والسوفييتات هي اوسع شكل لتنظيم الجماهير الشعبية. ومرد قوتها واهميتها ان جميع الشغيلة ممثلون فيها. فان نواب السوفييت الاعلى للاتحاد السوفييتي، الهيئة العليا لسلطة الدولة، هم عمال وفلاحون ومنتقون من المدن والارياف، وعسكريون. يحق لكل مواطن يتمتع بتقدير الشعب وثقته ان يكون نائبا في السوفييتات، فبين نواب السوفييت الاعلى، نجد مثلا

ولنا فان المجتمع السوفييتي لا يتألف الان الا من طبقتين، طبقة العمال وطبقة الفلاحين، غير ان هاتين الطبقتين تغيرتا ايضا بالنسبة لما كانتا عليه. ففي النظام الرأسمالي، كان العمال وما يزالون محرومين من ادوات ووسائل الانتاج. اما في الاتحاد السوفييتي، فان الطبقة العاملة هي التي تملك هذه الادوات والوسائل، ولم يبق بوسع اي انسان ان يستثمر الطبقة العاملة. كذلك، لا يعرف الفلاحون الكولخوزيون ما هو الاضطهاد. فهم يزرعون الاراضي التي تمنحهم اياها الدولة للتمتع بها مجانا والى الابد، ويستخدمون لهذا الغرض آلات تقدمها لهم الدولة ايضا. ان التغيرات التي طرأت على الاقتصاد الوطني وعلى تركيب المجتمع الطبقي جعلت من الممكن القيام بثورة ثقافية عميقة. وهذه الثورة ادت الى تصفية الامية عند الملايين من الناس، الى تعاضل مشترك السكان في شؤون الدولة، الى تكوين جيش لجب من الاختصاصيين في جميع فروع العلم والتكنيك والفنون، الى انتشار الافكار التقدمية بين الجماهير. فالعقلية (الايدولوجية) السائدة في الاتحاد السوفييتي هي الماركسية اللينينية، اي مناهج حرية الشغيلة، مناهج المساواة والصدقة بين جميع الشعوب.

ثمة ميزة خاصة تميز المجتمع السوفييتي، هي ان مصالح العمال والفلاحين والمثقفين، السياسية والمادية، مشتركة، واحدة. فجنبنا الى جنب، قاموا بالثورة ودافعوا عن بلادهم ضد الهجمات الخارجية. وانتصار الاشتراكية هو ثمرة جهودهم المشتركة. ووحدة الهدف (بناء الشيوعية) تسهم ايضا في

بالمئة منهم لا حزبون ولكن الشيوعيين منهم واللاحيين
يتمتعون في داخل هذه السوفييتات نفس السياسة. ولذا،
تتمتع السوفييتات بمساندة الشعب كله، وكان نشاطها مشمرا
ومنطبقا على مصالح الشفيلة الحيوية.

ان السلطة السوفييتية مستمدة من الشعب. ولا يتجلى هذا
في كون جميع المواطنين يشتركون بنشاط في انتخابات
هيآت الحكم وحسب بل ايضا في كون الشعب كله يسهم
على الدوام في تصريف امور الدولة.

ويبلغ عدد النواب في السوفييتات اكثر من مليون و ٥٠٠
الف نائب وحين يختار الناخبون نائبيهم، يعطونه «توصيات»،
اي لوائح باقتراحات يعتبرون ان من الضروري تطبيقها. وعلى
هذه التوصيات يقوم نشاط السوفييتات. وهكذا تنحس ارادة
الشعب بواسطة السوفييتات والهيآت التي تنشئها. وتوصيات
الناخبين هي بنظر النواب، بمثابة برنامج للعمل. وما من احد
منهم يدخر جهوده في سبيل تحقيق هذا البرنامج. وبفترات
دورية، يقدم النواب تقارير عن نشاطهم لناخبهم ويتلقون
منهم توصيات جديدة. ويحق للناخبين استدعاء نائبيهم ونزع
نيابته قبل انتهاء مدتها، اذا رأوا انه لم يكن عند ثقتهم.

ولدى السوفييتات المحلية لجان دائمة تهتم بشتى القضايا
الهامة (المالية والموازنة، الصناعة المحلية، الصحة، التعليم العام،
التجارة، الخ..)، وهى ايضا وسيلة لاشترك الجماهير في تصريف
شؤون الدولة.

بيكوف، العامل التعدين، الذى جدد اساليب الخراطة، والعامل
المنجمى فاليفورا، وعاملة النسيج ماتيروكوفا، ورؤساء كوخوزات
طلعية امثال بوسميتنى (اوكرانيا) واورلوفسكى (بيلوروسيا)،
والمهندسة الكازاخية سابيتوفا، والكاتب التوفينى توكا، والموسيقار
سولوفيف- سيدوى، وكثيرين غيرهم.

وقد انتخب عمال احد المناجم فى الدونباس نائبا فى
السوفييت الاعلى عامل القاع سريبنوفيتش الذى ظفر بتقدير
جميع رفاقه بفضل مبادرته وعماله الزاخر بالاخلاص والتفانى.
وانتخب كوخوزيو احد الاقضية الريفية فى اوكرانيا مربية
القر كبيريتشكو نائبة عنهم. فقد مارست مهنتها اكثر من
٢٠ سنة، اكتسبت خلالها تجربة كبيرة وبذلت الكثير من
الجهود من اجل تحسين شروط المعيشة فى كوخوزها.

قد يتغير تركيب نواب السوفييت الاجتماعى تبعاً للخصائص
المنطقية. ولكن جوهر السوفييتات الطبقي لا يتغير. فهى تتألف من
ممثلى العمال والفلاحين الكوخوزيين والمثقفين الكادحين. وبواسطة
السوفييتات، يقود خيرة ممثلى الشعب الدولة باسم الشعب.
والاغلبية الساحقة من النواب تجاوزوا الاربعين، ولذا
كانوا ذوى تجربة متينة فى الحياة. وكثيرون منهم حائزون
على اوسمة ومداليات او يحملون لقب بطل الاتحاد السوفييتى
او لقب بطل العمل الاشتراكى.

فى العام الحالى، ١٩٥٧، بلغ عدد النواب فى السوفييتات
المحلية فى جمهورية روسيا الاتحادية ٨٤٤٣٣٧ نائبا، ٥٤.٥

البلدى فى مدينة غوروى باقرار الميزانية السنوية المحامية، كما اهتم فضلا عن ذلك، بقضايا عمل الصناعة المحلية، وبحالة التجارة والنقلات واعمال التصليح والتجميل. وبحث ايضا رصيد السنة الدراسية. وفى ١٩٥٦، رسم هذا السوفييت نفسه، باشتراك الاهلين الواسع، وطبق وما يزال يطبق بنجاح برنامجا مفصلا لتشييد المساكن والمباني العامة، كما رسم وطبق برنامجا آخر لاعمال التصليح والتجميل. وقد تحققت كل هذه النشاطات بنجاح بفضل المساعدة الفعالة التى اسديتها فئات غفيرة من الاهلين. وفى السنة نفسها، ١٩٥٦، ازداد اعمال بناء المساكن مرتين.

والحكومة السوفييتية تسعى دائما الى الاطلاع تماما على ارادة الشعب وتطلب منه ان يساعدها بنصائحه، وفى هذا الساوك دليل على ديموقراطية السلطة السوفييتية. فان مشروع دستور الاتحاد السوفييتى، مثلا، قد ناقشه الشعب. فخلال سنة اشهر تقريبا، درس الشعب هذا المشروع وقدم اقتراحاته حوله. كذلك كان الحال سنة ١٩٥٦ فيما يتعلق بمشروع قانون التقاعد (المعاشات) وسنة ١٩٥٧ فيما يتعلق باقتراحات اللجنة المركزية للحزب الشيوعى فى الاتحاد السوفييتى ومجلس الوزراء بصداد اعادة تنظيم ادارة الصناعة والبناء.

وثمة شكل آخر واسع الانتشار فى الاتحاد السوفييتى لاشتراك الجماهير فى نصريف الشؤون العامة، ونعنى به المجالس العامة (conférences) الوطنية (اي لعموم البلاد) لشغيلة فروع الاقتصاد على اختلافها.

ويختار قسم من اعضاء هذه اللجان من نواب السوفييت والقسم الاخر من المواطنين العاديين. ففى بيلوروسيا، مثلا، ١٠٠٠٠ لجنة دائمة تضم اكثر من ٤٧ الف نائب وزهاء ٥٠ الفا من العمال والكولخوزيين والمستخدمين وربات البيوت. وفى جمهورية التتر ذات الحكم الذاتى، انشأت السوفييتات المحلية اكثر من ٦٠٠٠ لجنة يشترك فى نشاطها عشرات الالاف من شغيلة المدن والارياف.

وفى عموم الاتحاد السوفييتى، تضم لجان السوفييتات المحلية على اختلافها اكثر من مليون و ٣٠٠ الف شخص، عدا نواب هذه السوفييتات.

وثمة ايضا هيآت اجتماعية اخرى تسدى مساعدة فعالة الى سوفييتات النواب، ونعنى بها لجان الاحياء (او الشوارع) ولجان المساعدة لدى ادارة المباني، الخ. ففى مدينة غوروى، مثلا، زهاء ٤٠٠ من لجان الشوارع يشترك فيها آلاف الاشخاص. وهذه اللجان تساعد بجمع وسائلها فى اعمال تجميل المدينة وتحسين احوالها الصحية، وتنظم اوقات لهو الاطفال.

وسلطة الهيآت التمثيلية تتوقف الى حد كبير على الصلاحيات الممنوحة لها. فالسوفييتات تهتم باهم المسائل التى تتعلق بالادارة والاقتصاد والثقافة فى المنطقة الواقعة ضمن اختصاصها. وهى التى تتناقش وتبت فى البرامج الاقتصادية والميزانيات، وعديدة ومتنوعة هى القضايا التى يترتب على السوفييتات المحامية حلها. مثلا، فى ١٩٥٥، اهتم السوفييت

ان المنظمة التى تهتم بهذا الامر انما هى الحزب الشيوعى فى الاتحاد السوفييتى، الذى اشأه لينين والنزى يضم اكثر من سبعة ملايين عضو. والحزب، بموجب الدستور، هو النواة القائدة لجمعية هيآت الشغيلة، سواء منها الاجتماعية ام الحكومية. وهو يضم فى صفوفه اوفر العمال والفلاحين والمثقفين وعيا ونشاطا. ان النضال البطولى الطويل الذى خاضه الحزب الشيوعى دفاعا عن مصالح الشغيلة قد اكسبه ثقتهم وتأييدهم ومؤازرتهم بالاجماع. وهو الذى كان زعيم ومنظم ثورة اكتوبر ١٩١٧، وتحت قيادته انتصر السوفييتيون على الغزاة النازيين. وهو الذى يقود بنجاح معركة بناء المجتمع الجديد. والحزب الشيوعى هو القائد السياسى للشعب السوفييتى كله. الا اننا نبادر الى القول بان لا يأمر ولا يحل محل اية من الهيآت الادارية او المنظمات الاجتماعية. انما يوجه نشاطها عن طريق الشيوعيين الذين يعملون فيها. ففى كل معمل ومصنع او اى من المشروعات الاخرى، وفى كل دائرة حكومية وسوفوز، خلية حزبية. وهذه الخلايا الحزبية هى التى تؤثر فى شغيلة هذه الهيآت واخصاصيها، عن طريق الاقتناع، وتدفعهم الى تطبيق قرارات الحزب وتوجيهاته. وفعالية هذه الطريقة انما اثبتتها كل تجربة بناء الاشتراكية فى الاتحاد السوفييتى.

والحزب الشيوعى لا يخشى ابدا ان يقول الحقيقة للشعب. فهو يسلط النور بجرأة على الاخطاء والنواقص فى نشاط

ففى ابريل (نيسان) ١٩٥٦، انعقد فى موسكو المؤتمر العام الوطنى لشغيلة البناء الشباب. وقد انتقدوا فيه مسلك الادارات العامة انتقادا شديدا، وقدموا اقتراحاتهم لوزارة بناء المصانع (المحطات) الكهربائية، وشاروا الى قلة اهتمام هذه الوزارة بشروط حياة العمال فى ورشة محطة براتسك. كذلك انتقدوا وزارة الثقافة لانها لم تعمل شيئا لتحسين الخدمات الثقافية المعمة لشغيلة البناء.

وفى السنوات الاخيرة، انعقدت مؤتمرات عامة اخرى، منها ما عقده عمال السكك الحديدية، وشغيلة محطات الآلات والتراكتورات، وشغيلة الزراعة، وشغيلة التغذية العامة، الخ... وبوجه عام، يتيح هذا النوع من الاجتماعات استخلاص الامكانيات الكامنة فى الفرع الاقتصادى المعنى وتعجيل تقدمه. وهى عادة ما تنتهى باقرار توجيهات ونداءات الى جميع شغيلة المهنة المعنية.

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فى الاتحاد السوفييتى، جملة من منظمات الشغيلة الجماهيرية، ونعنى بها السوفييتات، والنقابات، والكومسومول (منظمة الشبيبة الشيوعية اللينينية) والتعاونيات، وشتى الجمعيات الثقافية والجمعيات العلمية، الخ...

من وكيف يقود جميع هذه الهيآت، وينسق جهودها الرامية الى هدف واحد؟

بدور من الدرجة الاولى، وهى منظمات لاجزبية ينضم الشغيلة اليها بملء اختيارهم وحسب مهنتهم. وجميع العمال والمستخدمين السوفييتيين تقريبا هم نقابيون. وتضم النقابات السوفييتية ٤٦ مليون عضو.

وباسم كل الشغيلة، تعقد اللجان النقابية فى المصانع والمعامل وغيرها من المشروعات وفى السوفخوزات، ومحطات الآلات والتراكتورات، الخ، مع الادارة، عقودا جماعية تتعين فيها الالتزامات المتبادلة. وتناضل النقابات فى سبيل تنفيذ برامج تطوير الاقتصاد الوطنى، وتهتم برفع مستوى العمال والمستخدمين المهنى وبتحسين شروط حياتهم وعملهم.

وان كان القانون فى الدولة السوفييتية يحمى مصالح الشغيلة، فمن الممكن احيانا ان تمس مصالح بعضهم. ولذا كان على المنظمات النقابية ان تتدخل فى مثل هذه الحالة، وتلك مهمة من مهامها الاولى.

والنقابات هى التى تتصرف بشبكة دور الراحة والمصحات فى الاتحاد السوفييتى. وهى التى توجه نشاط قصور الثقافة والنوادي والملاعب الرياضية، التى هى اداة جبارة لتربية الشعب وتنقيفه. فى ١٩٥٦، كان تحت تصرف النقابات اكثر من ٢٦ الف مكتبة، و ١٠٥٠٠ من النوادي ودور الثقافة، و ١٣٢٤ ملعبا.

كذلك تضطلع النقابات بدور سياسى. فبموجب الدستور، يحق لها ان تقدم مرشحيها الى جميع الانتخابات بما فيها انتخابات السوفييت الاعلى.

الصناعة، والزراعة والدوائر العامة، ويدعو الشغيلة الى مكافحة هذه الاخطا والنواقص بحزم وجد. والحزب الشيوعى هو الحزب السياسى الوحيد فى الاتحاد السوفييتى.

ومرد هذا اسباب تاريخية واضحة. قبل ثورة اكتوبر، كان فى روسيا عدة احزاب تخدم مصالح البورجوازية وكبار الملاكين العقاريين. وقد زالت كل هذه الاحزاب من المسرح السياسى مع الطبقات المستثمرة التى كانت تمثلها. وكان ثمة ايضا قبل الثورة بعض الاحزاب البورجوازية الصغيرة، وقد خافت هذه الاحزاب من الثورة الشعبية ودب فيها الهلع والنعر، فالتجهدت ضد الشعب وانتقلت فى نهاية الامر الى معسكر الردة الرجعية، الى معسكر اعداء الثورة، كاشفة بساوكها هذا عن حقيقة جوهرها، وقد اقتنع العمال والفلاحون بتجربتهم الطويلة، بان الحزب الشيوعى وحده يناضل بتفان واخلاص فى سبيل سعادة الدين يشتغلون ويكدحون ويقودهم فى السبيل القويم.

والحزب الشيوعى يعبر على خير وجه عن مصالح وآمال طبقتي العمال والفلاحين، اللتين يتألف منهما المجتمع السوفييتى، وهو يعتمد على ثقة اوسع الجماهير الكادحة، وهنا ينبوع قوته ومكانته.

وثمة آلاف من الروابط تربط الحزب الشيوعى بمختلف المنظمات الجماهيرية. وبين هذه المنظمات، تضطلع النقابات

بقيادة منظمة الفتيان الطلائع التي تضم في صفوفها ملايين عديدة من الاعضاء.

وقد ضرب الكومسومول، خلال تأريخه، امثلة رائعة من الوطنية. ورواية «الفولاذ سقيناه» لاوستروفسكى، ورواية «الحرس الفتى» لفادييف، اللتان ترسمان لوحة حقيقية صادقة لهآثر الكومسومول، قد ترجمتا الى معظم لغات العالم. وقد اطلق اسم «كومسومولسك» على مدينة بناها الشبان السوفييتيون بايديهم في قلب التايغا، على ضفة نهر آمور. وعندما وضعت مهمة استصلاح ملايين الهكتارات من الاراضى العذراء والبور، كان شباب الكومسومول الفصيلة الرئيسية بين مئات الآلاف من المتطوعين الذين استجابوا لنداء الحزب. وفي ١٩٥٦، لى آلاف من الوطنيين السوفييتيين الشباب بحماسة دعوة الحزب الشيوعى والحكومة الى العمل فى ورشات سيبيريا، والشمال الاقصى، والشرق الاقصى. وليس الكومسومول بمثابة مساعد مخلص وامين للحزب الشيوعى وحسب، انما هو ايضا بمثابة احتياطي يستكمل الحزب صفوفه بواسطته.

والعديد من المنظمات العامة والادارات فى الاتحاد السوفييتى، التي تضم عشرات الملايين من العمال والفلاحين، والمتقنين، تمحض الحزب الشيوعى كل ثقته، وهى تقبل بهل الرضى قيادة الحزب وتتبع سياسته.

وعلى النقابات يعتمد الحزب الشيوعى مباشرة من اجل تطبيق شتى التدابير الجماهيرية ولاسيما منها الرامية الى تحسين الانتاج والثقافة فى الاتحاد السوفييتى. وبواسطة اعضاءه النقابيين، يمارس الحزب تأثيره فى كل جمهور العمال والمستخدمين اللاحزبيين.

وذمة شكل آخر لتنظيم الشغيلة هو التعاونيات. فى الاتحاد السوفييتى تعاونيات للانتاج (كولخوزات، ارتيلات)، وتعاونيات للاستهلاك، واوسع الفئات انتشارا، هى تعاونيات الانتاج الزراعى، اى الكولخوزات التى تضم معظم الفلاحين على اساس حرية الرضى والاضمام. وكثيرون من شغيلة الارياف منضمون الى تعاونيات الاستهلاك التى كانت تعد فى ١٩٥٦ اكثر من ٣٣ مليون عضو. وهذه التعاونيات تهتم بشراء المنتجات الزراعية وبيعها سلع الاستهلاك الدارج. وهى التى تقوم بدور الوسيط لبيع الفائض من انتاج الكولخوزات.

والحزب الشيوعى يشجع جميع اشكال التعاون، وبهذا يزيد من اشتراك الجماهير الفلاحية الغفيرة فى البناء الشيوعى. ويقوى الروابط بين المدن والارياف.

ومنظمة الشبيبة الشيوعية اللينينية (الكومسومول) منظمة لاجزبية تضم فى صفوفها اكثر من ١٨.٥ مليوناً من شباب المدن والارياف. وتتنقوم مهمتها فى مساعدة الدولة على تثقيف الاهلين بروح الشيوعية. والى الكومسومول عهد الحزب ايضا

صحيح ان القانون يقر بالملكية الفردية الصغيرة (حرفيين، فلاحين غير منضمين الى الكولخوزات). ولكنه ممنوع على اصحابها استثمار عمل الآخرين. وبالغاء الملكية الخاصة لوسائل الانتاج فى الاتحاد السوفييتى، قضى بالتالى على امكانية استثمار الانسان للانسان. ففى الدولة الاشتراكية لا يشتغل منتجو الخيرات المادية فى صالح صاحب العمل، بل فى صالح المجتمع، اى فى صالح انفسهم. ولهذا كان كل شغل ذا مصاحبة عميقة فى نهوض الانتاج الاشتراكى، فى توطد اقتصاد البلاد.

ان المجتمع الاشتراكى لا يعرف لا المزاحمة ولا الركض وراء الربح الزائد ولا فوضى الانتاج. والاقتصاد الوطنى يتطور على اساس مبدأ جديد اطلاقاً، على اساس البرمجة. وهكذا يتلافى خطر الازمات الاقتصادية والبطالة والبؤس. وفى المدن كما فى الريف، تتحسن شروط حياة الشغيلة بدأب وانتظام. وقد غير تأميم وسائل الانتاج كل التغيير توزع الدخل الوطنى، فام يبق فى صالح هذه او تلك من الفئات الاجتماعية، بل غدا فى صالح الامة بأسرها. فثلاثة ارباع الدخل الوطنى تقريباً تستخدم لتلبية مطالب الشعب المادية والثقافية. ويرصد الباقي لتوسيع الانتاج الاشتراكى وسائر الحاجات الاجتماعية. وفى ١٩٥٥، ازداد الدخل الوطنى فى الاتحاد السوفييتى ١٧ مرة او نحو ذلك عما كان عليه فى روسيا ١٩١٣، وما ينفك فى ازدياد. اما الشكل الاساسى للملكية الاشتراكية فهو

وبين المنظمات العامة الاخرى فى الاتحاد السوفييتى، نذكر لجنة منظمات الشباب فى الاتحاد السوفييتى، ولجنة النساء السوفييتيات واللجنة السوفييتية للدفاع عن السلام، وكذلك الجمعية السوفييتية للعلاقات الثقافية مع الخارج (فوكس) والخ...

والسوفييتيون على صلة بالرأى العام التقدمى فى الخارج. فهم يشتركون بنشاط فى اتحاد النقابات العالمى، واتحاد النساء الديموقراطى العالمى، واتحاد الشباب الديموقراطى العالمى، وغيرها من المنظمات العالمية، باذلين قسارى جهدهم لتوطيد السلام والصداقة بين الشعوب.

ثروات البلاد ملك الشعب

ما هى الملكية الاشتراكية؟ حين يقتضى تحديد جوهر نظام من الانظمة الاجتماعية، يكفى طرح السؤال التالى: من يملك وسائل الانتاج؟ المجتمع بأسره ام الافراد؟ ان الملكية الجماعية لادوات ووسائل الانتاج سائدة فى جميع فروع الاقتصاد فى الاتحاد السوفييتى. وجميع الخيرات المادية التى يبدعها الشغيلة توضع تحت تصرف المجتمع بأسره. فالامة تملك ثروات البلاد الطائلة. وتلك ميزة المجتمع الاشتراكى الرئيسية.

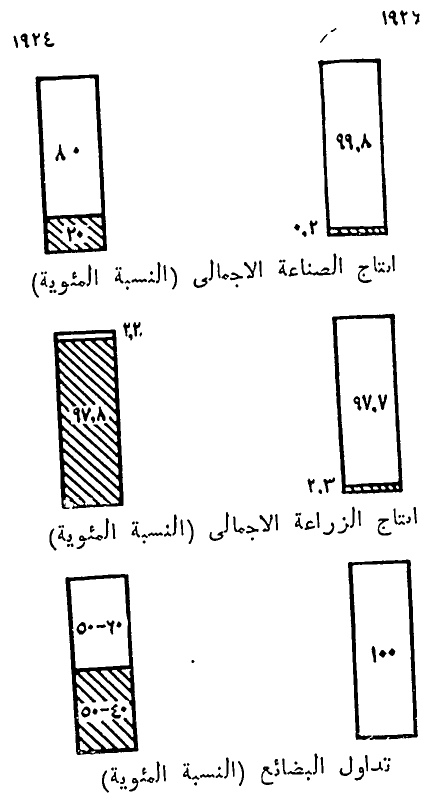
فان اقتصاد الاتحاد السوفييتى يقوم على نظام الاقتصاد الاشتراكى وعلى الملكية الاشتراكية لادوات ووسائل الانتاج.

ملكية الدولة (الاملاك الوطنية). فان الارض، وباطن الارض، والمياه، والغابات، والمعامل، والمصانع، ومناجم الفحم والمعادن، والنقلات والمصارف، والبريد والبرق والهاتف، والمشروعات الزراعية الكبيرة التي تنظمها الدولة (السوفخوزات، محطات الآلات والتراكتورات، الخ)، والمشروعات البلدية والاغلبية الساحقة من المنازل فى المدن، كل ذلك هو ملك الدولة بموجب دستور الاتحاد السوفييتى.

وقد نشأت الملكية الاشتراكية للدولة مع نشوء سلطة السوفييت. وكانت تشمل فى البدء الارض والمشروعات الكبيرة والمصارف التي كان يملكها الرأسماليون وكبار الملاكين العقارين والتي امتتها سلطة السوفييت. اما اليوم، فهي تشمل بخاصة المشروعات التي خاقتها الشعب بكدهه خلال البرامج الخماسية. وهي السائدة الآن فى الاقتصاد الوطنى وتشمل اكثر من تسعة اعشار وسائل الانتاج فى الاتحاد السوفييتى.

وهناك شكل آخر لملكية الاشتراكية، هو الملكية التعاونية الكولخوزية، وهي تشمل اموال وممتلكات مختلف الاستثمارات التعاونية والكولخوزات، (المباني العامة، والمواسى وادوات العمل، والمنتجات الجاهزة).

اما الفرق بين هذين الشكلين من الملكية، فهو ان ملكية الدولة هي ملكية الشعب كله، فى حين ان ملكية التعاونيات والكولخوزات هي ملكية جماعات معينة، هي ملكية فئة.



القسم الاشتراكي
القسم الخاص

التغيرات فى اقتصاد الاتحاد السوفييتى نتيجة
لانتصار الاشتراكية

ومن اهم اشكال اشتراك العمال فى ادارة المعمل او اى من المشروعات، العقد الجماعى. وهو ينص على التزامات الفريقين: يتعهد العمال بتحسين مردود العمل ونوعية الانتاج، بينما تتعهد الادارة باتقان وتنظيم العمل وتحسين شروط حياة الشغيلة وسكنهم. ويعقد الشغيلة اجتماعات عامة لبحث مشاريع العقود الجماعية.

اما الاجور، فان الحكومة هى التى تدفعها. والحال مختلف فى التعاونيات، مثلا فى الكولخوزات. فالكولخوز نفسه وما ينتجه ملك الجماعة الفلاحية الكولخوزية. والقضايا الرئيسية المتعلقة بتنظيم الكولخوز وادارته انما يقرها الكولخوزيون فيما يسمى بالنظام الداخلى للارتيل الزراعى. فادارة الكولخوز منوطة بالجمعية العمومية، وهى تنتخب هيئة الادارة والرئيس. وفى فترات منتظمة، تقدم هيئة الادارة تقارير عن نشاطها للكولخوزيين. اما الاجور، فتدفع عينا ونقدا من الارباح التى يجنيها الكولخوز.

والملكية الفردية موجودة هى ايضا فى الاتحاد السوفييتى، وهى تشمل المداخيل والتوفيرات التى يجنيها السوفييتيون من عملهم، والمسكن العائلى وملحقاته، والادوات والاغراض المنزلية على انواعها، كذلك يملك الفلاحون وكثيرون من العمال والمستخدمين ماشية وطيورا ملكية خاصة. الا ان الملكية الفردية فى الاتحاد السوفييتى تتسم بطابع يختلف تماما عن الطابع الذى تتسم به فى البلدان الرأسمالية،

ينجم من ذلك ان ملكية الدولة يديرها اناس تنتدبهم الحكومة لهذا الغرض، وان الملكية التعاونية يديرها اعضاء هذه التعاونية او منتدبوهم. وانتاج مشروعات الدولة لا يوزع بين المنتجين، انما يعود بملكته الى صندوق اموال الدولة. بينما يبقى انتاج التعاونيات تحت تصرف اعضائها. وبصرف النظر عن هذه الفوارق بين مشروعات الدولة وبين الاستثمارات التعاونية، يظل الاساس واحدا، تظل وسائل الانتاج ملكا اجتماعيا، ويشغل المنتجون بصورة جماعية، مشتركة، وفقا لبرنامج موضوع سلفا، دون ان يكون ثمة استثمار الانسان للانسان. وفى كلا الحالتين، يطبق مبدأ توزيع الاتعاب وفقا للعمل. كيف ينظم العمل فى مشروعات الدولة؟ يمكن ايضا هذا الامر بمثال اى معمل من المعامل. يرأس المعمل مدير تعينه الحكومة ويوجه جميع نشاطات المعمل الاقتصادية وهو مسؤول عن الحالة العامة فى المعمل وعن تنفيذ البرنامج المقرر. والشغيلة، من عمال ومستخدمين، وكذلك منظماتهم النقابية، يشتركون اشتراكا نشيطا فى انتاج الانتاج، ويساعدون الادارة فى ازالة النواقص. وجميعهم يهمهم ان يعمل معملهم بصورة لا عيب فيها وان ينفذ برنامج الدولة. ومدير المعمل يعتمد على تجربة الشغيلة، ومعرفتهم، وخبرتهم، وما يتحلون به من روح المبادرة والابتكار. وبهذا الصدد، تضطلع شتى انواع الاجتماعات والمجالس العامة لبحث قضايا الانتاج دورا كبيرا جدا

النشاط الاقتصادي بدقة ودون هزات، انما يستحيل ايضا التقدم الاقتصادي بوجه عام.
وبرمجة الاقتصاد الوطنى بكايته ممكنة لان ادوات ووسائل الانتاج الرئيسية متمركزة فى يد الدولة.
ان البرمجة تتيح للدولة الاشتراكية تطوير الاقتصاد الوطنى وفقا لحاجات البلاد، واجتنب التفاوت والفوارق فى كميات الانتاج واصنافه، وتأمين التناسق والانسجام الضرورى بين نشاط مختلف الفروع، وتوزيع قوى الانتاج توزيعا صحيحا، واستخدام اليد العاملة والمواد الاولية استخداما سيدا كاملا.

والبرمجة من صلاحية لجنة الدولة للبرمجة لدى مجلس الوزراء (غوسبلان) ووزارات الاتحاد السوفيتى. وبرامج تطوير الاقتصاد الوطنى على انواع. منها سنوية، ومنها لخمس سنوات، ومنها لفتترات اطول.

والبرامج تنص على استمرار تقدم الانتاج الاشتراكى، وعلى هذا الاساس ترسم وتوفر الشروط الضرورية لرفع مستوى الحياة ومستوى الاجور، ولازدهار بناء العمارات المعدة للسكن، والمدارس، والمكتبات والنوادى والمستشفيات والمصحات ودور الاطفال.

ولذا من الطبيعى ان يبذل الشغباة والاختصاصيون فى الصناعة والزراعة قصارى جهودهم لتنفيذ البرامج وتجاوزها ولاكتشاف واستغلال احتياطات الانتاج.

فان القانون السوفيتى يمنع تحول الملكية الفردية، الخاصة، الى اداة استثمار، الى مصدر لمداخيل غير ناجمة عن العمل. فامواطن السوفيتى لا يستطيع، مثلا، ان يملك بيتين، الا اذا كان يستخدم احدهما بصورة مؤقتة (البيت الريفى او المصيف). اما مصدر الملكية الفردية، الخاصة، فهو عمل السوفيتيين فى المعامل والمصانع والمناجم والكولخوزات وغير ذلك من المشروعات، هو اشتراكهم فى الانتاج الجماعى الاشتراكى.

والقانون يحى ملكية السوفيتيين الخاصة، الفردية. كذلك يقر القانون بالاستثمارات الفردية، الحرفية والفلاحية، اى انه يقر بالتالى بالملكية الخاصة لادوات ووسائل الانتاج ولكنه يمنع استخدام اليد العاملة المأجورة. فى مطلع ١٩٥٦، بلغ عدد هؤلاء الفلاحين الفرديين والحرفيين غير التعاونيين مع افراد اسرهم زهاء مليون شخص.

الاقتصاد المبرمج. من مميزات النظام الاشتراكى الجهورية، انه اقتصاد مبرمج، ان ادارته موجهة، خاضعة لبرنامج مرسوم سلفا. فان كل مظاهر النشاط الاقتصادى فى الاتحاد السوفيتى تعتمد على مبادئ العام ويوجهها برنامج الدولة. ما هى فائدة البرنامج؟ فى بلاد يدير شؤونها الشعب، يشكل الاقتصاد الوطنى كالا موحدا، وجميع فروعها تتداخل وتتشابك بصورة وثيقة الى حد ان البرنامج يغدو ضروريا وواجبا. فبدون برنامج شامل، لا تستحيل فقط حركة

واردات الميزانية ٥١ مليارا و ٥٠٠ مليون روبل، اي ٨.٤ بالمئة من مجمل الواردات.

وجدير بنا ان نتوقف عند قسم «النفقات» وابوابه وفصوله. فان النصيب الاساسى من «النفقات» مخصص لتمويل الاقتصاد الوطنى. ففى ميزانية ١٩٥٧، مثلا، بلغت النفقات ٦٠٤ مليارات و ٥٨٠ مليون روبل، رصد منها ٢٤٤ مليارا و ٦٥٨ مليون روبل لهذا الباب، و ١٨٨ مليارا و ٣٩٨ مليوناً للحاجات الثقافية والاجتماعية. اما اعتمادات الدفاع الوطنى، فانها تبلغ سدس اعتمادات الميزانية. وتجدر الاشارة الى ان هذه الاعتمادات تهبط بانتظام. ففى السنوات الاخيرة، خفضت الحكومة السوفيتية عدد قوات الجيش زهاء مليونى رجل مقدمة بذلك البرهان الساطع على رغبتها فى التعايش السامى مع جميع بلدان العالم.

العمل فى الاتحاد السوفيتى. قضت الاشتراكية على استثمار العمل. والمورد الوحيد لمعيشة الناس فى الاتحاد السوفيتى، انما هو عملهم. وما من احد يستطيع ان يلقى على غيره نصيبه من الجهد الاجتماعى. والعمل فى الاتحاد السوفيتى، بموجب الدستور، واجب وقضية شرف بالنسبة لكل مواطن قادر على العمل. فعلى عمل العمال والفلاحين، على نتائج عملهم يتوقف رفاههم المادى ونجاحات البناء الاشتراكى.

وبوسع كل امرىء فى الاتحاد السوفيتى انما مواهبه وكفاياته واثباتها فى العمل بصورة ابداعية. والسلطة السوفيتية

وثمة الآن تقليد راسخ يتهشى عليه الشغباء السوفيتيون، هو ان ينجزوا البرامج الخماسية قبل الموعد من حيث اهم المعدلات المرسومة فيها. فالبرنامج الخماسى الخامس مثلا تحقق فى مدى اربع سنوات واربعة اشهر، ازداد خلالها الانتاج الصناعى اكثر من ثلاث مرات بالنسبة لعام ١٩٤٠، وماخيل الشغيلة الفعلية زهاء مرتين. واليوم، ينفذ الشعب السوفيتى بنجاح مهمات البرنامج الخماسى السادس.

ان ميزانية الدولة هى جزء لا يتجزأ من برامج الاقتصاد الوطنى. فعند توزيع النفقات والواردات بين ميزانية الاتحاد السوفيتى العامة وميزانيات الجمهوريات المتحدة، تؤخذ بعين الاعتبار خصائص وحاجات كل من الجمهوريات. وتتبع الطريقة نفسها فيما يتعلق بميزانيات الجمهوريات المتحدة والجمهوريات والمناطق والاقاليم ذات الحكم الذاتى.

والميزة التى تميز الميزانية السوفيتية هى ان الواردات تتجاوز النفقات دائما، وانها لا تعرف العجز.

وفضلا عن ذلك، يتألف سواد الواردات من المبالغ التى تدفعها المعامل والمصانع وغيرها من المشروعات والمنظمات الاشتراكية (وهذه المبالغ عبارة عن الضرائب المفروضة على الدخل والارباح). اما ما يدفعه المكلفون للميزانية، فهو ضئيل. ففى ١٩٥٧، بلغ النصيب المترتب على المكلفين من

تنظيم نشاطات الناس على نطاق المجتمع بأسره وفقا لبرنامج موضوع سلفا.

ولجميع المواطنين دون اى تمييز واستثناء الحق فى العمل وفى تقاضى الاجور والانتعاب وفق المبدأ الاشتراكى، اى وفق نوعية وكمية العمل المبذول.

وفى الاتحاد السوفييتى تحدد اجور العمل وفقا لمبدأ مصاحبة الشغيل المادية. ذن يعمل احسن واكثر، يكسب اكثر، الامر الذى يسهم فى انماء الانتاجية وفى زيادة الوردود.

والشغيلة هم اسباد بلادهم الحقيقيةون، وهن مصالحتهم ان يشتغل كل مصنع ومعمل وسوفخوز وكولخوز وغير ذلك من المشروعات على خير وجه ممكن. وتتجلى هذه المصلحة فى المباراة الاشتراكية الجماهيرية وهى تعاون اخوى فى الكماح المشترك من اجل تقدم الاقتصاد الوطنى. ان هذه الحركة، الشعبية الجوهر، تشمل جميع فروع الاقتصاد. ويشترك فيها الشغيلة بصورة افرادية، والمشاغل فى المعامل والمصانع وغيرها من المشروعات، والفرق فى الكولخوزات، بل ان معامل ومصانع ومشروعات برمتها حتى فروعاً صناعية تشترك فى المباراة. كذلك توقع عقود المباراة الاشتراكية بين المدن والاقاليم والجمهوريات.

ان المباراة تحفز روح المبادرة والسعى، وتبرز المجددين وتكشف الاحتياطيات الكامنة. ففى مصنع السيارات ليخاتشوفى بموسكو، تم تطبيق زهاء ثلاثين الفا من الاقتراحات لاتقان

التنظيم وتنظيم العمل، وذلك خلال سنوات البرنامج الخماسى الخامس (١٩٥١-١٩٥٥)، الامر الذى اتاح للمصنع توفير ١٦٦٠٥ مليون روبل بالسنة.

ان الشغيلة الطابعيين يضربون المثل على انتاجية عالية فى العمل، ويطلعون الاخرين على تجربتهم ويساعدون المتأخرين منهم مما يحفز زملائهم الى الاقتداء بهم.

والدولة السوفييتية تكافى نجاحات الشغيلة. فتمنح الشغيلة الذين امتازوا فى العمل مكافآت نقدية وغيرها من المنح والفوائد. وثمة جملة من الاوسمة والمدايات تمنح لخبرة الشغيلة، مثل مدالية «البطولة فى العمل»، ومدالية «الاستحقاق فى العمل»، ووسام «راية العمل الحمراء»، وكذلك لقب «بطل العمل الاشتراكى».

التنظيم الادارى

اتحاد الشعوب الحرة. قضت ثورة اكتوبر الكبرى فى ١٩١٧ على سياسة الاستعباد القومى التى كانت تنتهجها القيصرية. ومنحت جميع شعوب روسيا الحرية والاستقلال والمساواة فى الحقوق. وقد ارتأى الحزب الشيوعى حل القضية الوطنية فى تجمع الامم بملء اختيارها، دون اى عنف من جانب امة ضد اخرى، وعلى اساس الثقة المطلقة، والاتحاد والوفاق الاخويين. وقد اتاح انتصار السلطة السوفييتية تحقيق مثل هذا الاتحاد.

وقد كانت الطبقة العاملة، كان شغيلة جميع الجمهوريات انفسهم، اصحاب المبادرة الى انشاء دولة وحيدة. وقد ارتكز تشكيل الدولة الجديدة، كما اقترح لينين، على فكرة الاتحاد الاختياري بين الجمهوريات على اساس المساواة المطلقة والوفاق الاخرى.

ففى ٣٠ ديسمبر (كانون الاول) ١٩٢٢، عقدت جمهورية روسيا الاتحادية واتحاد جمهوريات ما وراء القفقاس (وكان يضم جمهوريات اذربايجان وارمينيا وجورجيا) وكذلك جمهوريتا اوكرانيا وبييلوروسيا، معاهدة تحالف تقضى بتأسيس دولة وحيدة هي اتحاد الجمهوريات الاشتراكية السوفيتية. وتم انتخاب لجنة مركزية تنفيذية لاتحاد الجمهوريات الاشتراكية (او الاتحاد السوفيتي). وفيما بعد، اتسع تركيب الاتحاد السوفيتي. ففى ١٩٢٤، تأسست فى اراضى جمهورية تركمانيا ذات الحكم الذاتي (والتي كانت منضمة الى جمهورية روسيا الاتحادية) جمهوريتان متحدتان، هما جمهورية اوزبكستان وجمهورية تركمانيا اللتان اعرب كل من شعبيهما عن رغبته فى الانضمام الى الاتحاد السوفيتي. وفى ١٩٢٩، تحولت جمهورية تاجيكستان ذات الحكم الذاتي والمنضمة الى جمهورية اوزبكستان الى جمهورية متحدة. وفى ١٩٣٦، تأسست جمهوريتا كازاخستان وقرغيزيا وكانتا سابقا جمهوريتين ذات حكم ذاتى ضمن جمهورية روسيا الاتحادية. ثم انضمت ارمينيا واذربايجان وجورجيا الى الاتحاد السوفيتي وغدت جمهوريات متحدة. وهكذا كان الاتحاد السوفيتي يتشكل

ففى نوفمبر (تشرين الثانى) ١٩١٧، اقر مجلس مفوضى الشعب بيمان حقوق شعوب روسيا وقد اعان سيادة شعوب روسيا، ومساواتها، وحققها فى تقرير مصيرها بنفسها حتى الانفصال وتشكيل دول مستقلة، والى جميع الامتيازات القومية والدينية.

وقد كانت جمهورية روسيا الاشتراكية السوفيتية الاتحادية اول جمهورية سوفيتية فى العالم. كانت بموجب دستور ١٩١٨ اتحادا قام بين جمهوريات قومية على اساس حرية اتحاد شعوب حرة. وبعد جمهورية روسيا الاتحادية وعلى غرارها تأسست فى اراضى الامبراطورية القيصرية السابقة جمهوريات اوكرانيا، وبييلوروسيا، واذربايجان، وارمينيا، وجورجيا، وغيرها. الا ان المصالح الحيوية للشعوب ووحدة المثل العليا الثورية دفعت الجمهوريات السوفيتية الى الاتحاد، بل ان الحياة نفسها فرضت عليها هذا الاتحاد.

وانصرفت الجمهوريات السوفيتية بكل طاقتها الى انهاض اقتصادها ولم يكن ذلك بالامر السهل نظرا لما حل بالبلاد من خراب وفوضى. وما من جمهورية كان بوسعها ان تقوم بهذه المهمة بقواها الخاصة. ونلاحظ من جهة اخرى ان هذه الجمهوريات الفتية كانت تتشابه من حيث انظمتها الاقتصادية والسياسية وان الروابط بينها كانت عديدة ووثيقة. هذا مع العلم ان الاتحاد وحده يمكنها من الصمود بنجاح فى وجه الاعتداءات الخارجية.

والاتحاد السوفييتى عائلة من شعوب متساوية فى الحقوق، تعيش فى اوثق ما يكون من الصداقة والالفة. وخلال تطور الدولة السوفييتية المتعددة القوميات، طبق الحزب الشيوعى السياسة اللينينية القومية فوَقَر الشروط الضرورية لسنهوض جميع الشعوب سياسيا واقتصاديا وثقافيا، وبالدرجة الاولى اكثراها تأخرا. وقد تحققت، المساواة الحقيقية بين الامم بفضل انشاء هيآت ادارية قومية ومؤسسات ثقافية قومية، واعداد ملاكات اهلية. واعيد بناء اقتصاد المناطق القومية على اساس جديد، اشتراكى. وتطورت صناعاتها بسرعة بالغة. ففى ١٩٥٥ وبالنسبة لعام ١٩١٣، ازداد الانتاج الصناعى الاجمالى فى عموم الاتحاد السوفييتى ٢٧ مرة، وفى ارمينيا ٤١ مرة وفى قرغيزيا ٣٧ مرة. وتجدر الاشارة الى المساعدة الكبيرة التى اسديتها للشعوب الاخرى الامة الروسية التى كانت لديها ثقافة راقية، وبروليتاريا عديدة متمرسة فى معارك الثورة، وملاكات واسعة من العلماء والفننين. وبفضل مسانديتها الاخوية، نما اقتصاد جميع امم الاتحاد السوفييتى وازدهرت ثقافتها.

ان تعاون شعوب الاتحاد السوفييتى فى بناء الاشتراكية قد شد من لحة الصداقة فيما بينها. ومن البراهين الساطعة على ذلك، ما قدمته سنوات الحرب القاسية (١٩٤١-١٩٤٥). فان صداقة الشعوب السوفييتية وروح التعاضد والتعاون التى

من ١١ جمهورية عند اقرار الدستور الحالى. وفى ١٩٤٠، تأسست جمهورية مولدايا الاشتراكية السوفييتية. وفى السنة نفسها، دك شغيلة لانفيا (ليتوانيا) وليتوانيا واستونيا الحكم البرجوازى وأسسوا جمهوريات اشتراكية سوفييتية انضمت بهم، اختيارها الى الاتحاد السوفييتى.

وفى الوقت الحاضر، يتألف اتحاد الجمهوريات الاشتراكية السوفييتية من ١٥ جمهورية هى:

- جمهورية روسيا الاتحادية الاشتراكية السوفييتية،
- جمهورية اوكرانيا الاشتراكية السوفييتية،
- جمهورية بيلوروسيا الاشتراكية السوفييتية،
- جمهورية اوزبكستان الاشتراكية السوفييتية،
- جمهورية كازاخستان الاشتراكية السوفييتية،
- جمهورية جورجيا الاشتراكية السوفييتية،
- جمهورية اذربايجان الاشتراكية السوفييتية،
- جمهورية ليتوانيا الاشتراكية السوفييتية،
- جمهورية مولدايا الاشتراكية السوفييتية،
- جمهورية لانفيا الاشتراكية السوفييتية،
- جمهورية قرغيزيا الاشتراكية السوفييتية،
- جمهورية تاجيكستان الاشتراكية السوفييتية،
- جمهورية ارمينيا الاشتراكية السوفييتية،
- جمهورية تركمانيا الاشتراكية السوفييتية،
- جمهورية استونيا الاشتراكية السوفييتية.

والشعب السوفييتي، المنصرف الى بناء سامى رائع، يهتم عميق الاهتمام بتحسين العلاقات الثقافية والاقتصادية مع جميع الدول الاخرى. وبتعزيز الصلات الودية مع جميع البلدان الاجنبية، بصرف النظر من انظمةها الاجتماعية. كذلك تعتبر القوانين السارية المفعول فى الاتحاد السوفييتى الحرب العدوانية جريمة ضد الانسانية من اشد الجرائم. الجمهوريات المتحدة. جميع الجمهوريات السوفييتية متساوية فى الحقوق. وليس فى الاتحاد السوفييتى امة سائدة، مهيمنة، واخرى مسودة، مستعبدة، كما كان الحال فى عهد الامبراطورية القيصرية. وكل جمهورية، بصرف النظر عن مساحة اراضيها وعدد سكانها، هى على قدم المساواة التامة مع سائر الجمهوريات. وفى الجمهوريات المتحدة، يمارس الشعب بنفسه سلطة الدولة، عن طريق السوفييتات المنتخبة بحرية والتي هى السيدة المطلقة فى ارضها القومية. وحقوق سيادة الجمهوريات غير محدودة الا بقدر التنازلات التى اجرتها بحرية عند انضمامها الى الاتحاد. اما فيما يتعلق بالمسائل الاخرى، فكل جمهورية تمارس سلطة الدولة بكل استقلال.

ولكل جمهورية دستورها، وهيأتها العليا للحكم، وشعارها وعامها الوطنى. وهى تصادق على برنامجها وعلى مبادئها، وتسن قوانينها. ولا يمكن تعديل حدود اراضيها دون موافقتها. وهى تبت بنفسها بمسائل التنظيم الادارى وتقسيم المناطق

تتحدى بها، كانتا القوة الكبرى التى لولاها لاستحال الانتصار على الفاشيستية، ولاستحالت النجاحات الرائعة فى انهاء الاقتصاد الوطنى وتطويره.

والاتحاد السوفييتى بمجموعه دولة ذات سيادة وكذلك كل من جمهورياته. فالنواحي الرئيسية من الحياة السياسية والاقتصادية والثقافية هى، بموجب الدستور، من صلاحية الاتحاد ونعنى بها الشؤون الخارجية، قضايا الحرب والسلم، تنظيم القوى المسلحة، امن الدولة، اقرار برامج الدولة والميزانية، الاشراف على النظام النقدى والتسليف، قبول اعضاء جدد فى الاتحاد. اما المسائل التى تبرز فيها الخصائص المحلية، فانها من صلاحية الجمهوريات.

والدستور السوفييتى ينص على مواطنة واحدة لكل الاتحاد. اى ان مواطنى هذه الجمهورية او تلك هم فى الوقت نفسه مواطنو الاتحاد السوفييتى.

وتعبيرا عن ارادة الشعوب التى يضمها، ينتهج الاتحاد السوفييتى بلا كلل ولا وهدن سياسة قوامها النضال فى سبيل السلم، ونابهة من جوهر النظام السوفييتى نفسه. فليس فى الاتحاد السوفييتى طبقات مستترة مصاحتها فى شن الحروب والاستيلاء على اراضى الغير واستعباد الشعوب الاخرى.

والاتحاد السوفييتى عدو كل اضطهاد قومى وعرقى. وهو يحترم حقوق الامم الاخرى واستقلالها، الكبيرة منها والصغيرة.

وكل هذا يساعد في تقدم الاقتصاد الوطنى فى الجمهوريات المتحدة ويوطد سيادتها وثقتها المتبادلة. هناك التشكيمات القومية ذات الحكم الذاتى. هناك جمهوريات متحدة تقطن فى اراضيها. عدا القومية الاصلية، مجموعات متراسة من شعوب اخرى او جماعات عرقية اخرى. وهذه بدورها تتمتع بالاستقلال الذاتى (او الحكم الذاتى) بشكل او آخر.

والمقصود فى الاتحاد السوفييتى بالحكم الذاتى وجود هيآت محاية للسلطة، ومحاكم، ودوائر، ومدارس، ومؤسسات اجتماعية وسياسية وتربوية، وتطبيق لغة الشعب المعنى او الجماعة العرقية المعنية فى جميع ميادين الحياة الاجتماعية والسياسية. والجمهوريات ذات الحكم الذاتى تمثل الشكل الاعلى للحكم الذاتى. ودساتيرها قائمة على اساس دستور الجمهورية المتحدة التى تنتسب اليها، ولكنها تعبر عن خصائصها. والجمهوريات ذات الحكم الذاتى صلاحيات واسعة فى جميع ميادين الحياة، والامة التى اسستها تتمتع فى اراضيها بجميع حقوق الحكم الذاتى الادارى.

وتضم جمهورية روسيا الاتحادية الجمهوريات ذات الحكم الذاتى التالية: بشكيريا، بوريات-مونغوليا، داغستان، كابدارينو-بالكاريا، كاريليا، كومى، مارى، موردوفيا، اوسيتيا الشمالية، تاتاريا، اودمورتيا، تشوفاشيا، تشيشينو-انغوشيا، ياقوتيا، وتضم جمهورية جورجيا جمهورية ابخازيا ذات الحكم الذاتى

الادارية والاقتصادية. واللغة الرسمية فى جميع الدوائر هى لغة الشعب الذى يقطن الجمهورية.

ومن حق الجمهورية المتحدة الانصال عن الاتحاد. وهى حرة بان تتعامل مباشرة مع الدول الاجنبية. وبان تعقد معها الاتفاقات وتبادل معها التمثيل الدبلوماسى والتوصلى. فان اوكرانيا وبياوروسيا، مثل الاتحاد السوفييتى، عضوان فى حياة الامم المتحدة.

وجميع الجمهوريات المتحدة تقوم على اساس اقتصادى واحد، هو النظام الاشتراكى للاقتصاد والملكية. وفى جميعها صناعة وزراعة متطورتان. ولكن اقتصاد كل من الجمهوريات يمتاز بخصائص وميزات. ولذا تتسع حقوقها وصلاحياتها بقدر ما تتطور وبقدر ما يزداد عدد افراد ملاكاتها الاهلية. فى ١٠ مايو (ايار) ١٩٥٧، افرت الدورة السابعة لمجلس السوفييت الاعلى فى الاتحاد السوفييتى قاوننا «حول انتان ادارة الصناعة والبناء». وينص هذا القانون على ادارة الورشات والشروعات وفقا للتقسيم المنطقى، وعن طريق هيآت تسمى «المجالس الاقتصادية»، وتعيّنها مجالس الوزراء فى الجمهوريات المتحدة ومسؤولة عن نشاطها امام مجالس الوزراء التى تعيّننها. ان هذا التنظيم الجديد يتيح اخذ امكانيات وموارد واستهلاك كل من الجمهوريات بالحسبان بمزيد من الكمال كما يتيح فى الوقت نفسه التعجيل فى نهوض القوى المنتجة فى عموم البلاد.

وحلت البيوت الرحبة، المنورة الدافئة، محل الاكواخ الضيقة الباردة المعشمة. ووضعت السلطة السوفيتية لياقوت كتابا قومية. وفي ياقوتيا الآن اكثر من ٦٠٠ مدرسة ابتدائية وثانوية، وعدة مدارس عليا، والآلاف المؤسسات الثقافية والتربوية. وفي اكتوبر (تشرين الاول) ١٩٥٦، فتحت جامعة ياقوتيا ابوابها، وهي اصغر جامعاتنا سنا. وفيها يدرس اكثر من ١٢٠٠ طالب لكي يصبحوا جيولوجيين ومهندسي مناجم واساندة اطباء. والمقاطعات ذات الحكم الذاتي تشكل شكلا آخر من الحكم الذاتي. فليس لها دساتير خاصة، انما حقوقها مسجلة في دستور الجمهورية المتحدة. وفي الاتحاد السوفيتي عشر مقاطعات ذات حكم ذاتي هي مقاطعات اوديشيه، اليهود، غورني-آلتاي، كالميكى، توفاء، هاكاسيا، تشركسى-كاراتشاييفو في جمهورية روسيا الاتحادية، ومقاطعة اوسيتية الجنوبية في جورجيا، ومقاطعة قره باغ الجبلية، في اذربايجان ومقاطعة غورنو-باداخشان في تاجيكستان. وحين تبلغ المقاطعات ذات الحكم الذاتي مستوى التطور السياسى والاقتصادى فى الجمهوريات ذات الحكم الذاتي، تحوّل الى جمهوريات. هكذا كانت الحال بالنسبة مثلا لمقاطعات الماريى والكومى. والشكل الثالث والاخير للحكم الذاتي فى الاتحاد السوفيتى، هو النواحي القومية. وعددها عشر. وجميعها فى جمهورية روسيا الاتحادية ولا سيما فى قسمها الشمالى.

وجمهورية اذجاريا ذات الحكم الذاتي، وتضم اذربايجان جمهورية ناخيتشفان ذات الحكم الذاتي، وتضم اوزبكستان جمهورية قره-قلمتيا ذات الحكم الذاتي. ولكى نبين كيف يتطور الاقتصاد وتحسن حياة الشغيلة فى الجمهوريات ذات الحكم الذاتي، تكفى الاشارة الى مثال جمهورية ياقوتيا التى تأسست عام ١٩٢٢. تشغل اراضى ياقوتيا قسما كبيرا من آسيا الشمالية الشرقية. جبال عالية مغطاة بالثلوج، وتوندره، وتايغا كثيفة تجوزها انهر جبارة، تلك هى طبيعة وسيما هذه البلاد القاسية الباردة. فيما مضى كانت ياقوتيا زاوية بائية، مجهولة، فى امبراطورية القيصرية، تقطنها قبائل بسبيل الانتراض، كالياقوت، والافينك، وغيرهم. وكات منفى سياسيا. ولم يكن فيها اى اثر للصناعة. وكان ٩٨ بالمئة من سكانها اميين. وفى ظل الحكم السوفيتى، تحرر الشعب البياقوتى من الاستثمار والاستعباد القومى وغدا سيد نفسه، وبانى الحياة الجديدة. ومن المحيط المتجمد الشمالى حتى جبال يابلونوفسكى، يجرى استصلاح واستثمار هذه البلاد الغنية بالنهب، والمرو، والفحم الحجري، والملح. وفى فترة وجيزة جدا، نشأ فى ياقوتيا عدد كبير من استثمارات النهب مجهزة بعناد عصرى. وباستمرار تتطور وتنمو المناجم، وصناعة الغابات، وصناعة الانشاءات البحرية، وصناعة صيد الاسماك. وقد بدأ استثمار الاراضى الغنية بالالاس.

السوفييت الاعلى حقوقا واسعة جدا فيما يتعلق بالتضاييا التي هي من صلاحية الاتحاد.

والسوفييت الاعلى هو الهيئة التشريعية الوحيدة للاتحاد السوفييتى. وهو الذى يؤلف حكومة الاتحاد، وينتخب المحكمة العليا ويعين المدعى العام للاتحاد السوفييتى. وجميع هذه الهيآت مازمة بتقديم تقارير عن نشاطها له. ومن حقه ايضا مراقبة نشاط اية هيأة من الهيآت الادارية. كل ذلك دليل على تمتع السوفييت الاعلى بكامل الصلاحيات والسلطات.

والسوفييت الاعلى للاتحاد السوفييتى يتألف من مجاسين: مجلس الاتحاد ومجاس القوميات. وسبب ذلك تعدد قوميات الاتحاد السوفييتى.

فان المجلس الاول، مجلس الاتحاد، يمثل المصالح المشتركة لجميع مواطنى الاتحاد السوفييتى بصرف النظر عن قوميتهم. ولكن، لعشرات الشعوب فى الاتحاد السوفييتى مصالح قومية خاصة تنبع من خصائص حياتها الاقتصادية والثقافية. والمجلس الثانى، مجلس القوميات، هو الذى يدافع عن هذه المصالح ويثقلها.

وطريقة الانتخاب الى مجلس القوميات ومعدلات التمثيل فيه تعكس الى حد ما غايته. فلكل ٣٠٠٠٠٠٠ نسمة نائب فى مجلس الاتحاد. اما فى مجلس القوميات فلكل جمهورية متحدة ٢٥ نائبا، ولكل جمهورية ذات حكم ذاتى ١١ نائبا، ولكل

ولهذه النواحي، شأنها شأن التشكيلات الاخرى ذات الحكم الذاتى، هيأتها الخاصة للسلطة، هي سوفييتات نواب الشغيلة فى النواحي ذات الحكم الذاتى.

قبل ثورة أكتوبر، كانت هذه المناطق جد متأخرة. وبعد الثورة، نشأت فى هذه المناطق حكومات قومية، ومدن كبيرة، وملاكمات اهلية، وتحولت الحياة تحولا تاما.

لنأخذ مثلا ناحية الكومى برميالك ذات الحكم الذاتى. كان سكانها بائسين اميين، مثل جميع الشعوب الصغيرة الاخرى. اما الآن، فقد هب هذا الشعب الى الحياة، وهو يطور صناعته وزراعته بنجاح.

وله الآن كتابته الخاصة. وفى ناحيته، شبكة من المدارس الابتدائية والثانوية، ومدرسة وكلية للمعلمين، ومدرسة زراعية، ومدرسة غابات ومدرسة طبية، ومسرح قومى، وعدة دور للسينما. ويوما بعد يوم، يزداد عدد المثقفين الاهليين، وبينهم مهندسون، واساتذة، اطباء، وفنانون الخ... وثمة قوميات وشعوب صغيرة اخرى كانت متأخرة وبلغت اليوم المستوى نفسه.

والتنظيم الادارى فى الاتحاد السوفييتى يأخذ تنوع اعراق السكان بعين الاعتبار. فان اراضى الاتحاد السوفييتى مقسومة ضمن حدود الجمهوريات المتحدة، الى اقاليم ومقاطعات ونواح هيئات السلطة. الهيئة العليا للسلطة فى الاتحاد السوفييتى هي السوفييت الاعلى للاتحاد السوفييتى، المنتخب لاربع سنوات. ويضم مثلى جميع الشعوب السوفييتية. ويخول الدستور

بيانا اشار فيه الى ان الصلات المباشرة بين البرلمانات وتبادل الوفود البرلمانية والخطابة فى برلمانات البلدان الاخرى تستجيب لرغبة جميع الشعوب فى التفاهم والتعاون. وبناء على دعوة من السوفييت الاعلى، زارت وفود برلمانية من ٢٨ بلدا الاتحاد السوفييتى فى ١٩٥٥ و ١٩٥٦. وبدوره، ارسل السوفييت الاعلى ١٦ وفدا من اعزائه فى زيارة عمدة بلدان اوربية وآسيوية.

ولأجل تطوير الصلات المباشرة بين البرلمانات، انضم السوفييت الاعلى الى الجمعية البرلمانية العالمية، وشكل فرقة البرلمانى الوطنى لتمثيله فى الجمعية.

وبين كل دورة ودورة، يتولى ديوان رئاسة السوفييت الاعلى السلطة العليا ومختلف نواحي النشاط الادارى الجارى. وديوان الرئاسة ينتخبه المجلسان فى جاسة مشتركة، وهو يتألف من رئيس و ١٥ نائب رئيس (واحد عن كل جمهورية متحدة) و ١٥ عضوا، وامين سر. وفوروشياوف هو رئيس ديوان رئاسة السوفييت الاعلى للاتحاد السوفييتى فى الحلقة التشريعية الحالية.

اما الهيئات العليا للسلطة فى الجمهوريات المتحدة والجمهوريات ذات الحكم الذاتى، فهى سوفييتاتها العليا. وكل من هذه السوفييتات مؤلف من مجلس واحد فقط. ومدته اربع سنوات. اما معدلات التمثيل، فتقرها دساتير الجمهوريات وتتوقف على عدد السكان.

مقاطعة ذات حكم ذاتى ٥ نواب، ولكل ناحية ذات حكم ذاتى نائب واحد (بصرف النظر عن عدد سكانها). ومجاسا السوفييت الاعلى متساويان فى الحقوق. والسلطة التشريعية تعود لهما على قسم المساواة. وتتم الموافقة على القانون اذا نال الاكثية البسيطة من الاصوات فى المجلسين. يعقد السرفييت الاعلى دوراته العادية مرتين فى السنة. ويعقد دوراته غير العادية بناء على دعوة من ديوان رئاسته او بناء على طالب من احدى الجمهوريات المتحدة. وفى كل الاحوال، تصدر الدعوة الى الانعقاد عن ديوان رئاسة السوفييت الاعلى. وتبدأ دورات المجلسين معا وتنتهى معا.

ولدى كل من مجاسى السوفييت الاعلى، هيآت معاونية، هى اللجان الدائمة: لجنة الاقتراحات التشريعية، لجنة الميزانية، لجنة الطعون، لجنة الشؤون الخارجية. وفى فبراير (شباط) ١٩٥٧، اتخذ مجلس القوميات قرارا انشأ بموجبه لجنة اقتصادية تابعة له، هدفها اتقان البرمجة الاقتصادية وحل القضايا المتعلقة بالبناء الاقتصادى والاجتماعى والثقافى فى كل من الجمهوريات حلا اصح وانسب يأخذ بعين الاعتبار حاجات كل منها على وجه افضل.

والسوفييت الاعلى يؤيد قضية السلام بحزم ونشاط. وهو يدرك المسؤليات الكبرى الملقاة على البرلمانات فيما يتعلق بصيانة السلام العالمى، ولذا اقر فى ٩ فبراير (شباط) ١٩٥٥

والهيئات التمثيلية السوفييتية تجتمع لمن انعقاد دوراتها، ولذا يستطيع النواب الاستمرار في مشاغلهم العادية. اما مواعيد انعقاد هذه الدورات فهي متنوعة، متفاوتة. فان معظم سوفييتات القرى، مثلا، تجتمع مرة كل شهر على الاقل بينما تجتمع السوفييتات العليا في الجمهوريات المتحدة مرتين في السنة. وبين دورة واخرى، يعهد السوفييت بسطاته الى لجنة تنفيذية ينتخبها من بين اعضائه وتقدم له حسابا عن نشاطها. وعلى غرار السوفييتات، تشرك لجانها التنفيذية في اعمالها العمال والكولخوزيين والمستخدمين اشرافا واسعا. وقرارات السوفييت المحلي ملازمة، الزامية، لجميع الهيئات الادارية والمنظمات الاجتماعية العاملة في منطقتها. كيف تنتخب هذه السوفييتات؟ بموجب دستور الاتحاد السوفييتي، تجرى الانتخابات لجميع سوفييتات نواب الشغيلة بالاقتراع العام، المتساوي، المباشر، السري. ان الانتخابات لهيئات السطة تجرى بالاقتراع العام، اي ان جميع المواطنين الذين بلغوا الثامنة عشرة من العمر لهم الحق في الاشتراك في الانتخابات، بصرف النظر عن العرق والقومية، والدخل، والدين، ودرجة التحصيل العلمي، ومدة الاقامة، والمنشأ الاجتماعي، باستثناء المجانين والاشخاص الذين حكمت عليهم المحكمة بحرمانهم من الحقوق الانتخابية. وليس ثمة اية قيود اخرى تحد حقوق المواطنين السوفييتيين الانتخابية. ينتخب نائبا للسوفييت الاعلى للاتحاد السوفييتي كل مواطن اتم الثالثة والعشرين من العمر، وينتخب نائبا في

ففي جمهورية روسيا الاتحادية، مثلا، نائب واحد لكل ١٥٠٠٠٠ نسمة. وفي اوكرانيا نائب واحد لكل ١٠٠٠٠٠ نسمة، وفي قرغيزيا نائب واحد لكل ٥٠٠٠ نسمة. وفي جمهورية ناخيتشيفان ذات الحكم الذاتي نائب واحد لكل ٢٠٠٠ نسمة. ودستور كل جمهورية يحدد سلطات سوفييتها الاعلى وسلطات ديوان رئاسته. والسوفييت الاعلى في كل جمهورية ينتخب ديوان رئاسته ورئيس الديوان ومجلس الوزراء والمحكمة العليا.

والجمهوريات ذات الحكم الذاتي الداخلة في جمهورية اتحادية او متحدة ممثلة بالضرورة في ديوان رئاسة السوفييت الاعلى للجمهورية المتحدة، كل منها بنائب رئيس. ولهذا يضم ديوان رئاسة السوفييت الاعلى في جمهورية روسيا الاتحادية ١٤ نائب رئيس.

اما الهيئات المحلية، فهي سوفييتات نواب الشغيلة في الاقاليم، والمقاطعات، والمقاطعات ذات الحكم الذاتي، والمدن، والنواحي، والقرى * وهي تنتخب لمدة سنتين. وتتولى تطبيق القوانين والمراسيم الصادرة عن السطة المركزية وتدير البثاء الاقتصادي والثقافي في المناطق التابعة لها.

وبوصفها الهيئات المباشرة لسطة العمال والفلاحين، تظل ايدا على صلة يومية بهالين السوفييتيين، وتستطيع معرفة مطالبهم وحاجاتهم عن كذب والاهتمام بها كما ينبغي.

* يبلغ عدد السوفييتات المحلية زهاء ٦٠ الفا.

شغيلة الاتحاد السوفييتى، الشيوعيين منهم واللاحيين، كانت تجعل من الممكن تقديم لوائح موحدة تضمها مع المنظمات الشيوعية واللاحيية. وكان ذلك على جانب كبير من الهمية لأجل توحيد الشعب ورص صفوفه.

وفى جميع الانتخابات، يحرز مرشحو كتلة الشيوعيين واللاحيين اكثرية ساحقة. مثلا، فى انتخابات السوفييت الاعلى لجمهورية جورجيا فى عام ١٩٥٥، صوت ٧٧٨ ناخبا فقط ضد الكتلة، من اصل ٤٨٠ ٢٣٦٧ مقترعا. وفى انتخابات السوفييت الاعلى فى لاتفيا، صوت ٩١٠ ناخبين فقط ضد الكتلة من اصل ١٤٣٨١٦٧ مقترعا.

وحق تقديم المرشحين منوط فقط بالهيآت العامة وبهيآت الحزب الشيوعى، والمنظمات النقابية، وبالاجتماعات العمومية لشغيلة المعامل والمصانع وغيرها من المشروعات، ولشغيلة المؤسسات والمدارس والكولخوزات والسوفخوزات، ولوحدات القوات المساحة، الخ... وهكذا يرشح الشعب بنفسه المرشحين. وجميع مراحل الحملة الانتخابية (تشكيل اللوائح الانتخابية، والدعاية، والاقتراع وفوز وجمع الاصوات) تجرى تحت رقابة الجماهير بواسطة اللجان الانتخابية المؤلفة من ممثلى المنظمات العامة.

والصفة التى يمتاز بها النظام الانتخابى السوفييتى، هى ان النواب ملزمون بتقديم تقارير عن نشاطهم لناخبيهم، الامر الذى يتيح اشتراك الجماهير فى نشاط السوفييتات. ففى ١٩٥٥،

السوفييتات العليا للجمهورية المتحدة وذات الحكم الذاتى كل مواطن اتم الواحدة والعشرين من العمر، وينتخب نائبا فى السوفييتات المحلية كل مواطن اتم الثامنة عشرة. اما الاقتراع المتساوى فيعنى ان ليس لكل ناخب سوى صوت واحد، سواء كان وزيرا ام عاملا، عالما ام كولخوزيا، عسكريا ام فنانا، ويشترك فى الانتخابات على قدم المساواة مع الاخرين. ولا يحق للمرشح تقديم ترشيحه الا فى دائرة انتخابية واحدة.

والانتخابات فى الاتحاد السوفييتى تجرى بالاقتراع المباشر. اى ان المواطنين ينتخبون مباشرة نواب السوفييتات على اختلاف درجاتها. وعلى هذا النحو، يظل النائب وناخبه على صلة دائمة، وتستطيع الجماهير مراقبة نشاط نائبيها. واصول الانتخابات تضمن سرية التصويت. مما ينفى كل امكانية للضغط على الناخب ويدعه حرا فى معارضة المرشحين الذين يعتبرهم من غير المرغوب فيهم.

والسوفييتيون يستعملون حقوقهم الانتخابية على نطاق واسع. ففى انتخابات السوفييتات المحلية عام ١٩٥٧، اشترك فى التصويت ما لا يقل عن ٩٩.٩ بالمئة من الناخبين فى شتى جمهوريات البلاد.

وقد ظهرت فكرة كتلة الشيوعيين واللاحيين فى عام ١٩٣٧، اى حين كان الشعب يستعد للانتخابات الاولى بهوجب الدستور الجديد. فان وحدة المصالح الاقتصادية والسياسية بين

القيادة العامة للسياسة الخارجية والقوات المسلحة. ويحق له (فيما يتعلق بفروع الادارة والاقتصاد الداخلة في صلاحيات الاتحاد) تعليق قرارات وتوجيهات مجالس الوزراء الجمهوريات المتحدة والمجالس الاقتصادية وكذلك الغاء قرارات وزراء الاتحاد السوفييتي (فيما يتعلق بصلاحيات الاتحاد ايضا).

وبعض فروع الادارة والاقتصاد الوطنى تتبع مباشرة وزارات الاتحاد السوفييتي.

فى السنوات الاخيرة، نفذت فى الاتحاد السوفييتي بعض التدابير الهامة التى ترمى الى تحسين ادارة الاقتصاد الوطنى. فان الحزب الشيوعى والحكومة يسعيان بلا كلل وراء اشكال اكثر مرونة واحسن انطباقا على خصائص كل مرحلة من مراحل تطور البلاد. وتنبغى الاشارة بهذا الصدد الى اهمية القانون الصادر فى ١٠ مايو (ايار) ١٩٥٧ «حول اتقان ادارة الصناعة والبناء فى الاتحاد السوفييتي».

فالان، والصناعة والبناء قد بلغا درجة عالية جدا من التطور واكثر من ٢٠٠.٠٠٠ من المشروعات و ١٠٠.٠٠٠ من الورشات الكبيرة موزعة فى مختلف الجمهوريات والمناطق، يغدو من المستحيل عمليا على الوزارات واقسام الوزارات قيادة هذه المشروعات والورشات بصورة مأموسة فعالة.

ولذا ينص القانون الجديد على ما يلى: لأجل تأمين التقدم الاقتصادى باستمرار فى الاتحاد السوفييتي، ينبغى اتقان اشكال ادارة الصناعة والبناء بجميع درجاتها، بما فيها اساسها، ادارة

انعقد فى بياوروسيا اكثر من ٥٢٠٠٠ اجتماع قَدَم النواب فيها تقارير عن نشاطهم. وقد حضر هذه الاجتماعات اكثر من مايونين ونصف مليون شخص، اشترك كثيرون منهم فى المناقشات اشتراكا نشيطا.

الهيئات الادارية، الهيئة التنفيذية والادارية العليا لسلطة النولة فى الاتحاد السوفييتي هى مجالس الوزراء. وهو مسؤول امام السوفييت الاعلى الذى يعينه والنذى يقدم حسابا له عن نشاطه (وبين دورة واخرى، يكون مجلس الوزراء مسؤولا امام ديوان رئاسة السوفييت الاعلى للاتحاد السوفييتي). فمن حق نواب السوفييت الاعلى، مثلا، استجواب الحكومة او احد الوزراء، وهؤلاء ملزمون بالجواب خطيا او شفويا فى مهلة ثلاثة ايام وفى مجلس النواب المستجوب.

ويتألف مجلس الوزراء من رئيس، وعدة نواب رئيس، ووزراء الاتحاد السوفييتي، وقادة اللجان الخاصة واللجان الفرعية لدى مجالس الوزراء، ورئيس ادارة مصرف الدولة ورؤساء مجالس الوزراء فى الجمهوريات المتحدة.

ومجلس وزراء الاتحاد السوفييتي يدير وينسق نشاطات الوزراء ويوجه (بوساطة مجالس وزراء الجمهوريات المتحدة) نشاط المجالس الاقتصادية للمناطق الادارية والاقتصادية. وهو الذى يقر التدابير الضرورية لتنفيذ برنامج الاقتصاد الوطنى وميزانية الدولة ولتعزير النظام النقدى ونظام التسايف. ويؤمن حفظ النظام العام ويحمى مصالح الدولة والمواطن، ويتولى

والمحاكم العليا فى الجمهوريات المتحدة وذات الحكم الذاتى، ومحاكم المقاطعات، والاقاليم، والمقاطعات ذات الحكم الذاتى، ومحاكم الاحياء والمحاكم الشعبية، والمحاكم العسكرية التى تنظر فى الجرائم التى يرتكبها العسكريون.

والمحاكم تخدم مصالح الشعب فلا تكتفى بمعاقبة المخالفين والعاجزين، بل تساعد ايضا فى اصلاحهم، فى اعادة تربيتهم وتنقيتهم.

والمحكمة السوفييتية مستقلة ولا تخضع الا للقانون. وليست السلطات الادارية هى التى تعين القضاة، اما تنتخبهم السوفييتات ذات الصلاحية او ينتخبهم المواطنون انفسهم. والمحاكم الشعبية التى تنظر فى الاغلبية الساحقة من القضايا الجزائية والمدنية تنتخب لثلاث سنوات، بالاقتراع العام، المباشر، المتساوى، السرى. وتقدم الترشيحات لمنصب القضاة والمحللين فى اجتماعات الشقيلة.

والقضاة واحد متساو بالنسبة لجمع مواطنى الاتحاد السوفييتى، بصرف النظر عن القومية والدين والوضع الاجتماعى. والمحكمة علنية، وبلغت الجمهورية المتحدة او الجمهورية ذات الحكم الذاتى التى تنظر فيها القضية. وكل متهم لا يتكلم باللغة التى تجرى بها المحاكمة يستطيع الاطلاع على ملف الدعوى بوساطة مترجم. وهو، فى الوقت نفسه، حر بان يتكلم امام المحكمة بلقته الاصاية.

الانتاج. وفى الوقت نفسه، ينبغى الحفاظ على الدور القيادى العائد للسلطة المركزية، ورفع دور الهيآت الادارية فى الجمهوريات والهيآت الادارية المحلية. وينبغى نقل ادارة الصناعة والبناء، من حيث الاساس، الى اماكن المشروعات والورشات بالثبات. وينص القانون بهذا الصدد على التخلى عن ادارة الوزارات المختصة واللجوء الى الادارة المنطقية المستندة الى المناطق الاقتصادية القائمة. اما الهيآت الرئيسية للادارة، فقد غدت المجالس الاقتصادية للمناطق الادارية والاقتصادية، وهى تتمتع مباشرة مجالس الوزراء فى الجمهوريات المتحدة.

ان حكومة الاتحاد السوفييتى وحكومات الجمهوريات المتحدة هى هيآت ديموقراطية حقة لسلطة شقيلة المدن والارياف. واليكم كيف وصف البانديت سوندرال، عضو المؤتمر الوطنى الهندي، الحكومة السوفييتية، فى تقرير قدمه فى يوليو (تموز) ١٩٥٤، فى دلهى: «انى لا اشك فى انه اذا كانت هناك فى العالم حكومة منبثقة من الشعب وتخدم مصالح الشعب، فهى حكومة روسيا. فكل روسى، عاملا كان ام فلاحا، يعتبر الحكومة السوفييتية حكومته».

المحاكم والنيابات العاملة. تسهر المحاكم السوفييتية على سلامة النظام الاجتماعى والادارى فى الاتحاد السوفييتى، وتؤمن احترام التشريع الاشتراكى وحقوق المواطنين الدستورية. والهيآت القضائية هى المحكمة العليا فى الاتحاد السوفييتى،

والحقوق الواردة فى الدستور انما يتمتع بها جميع المواطنين السوفييتيين بصرف النظر عن المنشأ الاجتماعى والوضع الاجتماعى، والعرق والقومية. ويعاقب القانون فى الاتحاد السوفييتى كل تقييد لهذه الحقوق، واقرار امتيازات قومية او عرقية، والدعاية للعداء القومى او العرقى.

وليست تلك مجرد كلمات، وقد اقتنع بذلك مثلاً ١٩ مواطناً أمريكياً زاروا الاتحاد السوفييتى عام ١٩٥٥. فقد نشروا اطباعاتهم فى كراس عنوانه: «بام اعيننا». كانوا اناسا من مختلف الفئات الاجتماعية ومن مختلف الآراء والعقائد السياسية. ولكنهم اجمعوا على القول والتأكيد بان جميع الناس فى الاتحاد السوفييتى مواطنون متساوون فى الحقوق ويتمتعون بالحقوق الدستورية على قدم المساواة، بصرف النظر عن القومية واللون، وبان جميع السوفييتيين يشتركون فى الانتخابات ويستطيعون بلوغ المناصب السياسية، وبانهم احرار بان ينزلوا فى نفس الفنادق، ويأكلوا فى نفس المطاعم، ويسافروا فى نفس العربات. وختم هؤلاء الامريكيون كراسهم قائلين: «كان يبدو لنا اننا فى عالم فريد من نوعه، فى عالم على حدة، فى عالم جديد تماماً».

لنر الان حقوق السوفييتيين الدستورية الرئيسية.
لمواطنى الاتحاد السوفييتى الحق فى العمل، اى انهم يستطيعون الحصول على عمل مضمون ومدفوع الاجرة حسب كمية ونوعية العمل المبذول. وفى الاتحاد السوفييتى، حيث

وحقوق التضاد والمخالفين متساوية عند النظر فى الدعاوى. وتصدر الاحكام فى القضايا الجزائية باغلبية الاصوات. فاذا لم توافق اغلبية المخالفين على رأى القاضى، كان رأى الاغلبية هو المعمول به.

اما النيابة العامة، فانها تتولى الاشراف على تطبيق القوانين. والنيابة السوفييتية مستقلة عن هيآت السلطة والادارات المحلية. ويرأسها المدعى العام فى الاتحاد السوفييتى، ويعينه السوفييت الاعلى للاتحاد السوفييتى لمدة سبع سنوات. ومن واجب النيابة العامة مراقبة تقييد جميع هيآت الدولة والموظفين والمواطنين بالقوانين.

الحقوق والحريات الديموقراطية التى يتمتع بها المواطنين السوفييتيون

لا يجوز اعتبار الاشتراكية مجرد نظام اقتصادى تسمى مبرمج، مجرد منجزات مادية، حتى ولو كانت ذات اهمية اولية بالنسبة للشعب. فالنظام الاشتراكى يؤمن لشغيلة اوسع الحقوق الاجتماعية والسياسية: الحق فى العمل، والراحة، والتعليم، وضمان الشيخوخة.

وجميع هذه الحقوق واردة فى دستور الاتحاد السوفييتى ولها قوة القانون. وفى الوقت نفسه، تؤمن الدولة للمواطنين الظروف والشروط الضرورية لممارسة حقوقهم ممارسة فعلية.

من دور الراحة والنوادي والمسارح وقاعات المطالعة والملاعب. واكثر من نصف بطاقات الاقامة فى دور الراحة والاستجمام يعطى مجانا او باسعار مخفضة على حساب الضمانات الاجتماعية. ومن اهم مغامر الشعب السوفييتى الحق فى ضمان الشيخوخة وفى ضمان المرض او العجز الموقت عن العمل. وقد أقر نظام الضمانات الاجتماعية للعاجزين عن العمل بعد الثورة فورا. وتدفع الدولة للعمال والمستخدمين معاشات (الرواتب التقاعدية) الشيخوخة. اما الكولخوزيون، فيتقاضون معاشات الشيخوخة من صندوق خاص فى الكولخوز. وقد صدر قانون جديد فى عام ١٩٥٦ زاد الى حد كبير مبالغ معاشات الشيخوخة للاغلبية الساحقة من المتقاعدين. وقد نوقش مشروع هذا القانون فى الاجتماعات العامة ونال التأييد بالاجماع. واليكم رسالة من الرسائل العديدة التى تلقتها هيأت تحرير الصحف بعد نشر مشروع القانون. وصاحب الرسالة عامل عجوز ليتوانى، اسمه يانولافيتشوس، ويسكن فى مدينة شاولاي. وقد كتب يقول: «عمرى ٦١ سنة. ابان الحرب الاهلية، دافعت بالسلاح عن السلطة السوفييتية فى ليتوانيا. ويطلب لنا ان نرى الاهداف التى حملنا السلاح من اجلها بسبيل التحقيق... فى زمن البورجوازية، كانت الامور تسير على النحو التالى: حين تصبح عجوزا، يقذفون بك الى الشارع، وما من احد يهتم بك بعد ذلك. اما الآن، فكل عامل مؤمن ماديا فى ايام شيخوخته».

الاقتصاد الوطنى مبرمج وحيث لا ازمات اقتصادية ولا بطالة، يستطيع كل امرى الحصول على عمل. اما طريقة دفع الاجور، فتتوقف على شكل الملكية الاجتماعية حيث يجرى العمل. وفى مشروعات الدولة، تضمن الحكومة الاجور. وفى التعاونيات، تدفع الاجور من صندوق التعاونية. ولكن، مهما كانت طريقة دفع الاجور، فانها لا تتوقف ابدا على الجنس والعمر والقومية. وما تنفك اجرة السوفييتيين الفعالية فى ارتفاع. كذلك تعلق السلطة السوفييتية اهمية كبيرة على وقاية العمل، والصحة فى العمل، على تحسين ظروف العمل. ولهذا تطبق على نطاق واسع تدابير وقاية العمل وتدابير الوقاية من الامراض المهنية. ولجميع المواطنين السوفييتيين الحق فى الراحة. ويوم العمل من ثمانى ساعات (وست ساعات ايام السبت وعشايا الاعياد) لجميع العمال والمستخدمين. ولكن يوم العمل فى المهن الشاقة ست ساعات واحيانا اربع ساعات. والاحداث الذين تتراوح سنهم بين السادسة عشرة والثامنة عشرة يشتغلون ست ساعات فى اليوم. وفى سنوات البرنامج الخماسى السادس، سينخفض يوم العمل تدريجيا الى سبع ساعات فى جميع المشروعات والمؤسسات فى الاتحاد لسوفييتى دون تخفيض فى الاجور. وجميع العمال والمستخدمين يتمتعون سنويا باجازة مدفوعة الاجرة مدتها اسبوعان على الاقل. وتحت تصرفهم عدد كبير

ان حرية الصحافة مضمونة بوضع المطابع ومخزونات الورق والحبر، الخ... تحت تصرف الشغيلة ومنظماتهم. وفي عهد السلطة السوفييتية، اتسعت الصحافة اتساعا هائلا. فهي ليست صحافة للشعب وحسب، انما هي صحافة الشعب نفسه. وتطبع الصحف والمجلات آلاف النسخ. كذلك تصدر اعداد هائلة من ترجمات مؤلفات مؤسسى الماركسية - اللينينية بـ ٨٦ لغة، وكذلك من المنشورات العلمية او الفنية. ويستطيع شغيلة الاتحاد السوفييتى الاطلاع على المؤلفات الاجنبية سواء مترجمة ام فى لغتها الاصلية.

وحرية الاجتماعات والاحتشادات والتظاهر مضمونة بوضع الابنية والشوارع والوسائل التكنيكية الضرورية تحت تصرف الشغيلة.

وحرية الكلام مطبقة على نطاق واسع اثناء مناقشة القوانين الرئيسية وفى الاجتماعات والمجالس العامة، والمناقشات العملية. وتقارير النواب، والتقارير، الخ.

والسلطة السوفييتية تفتح السبيل واسعا امام الجماهير للقيام بالنشاط السياسى. والمواطنون، بموجب الدستور، احرار فى الانضمام الى منظمات عامة، ومهنية، وعلمية، وثقافية. ورياضية، والشباب والدفاع.

والكنيسة مفصولة عن الدولة فى الاتحاد السوفييتى والمدرسة مفصولة عن الكنيسة. وجميع المذاهب الدينية مسموح بها، وليس لاحدها امتياز على الاخر. وكل سوفييتى حر بان يعتنق

والاسعاف الطبى مضمون ومجانى لكل السكان. والذين يتعالجون فى المستشفيات لا يدفعون على الاكثر سوى ستة روبلات فى اليوم تحسم من اجورهم. اما الذين يزاولون مهنة اجورها قليلة، فانهم لا يدفعون شيئا.

والسوفييتيون يستفيدون على نطاق واسع من حقهم فى التعليم. فان ٥٠ مليون شخص يدرسون، اى مواطننا من كل اربعة مواطنين. وبلادنا كلها شبه جامعة شاسعة.

وخير ضمانة لحق التعليم فى عموم الاتحاد السوفييتى، التعليم الالزامى من سبع سنوات المطبق بعد الحرب. وفى المدن الكبيرة، طبق التعليم الالزامى من عشر سنوات، وسيطبق عما قريب فى جميع انحاء البلاد.

حتى عام ١٩٥٦، كانت المدارس الابتدائية ومدارس السبع السنوات فقط مجانية. اما الآن، فقد الغيت الرواتب المدرسية سواء فى الصفوف العالية فى المدارس الثانوية العادية والمدارس الثانوية المهنية ام فى مؤسسات التعليم العالى. وطلاب المدارس العالية والمدارس الثانوية المهنية يتلقون منحا دراسية من الدولة. والحكومة تعيل تماما تلامذة مراكز التدريب المهنى التابعة لشبكة احتياطيات العمل.

والدستور السوفييتى يضمن للمواطنين حرية الكلام والصحافة والاجتماعات والاحتشادات والتظاهر فى الشارع. ولكن، ما يكفل هذه الحقوق؟

الاعلى للاتحاد السوفييتى، وامثرت من ٢٠٠٠ نائبة فى السوفييتات المتحدة واكثر من ٥٠٠٠٠٠ نائبة فى السوفييتات المحلية.

قبل ثورة اكتوبر، كانت النساء الاوزبكيات يعشن حياة الرقيقات. ولم تكن لتجرؤ اية امرأة اوزبكية على الخروج الى الشارع دون حجاب. اما الفتيات الاوزبكيات اللواتى ترعرعن فى ظل الساطلة السوفييتية، فانهن يتصورن هذا الوضع بصعوبة. وفى ١٩٥٥، فاز فى انتخابات السوفييتات فى اوزبكستان نحو ١٣٠٠٠ امرأة.

وفى السوفييت الاعلى لجمهورية تاجيكستان، ٩٩ امرأة من اصل ٣٠٠ نائب.

وقد بذلت الحكومة السوفييتية كثيرا من الجهود لى تتمتع النساء فعلا بجميع حقوقهن. وهى تسدى على الدوام مساعدة كبيرة الى امهات الاسر العديدة الافراد والى الامهات الوحيدات. وقد انشئت فى الاتحاد السوفييتى شبكة واسعة من رياض الاطفال ودور الحضانه، والعديد من المخيمات الصيفية للتلاميذ. وثمة قوانين خاصة تحمى مصالح الام والطفل. والنساء اللواتى يشتغلن يستفدن من اجازات حبل وولادة مدفوعة الاجرة.

ولكن الدولة السوفييتية، اذ تؤمن لمواطنيها العديد من الحقوق والحريات، تفرض عليهم واجبات هامة نص الدستور على امهات.

الدين الذى يشاء وبالا يعتنق اى دين. ولا يحذر من حرية المؤمنين اى قيد. والقانون لا يحرم ممارسة الطقوس ولا يمنع الطوائف الدينية من ان تكون لها كنائسها ومساجدها ومبانيها. ولكنه يسمح فى الوقت نفسه بالدعاية للالحاد العلمى، دون ان يتساهل بالاعمال التى تمس تقوى المؤمنين ورجال الدين.

وبين الحقوق التى يكفلها الدستور، الحق فى صيانة كرامة الشخص، وحرمة المنزل، وسرية المراسلات. ولا يمكن اعتقال اى مواطن دون قرار من المحكمة او من النيابة العامة. والدولة تضمن جميع هذه الحقوق وتعاقب المخالفين بصرامة.

والمساواة بين الرجال والنساء مؤمنة فى الاتحاد السوفييتى منذ الايام الاولى لسلطة السوفييت. فعلى قدم المساواة مع الرجال، تتمتع النساء بحق العمل، ويتقاضى الاجور وفقا لكمية العمل ونوعيته، وبحق الراحة والتعليم. ولنا تشتغل النساء من جميع قوميات الاتحاد السوفييتى، على قدم المساواة مع الرجال وعلى غرار الرجال، فى الصناعة والزراعة الكولخوزية، والتعليم والطب، والادارة. وبين الاختصاصيين حاملى الشهادات، ٥٣ بالمئة من النساء. وترتفع هذه النسبة الى ٧٦ بالمئة فى الطب و ٧٠ بالمئة فى التعليم. وقد حصل زهاء ١٩٠٠٠ امرأة على درجات والقاب علمية. وتشترك النساء اشتراكا نشيطا فى ادارة الدولة وتصريف شؤونها. وثمة ٣٤٨ نائبة فى السوفييت

فكل مواطن مازم باحترام الدستور السوفييتى والقوانين
السوفييتية. وبوصفه عضوا فى المجتمع الاشتراكى، يترتب عليه
ان يشتغل باسئامة واخلاص، وان يتقيد بنظام العمل، وبقواعد
الساوك السارية المفعول فى المجتمع. وجميع المواطنين
ملزومون باحترام وتوطيد الملكية الاشتراكية التى هى اساس
الاتحاد السوفييتى. والدفاع عن الوطن واجب مقدس عليهم.

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كل السلطة فى الاتحاد السوفييتى للشعب، سيد البلاد
الوحيد.

وتطبقا لقرارات المؤتمر العشرين للحزب الشيوعى فى
الاتحاد السوفييتى المتعلقة بمهمات البناء الشيوعى الجليلية،
يطور الحزب والحكومة بدأب ومثابرة مبادئ الديموقراطية
السوفييتية، ويسعيان الى تشديد نشاط الشغيلة الخلاقى، والى
اشراكهم اكثر فاكثر فى ادارة الدولة وتصريف شؤونها.