

THE INTERNATIONALIST

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THE MILITARY COUP IN IRAQ

PARIS, Feb. 12 -- General Abdul Karim Kassem's regime, which was overthrown by a military coup four days ago, was a bonapartist dictatorship constantly at war on various fronts in its efforts to hang on to power. Kassem battled the pro-Nasserist Arab nationalists who belong to a wing of the Da'ath (Socialist Party of Arab Renaissance), a petty-bourgeois nationalist party influential in Syria and Jordan as well as Iraq. He repressed the Communist party which had been decisive in keeping him in power and in helping him to put down the pro-Nasserite insurrection at Mosul. He was against the Kurds, who are struggling to conquer national autonomy. He was against the remnants of the old Nouri es-Saïd regime and the direct stooges of British imperialism among both the landlord class and the comprador bourgeoisie.

He opened the way to his own downfall by failing to carry forward the revolution begun in 1958. Brutal repressive measures proved insufficient to make up for his loss in popularity.

In the Arab world, nationalist layers hailed the overthrow of the Kassem regime and the victory of Colonel Abdel Salam Aref. Iraqi students in Britain staged a big demonstration. Yugoslavia as well as most of the Arab countries, including Algeria, at once granted recognition to the new regime.

Emotions were somewhat mixed, however. The evident strengthening of Nasserism caused anxiety, especially among reactionary forces in Syria and Jordan and among Zionist leaders in Israel. They were particularly nervous over the unsettling effect of the overturn following the opening of the revolution in Yemen only last September.

On the left, despite Algeria's quick recognition of the new regime, the daily newspaper Al Chaab printed a discordant note. "As for the population [in Iraq]," it reported, "it was truly 'stunned' by the suddenness of the coup d'etat and by its extent. Most people appear to be uneasy and dismayed. The aspect of the crowd which hurried yesterday on the sidewalks of Baghdad toward the stores and markets, after two days of curfew, was far from the

delirious enthusiasm which has marked the tone of Radio Baghdad since the beginning of the coup d'etat."

The disastrous consequences of the opportunist policy of the Communist party should now be plain to everyone. In 1958 it was the strongest party in Iraq. Instead of taking power, it preferred to back Kassem. In this way it conformed to Moscow's policy of seeking to maintain the status quo. Today the ranks of the Communist party, and, in fact, anyone accused of association with "communism," however remotely, are targets of a blood purge. One of the first acts of the new militarist regime was to launch a nation-wide witch-hunt of the most savage kind. Four and a half years after it had power within reach, the Communist party of Iraq is reduced to a pathetic appeal by one of its leaders, Anwer Mustapha, condemning the "counter-revolutionary pro-imperialist coup" and calling on democratic opinion throughout the world to support the Iraqi people against "terror gangs not unlike the SS."

In its first public announcement, the Aref regime guaranteed the status quo of the Iraq Petroleum Company, the international consortium which operates the chief Iraqi oil fields. The British government made quite clear that this pledge was decisive in winning recognition from Britain. Washington's quick recognition -- within seventy-two hours of the bloody coup -- was based on "hope that greater stability in the Middle East would emerge from last Friday's revolt," as the New York Times put it. American imperialist circles expressed considerable satisfaction over the "anti-Communist" character of the new government.

It may turn out, however, that in pursuit of popular appeal and perhaps a boost in royalties, the new regime will not hesitate later to put a squeeze on the oil companies.

As Arab nationalists, the Aref group favor Arab unity. But to actually join the United Arab Republic in accordance with Nasser's policy would involve sharing with Egypt the all-important royalties received from the Iraq Petroleum Company.

Aref is under pressure now to put an end to the Kurd uprising. But the army has been weakened by the split between the pro- and anti-Kassem forces. The alternative, to grant national autonomy to the Kurds, is not easily reconciled with Arab nationalism.

It would thus seem that the downfall of Kassem has sharpened contradictions in the Middle East and opened up a new period of instability.

ALGERIANS BACK ANGOLANS WITH MASS RALLIES

Demonstrations throughout Algeria in behalf of the Angolan freedom movement were staged February 9 under auspices of the FLN (National Liberation Front).

At Oran the crowd swelled to around 180,000 to 200,000 people, according to Al Chaab. In other cities tens of thousands rallied to hear speeches and shout slogans such as "Long Live Free Angola!" "Long Live Algeria!" "Down with Portuguese Colonialism!"

Typical banners read, "Down with Salazar." "Long Live the Angolese people." "Long Live the MPLA." (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola.)

In Algiers a crowd at the municipal stadium heard Edouardo Santos deliver a fighting speech in behalf of the MPLA. He expressed gratitude for the help which the Algerian people are giving the Angolans in their fight to end colonial rule.

Another huge rally was staged at the Square of the Martyrs just below the Casbah in the heart of Algiers.

At Blida, Premier Ben Bella addressed a huge crowd. "Our support," he said, "is felt by us not only as a moral duty. The struggle of the Angolan people is our struggle."

It is necessary to sweep away all colonialism once and for all, he declared.

"Brother Angolans, we are with you to a man, and we say, 'Go forward. All of Algeria, fighting, militant and genuinely socialist, marches with you. The volunteers will not be lacking.'"

"REVOLUTION AFRICAINE"

An impressive new French-language weekly has appeared in Algiers, Revolution Africaine. As its title indicates, its subject matter is the continent of Africa as seen from the viewpoint of revolutionary struggle.

The first issue was a huge success. The press run of 60,000 was completely sold out and the second number was increased to 80,000. In Algiers 7,000 copies of the first issue were sold on newsstands. Orders for the second increased to 15,000.

The tone of the publication can be gathered from a statement by Ben Bella which was featured in the center spread of the first issue:

"On the occasion of the anniversary of the founding of the African National Congress, I am happy to salute the heroic struggle in which the people of South Africa are engaged.

"The whole world knows that our peaceful brothers did not choose violence; they were compelled by the colonialist and racist violence to defend their lives and dignity. Thus their violence is legitimate violence which merits the moral and material support.

the total support of all the peoples and of all the governments in Africa.

"I assure them in any case of the limitless solidarity of the FLN. We feel that the provocation which the policy of apartheid constitutes has lasted long enough and we are ready to examine with all the interested governments the organization of the necessary resolute action to put an end to it. African unity will not be possible if it does not begin here. Our brothers are suffering and fighting for us. They are our pride, our spear and our shield."

In the United States, copies of Révolution Africaine can be obtained at 244 East 46th St., New York 17, N.Y.

In Britain, at 9, Frognal, Mansions 97, Frognal, London, N.W.8.

In Cuba, at the offices of Revolución, Plaza Civica, La Habana.

KHRUSHCHEV OFFERS FORMAL CONCESSION TO CHINESE CP

PARIS, Feb. 10 -- Pravda, central organ of the Soviet Communist party, today printed a long article on the "Marxist-Leninist unity of the Communist movement." The conclusion contains a formal concession to the Chinese Communist party leadership; namely, approval of the idea of holding a conference of the world Communist movement "if the brother parties think this necessary."

Last month at the congress of the East German SED (Socialist Unity party), Khrushchev opposed holding such a conference at present. However, since then various Communist parties have openly supported the proposal which was first put forward by the Chinese. The North Koreans, Indonesians and Japanese all back the Chinese in this.

While presumably accepting the idea, Pravda insists that the success of a world gathering would depend on its preparation; that is, on a series of bilateral or wider meetings "on all levels," so that "time could do its salutary work." Pravda specifies that the healing process should include separation of real differences from secondary and unimportant ones and overcoming the "results of polemical ardor."

In substance, Khrushchev has not altered his opposition to an immediate call for a world conference of the Communist movement as demanded by the Chinese CP.

The Soviet bureaucracy fears a conference in which a more or less coherent minority could freely present its views. The minority would be a substantial one, including the Chinese, North Koreans, Indonesians, the majority or at least half of the Japanese CP, a large minority of the Indian CP, and important currents in the Australian and British CP's, to mention the best known ones.

A conference of this kind would establish a very important precedent -- coexistence of recognized tendencies within the Communist movement.

Since Stalin's rise to power, the customary practice has been to either "isolate," then crush and finally oust an opponent tendency (as occurred with the Yugoslav and later the Albanian CP, to cite the most recent examples), or to make a secret deal in which the differences were covered over. The latter would be involved in the "bilateral" meetings which Pravda calls for. The article, in fact, includes a thinly veiled invitation to the Chinese CP to consider this alternative.

The invitation could become attractive if the Kremlin were to indicate readiness to renew the economic aid to China which was cut off in 1960.

DECLINE OF A THEORETICIAN

Mao Tse-Tung's level as a theoretician is characterized in successive editions of Abridged Soviet Encyclopedia as follows:

- 1955: "a great Marxist theoretician."
- 1957: "a very important Marxist theoretician."
- 1960: "a Marxist theoretician."
- 1962: "a theoretician."

CEYLON BUS WORKERS STRIKE

COLOMBO, Jan. 25 -- A virtually total strike of bus workers is on. The government, determined to break the strike, has manned a skeleton service with foremen, military drivers and a few scabs.

The strike is led by union leaders who belong to the Lanka Sanka Samaja party (Ceylonese section of the Fourth International), the Communist party and the MEP (United Popular Front, a nationalist split off from the LSSP, headed by Philip and Robert Goonawardena).

Workers belonging to the Sri Lanka Freedom party (the left-bourgeois party) joined the strike almost to a man although their union leaders are opposed to the strike.

U.S. HALTS AID TO CEYLON

David E. Bell, administrator of the U.S. "Agency of International Development" announced February 8 that the U.S. government had decided to suspend current aid to Ceylon. A grant of \$800,000 and a development loan of more than \$3,000,000 are involved for the fiscal year of 1963. The decision was made because the Ceylon

government, according to Bell, did not take "appropriate steps" to insure "prompt payment" for 83 service stations belonging to Esso Standard and Caltex which it nationalized in 1962.

Just in case the Ceylon government did not get the import of Bell's message, Esso Standard issued a statement to the press in New York expressing the "hope" that the suspension of American aid "will encourage the government of Ceylon to quickly pay equitable indemnities for the expropriated properties."

The Ceylonese government has stated its readiness to pay the oil outfits and has sought to negotiate a settlement. When the news came of Uncle Sam's high-pressure effort to collect the bill claimed by the oil kings, the cabinet went into emergency session.

The Ceylon government then issued a communiqué stating that it had learned that reliance on foreign aid could entail some surrendering of its own internal freedom of action. It called off negotiations with the two American companies and asked its citizens to rely on the country's own resources. The 83 service stations remain nationalized.

The incident points up once again a basic contradiction which Washington faces. It woos the colonial bourgeoisie with hand-outs in the newly independent countries. But how do you do that and still keep companies like Esso Standard and Caltex in good humor?

ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS FOR WHOM?

A complete overhaul of the "Alliance for Progress" was demanded Feb. 3 in a report placed before U.S. Secretary of Commerce Luther H. Hodges by some of the key figures of America's sixty ruling families.

The Alliance for Progress was initiated under Eisenhower as the U.S. answer to Fidel Castro. It was touted as offering all of Latin America a peaceful, easy way to get what the Cubans found they could win only through revolution. Kennedy baptized the plan, giving it its attractive name just a few weeks before the counterrevolutionary Cuban invasion force was landed at Playa Giron by the Pentagon, the Central Intelligence Agency, and John F. Kennedy personally.

The alliance for Progress has spoken of two billion dollars a year for twenty years for Latin America's development. Somehow the program has never seemed able to get off the ground.

The overhaul now demanded would most surely start the dollars flowing. But not in the direction of the poor man's pocket in Latin America. Private enterprise and private investment must be made "the main thrust of the Alliance," says the report submitted to Secretary Hodges.

And who are the mysterious figures hiding behind the label of "private enterprise and private investment"? We may guess this from

the names signed at the bottom of the demand for an overhaul:

David Rockefeller, chairman of the Chase Manhattan Bank of New York.

Emilio G. Collado, vice president of the Standard Oil Company (New Jersey).

Walter D. Wriston, executive vice president of the First National City Bank of New York.

The report of the three was endorsed by J. Peter Grace, president of W. R. Grace & Co., and head of a committee to which all four belong, sponsored by the Department of Commerce.

These men speak for the inner offices in the counting houses of Lower Manhattan.

Grace declared in a letter to Rockefeller, which was made public, that "The program in its present form cannot succeed, and we are in great danger of suffering a major defeat to our strategic interests in this hemisphere. . . . I have never been so deeply disturbed about a major aspect of United States foreign policy."

Can they overhaul the Alliance for Progress so that it will finally take off, provide more billions for Wall Street, and still serve as an effective counter to the example and appeal of the Cuban Revolution?

YUGOSLAVS DISCUSS NEW CONSTITUTION

On September 21, 1962, the federal parliament of Yugoslavia adopted the preliminary draft of the new Constitution. In the subsequent public discussion on the draft, many indications have shown how much public opinion favors increased rights for the workers councils.

In the draft Constitution, factory managers are to be appointed or reappointed through "public competition" and have to be approved by the so-called "communes" (the lowest administrative bodies, which are controlled by the Communist party). A worker of Novi Sad wrote to Borba, central newspaper of the CP, saying he could not understand why a workers council shouldn't decide for itself on the appointment or dismissal of a factory director under its jurisdiction, without approval from the outside.

This minority view, strongly favoring proletarian democracy, was rejected in the preliminary draft of the federal Constitution. It has, however, been incorporated in the preliminary draft of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, one of the six constituents of the Yugoslav Federation.

In this draft Constitution, the commune has the right, together with the workers council, to decide on the conditions and qualifications required before an application for the job of manager can be taken into consideration.

The manager is appointed, however, by the workers council itself without any outside interference.

FIVE MILLION ITALIAN WORKERS IN SOLIDARITY STRIKE

More than eighty-five percent of Italy's five million industrial workers downed tools February 9 for four hours, between two and six p.m. as a demonstration of solidarity with a slow down organized by the metal workers.

The demonstration was touched off by a breakdown in negotiations between the metal workers unions and Cofindustria, the employers association. Bargaining had been going on for several weeks.

To increase the pressure, the striking metal workers organized a symbolical occupation of Milan's huge square, the Piazza del Duomo, on three successive days.

On February 8 giant rallies were staged in various key Italian cities.

A YEAR OF STRIKES IN GREECE

More than 460,000 workers took part in 183 strikes in Greece in 1962, according to statistics released by Greek trade unions. In addition to this, 340,000 participated in strikes on May 1, bringing the total to 800,000. This compares with 542,000 for 1961, an increase of 258,000.

At present Greek school teachers are sticking tough in a long strike against the government for a boost in wages.

SPANISH UNDERGROUND IN SEARCH OF LEADERSHIP

PARIS, Feb, 5 -- An increasing number of militants in the underground UGT (Union General de Trabajo, the reformist-led illegal trade union in Spain) refuse to recognize the old leadership located in Toulouse, France.

These staid union bosses, closely linked to Guy Mollet, have lost all contact with the real underground struggle in fascist Spain. They are more interested in "anti-Communism" than in militant action aimed at toppling the decrepit Franco regime, which could scarcely resist a well-organized assault.

In Catalonia, Spain the main industrial province, the UGT forces now openly defy the Toulouse leadership. In turn these bureaucrats are conducting a public polemic against the rebels in the union newspaper.

The activist wing has established its own headquarters in France, keeps in close contact with the underground, and has reached a united-front agreement with anarchists in Catalonia who likewise refuse to follow directives of the emigré CNT leadership.

These important developments are a direct consequence of the big strike wave in 1962. A new generation of working-class militants, tempered in last year's strike struggles, have grown impatient and profoundly dissatisfied with the passivity, the opportunism, and the lack of perspective which has marked the traditional emigré leaderships of the underground.

AMERICAN PROFESSOR HAILS SOCIALIZED MEDICINE

Almont Lindsey, professor of history in the Mary Washington College of the University of Virginia, has just published a book that should be studied by everyone interested in socialized medicine, whether pro or con. His weighty volume Socialized Medicine in England and Wales (Oxford University Press) is the most complete survey yet published on the subject.

Prof. Lindsey spent eight years studying the operation of the National Health Service in Britain. His conclusion:

"The National Health Service is something magnificent in scope and almost breath-taking in its implications. . . In the light of past accomplishments and of future goals, the Health Service cannot very well be excluded from any list of notable achievements of the twentieth century."

CRISIS IN THE FRENCH UNITED SOCIALIST PARTY

By Auguste Deschamps

PARIS -- The second national congress of the PSU (Parti Socialiste Unifié) was held Jan. 24-27 at Alfortville, a suburb of Paris. Up to then the party was directed by a bloc composed of Social Democrats and right-wing centrists. The general secretary was Edouard Depreux, formerly of the SFIO (Section Française Internationale Ouvrière) and one-time "socialist" Minister of the Interior. The political brains of this leadership was Gilles Martinet, co-editor of the weekly France Observateur, who has just published a book The Marxism of Our Times in which he revises Marx, Engels and Trotsky in a technocratic direction. Mendes-France and his ideas had heavy influence in this leadership.

At the congress six tendencies, each designated by a letter of the alphabet, sought a majority.

Tendency "A" was a combination of partisans of Mendès-France and old-school reformists. Daniel Mayer, their spokesman, expressed nostalgia for the Popular Front and the policies of Leon Blum. Robert Verdier, former member of parliament and current editor of the official newspaper of the PSU Tribune Socialiste, whose base is among the trade unionists of the reformist "Force Ouvrière," spoke a bit more to the left.

Tendency "B," up to now the majority bloc, was headed by Gilles Martinet and Edouard Depreux. Paradoxically, this current rests essentially on the left Catholics in the PSU, but also contains many petty-bourgeois elements with a technocratic ideology.

Tendency "C" was born in the past few months through a break with the majority. Its leader, Jean Poperen, once occupied high posts in the French Communist party before becoming one of the inspirers of the opposition group which published a bulletin called Tribune du Communisme and which participated in the formation of the PSU. Around him are to be found such figures as Claude Bourdet, the other co-editor of France Observateur, Tanguy-Prigent, one of the two PSU members of parliament, Victor Fay, Ivan Craipeau, Roland Filiatre, etc. This left-centrist wing succeeded in winning about thirty-five percent of the rank and file of the PSU, a notable victory in view of its recent formation.

Tendency "E," which calls itself the "revolutionary-socialist tendency," is the fourth important current in the PSU. The press designates it as "Trotskyist" because almost all of its leaders were former figures in the PCI (Parti Communiste Internationaliste, French Section of the Fourth International). These include Marcel Favre-Bleibtreu, Michel Lequenne, Marcel Pennetier and André Calvés. This current is associated with the publication of a series of factory newspapers all bearing the same title, L'Étincelle (The Spark). It also has student support.

The two remaining currents are negligible. Tendency "D" is pro-Stalinist. Tendency "F" was liquidated during the congress.

The former majority, feeling that it was losing its position in the party, fought on a purely tactical level. Appealing to the rank-and-file wish for unity, it sought to form a bloc with tendency "C." The vote for the former majority on various issues never rose above forty-five percent.

The discussion as a whole centered around two problems:

(1) The "new layers" -- technicians, managerial personnel, "progressive" farmers -- should they or should they not constitute the primary audience to which the party appeals? These layers, are they or are they not the "new sociological vanguard"? "Yes," said tendency "B." "No," said all the others.

(2) Should we or should we not integrate ourselves in the economic bodies created by the Gaullist regime (advisory bodies attached to the Planning Commission and the future Economic Senate) so as to utilize them in challenging the bourgeoisie for power? "Yes," said tendencies "A" and "B." "No," said tendencies "C" and "E."

None of the resolutions presented by the contending tendencies won an absolute majority. The national political committee, which was elected, is a "chambre ingouvernable" (a parliament in which no one can win a majority). Tendency "B" has twenty-five seats, tendency "C," eighteen; tendencies "A" and "E" each six.

In the week after the congress the crisis hit France Observateur, one of the most important left-wing weeklies in France. Gilles Martinet denied Claude Bourdet space in the same issue for his differing estimate of the congress. Since a break between the two editors is inevitable, a new difficulty is placed in the way of a coalition between tendencies "B" and "C."

The congress registered a leftward shift in the PSU. The influence of Mendes-France has collapsed, and it is doubtful that this former leader of the Radical party and his friends will remain in the PSU where they can no longer play a significant role. Some of them have joined tendency "B" which now constitutes the new right wing in the PSU. Tendency "C," which stands in opposition, is supported critically by tendency "E."

At its February 3 meeting, the national political committee of the PSU was unable to reach agreement on the formation of a national office. They adopted the lame solution of a "parity" secretariat composed of an equal number of members of tendency "B" and "C." This body, which was given office for three months only, is bolstered by another body of fourteen members in which the four tendencies divided up the leadership of seven commissions.

This "solution" can be only the prelude to a violent struggle between the left and the right to win a majority of the rank and file.

ALGIERS BECOMES ALGERIAN

By Pierre Frank

PARIS -- A short stay in Algiers, a city scarcely typical of the rest of Algeria, and a brief visit in the Mitidja, a fertile area of vineyards, citrus orchards and grain fields some fifty kilometers from the capital of the newly independent country, are not sufficient to form definitive conclusions. What you see and hear is filled with the contradictions of a situation where everything is in flux and everything is evolving.

Before the revolution, the center of Algiers was not Algerian.

It resembled the business district of a big French city. The "Algerianization" of this European sector is striking, and surely irreversible. In these streets which the Algerians could once use only as common laborers, in these stores and cafes where they were hardly permitted to enter, they now feel at home.

This is seen most vividly at the university. Once dominated by the worst of the "pieds noirs" (French colonials), the campus is now alive with 3,500 Algerian students. The notorious cafe which the fascist lawyer Lagailarde used for his headquarters has been taken over by them.

In the former European town, more and more signs appear in Arabic characters. From the ghetto where they were once confined, the Algerians are moving into areas where less than a year ago the OAS (Organisation de l'Armée Secrète), facing imminent defeat, filled the gutters with blood.

Little by little the crowded Casbah is thinning out. There is plenty of room for Algerians in the Bab el Oued district, deserted by the pieds noirs. More than fifty percent of the stores there have been posted as "biens vacants" (vacated property). Many restaurants and hotels, formerly the property of Europeans, are now in the hands of Algerians.

One of the curious sights in this period of transition is the strolling soldiers. Men in French uniform (including German-speaking Foreign Legionnaires) mingle with members of the ANP (Armée Nationale Populaire) whom a short time ago they would shoot on sight. I saw no signs of awkwardness, of stiffness, of hostility between the two sides.

A further word on the surface aspect of the city. During the first years of the Algerian people's struggle for independence, French imperialism sought to impress certain layers by granting them concessions. During the final years of the war, however, when the Europeans recognized that defeat was inevitable, they let everything go to rack and ruin. Aside from the destruction carried out by the OAS, dilapidation became quite general. Nothing was kept up. Repairs are now under way. Bricklayers and painters are busy. Everybody believes that the stagnation of past months is over. A little movement is felt.

There is no doubt that independent Algeria is removing the colonial make-up and that this development is absolutely irreversible. Algeria's social evolution, however, is another matter. Here it is wiser to observe prudence in making forecasts. To a certain degree one can perceive the forces at work, but to measure them is not easy.

A number of pieds noirs remain -- and it is not difficult to see that they have learned nothing. But if as individuals they can

still commit crimes against the Algerians, they no longer constitute a social force. French imperialism does not seriously count on them to assure its positions in Algeria. The real danger for the Algerian masses today is neocolonialism; that is, the development and strengthening of an Algerian bourgeoisie which would have the support of world capitalism. And this danger is by no means insignificant.

During the years of war, "native" capital grew considerably. According to one reliable source, Algerian capital expanded from 200 to 600 billion old francs (from \$400 million to \$1,200 million). For many reasons, this consists mainly of commercial capital engaged in foreign trade, in commerce, the services, etc. In Algiers this is seen in the transfer of exclusive stores, restaurants, hotels and cafes from European to Algerian hands. As in every period of social overturn, some people have profited personally. Cases of corruption have come to public notice.

In the future this Algerian bourgeoisie can find sources of profits in two main areas, given the present economic structure of Algeria. One is the surplus product of agriculture and livestock (through profits in either foreign or domestic trade); the other, government orders of all kinds. This Algerian bourgeoisie, no matter how strict and vigilant the attitude of the government may be, cannot fail to take on flesh in the coming period.

The new Algeria begins with a heavy heritage of misery and ruins. Grave destruction occurred in the countryside -- even orchards and woods were destroyed. At the moment people are moving toward the towns and cities. The fate of the children is one of the most painful problems.

Perhaps the heaviest handicap in this opening period is the lack, if not complete absence, of competent personnel in all spheres. Everywhere evident is extraordinary energy and extraordinary determination to bring the country out of the situation in which it was left by colonialism. But it is quite apparent that this determination and energy lack the fulcrum of cadres, of know-how.

I interviewed doctors who told me that in the hospitals medical departments have had to be entrusted to men who have not yet gained their degrees. Medicine was one of the fields in which there was a relatively high proportion of Algerians.

Europeans are now returning to Algeria after fleeing last summer at the time of the OAS terror. Unfortunately they are not the most qualified technically (probably because those with skills can easily find employment in France).

The Algerian government will most certainly find itself faced with the necessity of promoting "accelerated formation of skills"

in all fields from trades to college instruction, including elementary schooling where the difficulties are multiplied by the absence of teachers and textbooks, both French and Arabic. Even with the greatest effort, the bottleneck here will exist a few years until Algeria can train the men and women needed for a genuine take-off.

Another handicap is credits. It is true that French, and American imperialism as well, appear adroit. No doubt they have drawn lessons from the Cuban experience and will avoid threatening the Algerian government too flagrantly -- at least for a time. What they will do is favor the bourgeois forces in the country while tolerating developments for the moment that do not exactly please them.

For example, the French government has accepted -- in general -- the take-overs that have occurred under the "biens vacants" measures in agriculture and industry, while grumbling over specific instances which it would like to reverse. But not to strangle someone may not mean that you permit him to breathe normally. On the other hand, the credits allocated by the French government are derisory in comparison with the advantages which it draws in the financial field from certain clauses in the Evian agreement. Thus while Algerian oil brought to the French and other foreign oil companies something like 300 billion old francs (\$600 million) in 1962, the Algerian government received only about 22 billion (\$44 million). The lack of banking controls, the absence of a customs wall between France and Algeria, open the possibility of a dangerous drain of capital.

We should mention that aid from the workers states up to now has been trifling and is not likely to increase much.

Altogether, the Algerian revolution on the morrow of gaining independence, after eight years of bitter fighting, faces a complex situation. In the absence of unforeseeable events such as occurred in Cuba, this signifies that for some years to come, politics will be equally complex.

If the government is composed of variegated social and political elements, one must say nevertheless that the central nucleus, the decisive nucleus found at present in the Political Bureau of the FLN (National Liberation Front) is based on the poorest masses of the cities and above all the countryside. This is its main strength. But it cannot automatically head toward extensive nationalization of the economic structure without running the risk of catastrophic consequences. For some years, it will have to permit a development of bourgeois forces, to compromise in certain spheres with foreign capital and to create bastions in the countryside and the towns in order to pass later to the construction of a socialist society. This will not be done without crises or without international and domestic developments that will run counter to this difficult orientation.

I talked with many militants in various fields. The most devoted and far-seeing agreed pretty much that the following is the probable perspective: several years of great difficulties before Algeria can come out of it with more numerous and more qualified forces. This is a tremendous battle in which revolutionists throughout the world must participate to the best of their ability.

The Political Bureau, we said, is based on the poorest levels of the Algerian masses. What is its present policy? It is difficult to determine precisely. The government undertakes things in various fields without setting the priorities which are indispensable in view of the limited resources which must be allocated. Why is this so? Perhaps because it is difficult to decide where to start from in face of the low level to which everything has fallen and in face of the almost complete lack of statistical and accounting data. This is understandable because the government has been in existence since only last October. But obviously this situation is not without grave risk should it last too long.

The danger indicated by René Dumont, the well-known French agricultural expert, for black Africa; i.e., the danger of seeking to ape the economically developed countries, does not seem great in Algeria. I noted among most militants a tendency toward austerity, indispensable under present conditions. Simplicity is the rule in the highest levels. Of course there are cases of local abuse of authority; but the central power has not hesitated to handle these sharply.

The problem of religion in Algeria is a difficult one for some European revolutionists. It is best to be cautious about this. A very legitimate need exists among the Algerian people to assert their own personality after so many years of colonial rule. As a matter of fact, Arabism and Islamism are entangled in the consciousness of the masses; and, in the field of customs and habits, time is indispensable to reach clarification and an ultimate balance.

On one especially important question, the government is very firm. This is aid to the African revolution and to the revolutionary movements in other colonial countries. It understands that its own existence, the overcoming of neocolonialism, cannot be guaranteed unless the colonial revolution is carried through to the end. Algeria will certainly tend to become the center of the revolutionary currents of Africa as Cuba has for Latin America.

What seems to be the weakest link is the party. The FLN has no lack of militants. One must add that there is no spirit of "Beni-oui-oui." (The Algerian equivalent of "yes-men.") They are overloaded with tasks. But the party as such, as an organization, appeared to me not to be in the center of things. In other words, while the government is the product of the struggle of the Algerian people, one does not see the transmission belt in operation between it and the people.

To conclude: Everything is in movement. It is an experiment, a struggle that must be supported throughout the world, but which demands constant determination of bearings so that the development of the various forces operating on the terrain can be gauged. In this way we can contribute to this new revolutionary experience with its altogether specific traits, its difficulties and its potentialities, and help it move toward the socialist outcome.

February 10, 1963.

¹The expression "biens vacants" was invented more than a century ago by General Bugeaud to justify the theft of Algerian land and its conversion into the private holdings of the French conquerors. A case of poetic justice!

²I attended the meeting which celebrated the opening of an official office of the MPLA (Mouvement Populaire de Liberation Angolaise) in Algiers at which Ben Bella presided. His speech, which was widely reported, left no possible doubt as to his political views concerning the Angolan freedom movement. The meeting was quite impressive. No protocol. A very simple, very sober affair. The platform was on the same level as the audience. Those who sat at the platform, including the head of the government, had the same hard chairs as the listeners. One hopes that this kind of atmosphere will be maintained.

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