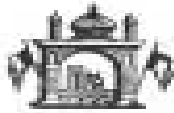


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Intellectuals in the political life of Afghanistan

Victor G. Korgun

Afghanistan

After the Second World War

The difficult economic situation caused by the war, significantly worsened the situation of the population. Policy of the ruling circles - the feudal landowners and land-related large merchants, is focused primarily on the lucrative commerce, was part of a growing conflict with the economic interests of the many layers of the petty bourgeoisie and the middle and close to the intelligentsia. Economic growth potential of large sherkats strengthened their political influence, along with the tendency to monopolize political power.

Serious impact on the change in the political situation in the country had international events: the formation of the world socialist system, a new upsurge of the national liberation movements in Asia and Africa, the ongoing collapse of the colonial system.

Aggravation of social contradictions forced the authorities to take some measures. In particular, a limited number of large sherkats monopoly rights on foreign trade, created the elected city council. But these apical activities not zatrunvshis socio-political structure, could not eliminate the growing discontent.

The deteriorating economic situation accompanied by active penetration in Afghanistan U.S. monopolies. Its foundation was laid in 1946 by prisoners governmental agreement with the Amer-American company "Morrison-Knudsen" on the construction of an irrigation system in the south, mineral exploration, road building, training and the construction of a number of smaller buildings. However, the building plan on schedule has not been fulfilled, it costs exceeded the estimated budget. Afghanistan had to resort to borrowing.

The increase in political tension, coupled with the economic and political pressure from the U.S. later complicated the situation in the country. In 1946, the government of Muhammad Hashim Khan resigned. At the head of the new government got another uncle of the King - Shah Mahmood Khan. The growing conflict between the bourgeois-landlord circles and the mass medium and small producers in town and country led to the emergence of opposition sentiment. Their spokesmen were various political movements and groups, advocating the interests of large urban middle classes and some of the lower classes.

The main requirements of these movements included the abolition of the monopoly of large economic benefits of trade unions, the democratization of public life, the adoption of a new constitution, providing greater opportunities for the activities of small and middle bourgeoisie. Dissemination of ideas that reflected the interests of the middle strata, led in 1947 to the emergence of political organization "Wish Zalmiyan" ("Awakened Youth"). It was quite colorful in its social composition movement, the

number of participants does not exceed 100 persons. In its ranks were the petty bourgeoisie, the bureaucracy, the intelligentsia, the clergy. At the head was a small landowner from Kandahar Muhammad Rasul Khan Pashtun. Active participants in the movement were Nur Muhammad Taraki, who led his left, the radical wing, Abdurrauf Benawa, Abdulhai Habibi Gul Pacha Ulfat. At the first stage of the "Wish Zalmiyanovtsy" has been engaged in educational activities. In the late 40's they were involved in active political struggle, taking part in the parliamentary elections in 1949 As a result, the membership of the National Council-seventh convocation ICDO formed a group of deputies, bases its activities on the ideas of "Vish zalmiyan." Using his speech to parliament as a platform for the implementation of the requirements of the struggle to "wake the young people", they at the same time, sought to turn the People's Council in the effective authority which would regulate the work of the state apparatus.

One of the areas of combating radical circles was the demand for freedom of the press, the implementation of which would make it possible for the legal advocacy of opposition ideas. In January 1951, the government passed a new press law, according to which allowed the publication of private newspapers and magazines. This year, following the publication of the law began to go private newspapers, calling themselves national.

Edition private press was the "impetus for the beginning of the polarization of political forces to unite on the basis of opposition sentiment. Not long before the emergence of private newspapers, along with "Wish Zalmiyan" began to form other political grouping similar political orientation, the most significant of which were the "Nida Khalq" ("Voice of the People") and "Watan" ("Motherland"). In 1951, they began to publish in their publications of Kabul under the same names.

Even before the publication of his newspaper launched "Wish zalmiyan." March 1, 1950, the first issue of the newspaper "Hangar", named for the publisher and managing editor of Five Muhammad Angara, an official of the Ministry of Economy. "Hangar" was called "ethnic, literary, social and political newspaper." In an editorial in the first issue stated that it is designed to serve the people in order to overcome the age-old backwardness. The newspaper said the article should be with the aid of the "enlightened people who sympathize with the people, and awaken young people ... ascertain the reasons for the backwardness of the people, to enlighten it and find ways to eliminate backwardness. " The authors of the main items of the content of which was marked by political criticism, were the leaders of the movement. On the first issue was published program article Taraki under "people's desire. What do we want? ". It contained the basic requirements of opposition forces, "bread, clothes 1vposledszvin adding requirements" zhilisha "this was the main slogan of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan), a work of equal opportunities for all people in terms of social services."

The task of the newspaper publishers felt sincere service "backward nation," the fight against the "traitors and oppressors" who "cause EVENTUAL DAMAGES people, bringing its interest to sacrifice their self-interest," racial discrimination, national unity. To achieve those goals, "vish zalmiyanovtsy" seen in "awakening the nation and union, establish a constitutional monarchy, forming a national government responsible to parliament, the participation of all classes in the social life. "' Social progress and

improvement of the living standard of the people, the newspaper publisher said, can be achieved only with the active participation in obshestvenno-political and economic life and in public affairs through their politycheskie party. One of the major problems in this way, according to the author of the article "What do we want? (The aspirations of the people)," A . Mahmoudi, is the formation of "a truly democratic government," which "would pass into the hands of the people of their own destiny." "The first condition of a truly democratic government - is to create a national-democratic parties and, based on the holding of free elections, the election of deputies who enjoyed the confidence of the people. And once these members formed the government, the rule of the majority will prevail, then life's problems will be solved by the people, and, therefore, will ensure his happiness. " These objectives to be implemented in the framework of a constitutional monarchy. The economic part of the program of the movement was largely critical, it lacked clearly defined specific proposals. Much attention is paid to the situation of the lower classes, to request the zapreshenii forced labor (begar). And put forward various ideas about improvement of the national economy. A writer "Angara" Babrak Gostali example, call for reducing the import of luxury goods, increase funds for the development of local industry, more concerned about jobs and fight unemployment, go to the planned development of the economy, taking into account the views of "working people". "Some figures the liberal wing of the movement, speaking about the plight of the people, at the same time relied on the good will of the monarch. So Abdurrauf Benawa in an article he wrote: "Those who are sitting on the chair and nut see the world through the window of your car, do not know that such people. And if they are told that the people walking barefoot, they replied that it is more convenient for people to pray. But if they ran closer to the people, it would have learned that ordinary people go barefoot because of their difficult financial situation. They did not even know that a hundred people can not find a single one who would be happy with their situation. only focus of the hopes and aspirations of the people - a favorite, the Democratic King. Therefore, all patriots, awaken the youth and other people see rosveschennye Mr. Shah in a single, true servant nation and its leader. " A great place in the newspaper was given to the role and the place of youth in society. The article, entitled "Appeal to the Afghan youth," called for the awakening of the younger generation and its unity in the struggle for the happiness of the people. "Considerable importance was attached to the Union of Students, formed in 1950, and to contribute to the common cause of educational activities.

Thus, the program of the movement "Wish Zalmiyan" consisted mostly of political demands, provides for the democratization of state and political institutions, coupled with criticism of the economic situation of the people.

In a similar position, but with a wider range of socio-political and economic slogans was another group that emerged in 1950 and called itself "Watan". Socially, it was also not uniform: its members from various sectors of the petty bourgeoisie, bureaucrats and intellectuals. The leaders of the movement were his ideologue Mir Mohammad Siddiq Farhang, a prominent historian Mir Ghulam Muhammad and Ahmad Gubar Alp Kohzad, General Fateh. Grouping "Watan" had in its ranks a little more than 100 people.

In March, 1951, they began to publish his newspaper Vatan. Its publisher was MG Gubar, and managing editor, Ali Horush who was soon replaced Farhang. In an editorial in the first issue were listed aims of the movement: promoting the foundations of democracy in all spheres of public life in Afghanistan: constitutional monarchy, and a number of bourgeois freedoms such as freedom to form political organizations, the profession, freedom of movement, integrity, religious and national equality. Advocating for the acceleration of economic development, the paper opposed "concentration of capital in private hands." Are unlikely to be regarded as a denial of private property. Rather, it was a call to limit the economic benefits of large private companies. Testifying about this MG Gubar speech in Parliament: "The country has a private monopoly, and the proceeds are received by the exploitation of the masses, were in the pocket of some lenders and monopolists. Hence, it is necessary to remove the monopoly of private hands and transfer to the state. As a result of 20 years of business several shirkats monopoly capital concentrated in the hands of a few individuals. Middle strata of merchants ruined." "Calls for limitations on the economic power of representatives of large commercial capital, supporters of the movement" Vatan "were demanding the creation of an enabling environment for business small and middle bourgeoisie, the development of handicrafts.

Considerable attention is paid newspaper publishers social issues. A number of publications were given the analysis of social structure, was considered positive for a diverse population. In particular, an important place was given to the situation of the peasantry, constituting 90% of the population. "The Afghan farmer in terms of material and spiritual conditions is at the lowest level. Illiterate, sick, sometimes hungry, always barefoot. All in debt, deprived of tools", - said a peasant in Article Farhang "Strengthening the peasantry".

The reasons for the severe living conditions of peasants in the article have been called large-scale private land ownership, usury. Along with criticism of the situation in the village, the author puts forward concrete proposals to improve the lives of farmers, which is reduced to the creation of peasant cooperatives, the establishment of the Agricultural Bank for the provision of credit. Moreover, it is proposed to revise the very system of land tenure, limiting the size of private land. "Change of ownership recognized by the most important reform of the state. However, to realize this idea the author seeks not through a political struggle for the rights of peasants, and through the publication of the law on the good will of the Government".

An important part of the group "Watan", as well as similar movements were the political demands, the main one - to change the system of government by the adoption of the "rules" of the laws and their enforcement. "We support the constitutional monarchy - MG Gubar wrote in an article entitled" Rust on the body of the state. "- But for the territorial integrity, independence, security and progress in order to prevent any kind of disorder or anarchy, which leads to ruin and increase response, create a government responsible to the people and enjoying the confidence of the people." "newspaper stressed that the idea of such a government has the support of the people, which was confirmed by the views of readers of the newspaper Yar Muhammad Khan, a Pashtun." Our people - a supporter of constitutional monarchy - said this reader. - He respects from the heart of the Shah. But people want only the people's government, ie, from the people and for the people",

Newspaper publishers actively advocated the democratization of political institutions by reviewing and about. lished constitution, approval of a new law on ne chati, ensuring free elections to parliament, the right to form political parties and trade unions, changes in the court system, the separation of the three forms of government - legislative, executive and judicial. Unlike "vish zalmiyanovtsev" supporters Techa. of "Vatan" considerable importance attached nieshney policy issues. In their paper, they have been doing regular review of world events, not only engaging their izlo. zheniem, but speaking in support of national-mastered. boditeliyh movements and the struggle against colonialism, in particular on the fight for the nationalization of the Suez Canal and the Iranian oil. Authors of articles are directly linked for the strengthening of independence, peace and security with the most important social problems - social spravedlivostk of democracy, development of education, health, literacy, despotism. increased participation of people in governance and m

At the same time another group operated, press organ which was the newspaper "Nida Khalq" ("Voice of the People"). In its social composition it is more inclined to the democratic strata - the intelligentsia, petty officials, artisans, shopkeepers - n had no more than 200 people. Its founder, leader and ideologist was Dr. Abdulrahman Mahmudsh Led groups were also Maulana Khan Muhammad Hasta of Mazar-i-Sharif, an official of the Ministry of Finance Muhammad Naeem Shayan, Engineer Ahmad Wali Atay, brothers Mahmoudi - Lt. Mohammad Aman, a doctor and an official Muhaagmad Rahim Muhammad Azeem .

The publisher and the author of most of the newspaper articles "Nndai Khalq" was Dr. Abdulrahman Mahmoudi, Executive Editor - Ahmad Wali Atay. The editorial in the first issue was also dedicated to the problems of motion, which is directly declared himself "a servant and a leader of the people on the principles of democracy, the champion of the people tsrava" appealing to the interests of the people, the paper set out to show him "the way to the creation of the national government to be formed by the people and for the people. " Like other groups, formed on the basis of the movement "Vish zalmpyan", group "Nidan Khalq" based its political program laid the slogans of democracy and social justice, the real form of expression which is "the creation of a free parliament, free parliamentary elections, ensuring a balance between the executive, zakonolatelnoy and judicial authorities ", as well as a number of bourgeois freedoms x: print, thoughts, zhilpsha integrity and personality.

Denying the armed form of struggle, supporters of "Nidan Khalq" the realization of democracy seen in the publication of democratic laws, awareness of people's rights and their protection. Condemning the despotism and tyranny, the newspaper ooyaila borbch his duty "against the exploitation of people's interests and enemies. "" Participation of the people in the government proposed to cut ~ political parties. Majority party in Parliament forms the government, enjoying the confidence of the people. Parliament opposes it left minority which plays the role of a kind of government control of most, if the latter would be to "play by the people," "So, it was a struggle for a bourgeois-democratic forms of government, at that stage of the historical development of the country would be a step forward in the evolution of social structure of Afghanistan. npstana. Important place in the program group "Nidan Khalq" occupied social position. Publishing newspapers on social issues otlichalps acuity. The newspaper issued a sharp criticism of the situation, exposing social ills of society. Archaic system of governance,

tyranny chinsvnikov, the poverty of the common people, bribery and embezzlement officer-bureaucratic apparatus, forced labor, economic stagnation, total illiteracy of the population - are the main criticisms of the "Nida Khalq." In conditions of severe press censorship newspaper filed the material from different perspectives. These were and editorials and commentaries on various facts and letters from readers, and even some information agency "Delhak" ("The Heart Truth"). This allowed the publishers, bypassing censorship slingshot, advocates for the rights of the people, so, in the article "The rights of the people!" Dr. Mahmood said: "If we say to the people that he has the right without fear of government interference and elect their representatives in parliament, the parliament and establish a government responsible to the people, ie, to make the public affairs and parliamentary debate became public, of course, people will fight for their rights. And since the people's struggle for their rights, we have considered as a breach of security and a threat to national unity ... I apologize to the reader for the fact that I will not say anything more about it. " So yoke like other groups, "Nida Khalq" were made by the big business against the monopoly on economic power. Citing the example of a country which had been nationalized key industries, the paper calls for an end to the privileges of "a few millionaires" who "hosted in astrakhan, sugar, gasoline," etc. One of the reasons people obnishaniya newspaper publishers have seen in the fact that "money and land are concentrated in a limited number of people, that is, become their private monopoly. "

Some attention to the newspaper "Nidap Khalq" was given to issues of foreign policy. Vusloviyahobostreniya Afghan-Pakistan relations, which was used as a means of international reaction pressure on Afghanistan, the paper had called to fight not only the political, but also "to ensure the economic and social independence." Was criticized pravyashih policy of Pakistan, called "servants of tyranny called colonialism" who take advantage of "intrigue and deceit, making the differences and the split in the camp of fighters for progress and national unity '." Thus, pushing the requirements largely similar to the program of the other groups, "Nida Khalq" discovered at the same time known radicalism, raises the most nasushnye issues of socio-economic development.

One of the forms of struggle of the bourgeois opposition Democrats in the late 40 - 50's was their parliamentary activities. As already mentioned, in 1949, formed a group in parliament oppositional deputies. Grouping "Hangar" presented Gul Pacha Ulfat, A. Habibi, FM Hangar, "Watan" - MG Gubar and "Khalq Nkdai" - A. Mahmoudi, formally united in the "National Front". Despite belonging to different political trends, they performed with the same or similar positions on major issues. The central point of their speeches in Parliament were the accusations against the government in violation of constitutional provisions. The most heated debates revolved around the question of the compulsory purchase of grain from the population, which imposed a heavy burden on the peasant masses. Despite the decision of the majority of MPs to reject a bill, the government has not remained sluggish attempts to recover from the population at low grain Tse. to us. Another violation of the constitution consisted of widely practiced use of forced labor yes - begar, mainly in the construction and road works. Opposition MPs have sharply PKK. tnkoy government had violated a law banning begar. A significant part of the performances were devoted to the work of the American monopolies in Afghanistan. Deputy A. Mahmudn expressing

obsch1cho view of the opposition on the issue, said: "The agreement with the company," Morrison-right "caused great damage to the people and the economy of the country" "

The activities of opposition deputies did not lead to significant changes in the system of government and economic structure. At the same time, under the influence of the struggle of opposition groups and their representatives in the parliament the main demands of the opposition in many ways defined the main directions of the subsequent political struggle of social forces. One of the results of the parliamentary opposition was a more clear definition of the main tasks of the deputies to protect the interests of the people. They were written and published guidance group "Watan" and included the following items: a genuine realization of the principles of democracy, the correction and addition of the constitution, the development of a new democratic electoral law, the separation of the three forms of authority, freedom to form political parties and organizations, the elimination of obstacles to the development of a free press and cancellation began and cancellation of private and banking monopoly, creation of the Agricultural Bank and peasant cooperatives, industrial development, the strengthening of national unity by eliminating illegal privileges, promoting the principles of equality and fraternity. " In 1951, began to take one private newspaper Yeshe national bourgeois character - "Vulus" ("People"), a publisher which was Gul Pacha Ulfat. The main content of its materials was reduced to the criticism of the predatory rulers and analyze the plight of the people. At the same time, the newspaper did not put forward specific proposals to change the existing situation, and only cried kblagorazu Mia-powerful, encouraging ni na suffering naroda'z respond. The newspaper expressed allegiance to the publishers to the king, who was treated as a defender of national interests.

In the summer of 1951, despite the absence of legislation, the heads flow "Nida Khalq" made efforts to institutionalize their supporters, and the creation of a political party. In the latest issue of their paper they published the application to them of the party "Khalq" ("People"). Basing the program dsmokratii general principles, the party announced its a fight for "the establishment of the people's government, elected by the people and acting in the interests of the people." An important tool for the implementation of democracy advocates "Khalq" considered social justice based on the elimination of oppression m operation. Attached great importance to the party's commitment to the principles of Islam and their propaganda. Free elections to Parliament, the election of the true representatives of the people and the formation of their government responsible to parliament, constitutional change and the adoption of just laws - that is, according to the party's ideology, a way to achieve the main goals of its program. Founder and leader of the party "Khalq" was Dr. A. Mahmoudi, who led the governing body in the 10 people. The party was small and did not have extensive relations with the masses. Its leaders have been working mostly among the students of the law and medical faculties of Kabul University. This party did not last long - until spring 1952.

In the late 40's in the sphere of political activity was involved metropolitan students. In April 1950, as mentioned above, a Union student at Kabul University, which set the goal of the political awakening of intellectuals and students. Union members used teatralnyepodmostki, and various conferences to promote their views. Their main demands included the reform of economic and social n cultural life, in

public governance, osushestvlepchs freedom of speech and the press. The student movement has experienced oshutnmo influence of the bourgeois–democratic opposition groups.

Some opposition currents used in the activity religious slogans. These include the illegal group, led by the commander of Kabul Hajj Naim. It consisted of officers and petty officials, representatives of national and religious minorities, religious fanatics. They aim to put the elimination of outdated absolute monarchy and the establishment of the Caliphate. In March 1950, this group was discovered by the authorities and destroyed, and more than 20 of its activists were imprisoned for long periods.

Along with various bourgeois-democratic trends and opposition activities were representatives of some layers pravyashego class, forced to take into account the requirements shiryashiesya enter the political arena of the middle and petty bourgeoisie. Onn united under the "National Club", the president and founder of which was the King's cousin, Sardar Mohammad Daoud. The activities of the "club" was funded by the largest merchant Afghanistan, Minister of Economy Abdul Majid Zabulp. The "opposition" group character Daoud did not go beyond attempts to weaken the position of the government of Shah Mahmood Khan and replaced him as premermnistra by Daoud. At the same time, members of the "club", having failed to win over the national-patriotic leaders, sought to split the opposition movement. Activities of the various opposition groups reached its severity in 1952 for Parliament eighth convocation, held in April of that year, none of the opposition candidates did not receive parliamentary mandate. Then the leaders of the bourgeois-democratic groups organized a massive demonstration in Kabul to protest against rigged parliamentary elections and government interference in the election campaign. For the demonstrators joined metropolitan students, led by a law student Babrak Karmal. The demonstration was crushed by troops. Following this, the authorities started a broad offensive against the opposition movement. Banned private newspapers "Hangar", "Watan" and "Nida Khalq", opposition groups have been crushed and their leaders were arrested and imprisoned. N. M Taraki was sent to the U.S. for post spokesman of Afghan embassy. Abdulhai Habibi shortly before the events had left the country and moved to Pakistan, where he published the magazine "Afghan republic" and criticized the royal regime. In Afghanistan, he was declared a traitor and stripped of Afghan citizenship. Abdurrauf Benawa was exiled to India. Mir Ghulam Muhammad Gubar, was sentenced to four years in prison. Dr. Mahmood was put on nine years. In 1962 he came out of prison, he died of tuberculosis. In many were imprisoned activists and supporters of opposition groups, including Babrak Karmal.

Despite the short duration of the opposition groups, they were able to have a serious impact on the social development of the country. The growing demands of various strata middle and petty bourgeoisie and the urban middle classes, which are reflected in the programs of a number of opposition movements, showed a failure rate of the regime, is guided only by the interests of large landowners and the tops of commercial capital.

Certain evolution in the years after World War II has undergone foreign policy. In terms of economic penetration of the U.S. in countries of the Middle East was given a prominent place in Afghanistan, which occupies an important strategic position. Immediately after the war, the U.S. managed to gain a monopoly position in the Afghan foreign trade, especially exports of astrakhan, Afghanistan, imposing

their terms of trade. Have not gone unnoticed, and other areas of the Afghan economy. As already mentioned, in 1946 the U. S. government imposed Afghanistan contract with the American company "Morrison-Knudsen." However, the company failed to meet its obligations and the main objects were commissioned by the target date, ie, 1949 Besides the initial estimate was overdrawn \$ 17.5 million in the Afghan government was forced to ask the U. S. for financial aid. In 1949, Afghanistan received a loan of U.S. \$ 21 million, agreeing to extend the contract with the company, "Morrison-Knudsen," which, in turn, insisted on the repeated increases to its ongoing work on the 4 'lasted for many years the construction of irrigation facilities are moving away for the indefinite future practical implementation of new land development plan and are questioned final positive result of the activity itself. Thus, the activities of the American campaign in Afghanistan, stretching ua indefinite period, was in fact an important channel for the introduction of the U.S. economic which enmeshed the country all kinds of obligations and debts. In an effort to strengthen its position, the United States in 1951 signed an agreement with Afghanistan on technical cooperation in the "Truman program." Afghanistan was so enmeshed in a network of bonded obligations. The actions of "Morrison-Knudsen" in Afghanistan caused a strong reaction. On this issue in the press and in Parliament a debate. In 1950 he established a state commission, which revealed numerous cases of abuse by the company. inflicting great harm Afghan economy. In parallel with the economic penetration of the USA have developed political activity, with the aim to include the country in its zone of influence, sway her traditional course of neutrality. By the beginning of the 50s is increased desire to engage the United States in Afghanistan, created while aggressive military and political groups.

As a means of pressure on the use of Western imperialism Afghanistan Pashtun problem. On the eve of the formation of India n Pakistan (August 1947) Afghanistan has put the fate of the Pashtun population living in the north-west of the British India. The Afghan government, with the active support of the public argued for self-determination of foreign Pashtuns. But England refused to consider the issue. After the creation of Pakistan rulers of this state, denying the right of self-determination of Pashtuns, have made efforts to suppress the Pashtun nationalist movement, which caused the aggravation of relations with Afghanistan. After the war, in the collapse of the colonial system and the rapid growth of the national liberation movements in the Soviet Union firmly pursued a policy to further develop relations with Afghanistan. In 1946, an agreement was signed on border issues, which has demonstrated the desire of the Soviet government to develop bilateral relations. In 1950 he signed an intergovernmental agreement on trade and payments, which served as the basis for further trade exchange between the two countries.

Expansion of good-neighborly relations with the Soviet Union helped to strengthen the sovereignty of Afghanistan and the creation of favorable conditions for the activation of its foreign policy efforts. In November 1946, Afghanistan joined the United Nations and supported the Declaration of Human Rights. In 1950, Afghanistan signed a treaty of friendship with India and Lebanon established political contacts with Syria, recognized the PRC. In 1950 - 1951 years. Efforts have been made to resolve the Afghan-Iranian dispute on the use of the waters of the Helmand.

Meanwhile, the economic situation continued to deteriorate. This is most clearly evident in the field of agriculture. The domination of the pre-capitalist forms of exploitation in the country hindered the development of the productive forces. The process of increasing commodity economy under these conditions led to further social differentiation of the peasantry. More widespread received usurious transactions that led to the expropriation of peasant lands. Migration of peasants to the cities obezzemelnogo become permanent. At the same time, the lack of developed industry complicates the issue of employment of migrants who join the army of unemployed. Government attempts to alleviate the agrarian problem by resettling farmers and semi-nomads from the south to the northern areas that have a large fund of cultivable land, s given sufficient economic and social benefits, but only led to serious political and ethnic tensions. Not justified as reliable. Di government on the economic development of large tracts of land and river basin Gilmeid Argaidab, which were to be held by irrigation "Morrison-Knudsen." Deteriorating terms of export of Afghan goods caused by U.S. attempts to monopolize the Afghan foreign trade, difficulties with the transit of goods through Pakistan (due to aggravated Afghan-Pakistan relations) have seriously affected the financial position of the country in general. The high cost of imports of consumer products adversely affected the domestic trade. Government measures to find additional funds by increasing taxes on small-scale production, livestock, etc, caused a rise in prices in the country, especially for food products. Bid for participation in major trade sherkats announced in 1946, seven-year plan of economic development has not justified itself. Receiving a variety of financial and other benefits as part of measures to promote their industrial activities sherkats preferred the more lucrative trade and otherwise evaded capital investments in industrial construction. Acute food crisis forced the government to seek external assistance to the U.S., which was granted in 1953 to Afghanistan loan to purchase American grain. Thus, the economic dependence on the United States in Afghanistan Yeshe intensified.

In the aggravated economic turmoil and political instability obshey government Shah Mahmood resigned. The new cabinet was formed by a cousin of King Mohammed Sardar Daoud. The nature of political power has not changed, but in the government figures were included, consider the mood of the politically active circles of society, the international situation and ready to osushestvleniyu certain reforms to strengthen the position of the exploitative elite imushih classes, which was not possible without the development of the productive forces of the economy and . The overall program of the Daoud government was designed to promote the development of capitalist relations in rasshiryayuShemsya state involvement in the economy. The policy of so-called guided economy, announced Daoud, opportunities for expansion of the social basis of the regime.

One of the first measures of the government was to change the credit system, is carried out by the newly created banks in 1954. The availability of credit were provided medium and small entrepreneurs. The appearance of the Agricultural Bank, to issue loans at a lower interest rate than the lenders, has stimulated agricultural production and the somewhat limited scope of usury, though there could be a serious competitor in the last few financial strength of the bank. Were increased as prices paid for karakul, wool and technical cultures, extended loans to producers of these crops, credit cooperatives created to facilitate commercial activities in agriculture. Although these events have affected only the

tip of the peasantry, they nevertheless somewhat stimulated the development of agricultural production. Creating a mixed-capital banks participating in the major trade sherkats, increased state involvement in the economy. Since 1954, the government became increasingly prnvlskat foreign capital to promote razvitikz local economy. Intensified foreign, especially American, West German, Japanese and other companies are seeking vozmohsnostp direct investment of their capital. In 1954, the airline created "Ariana", with the participation of American capital ("Panameriken"). That same year, the Afghan domestic market has penetrated the West German electrical company "Siemens", flooded the country with its products and open a business in its repair. With the participation of Japanese and West German capital companies was built typography "Franklin," the Ministry of Education. In Kunduz was commissioned factory pottery with Japanese capital. However, the creation of mixed companies with foreign capital, according to published in April 1954, the law on foreign investment, was caused by the provision of a controlling stake (at least 5!%) Afghan side. "

To increase revenues from domestic sources has developed new income tax law with entrepreneurs and business companies, measures to improve the accounting system, in particular in 1953, opened a school for the training of accountants, began to operate courses accountants. In! 954 preparations for drawing up plans for economic raznitiya country. Within the Ministry of Finance for this purpose an advisory board, it included economic, commercial, financial and technical experts headed by Minister-Adviser to the Government General Daoud Abdurrahim-loan. After a long description of the economic situation of the country and due consultation with the Ministry of Finance were formed various committees: finance, trade, mining, agriculture, transport and communication lines. They place the duty to prepare specific proposals for inclusion in the overall economic development plan 4 '. In addition, in the same ministry was created Department of Economics, which is responsible for budgeting and monitoring expenditure. In order to encourage foreign trade created Pashto commercial bank with an initial capital of 125 million Afghanis, "and the so-called building office, which loaned money to officials who have difficulty with housing, was reorganized into the construction and the mortgage bank to finance public works.

During the reign of Mohammed Daoud dramatically increased the number of trade and transport companies: the 60-ies, there were already 185 private and mixed companies, in addition, in the field of domestic and foreign trade in 1900 was occupied by large and medium torgovtsev'a. Hailed by the Daoud government economic policy consistent with the desire of the ruling circles contribute to the development of capitalism in the country with absolute control of the state over the process.

In the early 50-ies of Afghanistan continued to face serious economic difficulties, which forced him lo ask for help from the U.S.. In! 954 of American government gave Afghanistan zasy in \$ 18.5 million to finance the protracted osushestvleniya Helmand project ", thus strengthening their influence in the country. Afghanistan grew disappointment with the results of the Western monopolies, does not bring good oshutimoy Afghan economy, but only extracts one-way benefit. In these conditions are becoming increasingly important for Afghanistan zkonomicheskije and trade relations with the Soviet Union. In 1954, agreements were signed between the USSR and Afghanistan on the construction in Kabul with Soviet technical assistance bakery and an asphalt plant. Afghan public commended the establishment of

large-scale local enterprises, noting the Soviet contribution to the development of the Afghan economy. Soviet-Afghan cooperation was an important factor in strengthening the national sovereignty of Afghanistan and its foreign policy positions in the face of Western pressure to force Afghanistan to follow in the footsteps of his policies. Expansion of relations with the USSR and other socialist countries * had the more important for Afghanistan, which adds up to the mid 50's in the Middle East, the situation is materially prejudicial to the interests of the foreign policy of this country. In 1954 he was signed by the US-Pakistani military contract for the provision of U.S. military aid to Pakistan. This circumstance alarmed the public and rulers of Afghanistan, describing it as a threat to peace and security in the region. After the conclusion in 1954 of the Turkish-Pakistani pact under the auspices of the U.S. to increase pressure on Afghanistan to get him to participate in this pact force to refuse neutralist policy. In this widely used anti-Soviet propaganda thesis about the "threat from the north" However, Afghanistan has clearly stated its refusal to join the Cain-or military-political groupings.

* In! 954 in Kabul signed chehaslovapko-afganskne agreement on trade, payments, and credit for the construction of proiyshleyanyh various enterprises in Afghanistan.

Activation of the military-strategic efforts SSSL caused a negative reaction in Afghanistan. The course of American imperialism in the provision of military aid to Pakistan is regarded here as an attempt to transform the North-West Frontier Province of Pakistan, inhabited by Pashtuns bblshey part, into a springboard for antnafganskih strategic plans. Afghanistan was increasing calls for the support of the national movement in the Pashtun provinces motnviruemye ethnic community residents on both sides of the Afghan-Pakistani border. Put forward the idea of national unity of all Pashtuns. Such views indicate the formation of Afghanistan in the folding of the bourgeois nation national-bourgeois ideology, the speeches in support of the right to self-determination of Pashtuns are increasingly accompanied by anticolonial statements and appeals, becoming an integral part of public opinion. Foreign Pashtun movement was seen as part of the international anti-colonial and anti-imperialist movement. "

In 1954, the government of Mohammed Daoud announced the termination of the Anglo-Afghan treaty of 1921 the summer of 1954 held jirga of Pashtun tribal elders who lived on both sides of the border and that the Afghan authorities expressed full support for their struggle for national rights. The official position of Afghan Pashtun issue is the demand for the provision of the Pashtuns living in Pakistan, the right to self-determination. It was emphasized that Afghan officials have prepared to address this issue with Pakistan in a peaceful, political means. Position Afghanistan Pashtun issue was an important part of its policy of neutrality and non-participation in military blocs. It was reflected in the negative on Afghanistan to the created in 1955, the Baghdad Pact, as well as his active participation in the Bandung Conference of Asia and Africa, where he joined the State in favor of peace and international cooperation. Tension over the Pashtun issue intensified after the decision of the Government of Pakistan in 1955 to create a single province of West Pakistan, which were included in all existing e "alnoy part of the state administrative s.schipty, including those populated by Pashtuns. Pashtun national organization Pakistan regarded this action as a further infringement of their rights to national autonomy.

Creation of a single province of West Pakistan caused widespread outrage in Afghanistan. Daoud government issued a formal protest. In many cities around the country held rallies and demonstrations, in which was condemned NURS Pakistani rulers to suppress the national movement of Pashtuns.

Western imperialists sought to use the aggravation of the Afghan-Pakistan relations as a means of pressure on Afghanistan in an attempt to undermine his foreign policy and turn the country into its sphere of influence. Pakistan in May 1955 broke political and trade relations with Afghanistan, have been closed to all Afghan consulates and trade offices, prohibited the transit of goods through Pakistani territory. The sharp decline in foreign trade seriously affected the state of the Afghan economy. With growing tensions with Pakistan Afghan government in May 1955, declared a state of emergency and general mobilization. "At the same time the official circles of Kabul supported the mediation efforts of some countries in the Middle East to settle the Afghan-Pakistani conflict, which was met with displeasure to the U.S. , who saw in it a threat to disrupt their imperialist plans. Pakistani government, in turn, slows down the process of settlement, demanding the withdrawal of support from the Afghan Pashtun movement. Closing transit unsettled by means economic blockade of Afghanistan, according to its organizers, was to force him to make concessions.

At this difficult time, Afghanistan asked for help from the Soviet Union, giving in May 1955 a delegation to Moscow. In June of the same year signed the Soviet-Afghan agreement on the transit of goods through the territory of both countries. The economic blockade of Afghanistan, thus, was broken. This agreement has been instrumental in strengthening the international position of Afghanistan and helping him cope with economic difficulties. Imperialist circles, burned in the Afghan-Pakistani conflict, after the failure of their attempts to arm-twisting on Afghanistan had themselves to seek the way to the settlement of the Afghan-Pakistani conflict. In September 1955, an agreement was reached on the normalization of relations between the two countries, according to which at the end of that year, the newly opened Afghan consulates and trade offices in Pakistan and resumed the transit of foreign goods Afghanistan through Pakistani territory P4.

In November 1955, following the special session of Parliament was convened Loya Jirga. The participants were in favor of continuing to support the movement of foreign Pashtuns for not recognizing the territory they inhabited - Pashtunistan of Pakistan without the consent of the Pashtuns themselves, and called to strengthen the defense of Afghanistan. "

External events in the region has even more specific part of the Afghan ruling classes, who plays for the evolution of the bourgeois countries, to understand the true nature neokolonialnstskoy policies of Western imperialist powers in relation to Afghanistan, undermines its independence. Is a re-evaluation of foreign values and as a result somewhat from tsreimuschestvennoy focus on the capitalist West. As for the national-patriotic forces of the Afghan society, they are increasingly turning their attention to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, seeing them as true friends and associating with them hope for some help in the recovery of the national economy and the strengthening of the foreign policy positions of Afghanistan. In December 1955, in Kabul at the invitation of the Afghan. Soviet side came to visit the Soviet rulers. governmental delegation. The talks were announced desire of the parties to

expand the Soviet-Afghan. skie relationship and decided to extend sroyaa Treaty of Neutrality and Mutual nenatsadenii of 1931 In a joint communiqué expressed the readiness of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan to provide for economic development concessional loan of U.S. \$ 100 million agreement on this was signed in January 1956.

Since 1957, the Soviet Union began to provide assistance to Afghanistan in exploration and training of personnel. In 1959, Moscow signed an agreement to expand the Soviet-Afghan economic and technological cooperation, in accordance with iotorym Soviet Union provided aid to Afghanistan in the construction of highways Kushka - Herat - Kandahar length 680 km. In the same period, began to develop friendly relations with Afghanistan and the other socialist countries: Bulgaria, Poland, Czechoslovakia and East Germany.

Backed by major financial assistance from the USSR and the Afghan government developed the first five year plan for social and economic development (1956/1957 - 1960/1961 years.). The plan called for the priority development of agriculture, mainly irrigation, as well as energy, transport and communications, which was funded by the state. The total amount of public investment in the first five years was planned in the amount of 10.6 billion Afghanis. "

To make full use of internal resources was a system for receipt of various income, increased taxes and customs duties. The main part - about 75% of appropriations - was provided by foreign aid and loans. "

Soviet technical and economic assistance was a major contribution to the implementation of the main objectives of the first five years. Its volume in this period was more than 70' all foreign aid to Afghanistan. With technical and economic assistance of the USSR in Afghanistan, the construction of major economic projects, which formed the basis of developing the public sector: Naghlu hydropower capacity of 100 MW, repair plant "Jangalak" in Kabul, Jalalabad irrigation complex highway through the Hindu Kush, a river port on the Amu Darya Shirkhan. Subsequently, it was agreed to provide assistance in exploration and proektnonzyskatelskih works.

The focus of the five-year plan on agriculture, which employed 85V ~ s population. The development of this economic sector proposes to allocate 2.3 billion afghanis, of which about 6.1 billion afghanis - Helmand to continue the construction of the complex. "Was developed and launched the so-called" program of social development villages "significant vnimanievkotoroy was paid to the control of agricultural pest control, irrigation, rural road construction, the development of primary education. Provedetsne these activities meet the aspirations of the ruling circles to adapt existing agrarian relations to the needs of capitalist development. At the same time, such a policy has not changed very forms of land ownership. Ubiquitous monopoly of the landowners on the ground to help preserve the feudal exploitation of the peasants. Results of implementation of the first five-year plan on the basic parameters were below planned nametok. Average annual growth of the gross national product was 1.5%. "At the same time, the emergence of a number of large projects in the public sector, including infrastoukturnogo character, created the preconditions for a more rapid development. Development of the country since then.

In the second half of the 50's extended network of primary, secondary and vocational education. Since the interests of the developing direction of the bourgeois state required inclusion of females in community activities, in 1959, was abolished compulsory wearing of the veil by women, which supported the wider Afghan youth and women. This action created opportunities for females to do socially useful work. According to the Afghan researcher GD Panjshir, already in 1959, in Kabul, several clinics were first group of nurses and aides, in 1961, Mr. ... but in the state printing plant was taken several females, and in 1962 in the various parts of the state apparatus employed about 500 women.

Certain changes occurred in the social class. cial structure of Afghan society. The wide scope of usurious transactions in the village contributed to increase.

Ipcheniyu number of landlords and kulaks' farms n further strengthening of social differentiation krssty nstva.

The economic policy of the Daoud government that led to the involvement of the state and its control over important areas of production, some limited monopoly of the big shopping sherkats commercialized, including foreign trade, activity. Therefore, it was supported by a relatively broad strata of the bourgeoisie. At the same time, the petty-bourgeois circles generally remained opposition sentiment, although the mood in contrast to the sentiments of the previous period 1kontsa 40's - early 50's) is poured into an opposition movement. Under state capitalist government policy Daoud petty bourgeoisie did not get enough opportunities to expand their business, besides the existing political system is limited to participation in public life. With an increasing number of industrial enterprises grew and the working class, numbering the 60-ies of 15.8 thousand persons employed in enterprises factory type. "

But because of its small size, lack of organization and low level of political consciousness in this period, he was still far from being able to take an independent place in social life. Policy strengthening the central government, backed by major economic activities objectively limited the power of the khans and tribal elders, customized to some extent to the separatist government. However, despite the opposition of the Khans - large landowners, often takes the open, the ruling circles could be extended to the tribal zone a number of administrative, economic and cultural activities.

Most conservative social force, which, in alliance with the landed aristocracy of its opposition to the social and economic transformation, was the tip of the class of religious clerics. At the same time there is a change in the country could not affect the position of this class as a whole. Layer appears, which gradually begins to act for updating many dilapidated dogmas in trying to adapt Islam to modern requirements. The government, seeking to use religion for their own purposes, supported a loyal part of theologians, appointing its representatives to responsible positions in the state apparatus, in the system of education and justice.

Equal and mutually beneficial relations with the socialist countries of Afghanistan contributed to the strengthening of its national sovereignty, strengthen the international position, forcing the imperialist powers to maneuver, to find new ways, methods and means for the implementation of its plans for the

country. In 1956, the U.S. agreed to provide assistance to Afghanistan in the development of agriculture, mining, and education. In 1958, Pakistan gave Afghanistan the right to transit its goods through its territory. By the end of the 50s increased their activity the West German monopolies, taking part in the construction of energy facilities and the manufacturing industry.

In 1962, Afghanistan embarked on a second five-year plan for social and economic development (1962 - 1967).. The main focus was on the development of basic industries: mining, energy, transport, agriculture hoeyaistva. Significant place was given to the creation of light industry enterprises. Provided for the completion of a number of facilities and communications, which began during the First Five Year Plan. An important part of the new plan has been training. Total investment for the second five-year plan was to reach 25 billion afghanis. Still had in mind the widespread use of foreign aid, which amounted to 18 billion afghanis ". Of the 7 billion afghanis allocations from domestic sources only 400 million afghanis were invested by the private sector, and the rest state. "Although a second five-year plan has been called" the plan of industrialization ", as important as before, attached to the development selsnogo economy in iapitalovlozheniya which increased by 3.4 times compared to the first five-year period, reaching 4.4 billion afghanis "4. The main attention was paid to the development of industries producing raw materials and exports base.

As in the first five-year period, the Soviet Union offered to provide some help sushestvenno Afghanistan in implementing the second five year plan. Signed in 1961 in Moscow, the Soviet-Afghan agreement on technical cooperation for the provision of the USSR assistance in exploration, research and production of oil and gas, sozdayani chemical industry, road construction, agriculture and training. In 1962, agreement was reached on Soviet aid to housing. Attitude of the West to the Assistance to Afghanistan in the implementation of the second five-year plan defines overall goals of the imperialist countries in the region. USA, contrary to his previous statements to refuse to provide significant aid and cooperation on the basis of long-term programs, agreeing to participate in osushestvlenii only individual projects. A number of other Western countries took a similar position. The actual decline in Western aid to Afghanistan more difficult problem of realization of important planned facilities and put into question the reality of DDL execution generally planned five-year program.

Conducting Afghanistan policy of positive neutrality was at odds with the plans of the imperialist powers and weakened their influence in this part of Asia. In the early 60's Western imperialist circles again intensified efforts to undermine did not suit their country's foreign policy. The Western press izaraShalas sushnost Soviet-Afghan relations were made, ridiculous statements about the political use of the USSR to Afghanistan to implement their plans in the region, including attempts to "invasion of India." However, inefficient, outdated thesis about the "Soviet threat" prompted Western propagandists do discredit neutralist policy in Afghanistan. As a result of the policy of neutrality, they claimed, the country could be in regional isolation, is very dangerous for her "traditional classes." This pro-pagandistskaya campaign was accompanied by pressure on Afghanistan.

The basic rate is still being done on the differences between Afghanistan and Pakistan on the issue of Pashtun. By the beginning of 1961 on the strength of the Afghan-Pakistan border increased again. The

Afghan ambassador to Washington MH Maiwandwal protested the U.S. government regarding the supply of arms to Pakistan. In September 1961, the Pakistani government has again closed the Afghan consulates and trade offices in their territory, which resulted in the termination of transit trade goods Afghanistan through Pakistan. This led to a break in diplomatic relations between the two countries. In the face of economic difficulties associated with the termination of transit, the Western imperialists continued to put pressure on Afghanistan, strongly promoting the idea that the solution to the conflict with Pakistan is only possible through cooperation with the West and the countries - participants of the military-political groupings. In 1962 he was signed by the Iranian-Afghan agreement on the transit of Afghan goods through Iran.

Implemented in Afghanistan economic and social activities had an impact on the country took place in the evolution of public relations. The policy of "guided economy" was intended to limit the archaic and obsolete forms of these relations and some expansion of business opportunities the middle and petty bourgeoisie. However, the ruling circles did not spend any significant activities for the benefit of the broad working population. The class character of the government policy found most clearly expressed in the field of agrarian relations. The desire to adapt sushestvovavshie feudal institutions to the demands of the capitalist sector in agriculture is not contrary to economic and social interests of the big landowners. Minor events (expansion of state credit, credit cooperatives, increase in purchase prices for agricultural products) have not led to a change of ownership of the land and therefore the social relations in the village. Backwardness of agricultural production limited economic opportunities of the planned measures and slowed business petty and middle bourgeoisie. A painful, ugly nature of capitalist evolution had a negative effect on the economic situation of the direct producers, in particular the poorest strata of the peasantry.

The numerical growth of the industrial proletariat, ie, workers employed in modern factories factory-type trends to its formation as a separate class led to contradictions between capital and labor - a new phenomenon in the sphere of social relations. The slow pace of industrial development in the face of growing agrarian overpopulation promoted the growth of the unemployed. The ruling circles were going to have to solve the problems associated with the position of the working class, among them the important place occupied by the unsettled relations between workers and employers, civil and professional rights of the workers, their place and role in the process of production, the rational allocation of labor resources. However, created in 1962 by the National Committee for the recruitment limited his activity to just the examination of these issues.

State capitalist measures of the government and put forward their social program "supra-class unity" to bolster the activities of the middle class, of which a few expanded social base mode. However, a significant expansion of the base was not possible because of the class character of government policy, in general, designed to protect the interests of the elite ruling class. Economic and social development of the country severely hampered by still unchanged obsolete system of political institutions, causing discontent supporting reforms in Afghanistan. Daoud government for all of its time in power has not implemented any of those requirements. tions of public administration reform, which you-moving currents of the opposition in the early 50's. This left a negative impact on razv nent political situation

in the country. Class limited domestic policy regime I. Daoud, combined with the weakness of its position in foreign policy undermined the stability of the regime. Escalated in the early 60-ies of the Afghan-Pakistani conflict and deteriorating relations with Western imperialist circles have raised concerns Conservative supporters of the traditional ways of political and economic development of the country. They regarded it as a result of the lack of flexibility in government policy, which led to a decrease in opportunities for maneuver in Afghanistan's relations with various countries. Focusing on the support of the West, these forces criticized the foreign policy of the Daoud government. In this situation, in March 1963, the government of Mohammed Daoud was forced to leave in otstavkg.

The new cabinet was formed by Muhammad Yusuf, the former in the Daoud government Minister of Mining and Industry. In this case, the class structure of government has not changed. However, the rise to power of the new government initiated many changes of a political nature, meet the increasing demands ekoamicheskoy evolution of the country. In its economic program of the government Yusuf announced the succession of the previous course "guided economy", but with a greater emphasis on the support of "private initiative". In the political area, the Government announced its intention to make certain changes in the system of governance, in particular to begin drafting a new constitution to expand the civil rights of citizens, drafting a new electoral law and political parties.

At the same time, efforts were made to normalize the Afghan-Pakistani relations. In the spring of 1963 with the mediation Yrana talks were held between representatives of the two countries. As a result, resumed diplomatic relations, open consulates in both countries, and Afghanistan was the right of transit of their goods through Pakistan.

Programs and practices of the new government found a ready response among the general public, are increasingly being supported by the state and political transformation. While much of them to take bourgeois national positions, but gradually increased the scale demands of the bourgeois-democratic characteristic of the narrow circle of opposition groups, late 40's - early 50's. Now they were heard at the national level. In the absence of private press and political organizations in this period nahodpln public sentiment reflected in the semi-official press. An increasingly prominent place in its pages received publications on agriculture and conditions of the peasantry. They criticized the dominance of usury in the country, raised the issue of the continuing devastation of the peasant masses, that is affected by the agrarian overpopulation. Debt bondage peasant named as one NZ reasons of social contradictions in the country. " Aroused public concern and many unsolved social problems of the urban population. With the growth of the industrial proletariat, as well as transportation, construction and farm workers in the national journalism points to the need to address the social problems of this category of workers, demanding everyone's attention. The most important of these were, as noted above, the unsettled relations between the employed labor force and entrepreneurs, as well as the problem of the labor market. Insistence of these problems led to the development in 1965 of a new law on labor, which is recommended for use and ua private sector 'as well. At a time when the working layers yugli not make independent ideological and political programs, their requirements are more actively involved in the installation of the bourgeois-democratic forces, represented by the petty and middle bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia. Fighting the radical part of the force for the early

democratization of state and political institutions, against the supporters of the slow and gradual adaptation of the existing political system to the needs of Bourgeois development observed largely determined the direction of political activity in Afghanistan over the years.

In accordance with the advent of more advanced forms of consciousness and a higher level of political activity of various social strata and the domestic practice of changing the ruling circles. In the official propaganda is increasingly heard calls for democratization of life through "unity and cooperation" of all classes, often the emphasis is on "improving the living conditions of the masses." Support of the people of government measures is seen as the key to successful implementation of the transformation program. So many of the government's declarations were marked "of great importance" and attached to the official propaganda work with intellectuals and students, calling, in the opinion of governments, have an important role as a link between the government and the masses in policy change. Given the significant share of students radical views, circles in an attempt to bring them to work and at the same time maintain control over all forms of political activity in the country have called for restraint "fanaticism and dissent" and act in line with "respect for the rule of law."

In its economic policy the government prominently expansion of private capital. On the one hand, the administration's attempts to establish stronger control of large business groups, the acting in their own selfish purposes, and more efficient use of their capital

in economic development plans. On the other - the government has sought to provide a variety of benefits to the private sector and thus encourage participation in the construction industry, much attention was paid to the mixed public-private enterprises under the "guided mixed economy." Taking on the allocation of key sectors (energy, transport, mining), the state created the opportunity for private sector activity to invest in capital-intensive enterprises in other industries. At the same time, the spheres of private capital and the amount taken into account in the overall planning of the economy. Increased attention to the development of private enterprise was supported by a number of demanding transfer of public enterprises to the private sector. However, these measures have not led to a significant expansion of participation in the construction industry of private capital, still prefer a more profitable business.

As part of the socio-economic activities by the end of 1963 has been prepared and reviewed by the Council of Ministers a draft of a new constitution. In August 1964, after the finalization and approval of the draft was published in September 1964, approved at the Loya Jirga, and in October, the king.

The provisions of the new Constitution confirmed "constitutional monarchy" the king of Afghanistan in providing supreme authority in the executive, legislative and judicial branches. The King holds positions in the parliament, the government and the Supreme Court.

Made for separate operation of the three forms of government. The Constitution affirmed the principle of national sovereignty, rights and freedoms of citizens: the inviolability of person and property, freedom

of speech, press, assembly, equal citizens before the law, freedom of residence and peovedvizhenpya. An important innovation was declared constitutional right to form associations and political parties, with the proviso that their activities and tasks do not conflict with the provisions of the Basic Law.

State languages of Afghanistan declared Pashto and Dari, Pashto and English was named a national, that in the spirit of developing national-bourgeois ideology (pushtunskogo nationalism). Was declared the state religion of Islam Hanafi persuasion. However, the Basic Law to limit the influence of Muslim theologians, particularly in prosvesheniya and procedure, placed under the direct control of the state.

Certain changes were made in the constitutional provisions on nye parliament. The deputies of the lower house - the People's Council were to be elected by direct vote for a term of four years. Its chairman elected from among the deputies. As for the upper house - the Senate, its composition was formed on 9z from the deputies appointed by the king, and the 1/3 by means of elections, and as chairman of the Senate appointed by the King. Government carried personal and collective responsibility to the National Council, whose deputies could require ministerial report on their activities. The lower house of parliament could pass a vote of no confidence in the government. It is true that the king had the right to dissolve parliament, limiting control over the activities of the Parliament of the government.

Thus, an extension of the Parliament by the Constitution, in conjunction with the right to form political organizations to increase the possibility of politically active segments of the population to participate in the State and society.

In general, the constitution in 1964, bearing the largely bourgeois character, was aimed at protecting the interests of the ruling classes, and reflected the overall need for modernization of the state. However, the ruling circles, constitutional reform, could not understand the requirements of social forces that support the need for a slogan. Democratic reforms. The constitution was an important event in the political life of the country. Of rights and freedoms, formal narrowing the prerogatives of the royal court, expansion of parliamentary powers, constitutional resolution of the political organizations, limiting the scope of the influence of orthodox theologians, and other changes in the law were the impetus to enhance the social movements of different political persuasions, including the general-democratic. At the stage of development poslekonstitutsionnogo an increasing impact on the political situation in the country began to render the struggle for democratic change.

Since the adoption of the constitution and to elect a new parliament was declared transient, in which Aunt NIS legislature passed the government, has been developed and in May 1965 came into effect a new electoral law for the first time granted females the right to vote. The election campaign has found a growing interest in various social circles and the general public to the work of the legislature. Parliamentary candidates have the opportunity to speak to the voters, although under the control of the authorities. Elections held in August - September! 1965 in niznyuyu house of parliament were elected 216 deputies. "Most of them were supporters of the government transformation program. First deputies found a small group of representatives of the democratic community, including the radical direction.

On one of their first meetings, October 24, 1965, the parliament was to express a vote of no confidence in the government, formed at the request of King Yusuf. However, in this day, thousands of people in the capital, mostly students at Kabul University, gathered in front of parliament (some even got inside), requiring them to allow him to be present at work. The meeting was adjourned. The next day in Kabul again there were large demonstrations were accompanied by clashes with police. Participants performances demanded changes proposed by the Government, protesting against corruption and bribery of several ministers. As a result of the use of force against demonstrators many were victims of PZ students, Peking University, and schools were closed for a week.

Government Yusuf received majority support for the deputies and was approved by King. Oct. 26 Head of the Cabinet set out his program, which emphasized fidelity to the spirit of the constitution, called for the implementation of social activities that contribute to the normalization of relations between landowners and peasants, entrepreneurs, Mr. workers. The government has confirmed the policy of developing "guided mixed economy" based planning. In the foreign policy of non-alignment principles have remained the same and positive neutrality. At the same time, the government observed silence tumultuous events of 24 - 25 October, which was seen as ignoring the public mood. Unrest among the students of the capital continued. October 29 government Yusuf resigned.

At the head of the new cabinet was Minister of Information and the Press in the previous government. The main content of the program of the new cabinet, according to its members, was reduced to attract the general public to participate in political activities. Speaking about his desire to contribute to the progress, the new prime minister stressed the government's commitment to seriously address the issues of the workers and small farmers, to create the conditions for the free activity of the parties and the press. The main course of economic and foreign policy has not changed. Significant place in the declarations of the Government M H. Maiwandwal tackle the problem related to the situation of students, although the main emphasis is on his peace. However, the excitement of the students did not stop, extending beyond the academic requirements. In December 1965 at Kabul University were demonstrations and rallies, leaflets. Were arrested, some active members of these performances.

Meanwhile, the newly elected Parliament in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, after much discussion, approved the draft law on political parties. This was certainly an important achievement of the democratic forces, opening the possibility for organized political action. At the same time, the activities of the parties, by law, are under the control of government agencies, limited the open political and ideological struggle. *

In the 60 years of the observed acceleration of the economic development of the country in the Second Plan (1962 - 1967). Have been built or are under construction, with the technical assistance of the Co-

h appears in the second half of the 80's political "opposition" so-called do not have legal status, since the law on political parties not only approved by King, who feared the summer. Organizations centers of opposition.

Soviet Union's largest industries and economic infrastructure: highway Kushka - Herat - Kandahar length 680 km (opened in 1965), Kabul highway port Shirkhan length of 470 km, built in difficult mountain conditions in the Hindu Kush mountain range (1966); Afghanistan's largest hydroelectric power Nughlu 100 MW (1967), Jalalabad irrigation complex with hydro Darunta (1965), on the basis of which were created in the next four years, agricultural farms, gas fields in the north and pipeline Afghanistan - Soviet Central Asia length 365 km (1968), with which began the export of Afghan gas to the Soviet Union; Kabul Polytechnic Institute (1968) and others has significantly increased the number of small cottage industries. Many of them are equipped with a simple equipment and machinery. Several increased the role of private capital, enjoyed the encouragement of the government. Proceeds from borrowings and loans from abroad to finance the Afghan five-year accompanied by an increase in foreign investment, which contributed to the adoption in 1967, the law on foreign private investment. While economic aid from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries expanded Afghanistan, Western nations, particularly the U.S., to reduce its financial contribution to the objects of the public sector in Afghanistan. General considerations of the ruling circles of the imperialist countries on aid to Afghanistan in his economic programs were not supported by a practical part, which indicated their unwillingness to assist in accelerating the economic development of the country. A reflection of the true nature of Western "aid" to Afghanistan was prolonged construction sistemgya irrigation in the valley of the Helmand River, the prospects for completion of which were unclear.

As a result of the first two five-year plans has expanded the public sector of the economy. Public investment in economic development were the bulk of the total allocation for both five-year periods (90.3 and 98.3 a7 ", respectively). Changed and the industry structure of the public sector of New branches. Industry - Workshop, gazodobyvayushaya, himn. Ceska, cement, house-building. The volume of goods produced by state-owned enterprises has increased over the years in the two five-year and 4.4 times. " Industrial construction was accompanied by training of national personnel, mostly workers and technicians. Most qualified Afghan personnel are trained to the largest building in the technical and economic assistance from the Soviet Union. Obshee of trained by 1967 workers and technicians was 30 thousand people th Changes in the economy caused by the creation of public sector industrial projects, followed by growth of the productive forces, which could not but affect the social structure and thus the alignment and position of the main class forces. In the process of national-bourgeois evolution increased and strengthened those sectors and population groups, whose activities were somehow connected with razvivayushimpsya capitalism. This is the national bourgeoisie, the industrial proletariat, the technical intelligentsia, the bureaucracy, some layers of the petty bourgeoisie and students. By the mid-60's were first designed ideological trends, reflecting the interests of the social strata. Subsequently, such flows were formed into independent political parties and groups. With almost total illiteracy of the population, especially in rural areas, divided n psychologically conservative largest extension political struggle was in the city. At the forefront of the political movement were radical sections of the intelligentsia and students, as the most conscious and prosveshennaya part of society. In the first stage appearance and formation of different in their ideological and political programs of the parties (mid 60's), the main form of political activity were published in a private periodicals. Private newspapers were published after the approval of the Parliament of the new press law in 1965, the basic material in the

newspapers were critical and often controversial nature, mainly around the question on how socio-economic and political development. Private newspapers in most cases were ideological and organizational core of the future of political parties.

In the trend is towards the emergence of various political groups rulers tried to present his program as a universal means of satisfying the interests of the general public. The amplification was declared that the policy will be based on the involvement of various social groups, united under the "united front of progressive forces" to achieve social progress and democracy. "These views have crystallized in the establishment of a political party that, in the interest of the ruling classes and using the support of governments, would control the political life and to be a monopolist in influencing the formation of public opinion. idea of forming such a party is trying to implement the Prime Minister MH Maiwandwal.

The main provisions of the party program were outlined in his speech on the occasion of Independence Day in August 1966, and were reduced to achieve end of 1971.

On the situation in Afghanistan in the mid 60's ever-growing influence exerted important international factors. Strengthening of the world socialist system, the powerful upsurge of the national liberation movements, the collapse of the colonial system and the formation of new independent states led to major changes in the world. Increased significantly national radical leftist elements in the liberation movement, which reflected not only the national but also the social aspirations of the masses. Fertile ground for the spread of the ideas of scientific socialism created a natural proletarian aspirations working population, who were fighting for a better life. The ideas of socialism increasingly penetrated into developing countries. In Afghanistan, because of the small number and the political immaturity of the working class supports scientific ideas. They were the representatives of leftist socialist, progressive section of the petty bourgeoisie, the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia in particular. In 1965, there was an association created in previous years some Marxist circles and socialist groups in the democratic intelligentsia People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA). Organizationally, it took shape on one 11th Congress illegally 'The program of meetings Mayvanlvalya and members of his government outreach and visits to the provinces in order to clarify government policy.

Kabul, January 1, 1966 The congress elected the Central Committee of the party of seven. CC members were Nur Muhammad Taraki (selected by the Secretary General), Babrak Karmal, SA Keshtmand etc One year later, in April 1966, the PDPA established organ - the newspaper "Khalq" ("People"), published in the first two rooms of their program. It contained an analysis of the international and domestic situation in Afghanistan and stressed that the main cause of "slow development of the productive forces and the plight of the people is the economic and political domination of the feudal class and the comprador big local merchants, the bureaucracy and the agents of the international monopolies, the class whose interests conflict with those of the people of Afghanistan". PDPA, the program said, takes on the task of resolving these contradictions by establishing a national democratic government relying on a "united national front of all the progressive, democratic and patriotic forces, ie, the workers, peasants, progressive intellectuals, artisans, petty and national bourgeoisie, who are fighting for national independence and democratization of public life, and the completion of the anti-feudal and anti-

imperialist struggle. "The main content of the national democratic stage of the newspaper to the eradication of the feudal system and the transition to non-capitalist path of development.

In formulating the policy objectives of the national democratic government, the program provides for the establishment of the PDPA genuine democracy, economic independence and national sovereignty, and the democratization of the judicial system, the actual provision of the people's rights - freedom of speech, press, assembly, and creation of political organizations, trade unions, freedom of strikes, demonstrations, democratic solution of the national question. The economic policy of the national-democratic government, highlighted in the paper, should be aimed at the development of the public sector on the basis of planning. "The public sector - Nisa newspaper" Khalq "- which has an anti-feudal, anti-colonial and anti-imperialist in nature, will be the foundation of the economy and real democracy," ". Provision is also accelerated industrialization. alizatsnya country.

At the heart of agricultural policy, according to the authors of the program, must lie elimination of feudalism through democratic land reform in the interests of the landless and land-poor peasants and their direct involvement, the destruction of usurious debt, creation of peasant cooperatives and all possible assistance to them.

Party in the program has also witnessed a number of important social issues, including the establishment of a 42-hour work week, the introduction of paid maternity leave, reduced working hours for heavy and dangerous work, pensions for the elderly, free medical care, prohibition of child labor, unionization, collective labor contracts, building affordable housing for all the dispossessed, the empowerment of women, the fight against tyranny and lawlessness, was scheduled as a wide network of cultural activities, primarily to combat illiteracy. In the area of foreign policy for the conduct of the PDPA made peace policy of positive neutrality and the struggle for peace and peaceful co-existence, against colonialism and neo-colonialism, in support of national liberation movements.

At the end of the program are summarized as tactics and the strategic line of the party: "In support of the constitution and openly and peacefully fighting at this stage for the creation of a national democratic government and the non-capitalist path of development based on a revolutionary ideology and outlook, we will never forget our responsibility to the people and workers of Afghanistan and our ultimate goal - building a new socialist society ".

Published democratic program was an ideological platform on which the PDPA. In subsequent issues of the newspaper "Khalq" izlagalns class nature of the Party and the very purpose of the newspaper, n. Management Board to ensure that "unite all the progressive, patriotic and democratic forces into a single national-democratic organization that serves vzaschitu inzeresov people, to become the core of the ideological unity of the organization " ". Revealing class prirsdu party newspaper wrote that this "new kind of political organization in Afghanistan will be the vanguard of the working class and to act in alliance with the peasantry and progressive intellectuals, being naked ravlyayuschey force of the democratic movement. szavit This power to unite people in the target the struggle against despotism and reaction, show the way for workers to build a free, democratic society, awaken all the people, to

expand the movement against feudalism and imperialism and to create a democratic constitutional sroy, absolutist power and to eliminate outdated industrial relations. ""

Publication of the newspaper "Khalq" marked the beginning of active promotion of the ideas of scientific socialism among the various sections of the intelligentsia and workers. At the same time, they cause acute attacks of right-wing circles. Some of the press, including the semi-official appeared attacks against the newspaper "Khalq". Some private gazes attempted to discredit the main provisions of the democratic program of the newspaper "Khalq" protivopozavit her idea of the unity of all classes, claiming that "class struggle complicates the way to progress and rebirth. ""

Not limiting attacks in the media, government officials, pursuing "Khalq", weighed against this ~ azety for violation of constitutional provisions. In May 1966, the government decided it bya prohibited. Published six issues of "Khalq".

Among other papers, speakers at this time for the consistent implementation of the constitutional provisions in practice, it should be called "Peyame emruz" 1 "Today's News"). It began publication in February 1966 newspaper tried to open the major social evils and shortcomings, strongly defended the right of the general public to participate in political and social activities. In May 1966, she, as well as the "Khalq", was closed by the authorities, but after six months of its publication resumed.

Close in spirit and theme of their publications to the newspaper "Khalq" was the newspaper "Sedan basics" ("Voice of the masses"), standing in positions of petty-bourgeois radicalism. She began to appear in March 1968 Newspaper is strongly influenced by the ideas of "Khalq", which affected even her political terminology.

Formulating goals and publishers in the editorial of the first issue of the newspaper said that "Sedan Awam" not serve the interests of workers and "fights for seeking their liberation from poverty, injustice, and for the provision of social welfare." They shared all social strata and classes of society into two opposing camps. Go to first - poverty and oppression - include "progressive intellectuals, knowledge workers, teachers, progressive youth, high government officials, physical labor, land-poor and landless peasants, small landowners, nomads, craftsmen, small entrepreneurs," ie, trudgvye all walks of life, is 98 % of the population. The second - the oppression and exploitation - "landlords, capitalists, and a handful of rulers, oppressors. "" On the situation of the working people, the newspaper stressed that they are deprived of not only economic benefits, but also obschestvenopoliticheskikh rights. Proclaiming fight "for the rights and liberation of all workers masses "ideologues" Sedan Awam "offered a program of this struggle, which included the creation of a national democratic government through the" transfer of political and economic power to the people on the basis of expression of the will of the working people "and of the complex social and economic reforms in the interests of the labor classes in the way of non-capitalist development. particularly aimed at broadening and strengthening of the public sector, the introduction of more effective planning for economic development, creation of mechanized agriculture, expansion of obshezvennogo zdravoohraneniya¹⁴, forms of struggle for the proclamation of the TT chi

is not specific, Hoti was assumed that it would be legitimate, legal activity, based the unity and solidarity of the labor classes.

With all the positive content of the slogans put forward "Sedan Awam", did not go beyond general declarations. "Newspaper did not apply to the method, means and ways to fight the proposed reformation of the social and political structure of the state." Incidentally, one of lozun ~ s paper, "Food, clothing and housing" (among other benefits, they should be given the workers), was subsequently widely used and has become a fundamental part of the program of socio-economic reforms conducted PDPA.

In the late 60's in Afghanistan appears over, the ideologues who were in positions of petty extremism, Ideas, preached the leaders of the group, whose members called themselves the "new democrats", found support among a section of the petty bourgeoisie, the individual members of the working intelligentsia and semi-layers most prone to extreme radicalism. In 1968, they began to publish a newspaper, "Shula-yi Jawed" ("Eternal Flame"), the pages of which reflected the basic concept tsoreticheskije Afghan levoekstremistov. Ideologues groups, ignoring the class struggle in the capitalist countries and denigrating the value of contradictions between the world socialist system and the imperialist camp, considered the national liberation movement in the developing world the vanguard of the world revolutionary process. "Their theories were clearly drawn from the arsenal of Maoist ideology. Publishers' Shula-yi Jawed" downplay the role of the working class and the 'peasantry called hegemon class, able to rally other democratic and semi-democratic strata. "

In an effort to discredit the PDPA program and to split the democratic movement, Afghan Maoists have criticized the guidelines of the program. They rejected the idea put forward by the PDPA transition to non-capitalist development, accusing the party of compromise with the bourgeoisie of the oppressed and the attempts to divert the path of the class struggle. The ideology of "Shula-yi Jawed" considered creation of a national front of progressive, democratic forces unlikely in light of the political rule of the exploiting classes. As much as they were against it. Principles of Peaceful Coexistence '~.

The newspaper "Shula-yi Jawed" was criticized public sector, as an alleged employee only strengthen the economic position of the bourgeoisie and the means of exploitation trudyaschihsyae '. In general ideological orientation Afghan maoistovbylinapravleny to discredit the ideas of scientific socialism and the weakening of the democratic movement in the country. Greatest influence group "New Democrats", which was headed by Dr. Hadi Mahmoudi and Engineer Muhammad Osman, enjoyed among the capital's students and schools. Afghan Maoists were active in and among national minorities, especially in Herat and Hazarajat. Not having their representatives in Parliament, and guided by the Maoist slogan "rifle generates power," Afghan levoekstremisty introduced into the political fray element of disorganization, anarchy and unnecessary clashes with the authorities. Thus, in May 1968, members of the group, "Shula-yi Jawed" sprovopirovali protesters clash with police, resulting in the Maoist leaders were arrested and jailed, their newspapers closed.

A notable event in the political life of the country in the second half of the 60s was the publication of the private newspaper "Afghan Millat" ("The Afghan nation") around which supporters of the bourgeois-nationalist ideas, self-proclaimed Social Democrats. Their leader and leading ideologist was publisher, president of the Energy Department, and later the mayor of Kabul, Ghulam Mohammad Farhad. Some impact on his political views had his years in Nazi Germany, where he learned a lot from the ideology of National Socialism. The burden publication of the newspaper "Afghan Millat" - the creation of "one spirit of the nation", which was seen as a panacea for all social ills. Requiring "reconcile all nations, races and tribes of Afghanistan into a nation, and the traditions and social and legal factors that make their material and spiritual life - in one culture," the newspaper publishers saw this as a means "to achieve the same goal, defined by common wishes of the nation, the general spirit, the general ideas". At the same time, the concept of a single nation was interpreted through the prism of national interests of the ethnic majority - the Pashtuns, usheob in the interests of national minorities. Pashtun nationalism newspaper "Afghan Millat" fed ideas "Afghan spirit" supposedly inherent in the nation's history and defines its social and political development. Playing on democracy, the newspaper appealed to the workers and peasants, prompting them how best to rid the Xia of "poverty, unemployment, and injustice." "There is only one way - say it - is unity: the unity of place, unity of color, unity of thought in the shadow of the nation and in the interest of the nation. And while the various classes of s firmly established nationalism, your lot, the workers will remain the same". Essentially ignoring the class nature of society, the so-called Social Democrats have not put forward any positive economic program, limited only by general declarations.

With similar ideological positions advocated and private newspaper "Vahdat" ("Unity"). Expressing its concern over the social and economic disorder of society, it called for the unity of all classes to the "class harmony" in the struggle for social justice, and under the latter refers to a situation in which would have been satisfied with the interests of the propertied classes and the workers. The way to achieve this kind of justice, the newspaper - is improving and correcting the existing socio-political system in the framework of the law. Publishers "Vahdat" strongly deplored all forms of class struggle. According to them, it can only lead to confusion and disturbance of public tranquility. "

The process of ideological and political polarization touched and Muslim theologians Orthodox priests, acting as defenders of outdated social and economic orders in the second half of the 60's, began to feel the weakening of its influence in various spheres of public and political life. By the end of 60's priests, numbering 220 - 230 thousand people "were very heterogeneous in terms of estate property, and political views. Some of prosloykg - came from urban middle classes who have received advanced theological education abroad or at home country - began to preach the ideas of Islam renovation, modernization and adaptation to the demands of modernity. Formation of their political views influenced not only the various bourgeois theories and socialist ideas that have received relatively widespread in Afghanistan, especially after the appearance of the PDPA. Islam-cal modernists have adopted some of these views. early Islam is in position, consonant with some socialist categories (such as for example the idea of equality. and equity), they proved compatible with the teachings of Muhammad socialism, calling his concept of "Islamic socialism." condemning greed, stinginess and use

of wealth by those in power in the self-serving purposes, advocates of this concept sought a means to achieve social justice in the cultivation and follow the path of Islam. However, their number was small.

Orthodox part of Afghan scholars represented by prominent theologians, heads of sects and orders, imams mechetsy large, economically linked to the feudal land ownership and major commercial capital, continued to oppose any kind of change that would undermine traditional values.

Criticizing capitalism and its evils, while from. ritsaya socialism, right-wing scholars put forward a special way, the development of Islamic society, assumed the role of defenders of the "religious, social, political and national freedom." Mouthpiece of their ideas was a private newspaper "Gahiz" ("Morning"), the first issue of which came out in January 1969 prominently criticized flaws of Western "civilization", it is mainly the external manifestations (night clubs, alcohol, pornography, etc. etc.), the publishers of the newspaper used the main efforts to combat the ideas of scientific socialism. "Their greatest irritation caused by socialism negation of private property in the means of production, which, in their opinion, made the socialist system unacceptable to the Muslim countries." Rejecting socialism and socialist ideas, the publishers of the newspaper "Gahiz" were against any form of class struggle, which, they claim, brought the "infidels" and leads to "pessimism, strife, anger and hatred." Thus, slogans and ideas enunciated ub newspaper "Gahiz" testified that the forces grouped around the publication, stood on the extreme right of the political struggle, right itself against all the left and democratic tendencies. "Weekly" Gahiz "- wrote about this French journalist Jean Veta, - are now trying to preach religious reaction, not only denouncing the" disgraceful innovations ", such as the appearance of mini-skirts in the streets of the capital, but also leading the frontal attack against the Marxist propaganda ". ideological position of the newspaper * the main part of the program of political groupings extreme right - "Brotherhood" and "Muslim Youth".

The ideological struggle for the choice of the possible ways of development of the country covering all the wider population. It gradually drawn and units to form working class, which stands at the forefront of the PDPA. Becoming a party of the working class in Afghanistan held in difficult conditions. In the framework of a mixed economy is not yet completed the process of class formation. The working class was small, geographically fragmented and politically immature. He has not yet reached the level of the organization, which could act as an independent political force. The peasants were completely illiterate and are strongly influenced by the so-called traditional leaders 1musulmanskih theologians, khans and tribal elders). In these circumstances, the newly emerging PDPA had to work mainly among the democratic part of the intelligentsia and students - politically active, but at the same time socially heterogeneous groups, most of which was under the influence of petty-bourgeois radicalism and nationalist prejudices. In addition, the party did not have a legal status and could not use the broad array of forms and means of political struggle. She did not have and extensive international connections.

PDPA impacting the reactionary circles of the Right and the ultra-extremists and reprisals from the authorities. The nature of the party said the heterogeneity of its ranks. Occupied a predominant place in her intellectuals, mostly teachers, students, petty officials and junior officers. All of these objective and subjective factors have led to the fact that the PDPA in the first phase of its development has not

escaped the growing pains. * Total from 1966 to 1973 were published in the country and 26 private newspapers zhurnalop.

Ref.

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