

# THE INTERNATIONALIST

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February 21, 1963

## ALGERIA'S RELIEF NEEDS

PARIS, Feb. 14 -- What are the relief needs in Algeria? Certain dispatches in the world press picture the problem as virtually solved -- thanks to generous-hearted Uncle Sam. For instance, Algiers correspondent Peter Braestrup declared in the January 12 issue of the International Edition of the New York Times (still being published here despite a strike against the Times in New York), that "Enough surplus food will be shipped in to feed 4,000,000 needy Algerians daily."

That sounds like satisfaction for a lot of hungry mouths. In the same dispatch, however, Braestrup admits that "This is about 600,000 rations less than the level recommended by the International League of Red Cross Societies. . . ."

Nearly a month later, in a report in the February 9 New York Times, Braestrup suddenly switched tenses: ". . . since independence came amid chaos in July, United States-supplied surplus wheat, soybean, oil and dried milk have staved off famine and bread riots among Algeria's 4,000,000 neediest Moslem peasants -- nearly half the population."

This story appeared under the headline: "HELPING HANDS REACH INTO ALGERIA." The implication is that after conversations between Premier Ben Bella and U.S. Ambassador William J. Porter (and, a little later, G. Mennen Williams, Kennedy's emissary to Africa), the U.S. government decided to mobilize massive aid for the newly independent country.

It is not at all clear, however, that a big new plan has been decided on. What Kennedy may do is place an official stamp of government approval on the relief schedule already being carried out by private agencies. He may even help them finance it by granting a trickle of America's surpluses. But this is far below the level needed in Algeria.

The real situation is indicated by the following brief but graphic appeal issued by "Christianisme Social," a French religious agency, which was given prominent display today in Le Figaro, a leading morning newspaper in this city:

"Winter is still increasing the misery of the Algerian people. Children go barefooted in the mud. Dispensaries are taking in more than one hundred sick people a day, including skeleton-like babies.

"In addition to the Algerian government, the 'Caritas Algérie,' the 'League of the Red Cross' and the 'Christian Committee of Service in Algeria' have for months distributed food to help 5,000,000 people who, for the time being, are without any resources. The needs are urgent and we ask everyone to send:

"WARM CLOTHING in good condition, particularly for children and babies, but also for adults.

"MEDICINE -- antibiotics, vaccines, serums, antitubercular drugs, vitamins, anesthetics.

"SCHOOL SUPPLIES."

Christianisme Social gives 20 rue de la Michodière as its Paris address. Contributions should be marked "Algérie-Hiver 1963."

We suggest that people outside France send contributions directly to Algeria, preferably to the government-sponsored organization created for the benefit of the war orphans. The address is Association El Djil El Djadid, Haut Mont D'Hydra, Chemin de la Madeleine, Algiers, Algeria.

#### "OPERATION LITTLE SHOE-SHINE BOY"

When Algeria finally won independence last summer, one of the first changes noted by foreign correspondents was the disappearance of shoe-shine boys from the streets of Algiers, the capital city. This was considered by Algerian revolutionists to be a favorable sign.

However, in the economic collapse that followed the flight of hundreds of thousands of French technicians, businessmen and farmers, the shoe-shine boys reappeared in the main streets and principal squares. In front of restaurants, cafes and food stores, they clustered, appealing hopefully to possible customers in Arabic, French and even English, "Shine, Mister?"

Reactionary newspapers in Paris noted this with satisfaction. A thrifty, industrious shoe-shine boy, it is well-known, has every chance under the capitalist system to become a millionaire.

Algerian revolutionists felt bitter and ashamed over the

reappearance of small children, wandering the streets with their boxes, brushes and cans of polish.

Last week the government felt that it could take action. In what it called "Operation Little Shoe-Shine Boy" it appealed to the families involved to put their children in school. Relief payments were guaranteed to make up for the loss of the pitiful earnings. Orphans were asked to report for placement in child centers where they could learn a trade.

It had been estimated that some hundreds of children were involved in Algiers. But more than one thousand responded.

To handle this many was beyond immediate possibilities; however, the government decided to make a start anyway. On February 16 several hundred young shoe shiners assembled in the square of Plateau des Glières. There in a symbolical ceremony they smashed their shoe-shine boxes.

Said Premier Ben Bella, one of the speakers at the gathering: "We want to wipe out once and for all this colonialist caricature of the little shoe-shine boy, which was presented as a bit of folk lore -- to the tourists."

Ben Bella added: "In all frankness, the solution cannot be achieved today in view of its size, since a thousand of our brother shoe shiners presented themselves. Several hundreds will leave this very day for trade schools where they will receive an adequate education. . . . In March at the latest we will reach final procedure on handling this agonizing problem."

He held that by the end of the year Algeria will have made sufficient progress to at least be able to get its children off the streets and into homes and schools.

In Constantine a beginning was made by offering a free movie to shoe shiners. Some 800 responded. The next step in the plan is to begin giving them free school lessons.

#### WITCH-HUNT CONTINUES IN IRAQ

PARIS, Feb. 18 -- The massive "anti-Communist" witch-hunt continues in Iraq. Reports reaching here from various sources put the number of arrested at about 5,000, the number of dead 2,500. Among those now held in the overflowing prisons or concentration camps are well-known political figures, including Abdel Kader Ismail El Boustani, editor of the main Communist party newspaper.

In working-class districts many people were killed in their homes or in the streets by gangs of youths wearing green armbands and armed by the new regime in the first days of the coup.

The International Communist movement has protested the savage repression. In London, Iraqi students, who at first hailed the overthrow of Kassem, organized a protest demonstration against the witch-hunt. Some 500 marched on the Iraqi embassy and entered it by force.

In various parts of the country, resistance is reported to be stiff, especially near the Iran border. Underground radio stations, broadcasting in Arabic and Kurdish, are declaring: "Resist everywhere. Your life is at stake."

Besides members of the Communist party, it is reported that parts of the army, still holding allegiance to Kassem have joined the resistance under the leadership of generals Chaoui and Madjid.

In today's Le Figaro, in which he reports that the new regime is "without any real popular support," special correspondent Jean-Francois Chauvel writes vividly of the situation:

"The announcer on the government radio has asked all citizens who know any Communists to write their names on slips of paper and send them to military headquarters. One can imagine the effect this official encouragement of denunciations is producing in a country as divided as Iraq."

In Bab-El Cheikh, the Kurdish sector of Baghdad, the Aref forces used tanks, assaulting the area house by house. Practically every youth was arrested. As a consequence, the Kurds who had been in revolt against Kassem, added some new demands to their old ones, according to Chauvel. These include a formal demand for "the military evacuation of Kurdistan and the return of all armed forces of Kurdish nationality dispersed in field areas in Iraq. 'We have no confidence whatsoever and have decided to insist on guarantees, a Kurdish personality said a few days ago in Baghdad.'"

Chauvel describes popular feeling in Baghdad as being quite different from the wild enthusiasm that swept the city when the monarchy was overthrown in 1958:

"This time there is no crowd; and the leaders, who have not yet directly addressed the population, remain for the most part unknown."

"To the single radio appeal asking the citizens to go out into the streets to demonstrate their joy after the death of Kassem Saturday, eight days ago, no one responded. Very much to the contrary. The next day, Sunday, February 11, three days after the insurrection was launched, a big popular demonstration formed in the poverty-stricken districts of the east bank of the Tigris. The demonstrators, brandishing immense portraits of Kassem, shouted, according to a foreign diplomat who was present, 'We want no other chief than Abd el Karim (the first name of Kassem). Return Abd el Karim to us dead or alive.' Tanks intervened again and with cannon and machine-gun fire dispersed the crowd. Since then no one has

asked the population to demonstrate and the regime is taking care not to run the risk."

Tanks remain in the streets throughout the city. The city, under curfew law, seems "sick," says Chauvel. "It is particularly evident in the workers world where the trade unions were filled with Communists. At Basorah, it was the trade unionists who first opened fire. . . three days after the putsch, against the militia of the National Guard. . . "

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The fundamental orientation of the new regime still remains unclear. Not even the names of the members of "National Council of the Revolutionary Command," which claims to lead the movement are known. Guarantees have been given to the foreign oil interests who own the Iraq Petroleum Company; and the "anti-Communist" witch-hunt has pleased American imperialism. "Good Omens in Iraq," is the title of the lead editorial in February 13 edition of the European Edition of the New York Herald Tribune.

As yet no political party in Iraq has come out openly in favor of the new regime, not even the Baath (Socialist party of the Arab Renaissance, a left petty-bourgeois party with branches in several countries of the Middle East) although the new government includes many members of the pro-Nasser wing of this party (inspired by Michel Aflek in Syria).

If the new regime expects to hold on, its first problem is to win popular support or at least offer an answer to some of the pre-occupations of the Iraqi masses. These are the key issues:

Agrarian reform: The Kassem regime initiated moderate reforms, limiting land holdings to 625 acres of irrigated land and 1,250 acres of unirrigated land. Compensation was promised the big landowners and the land was to be distributed to poor and landless peasants within five years. On the eve of the February 8 coup; that is, four and a half years after the agrarian reform was announced, only one-fourth of the land had actually been distributed. The poor peasants who got the land were given neither tools nor credit and rapidly became indebted. When discontent mounted in the countryside, Kassem repressed the peasant leaders. The new regime has promised to extend the land reform and has reportedly jailed some big landowners.

Arab unity: Strong feeling in favor of Arab unity exists among the Iraqi masses. The Communist party lost a big part of its mass basis because of opposition to this popular and progressive sentiment. While giving lip service to the cause of Arab unity, it is improbable that the Aref regime will share oil royalties with Nasser by permitting Iraq to join the United Arab Republic.

Anti-imperialism: The fact that the world imperialist press

has hailed the downfall of Kassem, is no credit to the new regime in the eyes of the masses. It remains to be seen what steps Aref and his partners will take to carry out their promises of "neutrality" in foreign policy and adherence to the so-called principles of the Bandung conference.

Kurds: For eighteen months, the Kassem regime sought to put down an insurrection of the Kurdish people in North Iraq who demand national autonomy within the Iraq Republic. As reported above, the Kurdish leaders appeared to have stiffened their demands in view of the savage witch-hunt with which the Aref regime launched its rule.

AFRICAN STUDENTS CLASH WITH BULGARIAN POLICE

The attempt of Bulgaria's Stalinist regime to put a bureaucratic strait jacket on African youths studying in that country met with the sharp rebuff it deserved.

The Africans asked for the simple right to organize their own All African Students Union. The Bulgarian government refused. The pretexts offered for this arbitrary decision avoided stating the real reason: the bureaucracy is not prepared to permit any organization to exist in Bulgaria which it does not control.

On February 12, the students staged a public demonstration against the ban. The Sofia police broke up this perfectly normal reaction with the favorite weapon of police everywhere -- clubs.

The Ghana government then decided to withdraw all its students from Bulgaria.

This is not the first conflict between Stalinist officialdom and African students who nowadays are inclined to manifest an independent, fighting spirit, heartened and emboldened as they are by the progress of the colonial revolution.

In 1961, for instance, African students in the Soviet Union wanted to set up their own student organization. The Moscow bureaucrats wanted them divided into as many separate organizations as there are different African states. A conflict resulted.

Again at the time of the big protest demonstrations which African students staged when Lumumba was murdered, they ran into sharp clashes with Moscow police assigned to protect the Belgian embassy.

The U.S. State Department, of course, pounced joyfully on the latest incident. "Officials here are eager to capitalize on the situation," said a February 15 dispatch from Washington, D.C., to the International Edition of the New York Times. The State Department, according to the same report, urged the British and West German governments to offer money and places in colleges to the students. One State Department official was quoted as saying:

"This is a golden opportunity to prove to these students that we are with them and sympathetic to their quest for independence."

He did not offer to bring the African students to the United States, however, although many of them no doubt would consider it a golden opportunity to join James H. Meredith in helping to break down racial discrimination at the University of Mississippi.

"ANGOLA LIBRE"

A "Committee for Support to Angola and the Peoples of the Portuguese Colonies" has been set up in Paris. (Address: 42 avenue du Parc de Montsouris, Paris 14e.) It works in close contact with the CONCP (Conference of Nationalist Organizations of Portuguese Colonies) which from Rabat, Morocco, co-ordinates the national liberation movement in all the Portuguese colonies.

The new Paris committee has just published its first bulletin, Angola Libre. It contains articles on the geography, ethnology and History of Angola, on the conference of the MPLA (Popular Movement of Liberation of Angola), some information on the UPA (Union of Angolan Populations), the other nationalist movement of Angola whose leader, Roberto Holden, co-operates closely with American imperialism, and some news about the military operations in Angola and in Portuguese Guinea.

In Belgium, the Committee for Peace in Algeria has converted itself into the Committee for Struggle Against Colonialism, Neocolonialism and Fascism. It places particular stress on aiding the national liberation movement of the Portuguese committees. (Address: M. Jean Godin, 32 avenue Napoleon, Braine-la-Platte, Belgium.)

NEW AUTHOR IN "NUOVA GENERAZIONE" -- TROTSKY

In some sectors of the Communist movement, the name of Leon Trotsky is still slandered or at best never mentioned. Not so among the youth of the Italian sector.

During the big discussion period in the Italian Communist movement, following the further steps in de-Stalinization taken at the Twenty-Second Congress of the Communist party of the Soviet Union, Nuova Generazione, central organ of the Italian Young Communist League, published several discussion articles on Trotsky's true role in the Russian Revolution of 1917 as well as a photograph of the founding father of the Soviet Union who was murdered by Stalin.

Last week Nuova Generazione went a step further. For the first time it offered its readers a sample of Trotsky's actual writings. Its selection was an extract from the book 1905 which deals with the

Russian Revolution of that year. The extract is a discussion by the twenty-six-year-old leader of that famous attempt to overthrow Russian feudalism and capitalism on the vital importance of the general strike as a step in the process of an uprising.

### WORKS OF TROTSKY PUBLISHED IN JAPAN

TOKYO, Feb. 12 -- The ninth big volume of selections from the writings of Leon Trotsky was recently placed in bookstores here. Like previous volumes it met with favorable reviews in the press and brisk sales. Four more volumes are scheduled for early publication.

The edition, which is most attractively printed and bound, contains such rare items as Problems of the Chinese Revolution but not such well-known works as My Life, The Revolution Betrayed and The History of the Russian Revolution. These are already in Japanese book stores.

The translations, by various professors, are excellent, meeting the high standard set by Professor Eiichi Yamanishi in his translation of the History.

In addition, the first two volumes of Isaac Deutscher's biography of Trotsky have been translated by Professor Yamanishi and are now on the spring publication list.

The publication of extensive selections from the works of Trotsky, as well as the biography by Deutscher, is one of the reflections of the great interest that exists here among students and intellectuals in the life and ideas of the Russian revolutionary-socialist leader.

### TROTSKYIST POSITION ON CHINESE-SOVIET RIFT

ROME, Feb. 18 -- A statement of the position of the International Secretariat of the Fourth International on the Chinese-Soviet rift was released today by Livio Maitan. The statement begins by referring to the fact that at the inception of the dispute two and a half years ago, the IS in an "Open Letter" gave critical support to the positions defended by the Chinese Communist party inasmuch as it felt then that on most of the key issues of the international class struggle, the positions of the Chinese were more to the left and more progressive than those taken by the Khrushchev tendency.

Viewing the differences as they now stand, the statement holds that on the following points the CCP has shown itself to be further to the left and more correct than the Khrushchev tendency:

(1) That imperialism has not changed its nature and that in the struggle against imperialist war preparations, one should not

sow illusions about this or that imperialist group.

(2) That the risk of another world war can be ended only by overthrowing imperialism and capitalism.

(3) That the needs of the colonial revolution must not be subordinated to the alleged "needs" of "peaceful coexistence."

(4) That no reliance can be placed on the national bourgeoisie of colonial and semicolonial countries and that a revolution once begun tends to proceed in an "uninterrupted" way, a view which approaches Trotsky's theory of the permanent revolution.

(5) That it is illusory to believe in a "peaceful road towards socialism" in the imperialist countries, not least of the illusions being the so-called "theory" of "structural reforms" advocated by the Italian CP leader Togliatti; this, in fact, being a theory that socialism can achieve victory without overthrowing the bourgeois state machine.

(6) That the "five conditions" placed by Fidel Castro during the recent Cuban crisis deserved immediate support, as was given by the Chinese; that Khrushchev spread an illusion when he held that Kennedy had given a "guarantee" not to invade Cuba again; and that the Cubans were correct in rejecting unilateral inspection by the United Nations of military bases in Cuba.

(7) That a majority and minority can coexist in the world Communist movement and in a Communist party and that a minority can sometimes be right against the majority.

While holding the view that these positions are generally more progressive than the reformist political line followed by the leadership of the Communist party of the Soviet Union and of most other CP's, the statement criticizes the Chinese as taking stands alien to Marxism-Leninism on the following issues:

(1) Their underestimation of the results of a nuclear world war.

(2) Their unprincipled bloc with the Enver Hodza clique in Albania and their refusal to support de-Stalinization in the Soviet Union the way Castro did.

(3) Their unprincipled characterization of Yugoslavia as a capitalist state.

(4) Their maintenance of a bureaucratic regime within the Chinese workers state and the Chinese Communist party.

The statement holds that the discussion in the Communist movement will inevitably deepen, posing more and more sharply all the key questions of Communist policy in the world today. It is in the interests of the Communist movement as a whole to make possible a

clear and public confrontation of positions, including those developed by the Trotskyist movement and other tendencies.

The debate should not be carried on in a dogmatic, byzantine and sterile way, the statement advocates, but on the basis of the extremely rich and variegated experiences undergone by the revolutionary working-class movement. For that reason the International Secretariat of the Fourth International favors an international conference of the world Communist movement, provided that it is a genuinely democratic forum where each tendency can freely express its views and from which no tendency is excluded.

In the last analysis, the statement concludes, the current crisis in the world Communist movement can come to an end only through new organizational crystallizations which will free the international working-class movement from the grip of stultifying bureaucratic practices.

### "THE WORKER'S CO-OPERATIVE OF AISSAT IDIR"

By Pierre Frank

In order to prepare for the socialist future of Algeria, it is essential to establish a number of strongholds today which can serve in the struggle against the capitalist sectors, both foreign and domestic. The installation and organization of such strongholds take as their point of departure the "biens vacants"; the property -- grounds and buildings, both industrial and agricultural -- abandoned on a massive scale by the "pieds noirs" (European colonialists born in Algeria).

Among the experiments under way, I should like to present a brief appreciation of a co-operative in the town of Blida named "The Worker's Co-operative of Aissat Idir," which is probably the furthest advanced although it was established only a little more than three months ago.

The region is one of the most favorable for such an experiment -- the fertile plain of the Mitidja, far enough away from Algiers to avoid the difficulties entailed by stiff competition, close enough to enjoy maximum aid from the government.

The inspirer of the operation, Boudissa Safi, is one of the leaders of the Algerian trade unions. He named the enterprise after the Algerian trade-union leader Aissat Idir, who was murdered by French imperialism.

The most striking feature of the work of the co-operative is that it is not governed by a narrow concept. Boudissa Safi began with a sweeping view of the future that he would like to assure Algeria. The co-operative includes a whole series of enterprises which, in Blida and its surroundings and even farther, were abandoned by the pieds noirs. All these enterprises have been brought under a single control and a single aim.

The co-operative covers an impressive number of projects. Here is a by-no-means inclusive list: Twenty farms, covering 12,500 acres, a quarry, a clay pit, a brickyard, a construction firm, a cloth manufactory, a soft-drink plant, retail food stores, including butcher shops, a printing plant, a hotel and restaurant, various shops (hardware, etc.), all the movie houses of Blida, and a co-operative of fishermen at Castiglione about thirty kilometers from Blida.

This is not a blueprint, existing only on paper; everything I have mentioned is already functioning. Moreover, the directors of the co-operative hope to widen their operations as needs and opportunities arise.

The combining of all these various enterprises which formerly belonged to individual proprietors, enables the co-operative to operate to a great extent on its own resources. The clay pit provides materials for the brickyard; it in turn supplies the construction business; the farms provide products needed by the retail stores, etc. The co-operative, of course, must buy some raw materials; such products, for example, as cement, yarn for the textile plant, etc.

Each distinct enterprise, each farm, has a management committee ("comité de gestion"). The project as a whole is directed by a kind of central management committee -- an administration committee ("comité d'administration") of some twenty members. It would not be truthful, of course, to assert that everything runs smoothly, that every single management committee functions normally.

Wages are set in accordance with officially established norms. The ceiling is 650 francs (\$130) a month. It is scarcely necessary to say that the men who created this co-operative are not personally interested in financial gain and do not keep track of the hours they put in.

Moreover, from the very beginning they were faced with the problem of making things run in a profitable way, all the more so since the pieds noirs, here as everywhere in Algeria, stopped necessary upkeep work as soon as they realized that defeat was inevitable. Consequently the problem of re-equipment was acute.

That the co-operative, in which more than 500 people now have permanent employment, has begun to prove itself can be seen from two facts which happen to have no relationship. First, thanks to the co-operative's stores, food prices have dropped appreciably in Blida. Secondly, shortly after it was launched, the co-operative was granted bank credits.

The operation that was begun is moving ahead; each day sees new undertakings. Difficulties are not lacking, of course. Among these, one of the worst is the shortage of trained personnel. But friends of New Algeria are joining the Worker's Co-operative of Aissat Idir.

In the city of Blida, this co-operative is already a force. It will not fail to make its influence felt as its activities widen, passing from the sphere of production and distribution to culture, as its organizers intend shall soon be the case.

Aissat Idir can even become an important school for the education of personnel to manage the numerous "vacated properties."

Feb. 16, 1963.

HELP DEFEND THE PERUVIAN MASSES!

At the height of the witch-hunt in Peru, the Bolivian Trotskyists organized in the POR (Partido Obrero Revolucionario) distributed a leaflet in La Paz appealing to the workers to express their solidarity with the Peruvian victims.

The witch-hunt in Peru was characterized as part of an effort to establish a savage military dictatorship. "The repression opens a general attack on the masses of all Latin America in inseparable association with the Alliance for Progress and the plans to isolate socialist Cuba."

Among the slogans raised by the Bolivian Trotskyists were the following: "Forward with the armed struggle of the campesinos of Cuzco! Full support to the guerrilla fighter Hugo Blanco! Free the political prisoners in Peru! For the triumph of socialism in Bolivia, Peru and Latin America!"

The leaflet was signed for the Political Bureau by H. González M.; Antonio Moreno; Eulogio Sanchez and V. Romero.

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