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# Guinea

May 1973

NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE SURVEY

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# Guinea

## CONTENTS

*This General Survey supersedes the one dated July 1969, copies of which should be destroyed.*

- A. Introduction ..... 1
- B. Structure and characteristics of the society ..... 2
  - 1. Traditional society ..... 2
    - a. Tribal divisions ..... 2
    - b. Linguistic divisions ..... 4
    - c. Social organization ..... 5
    - d. Values and attitudes ..... 5
  - 2. Social change ..... 6
    - a. Colonial influences ..... 6
    - b. Urbanization ..... 6
    - c. PDG ideology ..... 7
    - d. PDG organizations ..... 7
    - e. Popular attitudes ..... 8
- C. Population ..... 9
  - 1. General characteristics ..... 9
    - a. Size ..... 9
    - b. Density and distribution ..... 9
    - c. Composition ..... 10
    - d. Age-sex structure ..... 10

CONFIDENTIAL

	<i>Page</i>		<i>Page</i>
2. Population change .....	11	b. Medical personnel .....	22
a. Vital statistics .....	11	c. Preventive medicine programs .....	22
b. Immigration and emigration .....	11	<b>G. Religion</b> .....	23
c. Growth trends and government policy .....	11	1. Principal religions .....	23
<b>D. Labor</b> .....	11	a. Islam .....	23
1. Job opportunities .....	12	b. Animism .....	24
a. Traditional employment .....	12	c. Christianity .....	24
b. Modern employment .....	12	2. Church-state relations .....	25
2. Unemployment .....	13	<b>H. Education</b> .....	25
a. Unemployment and underemployment .....	13	1. Organization .....	25
b. Government policies to promote employment .....	14	a. Primary education .....	25
3. Labor laws and working conditions .....	14	b. Secondary education .....	26
a. Labor laws .....	14	c. Higher education .....	27
b. Working conditions .....	15	d. Other schools .....	27
4. Labor organization .....	15	2. Educational attainment and quality .....	27
5. Labor and party relations .....	16	a. Literacy levels .....	27
<b>E. Living conditions and social problems</b> .....	16	b. Educational opportunity .....	27
1. Material welfare .....	16	c. Educational quality .....	28
a. Income levels .....	16	3. Government and education .....	29
b. Clothing and housing .....	17	a. Administration and finance .....	29
c. Subsistence economy .....	18	b. Political involvement .....	29
2. Welfare programs .....	18	<b>I. Artistic and cultural expression</b> .....	30
a. Private assistance .....	18	1. Modes of artistic expression .....	30
b. Government programs .....	18	2. Personalities and institutions .....	32
3. Social problems .....	19	3. Government control and support of the arts .....	32
<b>F. Health</b> .....	19	<b>J. Public information</b> .....	33
1. Health conditions .....	19	1. Principal media .....	33
a. Factors adversely affecting health .....	19	a. Radio and films .....	33
b. Water supply and waste disposal .....	20	b. Printed matter .....	33
c. Prevalent diseases .....	20	2. Political control of public information .....	34
2. Nutrition and diet .....	20	3. Impact of the media .....	34
3. Medical care .....	22	<b>K. Selected bibliography</b> .....	35
a. Health care facilities .....	22		

#### FIGURES

	<i>Page</i>		<i>Page</i>
Fig. 1 Women's groups marching ( <i>photo</i> ) .....	2	Fig. 13 Bassari village ( <i>photo</i> ) .....	18
Fig. 2 Estimated size of Guinean tribes, 1971 ( <i>table</i> ) .....	3	Fig. 14 Typical rural market ( <i>photo</i> ) .....	21
Fig. 3 Fulani woman ( <i>photo</i> ) .....	3	Fig. 15 Donka Hospital in Conakry ( <i>photo</i> ) .....	22
Fig. 4 Malinke mother and child ( <i>photo</i> ) .....	3	Fig. 16 Mosque constructed of thatch ( <i>photo</i> ) .....	23
Fig. 5 Population density ( <i>map</i> ) .....	9	Fig. 17 Roman Catholic cathedral in Conakry ( <i>photo</i> ) .....	24
Fig. 6 Population by geographic area ( <i>table</i> ) .....	10	Fig. 18 Educational system ( <i>chart</i> ) .....	26
Fig. 7 Growth of urban centers ( <i>table</i> ) .....	10	Fig. 19 School enrollment ( <i>table</i> ) .....	27
Fig. 8 Age-sex profile ( <i>chart</i> ) .....	10	Fig. 20 Rural Islamic school ( <i>photo</i> ) .....	29
Fig. 9 Women trading in Kankan market ( <i>photo</i> ) .....	12	Fig. 21 Stilt dancers ( <i>photo</i> ) .....	30
Fig. 10 Labor force ( <i>chart</i> ) .....	13	Fig. 22 Traditional instruments ( <i>paintings</i> ) .....	31
Fig. 11 Labor organization ( <i>chart</i> ) .....	15	Fig. 23 Nimba mask ( <i>photo</i> ) .....	32
Fig. 12 Urban clothing styles ( <i>photos</i> ) .....	17	Fig. 24 Sound truck ( <i>photo</i> ) .....	33

# The Society

## A. Introduction (U/OU)

Since Guinea's independence in 1958, President Sekou Toure has plunged the country into a far-reaching experiment directed toward the modernization of traditional society and the creation of an egalitarian state. The ubiquitous Democratic Party of Guinea (PDG)—the only political party permitted—has led the government's fight to eliminate the authority of the tribal leaders, the influence of the French colonial heritage, and the bourgeois elements in contemporary society. The PDG has established itself as the vanguard of the "Guinean revolution," promoting what the party judges to be genuinely African and in support of its aims while disparaging what it deems foreign or anti-PDG. A constant flow of propaganda in the official quasi-Marxist jargon and an unending series of organizational changes in public institutions undoubtedly have left many Guineans with a profound sense of apathy, but it is nonetheless apparent that the regime has been remarkably successful in instilling popular respect for such ideas as the African personality, national identity, and detribalization. In practical terms, the party has promoted local self-reliance, collective labor, and material sacrifice as necessary steps to achieving national political and economic independence.

Guinean society is made up of at least 18 distinct tribes. In a population of only 4 million, the resulting linguistic and ethnic heterogeneity has naturally served to fragment the population and slow cooperation. The small absolute size of most tribes, however, has prevented them from individually aspiring to political or economic autonomy and has lent an air of inevitability to the creation of a strong central authority by the PDG. Tribal frictions are minimal—and cooperation possible—partly because historically no single tribe has held effective political suzerainty over the whole of Guinea. Likewise, no one ethnic group has a monopoly of political power in contemporary Guinea, although the Malinke are

overrepresented in both the government and party hierarchies. Some ethnic groups, notably the Fulani, continue to resent what they perceive to be Malinke domination, but such feelings are not manifested in overt political acts.

Islam was introduced to Moyenne-Guinee (Middle Guinea) by the Fulani people in the 17th century. Although the influence of the Fulani—the largest and most influential tribe in preindependence times—has declined, that of Islam has not. Guinea's three largest tribes and 75% of the national population claim to be Muslims, and their common religion constitutes an important factor contributing to national unity. The cultural patterns associated with Islam have injected a common element into Guinea's diverse tribal cultures. Additionally, religious loyalties have been drawn on to support the Toure regime's anticolonial, anti-European, and specifically anti-Catholic orientation.

National unity has been enhanced also by the Guineans' tendency to reject the colonial legacy of French culture, politics, and economics. Alone among Paris' African dependencies, Guinea in 1958 refused an opportunity for continued constitutional association with France and declared its independence. The French promptly withdrew and cut off all aid, leading to economic chaos. The abrupt French withdrawal fostered the growth among Guineans of a sense of revolt against the French colonial past and the development of a deep feeling of national pride.

The PDG has used selected aspects of Guinea's traditional social structure, Islam, popular anti-colonial feelings, and its own pervasive organization to mobilize widespread support for its social revolution. Party-affiliated youth, women's, and labor organizations have replaced almost all tribal leaders and independent associations, and the PDG exercises firm control over religious institutions and the communications media. Armed with these weapons of control and influence, the party has induced large numbers of Guineans to modify traditional patterns of behavior and authority and to take part in political



FIGURE 1. Women's groups marching during Independence Day celebrations, Conakry (U/OU)

activities (Figure 1), at least at the village level. It has been particularly successful in bringing women into an active role in the political, economic, and social life of the nation. Education and welfare programs, although of widely varying quality and effectiveness, also have been expanded.

Social and political developments notwithstanding, the regime has not succeeded in eliminating all the old values, attitudes, and customs. Persisting differences in tribal cultures, geographic environment, and historical experience continue to retard full acceptance of a common set of national values and objectives. Furthermore, the regime's continuous attempts to mobilize the population in communal efforts have alienated many of the most educated and politically aware Guineans. Sizable numbers of Guineans—at least 600,000—have left their homeland since 1958; the few who have opposed the regime's policies from within Guinea have faced periodic denunciations and in some cases arrest, imprisonment, and perhaps execution. Comprehensive social reforms have been implemented only because of the continued personal popularity, charisma, and ruthlessness of President

Toure. Although Guinea is a poor and overwhelmingly rural country, its recent social transformation has been unique and one of the most thorough in contemporary Africa. As long as Sekou Toure and the PDG survive, the "Guinean revolution" is almost certain to continue.

## B. Structure and characteristics of the society

### 1. Traditional society (U/OU)

#### a. Tribal divisions

Although Guinea has a population of only modest size—roughly 4 million—history and geography have combined to fragment it into several culturally and linguistically distinct tribal groups. Three major tribes, the Fulani (or Foulah), the Malinke, and the Susu, together include more than 70% of the population and exert a preponderance of social and political power. As Figure 2 illustrates, no other tribe constitutes more than 6.5% of the population.

FIGURE 2. Estimated size of Guinean tribes, 1971 (U/OU)

TRIBE	SIZE <i>Thousands</i>	PERCENT OF TOTAL POPULATION
Fulani.....	1,590	41.1
Malinke.....	720	18.6
Susu.....	450	11.6
Ngere*.....	250	6.5
Kissi.....	190	4.9
Koranko.....	140	3.6
Toma.....	100	2.6
Dialonke.....	80	2.1
Konyanke.....	80	2.1
Baga.....	55	1.4
Kono.....	40	1.0
Badiaranke.....	**	***
Bassari.....	**	**
Koniagi.....	**	***
Landuma.....	**	***
Mandenyi.....	**	***
Nalu.....	**	***
Tiapi.....	**	***

\*Also known as the Guerze; includes the related Mano tribe.  
 \*\*Less than 20,000.  
 \*\*\*Less than 0.5 percent.

The Fulani of Moyenne-Guinee are the country's largest single tribe; they comprise 41% of the national population and a portion of the roughly 7 million Fulani who are scattered over at least 14 west African states. Prior to Guinea's independence in 1958, the Fulani were the country's most powerful and privileged tribe. Historically, they had derived considerable power and influence from conquering or uprooting other tribes in the pursuit of Islamic expansionism. Approximately 90% of Fulani consider themselves to be Muslims, and their culture reflects the thorough influence of Islam; it is male dominated and socially stratified and is characterized by clearly centralized patterns of authority. Fulani superiority prevailed in much of what is now Guinea until the advent of French colonial rule, but neither France's preindependence alteration of the traditional political order nor President Sekou Toure's postindependence egalitarianism has completely eliminated residual Fulani elitism. Fulani feelings of tribal identity are reinforced by their physical appearance—many have copper-colored skin, straight black hair, and relatively thin noses (Figure 3). The Fulani are a fusion of Negroid and Caucasoid racial stocks and the only Guinean tribe that is not strictly Negroid.

The dominant tribe in Haute-Guinee (Upper Guinea) is the Malinke (Figure 4), half of whose members reside in Guinea, where they comprise nearly 19% of the population. Formerly subjected to control



FIGURE 3. Fulani woman (C)



FIGURE 4. Malinke mother and child (C)

by the Fulani, the Malinke are now in a position of political superiority. Sekou Toure is part Malinke, and many of his fellow tribesmen serve in his government. The political power of the Malinke is due in part to their demonstrated adaptability to modern influences. They have migrated to Guinea's cities and towns in substantial numbers, both in search of government jobs and to pursue their proclivity for private commercial trading. Like the Fulani, most Malinke are Muslims, but they adhere to a highly syncretic form of Islam and look to the town of Kankan as a religious center. Malinke traditional society, unlike that of the Fulani, was not characterized by centralized political control, although it did include an hereditary aristocracy. Effective authority was concentrated at the level of the autonomous village in the hands of the chief, the council of elders, and the leaders of secret societies.

The third of Guinea's major tribes is the Susu, concentrated in the coastal area of Basse-Guinee (Lower Guinea) around Conakry. Although the Susu constitute less than 12% of the population, they have a significance out of proportion to their numbers because of their location, because they are absorbing some neighboring tribes, and because they dominate the economy of Basse-Guinee. Susu social customs closely resemble those of the Malinke but differ in that the Susu had no hereditary aristocracy. Their local government rested on a presumed supernatural relationship between the community land and the lineage which first settled it. The majority of Susu are nominally Muslim, but animist practices continue to be widespread among them. Politically and economically the Susu have lagged behind the Fulani and the Malinke, but their location in Conakry and their early contacts with foreign influences have guaranteed them an important role in modern Guinean society.

Guinea Forestiere (Forest Guinea) is the home of many small tribes, including the Ngere, Kissi, Baga, and Toma. The Ngere tribe is the largest of the group, constituting 6.5% of all Guineans. Much of the homeland of these tribes consists of dense rain forest and steep terrain, resulting in the long isolation of these groups from each other and from outsiders. Each community has developed into a self-sufficient and self-governing unit, and most of these communities continue to resist change. The basic social pattern of the forest tribes is egalitarian; the hierarchical class systems characteristic of the country's larger tribes did not develop among the smaller groups. Kinship is the primary bond of allegiance, and although the government discourages age-sex groupings and secret

societies, such social organizations persist among these predominantly animist peoples. The tribes of Guinea Forestiere are hostile to Islam, and Guinea's Muslim population in turn considers the forest tribes to be particularly primitive.

*b. Linguistic divisions*

Guineans speak more than two dozen languages or dialects which are related but in general are not mutually intelligible. All of the country's indigenous languages belong to the Niger-Congo family, although they are divided between the West Atlantic and Mande subfamilies, both of which are groups of tonal languages. Fulani, the most widely spoken Guinean language, is among the West Atlantic group. Malinke and Susu are of the Mande group, one of whose relatively minor variants, Toma, is the only language indigenous to Guinea that can boast a written form. The large number of African languages in Guinea is a major impediment to national unity, although in practice many of the country's smaller tribes have adopted a simplified form of one of the major tongues—Fulani, Malinke, and Susu. The widespread use of Fulani and Malinke beyond Guinea's borders provides a cultural link between Guineans and large numbers of their fellow tribesmen scattered throughout west Africa. Similarly, many of Guinea's minor languages are also spoken in neighboring states, notably Liberia.

French was introduced into Guinea during the prolonged period of colonial rule lasting until 1958, and it continues to be widely used by everyone with any education or exposure to urban life. Even in remote areas there are some who understand rudimentary French, although they may not speak it. Politically, it has been impossible to replace French as Guinea's official language, primarily because none of the country's indigenous languages is spoken by more than a minority of the population, and to emphasize any one of them would be to risk rekindling generally dormant tribal animosities. As a result, French remains the language of government, the medium for conducting all significant commercial transactions, and the primary language of instruction in the schools. The use of foreign languages other than French is not widespread, although a few Guineans speak English, and a handful of the most highly educated Muslims have some familiarity with classical Arabic.

The continued predominance of French in independent Guinea is politically unacceptable to President Toure, who since 1961 has highlighted the need for literacy in the Guinean vernaculars. During the late 1960's an alphabet was developed for use in

writing the eight tribal languages that were designated "national languages"—Fulani, Malinke, Susu, Kissi, Ngere, Toma, Bassari, and Koniagi. A highly publicized campaign promoting literacy in these languages was begun in 1968, and considerable resources were allocated to its implementation. The government usually refers to the results of its literacy campaign in glowing terms, but in mid-1972 Toure himself admitted that it was far behind schedule. The ruling party's National Council of the Revolution has passed resolutions requiring that its officers be able to read and write in a vernacular language and recommending the establishment of an academy of national languages. Even if these calls are heeded, however, the early replacement of French is highly unlikely.

#### *c. Social organization*

Within most Guinean tribes, social and political relationships are understood primarily in kinship terms. In a mythical sense, kinship is thought to be coterminous with tribe or clan affiliation, but in reality these comprehensive social units are important only among certain Fulani clans which possess a highly centralized system of authority. The bulk of Guineans identify kinship with lineage—the social unit composed of several extended families, which in turn include the nuclear family plus close relatives. An individual's identification as a member of a lineage—and his place within it—determine his social status, economic and religious responsibilities, and political influence. The lineage is the ultimate unit within which disputes concerning inheritance, succession, marriage, and property rights were historically resolved. Most Guinean tribes are patrilineal; their members trace descent back four or five generations in the male line to a founder who in the past was the source of authority within the tribe. For the resolution of societal disputes, lineage members deferred to the eldest living male as the embodiment of juridical and ceremonial power. A handful of the smaller forest tribes are matrilineal; these include the Nalu, Landuma, and Tende.

Elaborate patterns of social stratification were until recently quite common in the cultures of Guinea's largest and most important tribes. Fulani society included a ruler at the top, his councillors, many subchiefs, an hereditary aristocracy, and lesser social strata for women, artisans, and slaves. Malinke society was much less stratified, but it also had an hereditary aristocracy and a variety of occupational classes. The Susu are both the smallest and the most egalitarian of the major tribes, although they too had a slave caste.

Among all Guinean tribes there existed in traditional society elaborate notions of social class based on kinship, age, sex, occupation, and religion. Among the more egalitarian and less hierarchically organized forest tribes, age-sex groupings and secret societies provided the primary methods of conferring social status. Rigid social stratification and meaningful tribal organizations have all but disappeared among most tribes. Among a few, including the Fulani, they remain important in social and religious matters but have lost virtually all of their economic and political significance.

In matters of routine life style, the practices of the several Guinean tribes have much in common. The individual tribes generally are not distinguishable by the pattern in which their villages are laid out. The villages of the Muslim majority typically are built around a mosque; those of the animist southern forest tribes often are built around a religious shrine. Guinea is an overwhelmingly rural country in which the population—except for some of the Fulani—live in compact settlements surrounded by agricultural land. Individual villages are usually distinct entities with a substantial degree of local autonomy. Smaller communities continue to be inhabited chiefly by members of the same kinship group, normally a lineage; larger communities sometimes contain several lineages.

#### *d. Values and attitudes*

The cultural values held by Guinea's tribal societies reflect the important role of kinship ties and obligations. The individual is only a single element in a complex of human relationships that includes not only his living relatives but also his ancestors and expected progeny. As such, the individual's needs are subordinated to those of the collectivity, and his personal security is derived from the welfare of the group. He respects first the rights and responsibilities which stem from his extended family membership, then he defers to his lineage, clan, and tribe. The paramount respect which society accords to kinship takes on religious form through ancestor worship, economic form through obligations to share one's wealth with relatives, and social form by determining personal status and marriage partners. In return for his deference to kinship obligations, the individual receives reciprocal emotional and material support from others.

The personal convictions of individual Guineans reflect in part their country's Islamic heritage and in part their pre-Islamic traditional culture; the behavior of most Guinean Muslims corresponds in only a casual way with the rigid teachings of the Koran. Islamic

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influences are embodied in the attitudes which direct everyday life, notably in the institution of male dominance. Traditionally, women were considered to be the inferiors of men, were subordinate to their husbands, and were judged by a rigid double standard of sexual morality. Marriages often were polygynous unions designed primarily to implement kinship alliances, and wives enjoyed fewer legal prerogatives than did their husbands. The Islamic culture also affected attitudes on broader subjects—respect for religious learning disposed most Guineans to seek modern formal education. Those who are literate look down on manual labor, as did the uneducated Guineans who in the past associated manual labor with the inferior status of the conquered tribes.

Collective class and tribal attitudes also are based in part on religious differences. Almost without exception, Guinean Muslims consider themselves the social superiors of the animist tribes. Among the Muslim groups, the Fulani possess an elitist outlook based on their historical role in introducing Islam into Guinea, on their success in subjugating or enslaving other tribal groups, and on the greater orthodoxy of their faith. The Malinke, who are less orthodox than the Fulani, tend to belittle the non-Muslim forest tribes as primitive; the latter in turn resent the former for being aggressive and for trying to convert them to Islam.

## **2. Social change**

### **a. Colonial influences (U/OU)**

The French first settled permanently in Guinea in 1849, and they exercised effective control of the country from the 1890's until their precipitate withdrawal in 1958. In the earliest years of colonial rule, the French took little direct action to alter the existing society, although in some areas they discredited the institution of chieftaincy by installing their own puppets. They also stamped out intertribal warfare and abolished slavery and serfdom. In the long run, French influences led to profound social change. Paris introduced a single political authority and an administrative system, launched plantation agriculture and a modern economy, initiated the construction of basic public services in education, health, communications, and transport, and promoted the adoption of French culture and language. Initially, all of this affected the masses only minimally, but it inspired widespread dissatisfaction with the torpor of rural life, set off a migration to the towns, and contributed to the eventual erosion of existing cultural patterns.

Contemporary Guinea is controlled by Sekou Toure and a group of nationalist politicians who emerged from the country's labor movement. Guinea's leaders are not the products of French universities, did not serve in the French Army, and are not married to French women. These men show some signs of feeling uncomfortable with their Francophile colleagues who wield power in some other French-speaking African states. At the same time, they point with pride to the fact that they have minimized their acceptance of the French life style and values and have imbued the masses with a pride in their African background. There is undoubtedly less French cultural influence in Guinea than in any other French-speaking African country, although individual Guineans continue to use the French language and follow French social customs. Similarly, the Guinean Government continues to use many administrative and bureaucratic procedures originally learned from the French.

### **b. Urbanization (U/OU)**

Guinea's few urban centers attract large numbers of migrants in search of jobs, although the cash economy can provide regular employment for only a few. Those who gain employment and establish residence in the cities find that the social difficulties associated with their new status tend to change their behavior patterns and attitudes. The wage earner often is besieged by requests for financial help and accommodations for his relatives as they in turn move to the city. Such formerly legitimate personal demands, when made in an urban context devoid of their traditional justification, produce stresses which undermine the individual's willingness to accept his kinship obligations. In time, the nuclear family becomes the focus of attention and support at the expense of the extended family and lineage. Also, status—no longer dependent on tribal or family ties—comes to be defined in terms of education, occupation, or political position.

With family constraints removed, the urban individual is at greater liberty in making personal decisions, including the selection of a marriage partner. In general, the social and economic realities of urbanization have had the effect of helping to reduce the number of polygynous marriages and have worked toward the emancipation of women. In a limited way, urban life has also promoted marriages across tribal lines, which were unusual if not forbidden in the past. Despite the greater heterogeneity of urban life, however, intertribal contacts are limited even in the largest cities by the almost universal propensity of the population to segregate itself into tribal quarters.

powerless segments of the population, the PDG has effectively altered traditional attitudes of subservience and inferiority.

Special committees for women parallel the organizational hierarchy of the PDG. Women are represented from the level of the 8,000 local committees to the 13-member National Committee of Women. Through their participation in the party, women have achieved a substantial measure of freedom; they constitute a growing proportion of wage earners, they are increasingly well educated, and they are included among high party and government officials. The PDG has taken tangible steps to alter many restrictive social practices which discriminate against women; it has moved to regulate the bride-price, to enforce a minimum age for marriage, to outlaw forced marriages, and to insure equitable divorce proceedings. At the Eighth Party Congress in 1967 the PDG forbade government and party officials to contract polygynous marriages, and in 1968 the regime called for the abolition of polygyny throughout the country. It is candidly recognized even in government circles that these innovations will not be readily embraced in a population that is 75% Muslim, but they have been sufficiently widely respected to set off substantial changes in social practices.

Guinean youth were organized nationally into the Youth of the African Democratic Revolution (JRDA) in 1959. The JRDA theoretically includes all youth from the time they join the National Pioneers at age 7 until they become members of the regular PDG at age 25. Additionally, the JRDA provides the personnel for the militia, a Cuban-trained paramilitary organization of roughly 8,000 militants. The youth organizations have been important to the success of the domestic "cultural revolution" which has been emphasized by the party since 1968. Their role is to push party reforms and to serve as exemplars through their militant devotion to Guinean ideals. Beginning in 1967, all students graduating from secondary and higher institutions of learning were required to give at least 2 years of national service in the interior of the country, primarily in agricultural development. There is no doubt that the JRDA has raised the nation's level of political consciousness and the general level of support for Toure, both at the expense of traditional attitudes and patterns of authority.

Guinea's labor unions, long under PDG control, were formally converted into adjuncts of the party in 1969. The regime regards the unions as an "arm of the revolution," acting in concert with the state, and unionism is viewed as but another vehicle for the transformation of society. Specifically, the role of the

labor union is to raise production, implement new labor norms, promote literacy, and indoctrinate workers in the ideology of the PDG. The unions have at times chafed in their postindependence role, but their activities remain firmly under the control of the regime. Because they enroll many fewer persons than do the women's or youth organizations, and because their membership is typically somewhat removed from tribal society, the unions have played a less important role than the other party-affiliated organizations in engineering social change.

*e. Popular attitudes (U/OU)*

The PDG exercises complete control over Guinea's communications media and the political behavior of its citizens. Such controls obscure the true extent of popular support for the party and its policies. It is clear, however, that the tribal authorities have made no substantial effort to resist the erosion of their powers, and the PDG has usurped from them the loyalties of some perennially disadvantaged but tradition-minded groups. Even the conservative rural public applaud Toure's veneration of selected aspects of African culture, and there is an almost universal pride in the party's nationalist, anticolonialist orientation. Beyond this emotional approval, it is not clear that the public genuinely has accepted the PDG's institutional reforms or that those reforms are in reality more than temporary measures which will be abandoned by a basically apathetic population with the passing of Sekou Toure. Many party members probably feign their militancy and participate in the PDG and its affiliated organizations in order to survive and to enhance their personal status—a propensity which is encouraged by the party's constant search for ideologically orthodox job candidates.

There are no organized outlets for social discontent, although evidences of social, economic, and political dissatisfaction have surfaced from among the more emancipated and modernized sectors of society. Students, women's organizations, and the labor unions have at one time or another criticized the government, albeit in cautious ways. The most significant evidence of protest and dissatisfaction is that many thousands of Guineans have emigrated to neighboring countries in search of trading opportunities, permanent jobs, student status, or political refuge. Despite these firm indications of substantial popular discontent, there is persuasive counterevidence that the PDG is well organized and widely respected and that Toure—although an erratic administrator—is an effective and charismatic political leader.

Few Guineans wholly accept the attitudes associated with modern urban society, but correspondingly few remain completely untouched by those attitudes. Public figures exist in a transition zone between the urban and rural cultures, exhibiting manifestations of both. The extent to which tribal values are held varies markedly from region to region, but the overall trend is clearly toward their alteration or destruction as more persons are brought into urban society and the cash economy. Because Guinea is one of the least urbanized countries in west Africa, however, social change is slow. From 1955 to 1970 the proportion of the national population living in cities of over 20,000 inhabitants increased from 8% to only 11%.

*c. PDG ideology (U/OU)*

The egalitarian ideology of Sekou Toure has been successfully spread by the PDG. Toure's philosophy consists of a unique amalgam of concepts drawn from African values, French philosophy, and Communist tenets. In implementing this philosophy, PDG partisans have sought with considerable success to stamp out parochial tribal and regional loyalties by replacing them with modern dogmas of national identity and solidarity.

Selected elements of the tribal value system have been transformed by the PDG to support several of its programs, which in turn undermine tribal society. For example, PDG ideology applauds the veneration of the group over the individual and the attendant disposition to share one's wealth in promoting the collective welfare; the party cites such convictions and practices to gain acceptance for its cooperative labor and welfare schemes. Similarly, the Toure regime has adapted the accepted notion of collective decision-making to its current needs. Just as communal discussion led in the past to a single decision which the tribe was obliged to obey, so the party now makes decisions for which all are responsible and all must respect. The PDG relies on Communist rhetoric in describing this as "democratic centralism."

The PDG is critical of the social stratification characteristic of Guinea's larger tribes. The Toure regime has largely eliminated the authority of the "elitist" tribal leaders. It also downplays those aspects of Islam which sanction centralized authority in tribal society, and it campaigns against the bourgeois elements in modern Guinea. Although the PDG's propaganda contends that Guinea is now an egalitarian state with no social classes, society in fact is stratified. Social status, formerly determined on the

basis of tribal, religious, or kinship ties, and then on education, occupation, and income, is rapidly coming to depend on dedication to the PDG and on the degree of revolutionary clan that one displays. Party and government officials constitute the new elite. The PDG's efforts to eliminate bourgeois mentality and to inhibit the growth of social classes concentrate on attacking or seeking to eliminate "antirevolutionary" forces: merchants, planters, and corrupt officials, all of whom serve as scapegoats and are regularly denounced by the regime. Artisans and poor farmers, on the other hand, are considered "revolutionary classes" which are "ready for the revolution" because of their formerly low status and history of exploitation under both the colonial and traditional societies.

*d. PDG organizations (C)*

An extensive network of PDG and party-affiliated organizations has been instituted throughout Guinea to supplant the traditional authorities. Within a decade after independence the PDG organization was able to draw on representatives of its 8,000 base committees and its affiliated women's and youth bodies to create Local Revolutionary Authorities (PRL) in every village, town, and urban ward. By the late 1960's each PRL was made up of several brigades which were responsible for wide areas of community activity—public works, health, education, the militia, consumer cooperatives, and production and sales. In some areas the party organization functions effectively to provide rural Guineans with essential material benefits and social justice that were not available under the past tribal leadership; in other areas, as with the regime's collective agricultural schemes, the party's role has been judged an imposition, and its programs have failed. Whatever the true extent of its administrative successes or popular acceptance, the PDG organization has succeeded in replacing the former structure of authority to a degree unparalleled in the rest of west Africa.

By rewarding participation in PDG-affiliated women's, youth, and labor organizations, the party has eliminated almost all nonparty associations such as age-sex groupings and secret societies. The officially sanctioned organizations provide women and youth, in particular, with avenues for upward social and political mobility which were unavailable to them in the past. As a result, those organizations have received enthusiastic support from most of the population, and their members have in turn bolstered the success of the Toure regime and its policies. Through its promotion of political and social activism by low status and

**C. Population (U/OU)**

In late 1972 the Guinean Government was preparing to take a national census. Prior to that time no adequate census had been taken, and few government publications of any kind have dealt with demographic questions. Population statistics and projections are based on a 1954-55 sample survey organized with some care by the French, on a 1967 party-sponsored census of questionable reliability, or on estimates of local administrators. These data suggest that Guinea's population is growing at an average annual rate of roughly 2.7%—a rate which appears to be outstripping economic development. Population growth would be even more pronounced were it not for the sizable number of Guineans who for economic and political reasons have left their homeland to take up permanent residence in neighboring countries and in France.

**1. General characteristics**

**a. Size**

The May 1967 census of Guinea, described as a "crude nose count" by an U.N. observer, recorded a

population of 3,520,904, a 37% increase over the African population of 2,570,219 estimated as the result of the 1955 survey. The implied average annual rate of growth between the earlier survey and the 1967 census was 2.35%. The United Nations estimates that Guinea's average annual rate of natural increase was 2.21% from 1965-70, although the Guinean Government has used a 2.7% figure in its planning projects. The U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis, Department of Commerce, estimates a population of 4,068,000 as of 1 January 1973.

**b. Density and distribution**

Guinea is thought to have a population density of about 41.8 persons per square mile, but the distribution of the population is uneven. The highest concentrations are found in the coastal area around Conakry, in the central portion of mountainous Moyenne-Guinee, and in the southern forest area along the borders with Liberia and Sierra Leone (Figure 5). The lowest concentration is in the dry, infertile savanna of Haute-Guinee; however, fairly high concentrations occur along the Niger and Milo rivers which run through this section. The absolute

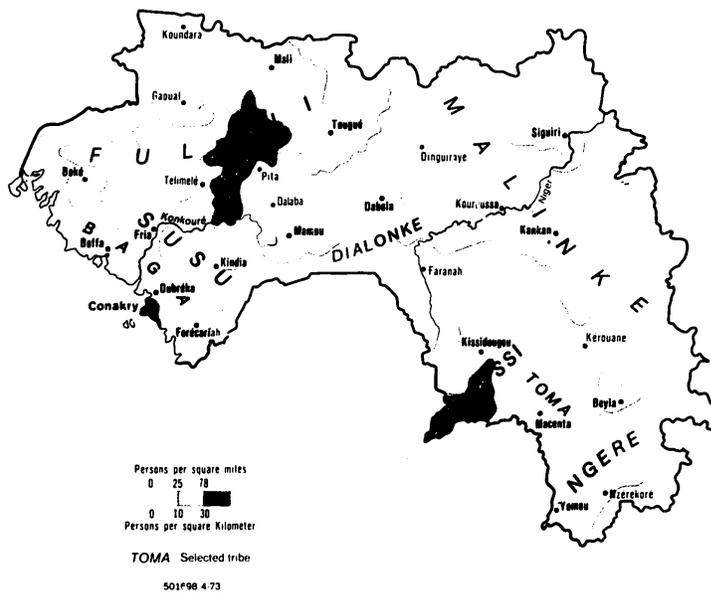


FIGURE 5. Population density, 1967 (U/OU)

FIGURE 6. Population by geographic area, 1967 (U/OU)

	POPULATION	PERCENT OF THE TOTAL POPULATION
Moyenne-Guinee .....	1,202,035	34.2
Guinee Forestiere.....	848,350	24.1
Basse-Guinee.....	754,590	21.4
Haute-Guinee.....	715,929	20.3
Total.....	3,520,904	100.0

and relative sizes of the population by geographical area as of 1967 are shown in Figure 6. Great disparity in density existed in 1967 among the country's 29 administrative regions, ranging from a high of over 1,600 persons per square mile in Conakry to a low of about 16 in Kouroussa. In terms of the total population, the most populous of the administrative regions were Labe, Nzerekore, Conakry, and Siguiri, each in a different geographical area of the country. The least populous were Kerouane and Fria.

Guinea remains one of the least urbanized nations of west Africa. At mid-year 1970, it was estimated that only about 420,000 persons, or roughly 11% of the total population, lived in the six urban centers, defined as communities with 20,000 or more inhabitants (Figure 7). Metropolitan Conakry, growing at a rate of about 7% per year, had an estimated population of 242,000 and accounted for 58% of the total urban population. It had almost five times more inhabitants than Kankan, the principal city in Haute-Guinee, and almost six times the number of inhabitants of Kindia, a center for banana, pineapple, and coffee plantations. In addition to the six cities with 20,000 or more inhabitants, there were several whose populations were in the 10,000 to 20,000 range. These included Boke, Fria, Macenta, and Siguiri.

FIGURE 7. Growth of urban centers (U/OU)

URBAN CENTER	POPULATION			
	1945	1955	1965	1970
Conakry.....	26,000	50,000	170,000	242,000
Kankan.....	14,000	25,000	36,500	51,200
Kindia.....	7,000	24,000	30,500	42,800
Labe.....	11,000	12,000	25,400	35,100
Nzerekore.....	na	10,800	20,500	28,600
Mamou.....	na	5,800	14,500	20,300

NOTE - Population figures (as of midyear of the indicated year) are estimates.  
na Data not available.

**c. Composition**

More than 99% of Guinea's population is of African origin, with non-Africans consisting of approximately 1,000 resident Lebanese, fewer than 500 Frenchmen, and smaller numbers of persons of other nationalities. Of the total African population, most are indigenous to Guinea, although slightly more than 100,000 are immigrants or descendants of immigrants from Ivory Coast, Mali, Portuguese Guinea, Senegal, or Sierra Leone. A majority of these immigrants are men; frequently they are married to Guinean women, and almost always they are found in Conakry or the other urban centers.

**d. Age-sex structure**

Guinea's age-sex composition reflects the primitive conditions under which the majority of the country's inhabitants live. Familial and tribal customs and mores foster a high level of fertility; poverty, superstition, and a shortage of health facilities all contribute to a high level of mortality. Guinea's age-sex profile (Figure 8) reveals a large proportion of children and young adults and a small proportion of middle-aged and older persons. The age structure is a serious handicap to the development of the country, because the bulk of any economic growth must go to support the large dependent portion of the population. According to the 1967 census, slightly more than half of Guinea's population were in the dependent ages, although in reality many children under 14 engage in some form of work activity, and persons over 65 are often forced by economic necessity to work as long as they are physically able. The large and growing number of children places especially great burdens on the educational system.

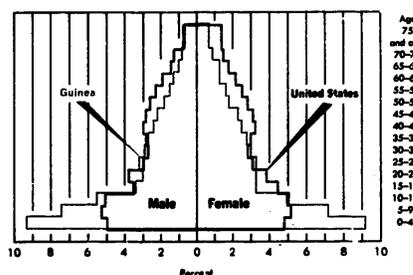


FIGURE 8. Age-sex structure, Guinea and the United States, 1967 (U/OU)

**2. Population change**

**a. Vital statistics**

Guinea has no compulsory registration of vital events, and the few, sporadic attempts to collect data on births and deaths have met with little success. As a result, although birth and death rates are known to be high, it is impossible to determine their level precisely. Estimates of Guinea's birth rate during the 1950's and 1960's range from a low of 46 to a high of 70 per 1,000 population; estimates of the death rate range as high as 40 per 1,000 population.

**b. Immigration and emigration**

A lack of official data relating to the movement of people into or out of Guinea, and the ease with which Guineans can cross the national frontiers, which cut across tribal areas, make difficult any assessment of the scope of immigration and emigration. There is apparently little movement into the country, although many Guineans return to their homeland each year after completing studies abroad, after ending seasonal work in nearby countries, or after being deported by neighboring states. The number of Guineans who have left their country for political or economic reasons is quite large, however; at least 600,000 have emigrated since independence, and many others leave on a seasonal basis. The majority of emigrants are poverty-stricken persons seeking to improve their living conditions, but a few are skilled individuals. The most skilled, the best educated, and the most ambitious are the some 3,000 who live in France, many of whom were students who refused to return home when their studies were completed.

President Toure said in October 1972 that anyone who is dissatisfied may leave Guinea, but in the past the government has discouraged emigration. It propagandizes against those who are "tempted to seek economic fortune and a better life" outside Guinea, citing examples of those who have returned "destitute but wiser." The government, however, does not always welcome back those who have departed. The regime fears that returnees may have become "enemies of the state," and it recognizes that the return of any sizable number would place a severe strain on the precarious economic situation.

**c. Growth trends and government policy**

Guinea's present population structure is conducive to accelerated growth, as the large number of babies born during the 1950's are gradually moving into the principal childbearing ages. Although data are

inadequate to predict future levels of fertility with any degree of confidence, the birth rate is not expected to decline in the near future. Poverty, the tradition of large families, and the general lack of knowledge about modern methods of birth control all operate to keep fertility at very high levels. Trends in mortality rates will probably accelerate population growth, because the mortality rate is expected to decline slightly in the future as the most prevalent diseases are brought under control and as public health facilities are expanded.

As a matter of policy, the Government of Guinea is strongly opposed to family planning and birth control measures. Individual physicians, however, have been interested in birth control, and news of the availability and effectiveness of birth control devices is spreading slowly by word of mouth, at least within Conakry. In part because of persisting high infant mortality rates, Guinean officials do not view the high birth rate with alarm. Some, in fact, have stated that the country is underpopulated and that an increase in population could lead to increased productivity. Representatives of Western groups with family planning objectives have visited Guinea but have been received with little enthusiasm, health officials evincing as much, if not more, interest in causes of infertility as in family planning programs. Despite its opposition to birth control programs, the government has taken some actions to modernize society which may have an indirect effect on fertility rates. It has decreed certain restrictions regarding marriage, for example, and it has limited family allowance benefits per family to six children under age 12. The effects of these regulations have not been measured, however, and their long-range implications are difficult to predict.

**D. Labor**

A basically unskilled labor force concentrated in agriculture, high rates of unemployment and underemployment, poor working conditions, and low productivity typify Guinean labor conditions. The PDG is committed to alleviating these conditions and to promoting economic development, but it frequently has exhibited a marked lack of realism by basing economic decisions on political rather than economic grounds. Ill-conceived legislation providing for pervasive government controls over the labor movement and the management of industry tends to limit productivity in the modern sector; politically inspired controls and artificially low prices reduce the output of the agricultural sector. (U/OU)

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The International Labor Organization (ILO) has estimated that in 1970 the Guinean labor force numbered 1,870,000 persons, or 48.9% of the national population. In addition, there are several hundred thousand children between the ages of 6 and 15 who are not enrolled in school and who are presumed to be economically active, at least on a part-time basis. Furthermore, those 13- to 19-year-old students enrolled in the Centers of Revolutionary Education (CER) theoretically contribute to production by spending 3 days per week in practical agricultural work. (U/OU)

### 1. Job opportunities (U/OU)

#### a. Traditional employment

More than 90% of the labor force is self-employed or is employed in an unpaid status in various traditional activities of the subsistence economy. The most common traditional occupation is agriculture, as all tribes engage in farming to produce their foodstuffs. Many tribes, however, are associated also with other economic activities; the Fulani combine farming with cattle raising, the Malinke are petty traders, and the forest tribes combine the cultivation of foodstuffs with the collection of produce and hunting. A growing proportion of the rural population occasionally works for wages as opportunities arise and customary tasks permit.

The rate of participation by women and children in traditional activities is high. In general, women and girls undertake the daily work of raising garden crops for household use for sale in the local markets, and women are responsible for producing most handicrafts and for handling much of the petty trading on which the peasant family depends for its cash income (Figure 9). Young boys work alongside their fathers in driving and guarding livestock, and they help in raising field crops such as rice and millet. During the planting and harvesting seasons almost everyone in the village works in the fields, the men doing the heavy work and the women and children doing the lighter chores.

Among the large number of subsistence farmers on small landholdings, productivity is exceedingly low. Most of the work is accomplished through manual labor, with the farmer still holding to traditional cultivation methods. Few farmers know of the benefits of fertilizers and sprays, and fewer still have the money to buy them even if they were available. A number of government programs have sought to modernize farming techniques, but they have had little effect.



FIGURE 9. Women trading in Kankan market (U/OU)

#### b. Modern employment

Wage and salary earners constitute no more than 10% of the total labor force. The breakdown of wage and salary earners by economic activity is estimated in Figure 10. The government is the largest single employer; for the fiscal year ending in September 1972, 59% of the national budget was devoted to wages and salaries. In addition to more than 30,000 administrative personnel, the government employs workers in some 70 state enterprises. The regime also utilizes military and paramilitary personnel for public service projects, such as the construction of roads and bridges and reforestation.

Of the wage earners employed in agriculture, approximately half are engaged in small-scale activities; the remainder are employed in privately or publicly owned plantations. Most of the workers in manufacturing are employed in small workshops or in ventures wholly or partially owned by the state. The largest single employer of miners is the FRIGUIA (formerly FRIA) mining company, which is engaged in the extraction and processing of bauxite. In addition to the large-scale mining operations, many

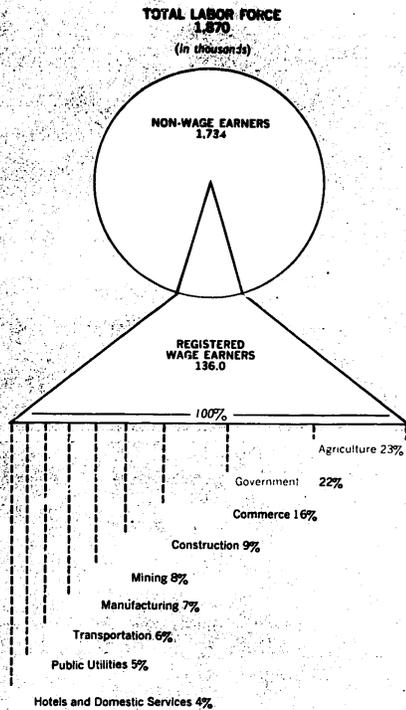


FIGURE 10. Composition of the labor force, 1972 (U/OU)

miners are also engaged in primitive gold and diamond mining. The exploitation of the Boko bauxite deposits, likely to begin in 1973, will increase the employment opportunities associated with mining.

Because of the age structure of the Guinean population, the labor force engaged in paid employment is young, but no specific participation rates by age groups are available. Although female participation in the overall labor force is high—the ILO estimated 40.3% in 1970—few women are regularly employed for wages. The traditional attitudes of Guinea's predominantly Muslim society oppose female participation in paid employment, although such attitudes are being eroded by government policies urging women to become more highly educated and to participate in modern occupations.

Except in the case of FRIGUIA, labor productivity in modern enterprises is quite low. Poor supervision, low levels of health, high absenteeism, and shortages of modern tools and equipment are contributory factors. Moreover, because of the acute shortage of managerial talent, frequent political purges, and the largely unskilled nature of the labor force, working techniques and methods are often crude and inefficient.

## 2. Unemployment (U/OU)

### a. Unemployment and underemployment

Information on the extent of unemployment is lacking, but a sizable number of Guineans are without work. For example, a 1967 survey in a portion of Conakry revealed that one-fourth of all heads of households were without jobs. Regime officials contend that there is only "false unemployment" in the cities; they claim that there is enough work in subsistence agricultural pursuits for all Guineans. However, many young persons, particularly those with some schooling regard farming as demeaning and flock to Conakry and other urban centers where they live off the labor of relatives or eke out a marginal living from petty trading, black marketeering, or casual labor. President Toure has made no secret of his displeasure over the large number of itinerant street peddlers in Conakry, and he and his regime have tried various measures to limit their numbers without success. The party newspaper editorialized in 1970 that the towns "harbor tens of thousands of unproductive men in the insignificant small merchant trade, who constitute a veritable deadweight on the economy."

Several government decisions taken for political reasons have contributed to the unemployment problem. All diamond mining has been nationalized, forcing thousands of private diamond prospectors to return to subsistence farming or smuggling or to seek paid employment. Restrictions placed on the activities of private merchants and traders have forced many of them out of business and into the job market. Also, each year several thousand primary school graduates, unable to enter secondary schools because of overcrowding, enter the labor market. Most of these job applicants have only agricultural skills, yet they refuse to return to farming and choose instead to compete for the few nonagricultural jobs in the towns. Since urban opportunities for employment have lagged far behind the influx of rural migrants, growing unemployment poses increasing problems.

Underemployment is of even greater magnitude in Guinea than unemployment. Many of those engaged

in subsistence agriculture are underemployed. During slack agricultural seasons large numbers of farmers seek jobs in the urban centers, thereby adding to the economic and social problems of the cities.

**b. Government policies to promote employment**

To stem the influx of migrants the government requires all residents of Conakry to carry either a residence card or a work permit; the latter is issued to all who can prove that they are regularly employed. In the past, the authorities occasionally resorted to a mass roundup of unemployed persons in the urban areas. Those who could not produce one of the required permits were returned to their villages or sent to work on state farms in the interior of the country, where they received board, room, and clothing but no wages. Government propaganda exhorts villagers to remain in the rural areas, and the regime has attempted to provide financial incentives for them to stay by establishing agricultural cooperatives, but these programs have had little success.

The government has tried a variety of schemes, such as the civic action service, to organize the unemployed, mobilize youth, and increase production. A 1966 educational reorganization created Centers of Revolutionary Education (CER) to prolong the educational period and to combine it with agricultural training to help overcome the widespread prejudice against manual labor. President Toure has long called for the nationwide establishment of these rural centers of education, production, and political indoctrination, and in 1971 he spoke of incorporating as many as a quarter million students into the CER's. Even with presidential interest, however, these ambitious plans have been implemented on only a limited scale. In most of the official schemes designed to deal with employment problems, the army or militia have played a prominent role in giving Guinean youth practical training under conditions of military and party indoctrination. Moves by the government to conscript and organize the labor force as it sees fit have gone virtually unchallenged and have not yet caused major demonstrations of social protest, although if rigidly enforced they may generate antagonism toward the government.

The need to increase employment opportunities for unskilled labor has inspired various public works programs, but by themselves they do not provide jobs in sufficient numbers. A government-operated placement service is available to unemployed persons registered with it, but it is little used despite the obvious increase in total unemployment. The reluctance of the unemployed to register with this

official service is probably based on their suspicion that if they register the authorities will return them to their villages rather than find them a job.

The lack of modern technical skills which makes many Guineans unemployable in the modern economy is the primary manpower problem confronting the government. In 1968, for example, it was reported that in the entire country there were only 13,000 skilled laborers, some 6,000 middle-level administrators, and about 2,500 senior-level administrators and executives. Not many of the administrators, however, could be considered even partially trained, and a few were illiterate. Small enterprises have been urged to develop the labor skills they need through more and better on-the-job training, and larger employers who have no apprenticeship program are assessed a small tax. One of the few effective large-scale training programs in private enterprise is that of FRIGUIA, which conducts courses in a wide range of skills; graduates of these courses constitute the elite of skilled labor and are assured well-paying jobs. Guinean authorities insist that all new privately financed ventures, such as exploitation of the Boke bauxite deposits, must provide on-the-job training of large numbers of Guineans.

**3. Labor laws and working conditions (U/OU)**

**a. Labor laws**

In 1960 the National Assembly enacted a labor code designed to insure that Guinean workers labor under safe and hygienic conditions for only a reasonable number of hours per week. Administrative regulations based on the code prescribe safety standards for specific trades, occupations, and operations regarding such matters as lighting, ventilation, sanitation, and fire precautions. Each establishment must provide medical or health service for its workers; requirements range from a first-aid kit in small firms to an infirmary with a nurse in the largest. In specified cases the employer may be required to provide food and housing to protect the health of the employees. The code stipulates a standard workweek of 45 hours for government employees and 40 hours for private industry, although in practice virtually everyone works a 40-hour week. Weekly rest periods and paid leave are guaranteed.

Two scales of minimum wages have been established by the regime. One scale applies to Conakry and the principal towns of each administrative district; a lower scale applies to the rest of the country. The minimum wage varies according to

category of worker and level of skill, but in every case it has remained unchanged since its establishment in 1959, despite more than a decade of steady inflation and decreasing purchasing power. The government's ability to keep the minimum wage at a low level reflects its complete control over the labor movement. Fortunately for workers, the hourly wage for most categories of labor exceeds considerably the legal minimum, especially in the urban areas. Both public and private workers are guaranteed extra pay for overtime.

A workmen's compensation law requires employers to compensate their workers for accidents or illnesses occurring in connection with their work. Disability benefits are liberal; they are payable from the day after an injury until recovery. In the case of a permanent disability the worker continues to receive a pension based on a percentage of his wages and on the extent of his disability.

**b. Working conditions**

Working conditions in Guinea are almost universally unsatisfactory by Western standards, but they parallel conditions in other African countries. The labor code and the workmen's compensation law theoretically provide adequate protection for workers but apply only to the 10% of the labor force that is engaged in paid employment and are not rigidly enforced even for that group. Effective implementation of the labor laws apparently is limited to employees of the government and the few largest industrial concerns. The labor code was under study in 1965, but the few announced reforms applied only to civil servants. At that time the government increased the wages of its lower paid employees in an effort to reduce the disparities in income which formerly had prevailed within the civil service. Fairly rigid laws were passed to insure that workers were hired and promoted on the basis of competitive examinations. A different line emerged in May 1969, however, when the party began to purge the civil service of "counterrevolutionaries" and recommended that future promotions be made on the basis of ideological militancy and allegiance to the PDG. Such political criteria have become steadily more important for professional advancement since 1969, although President Toure used the occasion of the Sixth National Congress of Guinean trade unions in March 1972 to reaffirm that "workers' promotions will now be entirely based on a real capacity for work and production."

**4. Labor organization (C)**

Most wage earners and salaried personnel in Guinea belong to a trade union, all of which are affiliated

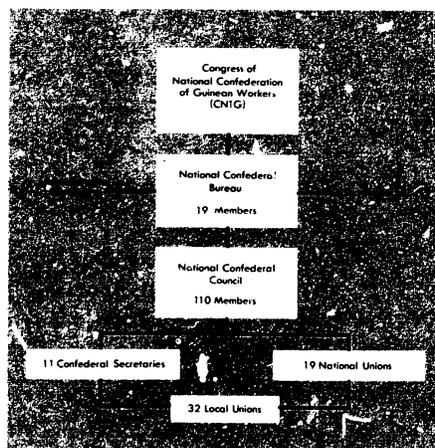


FIGURE 11. Labor organization (U/OU)

with the National Confederation of Guinean Workers (CNTG). The CNTG was formed in 1958 and always has been closely affiliated with the governing PDG. The organization of the CNTG (Figure 11) consists of 19 individually organized national unions, 32 local unions, and 11 confederal secretariats which represent the CNTG in specified geographic regions. Ultimate authority rests with the National Congress of the CNTG, the mass meeting which recently has been held every 3 years—the Sixth National Congress met in early 1972. The CNTG has four permanent executive bodies at the national level. The National Confederation Council, which governs the CNTG between CNTG congresses, includes two representatives from each constituent union and eight members at large. Major decisions, however, are made by the National Confederation Bureau, whose members are elected by the CNTG National Congress for what are theoretically 4-year terms. Mamady Kaba, president of the CNTG since 1960, is also president of the National Confederation Bureau and a high-ranking figure within the PDG and the government. The other two permanent executive bodies are the Secretariat and an Administrative Commission.

CNTG officials seldom accept invitations to participate in Western trade union activities or travel in Western countries. In November 1971 the Geneva-based ILO withdrew its five remaining experts from Guinea. CNTG leaders receive support from and have close contacts with Communist labor unions, including the Communist-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU). They also maintain

regular contacts with the labor movements of other African and Arab states which have governments sympathetic to the Toure regime. Regionally, the CNTG is affiliated with the All-African Trade Union Federation (AATUF), which was formed at Casablanca in 1961.

#### **5. Labor and party relations (U/OU)**

The PDG regards organized labor as an instrument of power for advancing political goals and not as an organization devoted to advancing the individual interests of the working man. The party maintains tight control over the CNTG, and although poor working conditions have generated some grumbling, there have been few strikes or outward manifestations of labor unrest. There are, however, individuals within the labor movement who object to party control of the CNTG. Their objections occasionally come to the surface at party congresses, but thus far the PDG has maintained its strict control. Mamady Kaba reaffirmed the need for a more independent labor movement at the January 1969 meeting of the party's National Council of the Revolution and aroused President Toure to public anger. In that year the CNTG was made a special section of the PDG in what appeared to be a further attempt to solidify party control over the labor movement. Kaba has been demoted within the PDG hierarchy, although he continued to hold a medium-level government post in 1972.

Evidence of the subservience of organized labor to the political authorities is shown by the almost complete absence of strikes since independence. The handful of labor disputes which have occurred have all been settled quickly with little loss of worktime. The right to work, form unions, and strike is officially recognized, but such legislation is purely theoretical. The 1960 labor code created courts to settle disputes and to apply existing labor regulations. A labor court is composed of a magistrate appointed by the Office of the Presidency and four assessors, two representing the employer and two representing the workers. In practice, representation of the workers' interests by labor leaders is secondary to political considerations and to the desire of those leaders to meet their production quotas. Most high-ranking union officials also hold high positions in the PDG or key administrative positions in the civil service, and many are the managers of state-run enterprises—their dual loyalties work to the detriment of the workers.

In 1964 the government called for the organization of local workers' councils for the study of work methods to improve efficiency and organization.

Various decrees since then have altered the names and organization of these bodies, but the basic idea of a local council, controlled by the party cadre, to supervise the training, economic production, and political indoctrination of the workers remains. In 1970, "secretaries for labor discipline" were established in each "production-unit committee." In the rural sector, the PDG relies heavily on cooperatives as basic instruments for teaching farmers about modern agriculture, for increasing productivity, and for controlling the loyalty of the rural population. Although the local cooperatives are nominally autonomous units designed to serve the economic interests of their members, in practice they tend to break up the family system of agriculture and transform the peasant farmer into an employee of his cooperative unit, which in turn is increasingly controlled by the party. The government frequently inaugurates new production schemes, but the initial zeal soon disappears and little real improvement in production or the lot of the Guinean worker is accomplished.

#### **E. Living conditions and social problems (U/OU)**

##### **1. Material welfare**

###### **a. Income levels**

Guinea's valuable mineral resources provide considerable potential for development of the national economy. That potential is far from being realized, however, and to the limited extent that the country's resources have been tapped, the resulting wealth has not filtered down to the ordinary citizen. No adequate information is available concerning GDP or how it translates into real income for the individual Guinean, but it is likely that absolute levels of per capita income have remained at about \$80 annually or even declined somewhat since 1960. Any figure for per capita GDP is almost meaningless as an indicator of actual material welfare, however, because most of the population relies primarily on traditional subsistence activities, rather than cash earnings, to provide their basic needs.

Statistics on price and wage fluctuations are not available, but it is clear that regularly employed workers face a situation of rising living costs unmatched by corresponding wage increases. No wage reforms have been implemented since 1965, when the wages of lower level civil servants and employees of state enterprises were increased and a new floor and ceiling for civil service wages were established. A salary equivalent to US\$35 a month is considered the



FIGURE 12. Urban clothing styles. (upper left) Man in white boubou is a PDG official in Kissidougou. (above) Marketplace in Conakry. (left) Upper class family. The man was a civil servant during the French colonial government. (U OU)

official minimum wage. The government has attempted to maintain strict price controls, and it has tried rationing basic commodities through distribution by the local party structure, but the demand for increasingly scarce consumer goods and the expanding money supply have fueled inflation with an attendant reduction in purchasing power. With Guinean currency worth only a fraction of its official value, a flourishing black market has sprung up, decried by Toire for its effect of making "Guinea's cost of living one of the highest in the world."

**b. Clothing and housing**

Guineans are not well clad by any standard, but their clothing is generally suited to the country's climate. Few persons have more than one or two

changes of clothing, and most items of apparel are homemade of homespun materials or fabrics purchased in the market. Although there has been a trend toward a more modern mode of dress, clothing styles still vary substantially depending upon religion, tribal custom, urban/rural residence, economic status, and climate (Figure 12). Traditional clothing is simple throughout most of Guinea, consisting of a flowing robe (*boubou*) for men and a piece of printed cloth tied at the waist and worn with a fitted blouse for women. Plain white muslin *boubous* are the most common; colored or striped ones are more expensive. Men commonly wear skullcaps in Muslim areas, and women tie scarves over their hair. In areas where Islam has not penetrated, as among the Koniagi tribe, seminudity is common. Western clothing is commonly

worn in the urban areas, although it is not well suited to the climate. The PDG elite tend to dress in either a short-sleeved jacket-shirt with matching trousers or in the traditional white robe.

Guinea's housing is primitive in that most dwellings are small, overcrowded, unsanitary, and totally lacking in amenities. Nonetheless, housing is not a major problem for Guinean families, at least in the rural areas. With the help of kinfolk and neighbors, families customarily build their own homes at little cost with traditional materials that are available everywhere. Housing styles vary depending upon area of residence, tribal custom, and economic status, but the typical rural dwelling is a circular hut with a conical thatched roof (Figure 13). Among the more affluent rural residents, mudbrick and stucco homes with sheetmetal roofs are sometimes encountered. Although many urban residences resemble their rural counterparts, urban housing also includes apartment houses, Western-style villas, and shacks built of scrap material. Whether in the city or in the countryside, the Guinean house typically has no more than two rooms. There is no reliable data on the availability of housing, but it is known that in Conakry housing is in short supply, and the construction of new units has not kept pace with population growth and the arrival of migrants from the rural areas.

#### *c. Subsistence economy*

Most Guineans live in rural areas virtually outside the cash economy. Living conditions are austere at best, involving an inadequate diet, poor housing, and low-quality educational, health, and welfare services.



FIGURE 13. Bassari village showing housing common to many rural areas (U/OU)

Rural dissatisfaction continues to be reflected in the large number of emigrants from Guinea to neighboring west African states and in the large number of migrants to the urban areas, where conditions are little better but there is greater hope for the future. Many of the difficulties of the rural economy stem from the pervasive involvement of the PDG in the distribution of consumer goods and in the buying of agricultural produce. In 1972 marketing arrangements were so bad that cattle raisers in some areas were insisting that they be paid for their cattle in rice, cloth, or other barter items rather than in Guinean currency. The central government periodically has sent officials to the interior to dispel widespread discontent over the high cost of living, but it is unlikely that the government can eliminate either its fundamental administrative problems or the skepticism of the rural populace.

## **2. Welfare programs**

### *a. Private assistance*

The orphaned, disabled, infirm, elderly, and indigent in Guinean society traditionally have been cared for through networks of family, tribal, and community ties that assure mutual assistance in times of need. These informal arrangements continue to work well in the family-oriented rural society, where they undoubtedly provide a greater sense of personal security than do any public programs. Custom demands that relatives give some support to the less fortunate members of their families, even in the cities, although in practice the urban environment tends to erode the traditional sense of responsibility. Prior to Guinea's independence, Roman Catholic religious orders provided some welfare services, but the handful of Christian charities that survived the postindependence period are of almost no importance. Despite the Guinean authorities' sensitivity to criticism of their country and their suspicion of foreigners, the government has allowed a few international organizations to carry out modest welfare programs in Guinea, primarily in the field of health. These groups have included the U.N. Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization and the U.N. World Health Organization.

### *b. Government programs*

The government has established a social insurance system that provides a variety of benefits to urban residents. Created in 1960 by expanding preexisting programs and by creating new ones, the social insurance system is administered by the National

Social Security Fund under the supervision of the Minister of Social Affairs. It consists of programs providing old-age, disability, and death benefits; sickness and maternity benefits; family allowances; and workmen's compensation. Coverage is highly restricted, in that it is limited to salary and wage earners, who account for no more than 10% of the labor force. Even among that limited group, only those who work permanently on a full-time basis are eligible for coverage; it was reported in the late 1960's that no more than 35,000 persons had ever been registered with the National Social Security Fund. The social insurance system is financed entirely by contributions from employers, but because enforcement procedures are lax, many small employers successfully avoid paying their contributions. The government makes a contribution only for those employees in state-owned enterprises. It also operates a separate social insurance program for civil servants.

Under the old-age, disability, and death programs, workers are eligible for a full retirement pension at age 55, or a reduced pension for earlier retirements. Pensions for disability and for surviving widows and orphans are also authorized. Insured workers and their dependents who become ill are eligible for cash allowances of varying amounts, depending on the length of their enrollment in the program. Workers are also entitled to free medical service in hospitals and to free medicine. The maternity benefits consist of a cash allowance and of medical attention in public health-care facilities. A family allowance scheme provides covered employees with a monthly allowance for each child under age 12, up to a limit of six children; a grant also is payable for each birth. The liability of employers for work-related injury, illness, or death is legally recognized in workmen's compensation laws. Covered workers incurring a disability receive pensions, and in the case of a fatal injury a lump sum grant covering the cost of burial and a survivor's pension are authorized.

The government has provided loans to individuals and state enterprises in an effort to combat the serious shortage of housing in the urban areas, but due to the lack of funds, corruption, and administrative inefficiency, such efforts have met with little success. Similarly, the PDG-administered programs designed to improve living conditions in the rural areas—the civic action brigades, Local Revolutionary Authorities, rural cooperatives, and work teams—have effected only modest improvements in public welfare.

### 3. Social problems

Almost no information is available concerning the incidence of crime or the real extent of social

problems, although persistent corrective actions taken by the party suggest that social problems exist on a sufficiently wide scale to worry the Toure government. The PDG is puritanical in outlook, criticizes unconventional social behavior, and does not hesitate to act autocratically to insure conformity with its standards of conduct. Foreign visitors observe that prostitutes and beggars are considerably less evident in Guinean cities than in other parts of west Africa and that the sale of alcoholic liquors to Guineans is prohibited. The Toure government has outlawed wigs, miniskirts, and other Western fashions that it deems incompatible with indigenous Guinean values. The President himself lectures labor and party groups on the virtues of African cultural dignity; in 1972 he noted that "drugs and alcoholism are worse than the atomic bomb and should be the target of unrelenting action."

## F. Health

### 1. Health conditions (U/OU)

Guinea's population suffers from many serious health problems as a result of the climate, primitive living conditions, low nutritional levels, ignorance of the principles of sanitation, and inferior public facilities for water supply and waste disposal. These factors contribute to a very high incidence of disease that is ineffectively combated by a handful of trained personnel in poorly equipped medical facilities. Even with considerable foreign assistance, Guinea's public health programs are poorly administered; they offer inadequate protection to Guineans and foreigners alike.

#### a. Factors adversely affecting health

Guinea's enervating climate is conducive to the spread of a large number of human and animal diseases. High temperatures and humidity along the coast are favorable to the breeding of mosquitoes and of tsetse flies. Farther inland, crude dwellings provide inadequate protection against the great fluctuations in temperature and humidity, with the result that respiratory ailments such as pneumonia are widespread. The reversal of winds and accompanying climatic fluctuations are most noticeable in the highlands of Haute-Guinee, where the continuous blowing of hot winds during the dry season causes physical discomfort and has a depressing effect on the population. Guinee Forestiere has higher temperatures and a higher mean relative humidity than any other region.

Toxic vegetation, disease-carrying insects, and poisonous reptiles are found throughout the country. Plants and herbs traditionally have been used as a source of remedies, but some are toxic when improperly administered. Malaria-transmitting mosquitoes and tsetse flies are widespread, especially along Guinea's many rivers, and they make some fertile areas virtually uninhabitable. Tsetse flies transmit trypanosomiasis (sleeping sickness) to men and animals. Mollusks that serve as intermediate hosts for the organisms of schistosomiasis abound along the banks of rivers; amebic dysentery and hookworm are widespread. Practically every type of poisonous snake is found in Guinea; bites are fatal in roughly 10% of the cases. Rodents and large groups of monkeys and chimpanzees cause considerable crop damage.

The living conditions characteristic of Guinea's population tend to aggravate the natural threats to health. In the countryside, the earthen floors and thatched roofs of a typical house provide habitats for various insects and vermin. Also, almost no steps are taken to protect living areas and water supplies from human waste of all kinds. In the urban areas, overcrowding has outstripped the government's ability to provide safe water, sewage disposal, and adequate housing. Under such conditions the incidence of communicable diseases such as tuberculosis is rising.

#### *b. Water supply and waste disposal*

In most parts of Guinea, water is plentiful and can be obtained from surface sources such as the many rivers, streams, lakes, and shallow wells. All water throughout the country must be considered unsafe for consumption unless boiled. Most open sources of water are indiscriminately used for bathing, laundry, and household purposes, and the contamination of nearby soil with human waste is common. The water situation in the urban areas is only slightly better. Piped water is often supplied through old lines located next to sewer mains. Seepage and contamination result. The city of Conakry has a water system built by the West Germans that is capable of producing safe drinking water, but the present management of the system is unreliable. Few dwellings have piped water.

During the period of French rule sewage disposal facilities were installed in parts of Conakry and some major inland towns, but no substantial expansion or improvements have been made since independence. The only well-organized system of sewage disposal is in the western part of Conakry, where the Europeans were originally established. Most other urban buildings use cesspools, and effluent is often dumped directly into the sea or nearby rivers. In rural areas pit latrines have been constructed in some villages, but

they are not universally used, and soil contamination is widespread. Although garbage collection in Conakry is, by plan, citywide, it is effectively carried out only in the main business and upper class residential districts. Garbage used as a fill for the swampy lowland part of the city has been insufficiently covered with earth layers and has become a breeding ground for rats. In the countryside, garbage is burned, dumped into waterways, or discarded indiscriminately.

#### *c. Prevalent diseases*

Although accurate epidemiological data for Guinea are lacking, it is known that chickenpox, measles, mumps, and whooping cough appear periodically in epidemic proportions, with the result that the country has one of the highest infant mortality rates in Africa. Serious outbreaks of cholera occurred in 1970 and 1971. Malaria, schistosomiasis, tuberculosis, gonorrhea, and leprosy are endemic; trypanosomiasis, or sleeping sickness, is very widespread. Numerous "leprosy and sleeping sickness stations" are in operation throughout the country; the number of lepers is estimated in excess of 150,000. The regime claims that both leprosy and sleeping sickness are "on the retreat," but reliable statistics are lacking. Infectious hepatitis is also endemic and frequently fatal; it probably constitutes a major cause of the high incidence of cirrhosis of the liver found in Guinea. Enteric and helminthic infections, dental caries, venereal diseases, influenza, pneumonia, and trachoma are also common, and sporadic cases of diphtheria, poliomyelitis, and scarlet fever are still reported. Public health measures include vaccination or inoculation against smallpox, cholera, and yellow fever. The majority of Guineans suffer from some degree of malnutrition, which in turn contributes to a wide variety of skin and deficiency disorders.

Animal diseases are prevalent, and many of them have reached serious proportions because effective control measures do not exist. Several diseases affecting cattle are spreading unchecked, including trypanosomiasis, rinderpest, and contagious bovine pleuropneumonia. Other widespread diseases are parasitic infestations, Newcastle disease, fowl pox, anthrax, and rabies. Anthrax, tuberculosis, trypanosomiasis, and rabies are transmissible to man. Regulations for the control of rabies exist, but enforcement is lax.

## **2. Nutrition and diet (U/OU)**

Malnutrition is widespread, and recurring shortages of foodstuffs have necessitated the importation of such basic commodities as rice and cooking oils. Although

the per capita production of foodstuffs appears to have declined slightly since independence, the primary causes of hunger are the chronically inefficient distribution system and spoilage. Official attempts to impose centralized controls on the traditional economy have all but paralyzed the existing distribution and marketing channels and have led to local black markets and to the large-scale smuggling of foodstuffs to neighboring countries where they bring higher prices. Shortages of essential commodities have triggered food riots in some localities and have necessitated food rationing in Conakry.

The few available estimates suggest that the ordinary Guinean's primarily vegetarian diet includes from 2,000 to 2,400 calories daily. Because grains are the staple food, the diet is high in carbohydrates and low in proteins, vitamins, and minerals. The typical meal consists of a porridge or thick paste with a rice, millet, or sorghum base; added bits of beef, poultry, game, or fish are only occasional luxuries. Disparities in both the quantity and quality of diet exist between income groups, between urban and rural residents,

and between residents of different geographical areas. Except for persons in the lowest economic categories, the inhabitants of the urban centers enjoy a more diversified diet than do rural dwellers. In general, the standard fare of the Fulani in Moyenne-Guinee is the least nutritious; the Malinke tribespeople in Haute-Guinee enjoy a slightly more diversified diet; and the Susu in Basse-Guinee have the most nutritious diet. The government has initiated a program in the schools and health centers to educate the public to the need for proper nutrition, but the dictates of poverty and custom have allowed the program little room for success.

No adequate food storage facilities exist in Guinea, whether at the village, regional, or national level. Large-scale food storage is practical only for short periods because of damage caused by insects and rodents. There is almost no refrigeration available, and most food is sold at open markets (Figure 14) that provide little protection from flies and dirt. There are regulations concerning food and sanitary inspection, but they are ineffectively applied.



FIGURE 14. Marketplace in Nzerekore (U OJ)

**3. Medical care**

**a. Health care facilities (C)**

The government has devoted a sizable proportion of its resources to the expansion of health care facilities. Between 1958 and 1969 annual expenditures for public health increased roughly 275% to \$7.7 million. Over the same period the number of public hospitals increased from five to 27, totaling an estimated 6,932 beds, or roughly 1 bed for every 500 persons. In quantitative terms, hospital facilities are adequate in Conakry (Figure 15), but are totally inadequate for the rest of the country. In qualitative terms, even Conakry's hospitals have deteriorated to the point that considerable investment would be required to restore them to standards existing in neighboring countries. In the interior of the country, many hospitals lack doctors, supplies, elementary standards of sanitation, and orderly administration. Only five government hospitals—two in Conakry and one each in Labe, Fria, and Kankan—can deal with other than routine medical problems. The private hospital operated by FRIGUIA is probably the most modern and best equipped and administered hospital in the country.

In addition to the public hospitals, the Guinean Government operates an estimated 300 infirmaries and dispensaries, 38 maternity centers, 32 mother and child-care centers, 25 leprosy centers, 29 endemic disease posts, 17 public health centers, and 32 pharmacies. Most of these facilities provide only the most basic patient care, but in the Guinean context even that is valuable. The Soviet Union and several East European countries have provided considerable amounts of medical equipment, but the shortages in every area are acute. All pharmaceuticals and medical supplies are ordered through a central import and distribution agency, Pharmaguinee, which operates

inefficiently and with considerable loss because of spoilage and theft. Most of the few medications available are Chinese, although smuggled French products appear at inflated prices on the black market. The Nene Khaly Condetho Camara Institute at Kindia produces large amounts of smallpox vaccine and snake antivenom, both of which are exported to other African countries.

**b. Medical personnel (U/OU)**

Guinea suffers from an acute shortage of physicians and other medical and paramedical personnel. In 1969, the latest year for which information is available, there were 77 physicians practicing in the country, or roughly one per 51,000 inhabitants. Many of these were foreigners, mostly East Europeans working as contract employees of the Guinean Government. Sizable numbers of Chinese physicians and other medical personnel have worked in Guinea since 1968. In 1970 it was agreed that their complement be increased to 90. Because many Guinean physicians have assumed administrative posts in the regime or have left the country for more remunerative careers abroad, the number of practicing physicians has diminished. Nearly half of the country's physicians practice in Conakry, leaving the rural areas with hopelessly inadequate professional care. Physicians suffer from poor working conditions, limited paramedical support, inadequate or unreliable laboratory services, and an extreme shortage of supplies and drugs.

Dentists and pharmacists are in extremely short supply; in the late 1960's only nine of each were practicing. At the same time, however, there were 964 nurses and a rapidly increasing number of paramedical personnel. The government has claimed that in 1969 Guinea had 190 midwives, 300 health aides, 70 laboratory assistants, 230 health technicians, and 120 maternity and child-care technicians. These paramedical personnel, like physicians, are inequitably distributed throughout the country. Sixty of the 190 midwives, for example, were located in Conakry in 1969, although some districts had none. Nurses and paramedical personnel have long been trained in Guinea, and the Polytechnic Institute's first class of physicians will graduate in 1973.

**c. Preventive medicine programs (U/OU)**

Theoretically, each of the party's roughly 8,000 Local Revolutionary Authorities (PRL) will eventually have a "public health person" and a sanitation brigade within its organization, although President Toure revealed in 1969 that at that time only 4,320



FIGURE 15. Donka Hospital in Conakry (C)

such officials existed. At the *arrondissement* (county) level, public health teams, in theory composed of a health aide and two male nurses, are supposed to provide guidance and training for the PRL health and sanitation personnel. Coordinating the activities of *arrondissement* health officials are regional units, one in each of the 29 regions, which have as a minimum complement one physician, one laboratory technician, four health aides, and five male nurses. This unit is also charged with training programs.

Quarantine regulations are enforced at the port of Conakry and the major airports, but there is little control of overland traffic at border points, which facilitates the spread of disease between countries.

Guinea has benefited from several U.N.-sponsored programs in the field of public health, most of them administered through the World Health Organization. In addition, Guinea has received substantial medical aid from a variety of Communist countries and, in much lesser degree, from the U.S. Agency for International Development. Guinea belongs to the International Organization for Coordination and Cooperation to Combat the Great Endemic Diseases.

## G. Religion

### 1. Principal religions

#### a. Islam (U/OU)

Reasonably accurate statistics are not available on the size and distribution of religious groups in Guinea, but it is estimated that roughly 75% of the population—as many as 3 million persons—are Muslims. Almost all members of Guinea's major tribes, the Fulani, Malinke, and Susu, are at least nominal adherents of Islam. Non-Islamic areas are limited to parts of Basse-Guinee and Guinee Forestiere and include the Kissi, Toma, and Ngere tribes.

Guinean Muslims profess adherence to the Sunni sect of Islam and to the Maliki version of the Sharia, or Islamic law. Orthodox believers, in Guinea as elsewhere, accept certain basic articles of faith and religious practice, but few persons adhere strictly to the detailed requirements of Islam. Only religious leaders and the very devout engage in the performance of prayer as prescribed, for example, although Friday services in the mosques are well attended. Mosques in Guinea are far less imposing than those in other parts of the Muslim world, but those in urban areas are likely to be fairly large and usually have a minaret and some exterior ornamentation. Village mosques are customarily used as centers for secular as well as religious activities (Figure 16).



FIGURE 16. Mosque constructed of thatch (C)

Islam in Guinea is distinguished by the great extent to which it has become combined with traditional animist practices and in its variance from the more orthodox Islam of northern and eastern Africa. Guinea's Muslim-animist synthesis has been fostered by the fact that certain aspects of Islam coincide with important indigenous traditions, including the practices of polygyny, bride-price, and circumcision. In the area of religious belief, the traditional Muslim recognition of the existence of angels and spirits conforms easily to the African belief in intermediary gods, and the two theologies are generally tolerant of divination and various forms of magic. Even where doctrinal congruence is farfetched or nonexistent, many animist concepts lend themselves to reinterpretation in the Islamic context, and certain Islamic beliefs have been reshaped to fit an animist interpretation.

No Islamic establishment, hierarchy, or national organization exists in Guinea. Even the once important Muslim brotherhoods have declined in importance, and they now survive only in the form of small, localized groups whose religious exercises are led by a marabout, or holy man. In the most orthodox circles, imams (priests) lead prayer services in the mosques, attend ceremonial religious occasions, and generally act as intermediaries between the faithful and the supernatural. The most organized aspect of Guinean Islam is the Koranic schools, which appear to be functioning in many areas, conducted in a mosque or elsewhere by an imam or other person considered to have some knowledge of the Koran. Young boys attend these schools for 2 or 3 years, and their lessons concentrate exclusively on learning to read and write Arabic and to recite portions of the Koran.

### *b. Animism (U/OU)*

Animists constitute an estimated 25% of the Guinean population. They are centered in Guinee Forestiere and are usually members of the Kissi, Toma, and Ngere tribes. Among these remote and isolated peoples, animism flourishes as a relatively unorganized body of beliefs in spirits and other supernatural forces. In the animistic perspective, the concept of the deity is indefinite and nebulous, and the supreme god is seldom worshiped directly; rather, approaches are made through a pantheon of lesser deities. The latter are asked to intercede on behalf of the supplicant in his efforts to acquire divine help in achieving food, health, and long life and to avoid divine displeasure and thereby forestall hunger, sickness, and death.

The major religious manifestation in an animist community is usually the ancestral cult of the local kinship group—clearing land, sowing, reaping, hunting, housebuilding—requires the good will of the ancestors. It is both prudent and required to worship, honor, consult, and make offerings to the ancestor spirits on every possible occasion, lest they become angry and bedevil their progeny. Small objects, or fetishes, often become the embodiment or representation of a particular ancestor's spirit or of a deity; fetishes serve as visual stimulants for the believer. Animist religious practices include a variety of rituals, sacrifices, dances, and totemistic and magical activities associated with both divine obligations and common taboos.

An important factor in the preservation and transmission of indigenous religion has been the secret societies, the best known of which have flourished in the southern part of Guinea, as well as in Liberia and Sierra Leone. Membership in a secret society is by initiation, which normally takes place following instruction given at puberty; a lifelong comradeship is said to develop among those initiated at the same time. Each local unit of a society constitutes a cult group with its own ritual objects and special ceremonies. Traditionally, all adult males of a village were obliged to become members of the same society, since an uninitiated person could not participate fully in the life of the community. The extent to which secret societies are still active in Guinea is not known, but at the very least the PDG is presumed to have preempted many of their functions, even in the remote areas of Guinee Forestiere.

### *c. Christianity (C)*

Information provided by Christian sources indicates that there are about 50,000 Roman Catholics and

between 2,000 and 6,000 Protestants in Guinea. The bulk of Christians are in Basse-Guinee, owing to the concentration of the Catholic population in metropolitan Conakry, but there are Protestant missions and adherents scattered throughout Haut-Guinee and Guinee Forestiere. Christianity has had only limited appeal in Guinea, as its missionaries—active since the 19th century—have been seen as alien agents attempting to impose a rigid creed that requires extensive changes in traditional attitudes and mores. The impact of Christianity and the missionaries on Guinean society, however, has been much greater than the modest number of conversions would imply. The principal influence of the missions has stemmed from their roles as dispensers of education and welfare services and as carriers of Western values and techniques. Many of the country's modern leaders received their basic education in Catholic educational institutions.

Catholic ecclesiastical jurisdictions in Guinea include the Conakry Archdiocese, the Diocese of Nzerkore, and the Apostolic Prefecture of Kankan. In 1972 there were in Guinea 11 priests—eight Guineans, two Togolese, and one Upper Voltan. In view of the small number of religious personnel available, organized religious activity among Guinean Catholics is believed to be minimal. In 1970, there were some 50 churches or chapels in the country, but information is lacking on the number now in use for religious purposes. Conakry, the traditional center of Catholicism in Guinea, contains several churches, including a large cathedral (Figure 17).

Protestant missions began operating in Guinea in the early 1900's, but their efforts to convert Guineans

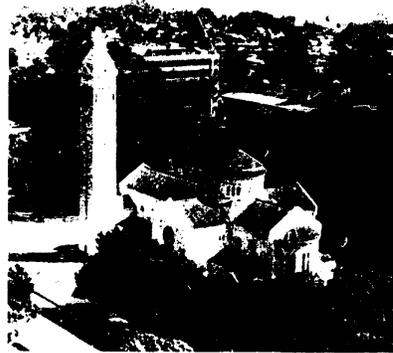


FIGURE 17. Roman Catholic cathedral in Conakry (U/OU)

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have not enjoyed much success. A Protestant Church of Guinea was formed in 1964, however, and it claims to have ordained at least 50 Guinean ministers to serve its following. As of 1972, 6 foreign Protestant missionaries remained in Guinea, located in Kissidougou, Mamou, and Conakry. All were U.S. nationals.

## **2. Church-state relations (U/OU)**

According to the Guinean constitution, the republic is "based on the principles of democracy, freedom of religion, and social justice," and no one religion is to be officially favored over any other. In practice, the Toure regime has opposed all religions, although with varying degrees of animosity. Government policies exhibit a persistent determination to suppress or exploit religious organizations, activities, and beliefs according to their potential for undermining effective party control of the masses. The regime's approach to any particular religious group has been conditioned by the importance of the faith, the number of its adherents, and the anticipated strength of its resistance to government action.

Official moves against the Muslims have not been extensive, but they have effectively undercut the authority and prestige of the imams. The latter are forbidden to solicit funds for their own use, their Friday sermons must be approved by the PDG, and their contacts outside the country are strictly controlled. The Toure government has not outlawed Koranic schools, but it does require that their students also attend public schools. The government involves itself with a few Islamic activities which embellish its image and offer no political threat. Public funds are used to build mosques, for example, and to send sizable numbers of pilgrims to Mecca. President Toure occasionally holds "consultations" with Islamic leaders and even attends Muslim prayer services from time to time. There have been no press or radio attacks against Islamic institutions.

The regime's offensive against animism has been open, decisive, and sometimes ruthless, based on the conviction that traditional African religion is closely tied to outmoded social attitudes and institutions and therefore presents a major obstacle to modernization and a challenge to the party. Since independence the PDG has used modern propaganda methods to carry out a "demystification" program designed to limit sacrifices, destroy fetishes, try sorcerers, and undercut popular allegiance to traditional beliefs. Although the ideological impact of the PDG is almost universally felt, there is no doubt that animistic practices continue to be widespread.

In its relations with the Christian community, the Guinean Government has focused on the elimination of alien control, an objective which most Guineans have applauded. The first severe breach in church-state relations occurred in 1961, when the regime announced a policy of church Africanization and the nationalization of church-operated schools. In 1967 President Toure denounced the white clergy as "enemies of Guinea's socialist revolution," ordered all foreign religious personnel to leave the country, and put Catholic welfare institutions under government control. Since that time, the Christian churches in Guinea have operated under tight restrictions and have been subjected to sporadic harassment that has included press and radio attacks. In 1969, the Catholic Archbishop of Conakry was arrested after returning from a trip abroad in which he allegedly met with anti-PDG elements, but he was later released. The invasion of Guinea in 1970 brought on renewed media attacks against the Catholic establishment, which was accused of aiding the Portuguese. Among those arrested in the wake of the invasion was the Archbishop, who in early 1971 was condemned to hard labor for life.

## **H. Education**

### **1. Organization (U/OU)**

Guinea's national educational system has been revised frequently since independence, but it continues to bear a strong resemblance to the French system from which it derived. The basically trilevel structure is designed to provide free and mandatory education for all children between the ages of 7 and 17. Primary school lasts for 6 years; secondary school is divided into two parts, the first lasting 3 years, the second lasting from 2 to 5 years, depending on the course of study elected; and higher education lasts 3 or 4 years (Figure 18). The academic year extends from September to July for most schools, but both teachers and pupils are encouraged to use their vacations for ideological training and agricultural work. Throughout Guinean schools, emphasis is placed on practical experience, technical education, and the ideology of the PDG.

#### **a. Primary education**

The primary school curriculum, commonly known as the "first cycle," includes the essentials of reading, writing, grammar, spelling, arithmetic, science, history, and geography. African history and cultural values are stressed, and pupils are provided a formal introduction to party ideology. Instruction is given in

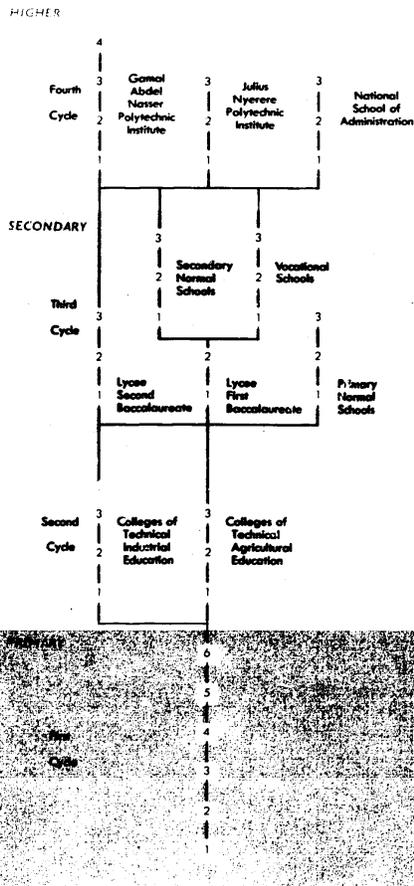


FIGURE 1B. Educational system (U/OU)

the Guinean national languages for the first 4 years, and students receive 4 years of instruction in a second vernacular as part of the government's program to break down ethnic and tribal barriers. French is introduced in the third year and becomes the medium of instruction by the fifth. Courses in modern agricultural methods, animal husbandry, and handicrafts are added during the third grade; some schools, particularly in the rural areas, operate gardens which are worked cooperatively by the pupils. In addition to their academic subjects, children hear

readings from the works of President Toure, participate in marching drills, and chant PDG slogans.

**b. Secondary education**

The curriculums of Guinea's secondary schools have been altered frequently, almost always in the direction of emphasizing vocational and technical training over academic education. The normal schools also routinely include instruction in subjects relating to agriculture and other manual skills.

The first 3-year segment of secondary education, the "second cycle," is essentially an extension of primary schooling. Centers of Technical Industrial Education (CETI) focus on subjects related to practical industrial work, while Centers of Technical Agricultural Education (CETA) concentrate on agriculturally related subjects. Graduates of each course are certified as technicians and are eligible to enroll in "third cycle" institutions.

Reforms of the secondary school system enacted in 1966 led to the creation of Centers of Revolutionary Education (CER), designed to absorb those primary graduates who, for lack of space or ability, were denied entry into the CETI's or CETA's. As originally constituted, the CER's combined practical agricultural training with basic education, emphasizing agricultural production, animal husbandry, and rural management. Through the CER's the government attempted to educate youths in the use of agricultural cooperatives and collective labor and thereby expand agricultural production. As separate institutions the CER's were not uniformly successful—many were staffed by unqualified teachers—but they were of some value in slowing the rapid migration of young Guineans to the cities, and they aided in bridging the gap between the rural masses and the educated elite. By the early 1970's, the term CER was applied to all institutions of learning up to university level.

Students who progress to the "third cycle" may enter a primary normal school, or they may attend a *lycee*. Normal school students undergo 3 years of general studies, teacher training, and agricultural education as part of a terminal program that allows them to teach in primary schools or become teaching assistants at other levels. *Lycee* students receive a "first baccalaureate" diploma after 2 years' study, or a "second baccalaureate" after 3 years. The latter allows direct application to any of the three institutions of higher education. Recipients of the first baccalaureate may elect to attend secondary normal schools for 3 years, or they may enter a vocational school, also for 3 years. By the end of 1971 the vocational schools were offering training in a variety of fields, including

agriculture, health, social service, business administration, commerce, auto and machine mechanics, communications, and meteorology. Recipients of the normal schools' secondary teaching certificate and certain graduates of the vocational schools are eligible for admission to higher studies.

**c. Higher education**

Guinea's most prestigious postsecondary facility is the Gamal Abdel Nasser<sup>1</sup> Polytechnic Institute, the country's only university. Built with Soviet assistance in the early 1960's, the institute by late 1971 included 11 faculties: administration, agronomy, chemistry, civil engineering, exact sciences, mechanical and electrical engineering, medicine, mines and geology, natural sciences, pharmacy, and social sciences. By 1972 some faculties still had not developed their degree programs fully, but the institute nonetheless enrolled well over 2,000 students—its original goal had been 1,600. All Guineans enrolled in the institute receive full state scholarships. Although foreigners generally regard the quality of Guinean education as inferior, the institute has a few foreign students as a result of exchange agreements with Nigeria, Sierra Leone, and Liberia. The institute's first class, consisting of 53 members, was graduated in 1968. Other postsecondary educational facilities include the Julius Nyerere Polytechnic Institute in Kankan, which provides advanced teacher training, and the National School of Administration in Conakry, which is used exclusively for training civil servants. Both institutions have 3-year curriculums.

**d. Other schools**

In addition to the regular schools there are a few government-sponsored schools or offices whose function is to improve, directly or indirectly, the educational level of Guineans. The National Institute of Research and Documentation administers the National Archives, the National Library and Museum, and the Mont Nimba National Reserve. Training centers have been constructed near the Boke bauxite development project to train unskilled workers. Other specialized schools include the National School of Agriculture at Kindia, schools for nursing, midwives, and secretaries in Conakry, and other vocational schools, some of which have been assisted by the U.S. Agency for International Development. A National Literacy Service was created by decree in 1968 to combat adult illiteracy. In addition, evening schools and the National Secondary Correspondence School provide educational opportunities for adults and school dropouts.

<sup>1</sup>French transliteration of name is used in Guinea.

**2. Educational attainment and quality**

**a. Literacy levels (U/OU)**

Estimates of the literacy rate in Guinea range from 5% to 10%—within the range typical of many west African countries. Most educated Guineans read and write French, fewer read and write Arabic, and almost none can do so in the vernacular languages. With the exception of some public officials, teachers, and PDG leaders, the rural population is largely illiterate; educated Guineans concentrate in Conakry and the other urban centers.

Soon after independence the government launched a national literacy campaign designed to instruct urban residents in French. In 1968, in compliance with resolutions of the Eighth PDG Congress concerning the Africanization of Guinean education, the newly created National Literacy Service began to implement a program promoting literacy in the vernaculars. Partly because of a lack of material published in the many Guinean languages, the 1968 campaign enjoyed little success, although a simultaneous decision to incorporate Guinean languages into the primary school curriculum has been somewhat more successful and enduring. The ruling party's National Council in late 1972 determined that a renewed literacy campaign would be implemented between 1972 and 1977. All officials who are not literate by August 1973 are to be excluded from their posts.

**b. Educational opportunity (U/OU)**

After independence, and particularly during the first half of the 1960's, the Guinean educational system expanded rapidly (Figure 19). In the second half of the decade, however, the rate of growth of the primary and secondary systems slowed and subsequently peaked at the turn of the decade. At that time 78% of all students were enrolled in primary institutions, 21% in secondary schools, and only 1% in postsecondary institutes. The number of primary and

FIGURE 19. School enrollment (U/OU)

LEVEL	1957/58	1964/65	1969/70	1971/72
Primary				
(1st cycle).....	42,543	178,270	191,820	183,872
Secondary.....	2,547	41,133	51,387	67,211
(2nd cycle).....	2,547	na	49,832	46,643
(3rd cycle).....	0	na	1,555	20,568
Postsecondary.....	0	318	2,201	*2,874
(4th cycle)				

na Data not available.

\*Does not include National School of Administration.

secondary students then showed an absolute decline, while the number of students enrolled in postsecondary educational institutions continued to increase. These changes reflected primarily an official awareness of the need to emphasize higher education, which under colonial rule had been nonexistent. The decline in the number of primary and secondary students may also reflect an official desire to limit their numbers in order to better check the growing number of unemployed graduates and dropouts who refuse to return to agricultural pursuits, thus adding to the severity of urban problems.

Despite the long-term expansion of educational opportunities, few Guinean children receive formal schooling. President Toure asserted in 1967 that between 60% and 80% of all children of eligible ages were attending primary school, but other estimates suggest that the correct figure was around 28%. With secondary school students included, attendance figures dropped below 22%. By 1972 the population had increased substantially, but the number of primary and secondary students had stayed fairly constant, with the result that the proportion of children in school had undoubtedly decreased below the already low levels of 1967.

More boys go to school than girls, and more urban residents than rural dwellers. In 1972 girls constituted 32% of first cycle students and 25% of the second cycle. Traditional Muslim attitudes concerning the status of women are only partly responsible for the preponderance of boys in the schools. The level of regional exposure to Western ideals appears to be more important, particularly by the time students are in secondary school—education for women is more advanced in the more developed regions of Guinea. Girls are best represented in Conakry and are least in evidence in remote Guinee Forestiere.

Because of the scarcity of schools in the rural areas, enrollment rates there are considerably lower than in the cities; many students are offered no more than 1 or 2 years of primary education. In general, the Muslim areas of Moyenne-Guinee and Haute-Guinee have Koranic schools and are poorly represented in the public schools, while Forest Guinee Forestiere—where animism and christianity have some influence—has a high public school enrollment rate.

### *c. Educational quality (C)*

The quality of education in Guinea is low by any standards. The educational structure developed by the French prior to their abrupt withdrawal in 1958 was almost totally inadequate for the country's needs, and

the rapid expansion which followed independence involved a marked sacrifice of quality for quantity. In less than a decade the number of primary schools and teachers increased from sixfold to eightfold, for example, and expansion at the secondary and higher levels was even more rapid. The government's total dedication to replacing foreign teachers with Guinean nationals also undermined the quality of education in the primary and secondary schools—only a fraction of Guinean teachers are graduates of the normal schools, and many are "auxiliaries" with no formal training.

In 1971 there were 7,551 teachers at all levels of the educational system, compared with 908 in 1958. Despite the growing numbers of teachers and schools, however, overcrowding is the rule, and the student-teacher ratio reaches 90 to one in some localities. Teachers are in especially short supply for the third and fourth cycles. The shortage of physical facilities is notable everywhere but is especially pronounced in the rural areas.

The quality of instruction is not good at Guinea's only university, the Gamal Abdel Nasser Polytechnic Institute, whose degrees are recognized only in Guinea. The bulk of the institute's faculty consists of East European and Soviet teachers who often have only a limited capacity to lecture in French. Conakry's university students in late 1971 criticized the quality of their education by complaining that they were required to spend too much time in practical work and ideological training and were allowed only 2 hours per day in the classroom. In the past, a number of Guineans gained a superior education by studying at European and U.S. universities, but with the expansion of the institute's faculties the number of such opportunities has been sharply reduced. Most Guineans who study abroad go to Communist countries: in late 1971 there were 180 in the U.S.S.R. and 255 in the rest of Eastern Europe. Approximately 700 students were studying outside Guinea in 1972.

Although of low quality, the instruction provided by the Guinean educational system is geared to the needs of the country to a greater degree than in many other African states. The government is pursuing policies that steadily reduce formal academic training in favor of practical, particularly agricultural, education. Such policies are not always popular with students, but they do provide graduates who are trained in skills that correspond to the country's manpower needs. In spite of this practical orientation, the number of graduates in almost every field is insufficient to meet the nation's need for skilled workers and professional persons.



FIGURE 20. Rural Islamic school, where the Koran is the only subject of study (C)

### 3. Government and education (C)

#### a. Administration and finance

In 1961 the government nationalized the mission schools and assumed direct, centralized control over the entire educational system. Koranic schools (Figure 20) still exist in some areas of the country, but their students—at least in theory—also attend public schools. Comprehensive reforms enacted in 1966 aimed at the decentralization of the primary and secondary systems, but in the following year authority was again centralized in a 12-man Higher Council of Education, chaired by President Toure. The council is responsible for educational reforms and policy; day-to-day administration is in the hands of the Minister of Higher Education and Pedagogy. The Minister of Information and Ideology has been instrumental in developing the ideological content of Guinean education at all levels. The National School of Administration, an exception from the general pattern, is administered by the Minister of Justice.

During the decade of the 1960's the government devoted substantial resources to education. In some years 25% of all current expenses went to education; 8% of allocations under the Three Year Plan and 5% of allocations under the Seven Year Plan were earmarked for capital expenditures in education. Inequities in the allocation of funds have created corresponding inequities in the quality of education. In general, disproportionately large sums are spent in the urban areas and for secondary education, with the result that urban pupils obtain better instruction than their rural counterparts, and the quality of secondary education is superior to that at the primary level. Guinea has neither the manpower nor the financial resources to

support its higher education activities; both, therefore, have come from abroad, particularly from the Soviet Union and other Eastern European countries.

#### b. Political involvement

A primary goal of Guinea's educational system is to produce indoctrinated workers loyal to the party. Accordingly, political and ideological training play at least as important a part in the curriculum at all levels as does instruction in badly needed modern technical skills. Time spent in school is divided into three areas: ideological concepts, community participation, and "scientific matters." The latter include the traditional academic subjects; the former two involve the mastery of the ideology of the PDG as expressed in Toure's writings and civic activities such as cleaning roadways. The government administers examinations, prepares curriculums, evaluates teachers, and screens the ideological orientation of domestic graduates and returnees from abroad, all with the aim of insuring that PDG doctrines and Toure's thoughts are understood. No documents or opinions contrary to the party ideology are allowed in the classroom.

In addition to its direct involvement in conventional educational activities, the government has taken steps to construct quasi-political institutions within and parallel to the school system. The best known of these are the CER's, which were originally created as an alternative second cycle. More recently, government spokesmen have referred to the CER's as being synonymous with the whole educational system. President Toure has proposed expanding the CER's to include hundreds of thousands of students of all ages, making them into militia units to defend the nation and placing them administratively under the party's local revolutionary authorities.

At the local level every school has a "council of administration," headed by the school administrator but otherwise made up entirely of students. This unit has both administrative and mundane physical maintenance functions, but its real importance lies in its power to assess the manner in which educational policies are implemented and to gauge the effectiveness of instructors and administrative personnel. These councils were formed as a direct result of a 1968 decision by the government to install elected "political commissars" in every classroom. The government reinforces the process of political education by providing some categories of students with 3 to 6 months of indoctrination at the PDG school for ideological training. Such training is required of graduates before they may accept a job, public or private.

Students traditionally have provided a key element of support for President Toure, but government and party policies are not accepted uncritically or universally. In December 1971, students at Conakry's polytechnic institute elected a grievance committee and formulated written demands which were presented to the government. The students protested against the requirement that they return to their home areas to work upon completion of their studies, about the low levels of scholarship support the government provides them, and about the time they are obliged to spend in ideological and practical training. The government, in turn, has taken firmer steps to prevent student absenteeism, to prevent students from leaving the country, to force secondary school graduates to join agriculture cooperatives, and to require ideological training at the university level. None of these policies has been well received by the students, and dissatisfaction may continue to grow.

## I. Artistic and cultural expression (U/OU)

### 1. Modes of artistic expression

Traditional dancing, accompanied by instrumental music and song, is the most developed and widely understood form of indigenous artistic expression in Guinea. Dancing permeates almost every aspect of life; it may be occasioned by a religious rite, a major event in the life cycle, a seasonal agricultural activity, or the need for rain, or it may be simply for pleasure and the relief of daily tedium. There is seldom a clear distinction between performer and audience; everyone participates, although certain important or skillful individuals may lead, while the rest, like a chorus, give periodic support. Expressive rather than stylized, Guinean dancing depends on the rhythmic and sometimes acrobatic activity of the body to convey and interpret character and mood. Among the most spectacular performers are the Ngere stilt dancers (Figure 21) and the Malinke women, who are noted for their high leaps. Dancers often wear elaborate ceremonial costumes, impressive headdresses, and masks to simulate spirits of the departed, gods, animals, or birds. Sophisticated versions of the traditional dances are performed by two professional groups, the *Ballets Africains* and the *Ballet Djoliba*. Both have performed in numerous countries throughout the world, including the United States.

Guinea's traditional music, like dance, is closely associated with religious practices, tribal customs, and the performance of daily tasks. Percussion-oriented traditional musical ensembles perform for entertain-



FIGURE 21. Ngere stilt dancers (C)

ment's sake in most regions of the country. Stringed instruments, somewhat similar to harps, lutes, and guitars, often of Muslim or Malinke origin, are common (Figure 22). The Malinke around Kankan are known for their horn orchestras, and the tribes in Guinee Forestiere are skilled at reproducing the sounds of animals with various wind instruments. Despite the continuing popularity of traditional music in contemporary society, there is a growing preference for popular Western music, much of which is a curious amalgam of American jazz, Latin American rhythms, and traditional African melodies.

Because Islam prohibits the representation of human and animal forms, little sculpture has been produced by the Muslim tribes, which together constitute roughly three-fourth's of the population. In traditional animist society, however, sculpture—primarily in the form of wood carving—is a major art form intimately associated with religious beliefs and practices. A sculptured object usually is intended as an abode for the spirit of a god or ancestor and as the medium through which the living can communicate with the spirit world to solicit favors or advice. The principal forms of sculpture are masks and statuettes (Figure 23) carved from wood or soft stone in the shape of humans, animals, birds, or anthropomorphic combinations. Female fertility figures also are very common. Indigenous sculpturing skills continue to survive among the small animist tribes of Guinee Forestiere and other isolated areas, but even among those groups the sculpture now being produced is losing much of its religious significance and is generally intended for the tourist trade.

FIGURE 22. Traditional instruments (U/OU)



Fanga being played by an Ngere



Malinke playing a kora



Fulani playing a bolon

Traditional arts and crafts persist among the tribes converted to Islam, but they are less vigorously practiced than among the animist tribes. Mural paintings or relief carvings usually decorate the buildings of the Kissi, Susu, and Fulani, and embroidery is a highly regarded art among several Islamic tribes. Leatherworking is a specialty of the Fulani, a pastoral tribe, and the Malinke are craftsmen in weaving, woodworking, and smith work in gold and silver. Painting is a common art form in the highlands of Moyenne-Guinee.

Guinean literature is limited in quality and quantity. Of the traditional languages, only Toma had its own written form, which gave rise to a meager body of writings. Other early literary accomplishments included translations of the Koran and the composition of a limited number of original religious poems in Arabic script. A few modern novels, poems, and plays have been written by Guineans, most espousing nationalistic themes but expressed in French literary styles and forms. The highest quality and most authentic "literature" produced by Guineans probably is found in the country's oral heritage of legends, myths, fables, and proverbs. Traditional storytellers, particularly the *griots* of the Malinke tribe, are the principal repositories of this accumulated wisdom, and they still perform in narrative and song in many rural areas.

## 2. Personalities and institutions

The most original artistic and cultural forms found in Guinea—traditional dance and oral literature—are products of the whole society rather than creations of individuals. Nonetheless, such figures as Fodeba Keita, a poet and past director of the *Ballets Africains*, and Amadu Sissoko, director of the *Ballet Djoliba*, have achieved a degree of personal fame. Guinea's novelists have included Camara Laye, author of *The Black Child*; Emile Cisse, *Assiatou in September*; and Djibril Tamsir Niane, *Soundjata, or the Malinke Epoch*. These works deal in varying ways with the social problems of traditional African culture, the colonial experience, and the trauma of modernization. The best known Guinean author, of course, is President Toure himself, who has written many volumes of political works. The few Guinean poets and playwrights have not achieved international reputations, and the quality of the country's drama, in particular, is generally poor.

The most widely known cultural institution in Guinea, the *Ballets Africains*, was organized in 1958 and has long enjoyed an international reputation for its ability to adapt traditional dance and musical



FIGURE 23. The great Nimba mask of the Baga (U/OU)

forms to the requirements of the contemporary stage. In order to further and preserve the country's cultural heritage, there are also several state-supported orchestras, a small museum, and a library at Conakry.

## 3. Government control and support of the arts

President Toure and the PDG have long promoted a "socialist cultural revolution" designed to destroy all vestiges of French "cultural imperialism" and reinforce authentically African art forms. In practice, the desired synthesis of Toure's revolutionary thought with traditional culture promotes only those aspects of the latter that serve to promote the former; traditional practices that might diminish the party's control of the population are discouraged or repressed. Some observers report that the stress on "Africanization" has in reality been translated into demands for political conformity which have tended to stifle creativity and have led to a subsequent decline in the quality of Guinean art. Because the party views artistic expression as a medium for providing ideological

instruction to the masses, it encourages amateurism and mass participation. In 1968 the regime instituted a pan-African cultural festival to be held annually in Conakry, which features presentations with political themes designed to evoke pride in the accomplishments of the Toure government. Throughout the year, the programs of the youth wing of the party, the JRDA, include music and dance and, in general, promote artistic and literary effort.

Specific actions taken by the government to encourage artistic expression include financial support for several cultural groups, including a folk orchestra, a repertory theater, and the two national ballet troupes. The members of the latter are drawn from regional orchestra and dance troupes which also are subsidized by the central government. The government maintains a small museum of indigenous art in Conakry, and it has initiated archeological excavations at Niane, the capital of a medieval empire. In an effort to preserve Guinean traditions, the government has collected and recorded many ancient tribal songs, has launched a nationwide program to collect and record oral literature, and has tried, with little success, to foster and improve the production of traditional crafts. For political reasons the government has opposed certain other aspects of traditional cultural expression; it has forbidden fetish worship and secret societies, for example, and it has discouraged the production of art for religious purposes.

## J. Public information (U/OU)

### 1. Principal media

#### a. Radio and films

Radio broadcasting by the government-owned *Voice of the Revolution* (VOR) is the single most effective means of mass communication in Guinea. Operated for the Ministry of Information and Ideology by the National Broadcasting Agency, the VOR broadcasts through 100-, 18-, and 4-kw. shortwave transmitters and one 100-kw. mediumwave transmitter. Much of this transmitting equipment was furnished by Czechoslovakia, which also provided the aid necessary for the construction of the Kipe broadcast center, Guinea's main radio and telecommunications facility which was inaugurated in 1970. In early 1971, VOR was broadcasting 20 hours per day in combinations of French, Arabic, and assorted Guinean languages; it also broadcast in Portuguese Creole to aid the insurgent movement in Portuguese Guinea. It has been estimated that there are as many as 100,000 radio receivers in the country, reaching an



FIGURE 24. Sound truck in use during a civil observance in Conakry (U/OU)

audience made up of roughly 20% of the population. In areas where radios are scarce, the National Broadcasting Agency dispatches sound trucks (Figure 24) for special events.

Shortwave transmissions from the United Kingdom, France, Switzerland, the U.S.S.R., and China are received clearly in Guinea, and the French-language programs of the Voice of America are said to have a substantial audience, particularly among members of the elite. Broadcasts from neighboring states, especially Liberia, Senegal, and Sierra Leone, are also heard.

The government has attempted to develop an effective domestic film industry and has accepted training and technical assistance from the U.S.S.R., China, East Germany, Poland, Yugoslavia, and France. Domestic film production consists largely of newsreels, documentaries, and educational films; all full-length features are obtained abroad, usually from Communist countries. In the mid-1960's there were at least 20 indoor theaters and a few mobile motion picture units in Guinea which could serve approximately 10,000 persons. An additional modern cinema was opened in Conakry in January 1969, and in 1972 the government was talking of speeding up the building of a theater complex to provide the country with a "militant cinema." Motion pictures are popular in Guinea, but their effectiveness in mass communication is impaired by the general scarcity of technicians and facilities, particularly outside Conakry. There is no public television in Guinea.

#### b. Printed matter

Guinea's only published newspaper is the party organ, *Horoya* (Dignity). In 1972 *Horoya* appeared in

two, predominantly French, editions; the daily edition, which actually appeared irregularly, was from four to eight pages in length, while the weekly edition was from 50 to 80 pages. *Horoya's* director claimed a circulation of 20,000 copies and a readership of 75,000 in 1969, but only a fraction of those copies represented paid subscriptions, as the majority of copies were distributed free to party officials and to schools. Because *Horoya* is mostly in French, it reaches only the educated elite in Conakry and the major towns and cannot be considered an effective means of communication for reaching most Guineans living in the interior. *Horoya* concentrates on reporting the words and activities of party leaders, especially those of President Toure. Local activities, sports, and human interest items also appear, but there is almost no coverage of international issues. The party newspaper sacrifices objectivity to reflect the government's views on all issues. Additionally, *Horoya* has a rather poor reputation because of its dated features, dogmatic editorial and reportorial tone, and inferior technical quality. As the nation's only newspaper and the official voice of the PDG, however, *Horoya* is accorded considerable respect.

Every 2 weeks the government publishes a journal that lists all laws, decrees, and official announcements. Government publications are printed by the huge capacity Patrice Lumumba printing plant, which was built and financed by East Germany in 1961 but which has never been fully utilized. The primary impediments to the wider circulation of printed material in Guinea are the high illiteracy rate and the physical difficulties of distributing copies to the rural areas.

## 2. Political control of public information

Constitutional guarantees concerning freedom of speech and the press exist in Guinea, but in practice the Ministry of Information and Ideology strictly supervises the media, permitting virtually no criticism of the regime while promoting the dissemination of favorable reports. Pervasive control is easily implemented because the government owns and operates all domestic radio, cinema, and press facilities. Foreign cultural missions are allowed to distribute materials, and foreign news services are allowed to operate in Guinea only with authorization from the Minister of Foreign Affairs. All foreign and domestic films, destined either for public entertainment or for educational showing, require the approval of a committee of censors, comprised of officials of the National Administration for Cinema and Photography and representatives of the PDG and

of labor and youth organizations. The importation of books is also rigidly controlled; the government nationalized all bookstores in 1962.

The government's official Guinean Press Agency (AGP) furnishes news reports to the domestic media. Little original press coverage is generated by the AGP, and it receives most of its material free of cost under the provisions of cultural agreements from the official news services of several Communist countries. During the mid-1960's, wire services of the U.S.S.R., China, East Germany, and North Vietnam served Guinea, although in 1972 only TASS, the official Soviet service, and NCNA, the Chinese service, had regular resident correspondents. Agreements with Western news services were terminated in 1964, primarily because of a lack of hard currency to pay for them but also because the leftist ideological inclinations of the Guinean Government made it reluctant to use the material provided by Western sources. A stringer for *Agence France-Presse* (AFP) has continued to place occasional reports in the Guinean media, and some Western viewpoints are represented when press officials supplement their regular news sources with information monitored from broadcasts of the Voice of America and the British Broadcasting Corporation.

All of the Guinean media disseminate the same nationalistic, pro-PDG themes. The party makes regular use of the public communications media to announce its policies and provide its officials with access to local news and opinion. Both the VOR and *Horoya* give prominent exposure to editorial commentaries, official addresses, and reports concerning the activities of high-ranking party and government figures. International reporting tends to focus on political and cultural topics, with heavy emphasis given to African unity, imperialism, and colonialism. Domestic reporting stresses ideological and nationalistic themes, such as freedom, youth, work, and the revolutionary cause. The PDG organization is used to supplement *Horoya* and the VOR in their propaganda efforts; party functionaries are encouraged to recount articles from *Horoya* at informal gatherings and read or translate excerpts from it at formal meetings. An important function of the local youth groups and political cadre is to install public radio receivers and speakers in the more remote villages so that rural residents can receive political education.

## 3. Impact of the media

The communications media of Guinea are being expanded by the government, but even the state radio

reaches only a fraction of the national population. The bulk of the population exists outside formal communications channels and is obliged to rely on word of mouth for information concerning domestic and foreign developments. As a result, the population is not well informed. Because the oral transmission of news is typically through the ubiquitous party organization, moreover, the general population has a highly parochial, simplistic, and party-oriented view of the world.

### K. Selected bibliography (U/OU)

There are almost no sociological works on Guinea published in English. The statistical publications of the United Nations and the standard reference works that are in English are usually based on information provided by the Guinean Government, and such information is often of questionable reliability. The most useful works on Guinean anthropology, art, demography, linguistics, religion, and general social conditions are published in French. The Toure government discourages scholarly research in Guinea, with the result that the few available publications—in any language—are of limited value because they are outdated or because they are based on secondary sources and incomplete information. The studies cited below are somewhat impressionistic, but they represent the best available analyses of contemporary Guinean society.

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