

# WORLD OUTLOOK

## PERSPECTIVE MONDIALE

Un service de presse ouvrier

Vol. 2, No. 21

May 22, 1964

21, rue d'Aboukir - PARIS-2

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like laws of South Africa, the court ruled that Dr. Abrahams must pay the total costs of the hearing. The bill presented to Dr. Abrahams was £316/10s. [\$886.20 U.S.].

Dr. Alexander, now a refugee in another country, has no money; and the South African government has no way of collecting from him. Verwoerd's cops thought of an ingenious solution. They have threatened to attach the house which Dr. Abrahams left to his aged parents and eject them unless the money is paid at once.

Students in Germany are organizing an immediate fund to help pay the ransom demanded by the Verwoerd government. They have written World Outlook asking for help.

The address to which contributions should be sent is Franz J.T.Lee, 74 Tübingen, Schwabstrasse 22, West Germany.

Use an International Money Order or send a check.

#### SPANISH STRIKERS STICK TOUGH

MAY 20 -- With the bulk of the Asturian coal miners still out on strike on the thirtieth day of their defiance of General Franco's fascist laws banning strikes, the Spanish working class appears to have a most heartening victory in sight.

Solidarity strikes, linked with economic demands, have spread to other areas. The employers here and there have indicated that they would like to make a settlement. And the government itself decided to begin publishing new decrees which, it is reported, contain concessions on both wages and vacations. A few workers arrested for strike activities were released.

It was even reported that negotiations were being undertaken with independent figures among the miners, by-passing the stooge unions set up by the government. This could signal a significant step toward bowing to one of the main demands of the workers -- the right to organize free unions.

The figures on the number of Asturian miners on strike have risen as high as 50,000. The figure dropped to 30,000 last week and at the moment, the estimate is 40,000. The returns to work seem to be part of a deliberate tactic and not an indication of any defeatist mood, since fresh walk-outs immediately occur.

For instance, when 3,000 miners went back in Asturias, 11,000 naval workers stopped work at Bilbao.

In Santander, 7,500 steel workers went on strike to display

their solidarity with the miners. Their immediate reason was the dismissal of one of their ranks.

The coal miners in the Teruel fields are also reported to be engaging in strike action and even farm workers in the sherry vineyards of the Southwest are on strike to indicate that a pay rise is long overdue.

### TUNISIA EXPROPRIATES FRENCH-HELD LAND

The decision May 11 of the National Assembly of Tunis to take over all foreign-held land was profoundly shocking to the French government. Among revolutionists, however, the act was greeted with pleasure everywhere.

The Habib Bourguiba government has displayed considerable servility toward French imperialism since it came to power in 1956. In fact Bourguiba himself became a virtual symbol of neocolonialism in the Maghreb [Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia] and elsewhere in Africa. That he should suddenly decide to take over lands that are mainly held by French owners, is the strongest possible evidence of the power of the revolutionary Algerian example and the effect it is having among the masses of other countries in Africa.

More than 300,000 hectares are involved [one hectare = 2.47 acres]; about 273,000 hectares belonging to French colons and some 30,000 hectares held by Italian and Maltese owners.

The immediate reaction of the de Gaulle government, which is highly sensitive in matters involving private property, was to cut off economic assistance to Tunisia. In announcing this reprisal on May 12, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs placed the blame on the Tunisian government, which, it claimed, had acted unilaterally in taking over the land.

The economic assistance included a long-term loan for 1964 amounting to 100,000,000 francs [\$20,000,000].

The Tunisian government took no counter reprisals but announced that it would seek to float a domestic loan to cover the amount involved.

Part of the anger of the French government is due to the fact that while the Tunisian government stated that it admitted in principle that the owners should be compensated, the finances of the Tunisian government would not permit this for a long time.

On May 14, Bourguiba went ahead and "recuperated" 102,101 hectares of land occupied by French owners.

In a front-page article May 15, under the headline, "Paris Holds that the Expropriation of the French Colons is Contrary to the Spirit of Co-operation," Le Monde, France's leading bourgeois daily said:

"It is quite likely that the firmness of the French reaction was also inspired by the desire to give it a certain meaning as an example and thus to warn other African governments which might be tempted by the Tunisian precedent. Already in Morocco, where laborious negotiations are being conducted on the recuperation of some 50,000 hectares of land, voices have been raised -- in the opposition of course -- to incite the Chérifien palace to take the same road as Tunisia.

"Paris is convinced that the decision taken by Mr. Bourguiba was inspired by domestic and foreign political reasons, since no other motive, it is said, could justify the haste manifested in Tunis. . . ."

#### NEW GUERRILLA FRONT IN THE CONGO

BRUSSELS -- Dispatches from the Congo report that a new guerrilla front has been opened in the East Congo province of Kivu. In a recent skirmish between the freedom fighters and the reactionary Congolese army, Col. Léonard Mulamba, commander in chief of the North East region was wounded. The fighting occurred May 1 near Uvira on Lake Tanganyika.

This second guerrilla front in the Congo is of great importance because it could be supported by revolutionary forces in East Africa (Uganda, Tanganyika-Zanzibar and Kenya).

The leader of the front is Gaston Soumialot, a well-known Lumumbist in Kivu. Direct connections appear to exist with the guerrilla forces led by Pierre Mulele in the Kouilou-Kasai region, as well as with the "Committee for National Liberation" in exile in Brazzaville, which includes most of the exiled nationalist leaders.

Gaston Soumialot's forces are estimated to vary between 300 and 3,000 fighters, mostly armed with bows and arrows and a few shot guns.

Reactionary journalists in Leopoldville and Brussels have engaged in red-baiting over the new outbreak, claiming to see behind it the Chinese embassy at Usumbura, the capital of nearby Burundi.

NEW CRISIS LOOMS IN CARIBBEAN

By Joseph Hansen

As was expected, the first major act in foreign policy undertaken by the Branco government, which seized power in Brazil April 1 with Washington's fervent blessing [see World Outlook April 10, April 17], was to break off diplomatic relations with Cuba. On May 13, Brazil's Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued a note declaring, "The conditions for maintaining relations between Brazil and Cuba have ceased to exist."

The excuses offered for thus arbitrarily breaking off diplomatic relations included the "impropriety" of Castro's declarations about the counterrevolutionary coup d'état and its meaning, and the charge that under the bourgeois-democratic government of João Goulart, which was toppled by the camarilla of generals and reactionary politicians representing the oligarchy, the Cubans had "directly or indirectly encouraged" the "process of Communizing" Brazil.

President Johnson's pleased response to this move by the Brazilian government might be called typically "American." A few days later, on May 18, the Department of Agriculture announced that it was sending Brazil \$93,000,000 worth of food products, including 1,000,000 tons of rice, 20,000,000 kilos of vegetable oil, butter and powdered milk. This was considered by the press to be a first step in resuming the economic aid which Washington had reduced to a trickle as part of the plot to overthrow Goulart.

These moves were but part of the bigger plan to tighten the screws still more on tiny Cuba. While aid was being rushed to the counterrevolutionary Gen. Branco, Washington announced fresh measures against the Cubans. On May 14, the very day after Branco broke off relations with Cuba, the Commerce Department slapped an embargo on the sale of all food and medicine to Cuba.

This closed the long chapter of consistent lying in the White House, Congress, and all the moralistic circles of capitalist America who had sworn that the world's richest country would never, no never, commit such a depraved, inhuman act as cutting off food and medicine to any people, including the Cubans.

Even grimmer things were in the wind. On April 30 the Republican Critical Issues Council, a part of the Republican Citizens' Committee, headed by Milton S. Eisenhower, brother of the former President, issued a report calling on the United States to finance, arm and unleash anti-Castro exiles to overthrow the Cuban regime, with U.S. military help as a last resort.

This was not only political assurance that the Democrats could count on full Republican co-operation in precipitating a new crisis in the Caribbean, it was even a challenge to do it before the

election next November.

Johnson, it appears, needed little prodding, as can be gathered from the following dispatch from Washington which appeared in the May 11 New York Herald Tribune:

"Invasion fever again has struck Cubans -- harder in the past few weeks than at any time since before the October, 1962, missile crisis.

"The exile grapevine in Miami is afire with rumors. Cubans with military background are suddenly gone, leaving no trace in the city. In the last three weeks impressively large sums of money have suddenly begun circulating among exile leaders and groups in Cuba's underground.

"From Costa Rica, Nicaragua and Honduras come reports of stepped-up exile activity in training camps."

This was the background to an attack in the dawn of May 13 when "commandos" of the "Revolutionary Recovery Movement" boasted that they had landed at Pilon and dynamited a sugar mill. The counterrevolutionaries revealed that they had a number of boats at their disposal. "Very soon," said their spokesman, "we will strike again and we won't wait for six months." (The U.S. elections are six months off.)

Fidel Castro charged that the raid was a "new act of piracy committed by the government of the United States."

He said that the counterrevolutionaries did not land, but bombarded the port with naval cannon. The shots set fire to a warehouse, burning 70,000 bags of sugar.

In Miami, where he is an eagerly sought journalist among the counterrevolutionary Cuban circles, New York Times correspondent Tad Szulc reported May 17 that "Infiltration teams began to move across the Caribbean toward Cuba this weekend in a prelude to the planned landing on the island before next Wednesday by Manuel Ray, leader of the anti-Castro 'Revolutionary Junta.'"

The reactionary riffraff that infest Miami's dives are more often given to exaggeration than not, yet Szulc seemed to share their feelings: "The plans of the revolutionary [counterrevolutionary] junta, and the deliberate publicity given it by its leaders have created an atmosphere of excitement and anticipation in the huge Cuban exile community here that has not been felt since the days of the abortive 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion."

It would seem that radio Havana is living up to its reputation for accuracy in warning almost daily that U.S. planes and ships

are poised in Florida and the Caribbean ready for an aggressive attack.

And Castro is absolutely right in the repeated calls he has made the past month and a half for the utmost vigilance.

Friends of the Cuban Revolution everywhere should remain on the alert. Johnson's moves in the Caribbean may precipitate another world crisis, again raising the dread specter of nuclear war.

#### YUGOSLAV REPLY TO CUBAN CRITICISM

The Cuban criticism of Yugoslavia's role in inviting the Venezuelan government to the conference of "Nonaligned" countries to be held in Cairo next October [see World Outlook May 8], has met with a rebuff from the Tito government.

The Cubans challenged the Yugoslavs for inviting a reactionary Latin-American government that has played a particularly invidious role in the efforts of American imperialism to crush or strangle the Cuban Revolution. By no stretch of the imagination can Betancourt or his successor Leoni be honestly characterized as "nonaligned."

Agence France Press reported May 16 from Belgrade that it had learned from "well-informed sources" that the Tito government had "recently invited" the Cuban government to practice "moderation."

The Yugoslavs "especially counseled it to stop trying to 'export' the Castroist revolution to Latin America."

According to Agence France Press, the "Yugoslav move was directly related to the preparations for the second conference of nonaligned countries scheduled for next October in Cairo. It was emphasized precisely that Yugoslavia favors the participation of a series of Latin-American countries in the conference -- like Venezuela in particular -- which the Cuban government, for its part, considers to be allies of 'Yankee imperialism.'"

It should be noted that the Yugoslavs echo the charge made in Washington that Cubans seek to "export" their revolution. The fact is that the Cubans have recognized from the very beginning that revolutions cannot be "exported." They have repeated this again and again. What they can be accused of is proudly pointing to the Cuban Revolution as an example which all of Latin America might well follow. And in this they are right.



HAVANA'S "INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY"

[The Nation, the well-known liberal weekly in the United States, is one of the rare publications in that country which has sought to present its readers with objective reporting about Cuba. A good example of what it seeks to offer was a letter in the issue of April 27 written from Havana by Marc Schleifer, former editor of the literary magazine Kulchur, who is also editor of Robert Williams' book Negroes with Guns. Of unusual interest, we thought, were Schleifer's observations on the "international society" which has appeared recently "as a by-product of the Revolution" and whose headquarters is Havana. The following paragraphs are extracts from Schleifer's letter.]

\* \* \*

Most of the glamour of the new international society is supplied by the transients -- a sudden appearance by Wajda, the Polish film director, and his leading lady; a Russian ballet troupe; international assortments of female journalists hungering for an interview with Fidel or Che; Brazil's Julião, over to visit with his children; Yevtushenko and Adamov; Brazil's Prestes worrying over Julião; Michel Chartrand, President of Quebec's separatist Parti Socialiste getting to know the Brazilian nationalist, General Leite. And the constant flow of visiting Americans: the forty-nine students, author Louis Lomax, Herbert Mohammud, Jr. (the Prophet's son). As judges for the Casa's Literary Competition there were Italy's novelist, Italo Calvino; the Chilean playwright, Isidora Aguirre, the Spanish poet Blas de Otero; Maria Rosa Oliver, co-founder of Sur; Jacobo Arbenz, former President of Guatemala.

But the real heart of the international community is made up of hundreds, possibly thousands, of Latin Americans, North Americans, Western Europeans and Africans, who have come to Cuba to study, teach or directly provide professional skills. This is a committed community. Unlike the Cubans, who appear too absorbed in their own work to give it much thought (at least out loud), the international community is obsessed and deeply divided by the Chinese-Russian debate. Strangely enough, my observations of these particular partisans and their positions completely contradict the rhetorical definitions set by the storm centers of both camps.

Peking claims classic Leninist "orthodoxy" and Moscow -- with its constant references to a "changing world" and "new elements since Lenin's time" -- yields the point, accusing Peking of being "out of touch," "old-fashioned," while dropping all sorts of inferences about Mao's advanced age and dissent among the younger Chinese cadre. But with a few exceptions on both sides, the fundamental division in Havana's international community is one of age -- the youth being pro-Chinese and the elderly contingent pro-Russian.

Moscow charges Peking with "rigidity" and "dogmatism." And

while Peking does not directly accept the epithets, it does issue statements that avoid the issue and stress Moscow's "revisionism" as a far greater danger. Yet again, with exceptions, the line-up among foreigners contradicts the rhetoric. When I meet someone who is pro-Moscow, he invariably echos the USSR-C.P. line issue for issue. And the phraseology or style is always the same -- almost total recall from Moscow statements. In other words, as dogma. But the pro-Chinese faction seems to have a completely different psychology. They aren't at all uniformly "pro-Chinese" in the way in which their opposites are "pro-Russian." Rather they seem to have arrived at (through singular and often quite ideologically stylized thought processes and phraseology) a coincidence with the Chinese position. The coincidence (no matter how it is arrived at) is invariably that of the primacy of "the armed struggle for national liberation." Beyond that, there is less hesitation to openly discuss or even criticize secondary issues and tactical moves of "their" side.

Finally, it is almost mutually accepted rhetoric that Peking is "more sectarian" and Moscow less so, in their respective world appeal. Yet, with the exception of a few nervous social-democrats who cannot be considered "committed" and who favor Moscow for their own reasons, the pro-Russian faction is limited to people with direct or associative Communist Party backgrounds. The pro-Chinese formation is almost outrageously unsectarian: in addition to party militants it contains all sorts of tendencies in transition to some sort of regrouping and unity as New Communists: New Leftists, Latin American Fidelistas and Left-Nationalists, C. Wright Millsians, Revolutionary Beatniks, Black Nationalists, younger-generation Trotskyists, even an occasional Anarcho-Syndicalist. And they are quick to note that it is the "sectarian" Chinese who have reprinted and widely circulated Fidel's speeches against sectarianism, whereas with rare exceptions the Moscow-aligned Communist Parties all over the world have ignored these speeches or published only carefully edited selections.

#### SOVIET MILITARY AID FOR INDIA

The New York Times revealed May 13 that Soviet military aid to India, amounting to \$130,000,000, is greater than that coming from the United States.

A \$40 million missile program includes associated radar and training equipment. More than 50 missiles are reported to have been delivered to Baroda. They are the most advanced types.

Helicopters, transport planes and a half dozen MIG jet fighters have been delivered. Plans are now being discussed to build plants in India to manufacture MIG-21's. Payments for the plants would not begin for eight years.

ALGERIA'S NEED TO DEEPEN THE AGRARIAN REFORM

By Henri Dumoulin

The self-managed agricultural sector in Algeria today includes the best land in the country, the areas formerly occupied by the European colons, some 3,000,000 hectares [one hectare = 2.47 acres]. Aside from oil, it constitutes the principal resource, not only of agriculture but of the national economy as a whole. But the sale of its products, strongly oriented toward export, still remains subject to the capitalist markets, above all France. In addition, providing employment for around 200,000 permanent workers, who gain approximately 7.5 dinars a day [one dinar = about \$.20 U.S.], it furnishes a livelihood for about 1,000,000 to 1,500,000 persons.

The self-managed industrial sector, although still quite minor in relation to the private sector, is nevertheless of great importance, above all as an example and as an extremely valuable school for revolutionary militants, as was indicated at the Congress of Workers of this sector of industry. [See World Outlook March 13, March 27, April 10.]

In the distribution of commodities, a big step forward was the setting up of a chain of Socialist Pilot Stores, of nationalized centers of distribution, and the launching of a struggle against speculators.

As against these revolutionary conquests of the new Algeria, some grave problems remain to be solved.

A dominant trait of the Algerian economy, one that is particularly hard to bring under control, is the high percentage of unemployment left over from the colonial period, in the towns as well as the countryside. It is difficult to ascertain exact figures. "More than a million unemployed. One out of ten in the towns and a little less in the countryside." These are the most authoritative estimates.

In the countryside, in the mountains, undernourishment, sometimes to an extreme degree, still persists; it is particularly grave among landless peasants who may secure only a few days' work a year. It also affects the small fellahs [peasants] sweating away on two or three hectares, generally poor mountain plots from which they scarcely gain subsistence.

In face of these still poverty-stricken masses, a more and more ostentatious and arrogant rising bureaucracy is appearing, visible at times in the party itself but above all in the government administrations and the state apparatus. Entrenched in red tape, cut off from the masses, enjoying already shocking wages and privileges, the bureaucrats constitute a heavy drag on the struggle for socialism.

These difficulties stand out against a rather somber background.

Women, whose seclusion was accentuated by colonialism, as a general rule are still isolated from civic life. Their servitude, registered in the mental outlook of the men, stands in the road of liberating the community as a whole. Only the integration of women in production and their active participation throughout the national organizations can bring about their emancipation.

The rate of illiteracy still remains very high. The first campaign against this scourge is but slowly getting underway. The means of speeding it up are still to be found. It requires above all active mobilization under auspices of the party, the only organization capable of arousing the necessary enthusiasm.

If the nationalists were able to utilize in a progressive way certain aspects of Islam, today amidst the social revolution, the obscurantist aspects of the Muslim religion appear more likely to constitute a brake than a liberating factor.

If possible solutions are not provided for these difficulties as a whole, the most likely outcome is a rise in the relative apathy that has been evident for some time as compared to the revolutionary enthusiasm of the months that followed the achievement of independence.

No matter what the problems they turn to, the Algerian revolutionists are today discovering from practical experience how useful a genuine revolutionary party would be. Only such an organization can provide effective ways and means to find a road out of the current difficulties, lift the revolution out of its empiricism and, at a local level, even improvisation in which it is struggling. Such a party could again inspire the revolutionary enthusiasm and mobilization of the masses, a fundamental condition for new conquests.

The aim of the first congress of the Front de Libération Nationale [FLN] was precisely to lay the foundation for such a party, or rather, to readapt the former front of struggle against colonialism into a tool that can be applied to the new tasks posed by the social revolution which must now be carried out.

As the foreword of the "Charter of Algeria," the official program of the FLN which was adopted with secondary amendments, explained with great lucidity:

"The fundamental question of the exploitation of the victory and the social organization of independent Algeria, on which hinged the style of war, the alliances and the nature of the leadership, was not clearly posed at the beginning (in 1954). This original deficiency did not prevent the insurrection, decided on by a minor-

ity of militants, from widening, becoming consolidated, and achieving victory. . . . One of the weaknesses of the leadership of the FLN was not to have understood in time that the third force was a social phenomenon which had its extension within the leading bodies of the Revolution and that this force aspired to organize Algeria in behalf of the exploiting layers and to place the country in tow to imperialism."

Of course, a genuinely revolutionary party could not emerge from a single congress, no matter what its importance, but today it can be hoped that the conditions will be realized for the formation in the coming period of a great revolutionary socialist party.

Before the congress, a team existed at the top level around Ben Bella which placed all its weight in the direction of socialism; but hardly any adequate structure existed capable of helping in this task and serving as an organized connection with the masses.

Out of the congress came a Central Committee and a Political Bureau which, although far from being homogeneous, should strengthen the workers and peasants forces in the government power.

The problem for this new apparatus is to find a link with the masses. It must overcome the obstacles and the brakes existing at the level of the middle cadres, in the federations, etc., which block the faithful transmission of instructions to the ranks decided on by the leadership.

The renewal of the party can be greatly helped by revolutionary militants working in the self-managed sector, as the Congress of Workers of the industrial sector already demonstrated.

In the best of cases, the construction of this indispensable tool will take many months, but the Revolution cannot wait, granting the time necessary for this work of rebuilding, before taking new steps forward.

In the first weeks after Independence, the Algerian workers took over management of vast agricultural domains abandoned by the European colons [colonialists], thus beginning the agrarian reform. The decrees of March 1963 concretized and legalized these first revolutionary conquests.

In October 1963, the cycle of these first transformations culminated with the nationalization of all the holdings of the Europeans, providing what has been called the second phase of the agrarian reform.

Nobody can deny that it was the peasant masses who made the heaviest sacrifices in the war for national liberation. In Algeria the peasantry has constituted the great revolutionary force. The demonstrations of May 1, like the preceding popular assemblages

which we have attended, reminded us of this once more. Again, the rural masses coming from the douars [poor villages] to the towns, made up the leading wing of the demonstrators within which the city dwellers appeared to us more blasé, scattered among the mass of fellahs.

It is necessary to draw certain conclusions from this.

Alongside the minority directly involved in the self-managed sector, there remain perhaps 4,000,000 to 5,000,000 in the rural population, composed in the majority of landless peasants or small fellahs. While it is true that in certain cases, in certain areas, the socialist sector is becoming a help to the small fellahs, through advances of seeds, help with agricultural machines, technical advice, etc., generally the winning of independence has not yet brought them concretely what they fought for -- land and bread.

In his opening speech at the congress of the party, Ben Bella declared:

"It is necessary to conceive the agrarian reform as the means for more closely integrating the small landless peasants in the economic and political life of the country. In Algeria there are still 8,500 private farms of more than 100 hectares, and 15,000 farms of more than 50 hectares. These 23,000 farms hold more than 4,500,000 hectares, while the remaining 7,000,000 hectares are divided among 600,000 farms.

"Two million fellahs are reduced to unemployment or to an underemployment which is close to total unemployment while most of the big proprietors visit their domains only to see if the crop is good or to collect the rent from the farmers."

It is for these disinherited rural masses that the third phase of the agrarian reform has been conceived. Its exact content has not yet been published. All that has been indicated is that the middle and big holdings belonging to Algerians are to be considerably limited. Presumably it will likewise involve a certain reshuffling, an organization of the small proprietors (fellahs) under various forms of co-operation.

The draft of the agrarian reform was completed by the Council of Ministers at the beginning of April and it has been announced that it will next go to the National Assembly. It was hoped that circumstances would favor the commencement of its application with the holding of the party congress; but the latter decided that in the question of the agrarian reform it would open. . . a campaign to explain its content.

However, it has become urgent to carry it out. Not only to come to the aid of the disinherited masses of the countryside, but to deal a blow to the economic strength of the middle and big Alger-

ian proprietors. These constitute a natural base of support for the obscure forces of the counterrevolution. In case the poor masses become discouraged, which cannot but help occur unless hope of finding work can be offered, the middle and big proprietors may seek to draw them behind their leadership in an antigovernment adventure. It is clear that the rural bourgeoisie feels directly threatened by the nationalization measures, is ready to accept certain risks, and is capable of envisaging a final test of strength to beat back the specter of agrarian reform.

The Revolution has reached a new crossroads. To win, it must deal new blows, it must take new steps forward.

Despite appearances, a class struggle is raging under the surface in Algeria; and if the Revolution should stop at the present stage, the risk would be great that the forces of the counterrevolution, the rural proprietors, the bureaucrats, the partisans of the neocolonialist road, supported naturally by the foreign imperialist forces, would utilize the first signs of the demobilization of the masses to attack the first revolutionary conquests; that is, self-management. They would try more and more to destroy it through economic sabotage, diverting it from the socialist direction on to the slippery slope leading to integration into a neocolonialist economy.

Thus it would seem insufficient to adopt a posture of mere defense of the conquests already achieved. Conditions are such that any halt in the march forward can precipitate a turn highly favorable to the reaction.

That is why, along with all the other tasks placed on the order of the day at the congress of the FLN, especially the struggle against the bureaucracy, the house-cleaning, the construction of the revolutionary party, the organization of the planning of the economy, it is necessary to place special emphasis on carrying out the third phase of the agrarian reform.

This, in our opinion, is the surest means of opening a new wave of revolutionary conquests, the best means to keep the Revolution "going," to safeguard it from any counterrevolutionary back-fire!

#### BIG ENOUGH

Forty-nine U.S. companies topped the \$1,000,000,000 level in business in 1962. In the rest of the world, only 14 companies reached this level (six German, three British, two Anglo-Dutch). General Motors alone did more business than the top 13 German companies, exceeding the Gross National Product of the Netherlands by ten per cent.

"IT LOOKS LIKE A LONG, HOT SUMMER"

By Evelyn Sell

Negro militants are continually warned that protest demonstrations will lose them the support of their "liberal white friends." When the Brooklyn branch of the Congress of Racial Equality [CORE] announced its plans to tie up New York World's Fair traffic on opening day April 22, national leaders quickly denounced the idea as a serious blow against the passage of the civil-rights bill being debated in the U.S. Senate.

Newspaper editorials insisted that "civil wrongs don't make for civil rights." FBI [Federal Bureau of Investigation, U.S. version of political police department] director J. Edgar Hoover warned about Communist infiltration into the civil-rights movement. Conservative Negro publications and leaders deplored the situation and urged their white "friends" to ignore the "hot-headed" militants.

Is it really true that intensified demonstrations will alienate white citizens and endanger civil-rights progress?

Events since the World's Fair opening prove that the continued struggle of the Negro people is forcing more -- not less -- groups to take stands against Jim Crow and for first-class citizenship for all Americans. The recent actions of conservative, respectable church groups is a good example of this.

On April 27 Archbishop Toolen ordered the desegregation of all Roman Catholic schools in Alabama and northwestern Florida. About 80 elementary and 13 high schools with 25,000 students are involved in this order which goes into effect in September. Also on April 27, the Southern Presbyterian Church ordered integration of its presbyteries in seven states. This order now integrates 43 Negro churches with the 2,560 all-white presbyteries in North and South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana.

On April 28 leaders of organized religion demanded that the Senate pass the civil-rights bill -- right away and in full. An overflow crowd of over 6,500 Protestants, Catholics and Jews gathered in Washington for a "Witness to Racial Justice." They heard their leaders call for a crusade for equal rights. This meeting was only the beginning of a concerted drive by religious groups for passage of civil-rights legislation and for increased efforts to "further the Negro revolution."

Church historians call these interfaith declarations an unusual departure from traditional practices. The Freedom Now movement has stirred religious bodies and leaders more than any other public issue in the last thirty years. One midwestern senator (name withheld by the newspapers) complained about "all those damn preach-



ers" invading his office during the civil-rights debate.

As the Negroes continue to press their demands, church groups continue to give their support to speedy passage of the civil-rights bill in order to avoid "another long, hot summer over civil rights with blood in the streets."

On May 5 delegates to the world-wide General Conference of the Methodist Church adopted a policy which called on all Methodist preachers and congregations to open their churches to all races and to work actively to remove racial barriers in all phases of public life. The conference, after strong grass-roots pressure, also adopted a plan to eliminate the church's Central Jurisdiction which was set up for 375,000 Negro members. They will now be integrated into the five other jurisdictions which were drawn up on a geographical basis. On May 7 the conference set up a special fund to assist ministers and laymen who suffer hardships as a result of joining civil-rights demonstrations.

Of course, not all members of the religious community agree with these pro-civil-rights proposals and sentiments. Negroes attempting to move into a Catholic neighborhood in Pennsylvania were stoned. An Episcopal minister in North Carolina quit the church and took part of his congregation with him in protest against the national church's pro-civil-rights stand. Catholic leaders and newspapers denounced Alabama Governor Wallace's political campaigning in the North and urged their parishioners not to vote for the racist governor. "The archbishop can go to hell," one Catholic layman exclaimed while at a Wallace rally, "I'm not going to let him tell me how to vote." Wallace received a heavy vote in Catholic neighborhoods in Wisconsin and Indiana during the presidential primaries.

The church leaders are now harvesting the crop of prejudice and ignorance which they helped plant and nurture over many long years. They had made pious declarations about the brotherhood of man but they didn't practice such brotherhood in the daily activities of the church. The very fact that they must now call for integrated schools and congregations condemns them and reveals that these hypocrites practiced segregation for many years.

The sudden change of heart towards Negroes did not come from deep religious feelings but was forced upon organized religion by the overpowering, compelling strength and determination of the Negro struggle. Conservative religious leaders are now fearful that if some civil rights are not given voluntarily, the Negro revolt will roll inexorably on and take everything it demands even if this means a violent struggle.

It is not only religious leaders who fear the coming "long, hot summer" of racial struggle. Liberal Senator Humphrey warns now that the civil-rights bill must be passed by July 1 "for one reason and only one. All the young folks will be out of college by the

end of June. And they're raring to go. The only thing they like to do is demonstrate against the present order. They are rebels. It's a part of the chemistry of a normal young fellow or young woman. And they're also idealists. And this civil rights movement with them has become a great movement and a great ideal."

Humphrey continued: "Now if we don't pass this bill, so that these young people know something has happened, there's going to be more trouble by accident in this country than anybody could have dreamed by purpose."

Conservative Negro leader Whitney Young of the Urban League adds that as "the long, hot summer comes rushing upon us with whirlwind speed -- the Senate remains inactive and irresolute. . . Unless immediate and far-reaching steps are taken instantly by the President and the Congress, I do not think there is any Negro leader who will dare to say that he is responsible for his membership or that he could dare to speak for the Negro community."

Yes, they are all fearful and it is this fear, and not any moderation or calm negotiations, that make them at last willing to give a little. The Negroes have waited too long however to be content with crumbs; they are too strong now to be stopped by half-way measures.

### THE WORLD TRADE CONFERENCE

By Fernand Charlier

"He discovered in short that in the final analysis what destroys the beauties and innate harmonies of capitalist production is commerce! Another step, and he will perhaps discover that the real drawback in capitalist production is capital itself." -- Karl Marx(1)

The World Conference on Trade and Development opened March 23 at Geneva, bringing together for twelve weeks, under the auspices of the United Nations, some 1,500 delegates and observers from 123 coun-

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(1)Karl Marx: Apropos the "vulgar" American economist H. Carey -- precursor among other things of the theory of the relation between wages and productivity. In Le Capital, Livre I, t.2, p.234. (Editions sociales, Paris, 1948.) [We are retaining the author's original French citations; and, since we lack easy access to the standard English translations, we are offering our own. Publications that use this article, especially if they translate it into other languages, should check our translations against the standard sources. -- Editor.]

tries and international organizations. The assembly is a consequence of the rise of the colonial revolution and the winning of at least political independence by a large number of former colonies. These governments supported the proposal made by the Soviet Union to hold such a conference. They wish, in fact, to discuss the principles and methods utilized in world trade.

The USSR, which stands only sixth in world trade, is seeking to improve its position. The fact is that the Soviet Union does not export more than three per cent of its domestic production. With this aim in mind, the Soviet government is demanding an end to the discriminatory practices of the imperialist powers.

The problem faced by the semicolonial countries, politically independent to various degrees, is to recuperate part of the colonial super profits, particularly commercial super profits, to benefit their national economy.

This is the origin of such super profits, as explained by Marx: "Capital invested in foreign trade is able to yield a higher rate of profit because first of all they enter into competition with countries whose means of commodity production are lower, so that the more advanced country sells its commodities above their value, although it offers them at a lower price than competing countries. To the degree that the labor of the more developed country is utilized as labor of higher specific weight, the rate of profit increases; the labor which is not paid as labor of superior quality being sold as such. The same situation can occur vis-à-vis countries where commodities are shipped and from which they are received; the latter furnishing more materialized labor in natura [in kind] than it receives in return and yet obtaining commodities at a lower price than would be possible if it produced them. It is quite like the manufacturer who, utilizing a new invention before it has become widespread, sells at a lower price than his competitors and nevertheless above the individual value of his commodities; that is, utilizing like surplus labor the specifically superior productivity of the labor which he employs. He realizes a kind of super profit."(2)

Marx therefore placed this aspect of foreign trade among the causes that counteract the law according to which the rate of profit tends to fall.

Besides this phenomenon -- a simple result of the law of value -- the underdeveloped countries are deprived of a part of their possibilities of development by the unfavorable evolution of the terms of exchange; in other words by the "scissors" phenomenon, or again by the fact that the prices of raw materials which they

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(2) Karl Marx: Le Capital, Livre III, t.1, p.250. (Editions sociales, Paris, 1957.)

export drop, while the industrial products which they import increase. This phenomenon is called the "Prebisch effect," from the name of the Secretary General of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.

At a meeting of the International Monetary Fund, the representative of Colombia gave a striking example of this. In 1954, he said, Colombia had to produce 19 bags of coffee in exchange for one automobile. Today it takes 32.

A drop in the prices of raw materials is felt with all the more acuteness when it occurs, since from one-half to nine-tenths of the exports from underdeveloped countries in general center around a single raw product. Industrial products (besides metals) constituted only 12.1% of the exports of these countries in 1959. Finished products amounted to only 7.6%.<sup>(3)</sup> This is due to the fact that these countries are characterized by an economy of monoculture or of mono-production. We can say with Bukharin<sup>(4)</sup> that "international exchange rests on the international division of labor."

In addition, the share of the colonial and semicolonial countries in world trade has been decreasing since the rise in the production of synthetic products in the imperialist centers. From 1950 to 1960, it fell from 30% to 20% of world trade. The share of the underdeveloped countries in exports to the EEC [European Economic Community -- better known as the Common Market] in particular fell from 27% to 18% between 1958 and 1962. According to the GATT [General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade] report for 1962, 69% of the exchanges among the capitalist industrial countries were "internal" (68% of the exchanges among the workers states were likewise "internal"); 4% of the exchanges of the industrialized capitalist countries went to the workers states (and, reciprocally, 0.19% of the exchanges of the workers states). In short, 27% of the exchanges of the developed capitalist countries were with underdeveloped countries (13% of the exchanges of the workers states). But the exchanges between the workers states and the underdeveloped countries, unlike those involving the imperialist countries, did not suffer from the strengthening of mutual ties.<sup>(5)</sup>

These changes in world commerce thus brought about an aggravation of the deficit in the trade balance, a process of inflation

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<sup>(3)</sup>J. Stanovnik: "Commerce, aide et développement économique," Revue de la Politique Internationale, No. 333, Belgrade. 1964.

<sup>(4)</sup>N. Boukharine: L'économie mondiale et l'impérialisme, p.15. (Editions Sociales Internationales, Paris. 1928.)

<sup>(5)</sup>A. Bykov: "Le Conseil d'Entraide Economique et la coopération économique internationale," La Vie International, No. 2, Moscow. 1964.

and a slowing down of the modest industrialization of the colonial and semicolonial countries.

The gap between the revenues of these nations and that of the industrialized countries widened.(6)

In fact, the fundamental cause of these phenomena resides in the economic structure of these countries. It is because they are underdeveloped that they lack, given their economic structure, a market which would make industrialization profitable from the capitalist point of view. That is why they remain underdeveloped. Their internal resources -- the social surplus product -- thus are never invested in the industrial sectors but in enterprises that are more profitable for the national bourgeoisie. The underdevelopment is thus at once both cause and consequence of the unfavorable situation of these countries on the world market within the capitalist framework, because the economic traits of each country are, in the capitalist epoch, determined by the historically defined relation that links them to the world economy.

This brief consideration of the data of the problem permits us to see how the representatives of the various countries are weighing the problems at this "technical" conference, in relation, of course, to the class character of the regimes which they represent.

It is evident that the approach to the key questions posed at the conference is not a matter of bringing technical research or goodwill to bear in seeking solutions. The approaches, to a much more important degree, are a matter of political decisions.

Looked at in this way, the proposal of the Soviet Union, visualizing the creation of a world trade organization that would function in a permanent way, does not fundamentally modify the terms of these problems.

But the interest in such an undertaking, although not high, is real enough. It can perhaps be judged from the barrage with which the imperialist countries sought to oppose the conference when the USSR proposed it.

These countries prefer to limit the discussion to trade problems within the GATT, where they blow hot and cold. The GATT is not an "organization," but an agreement which has existed since the Havana conference of 1947 and which is based on equal competition among its unequal partners. The conferences of the GATT are gener-

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(6)These phenomena were considered by the Fourth International in the theses of the fifth and sixth world congresses (see Quatrième Internationale, special numbers of 1957 and 1961.) Also see E. Germain: "L'industrialisation des pays arriérés" in Quatrième Internationale, No. 5. 1959.

ally devoted to the interimperialist commercial conflicts. For example, the current meeting of the GATT, which opened at the beginning of May, is taking up the struggle between the USA and the EEC countries over lowering tariffs ("the Kennedy round").

Among the workers states, only Cuba (since Batista) and Czechoslovakia are formally members. And at his press conference -- a little after the opening of the World Conference on Trade -- Che Guevara moreover called for an end, pure and simple, to the GATT.

It should be noted, however, that the USSR agreed to give up insisting both on its criticisms of the GATT and its proposal for the immediate creation of a world trade organization. What is involved is a concession to the colonial bourgeoisies who are advancing proposals of a more moderate character.

The USA, supported by Great Britain, Canada, Japan, rejected the Soviet proposal in preference for the idea of a conference held every three years and a commission in which half the delegates would be from the industrialized countries. The U.S. is particularly opposed to any infringement of the powers of the GATT.

If the answers given by the various countries to the numerous questions of world trade are socially determined, no important results can thus be expected from this conference which is nothing, so to speak, but a round table bringing together the workers states, the exploiters and the "representatives" of the exploited. Its decisions will not even take the form of international agreements, but only recommendations, according to the proposal made by the Bureau of the Conference.

Moreover, it cannot be considered a complete "world" gathering. Neither China, nor the people's republics of Korea and Vietnam, nor Outer Mongolia nor the German Democratic Republic are present, the USSR having made its proposal within the framework of the United Nations. It was not until later that the conference was unilaterally widened, from the capitalist side, by the inclusion of West Germany and other countries.

Let us now turn to a brief examination of the wide range of positions displayed at the conference.

### Positions of the Workers States

A joint proposal was made by the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and Poland to create a permanent world organization, as we have noted. We have noted as well the real sim of this proposal which has now been withdrawn.

The Soviet Union also proposed to limit the rate of interest on loans to underdeveloped countries.

The Soviet Union likewise announced a measure of more spectacular character: the abolition of taxes on all imports coming from these countries, effective January 1, 1965.

Rumania proposed setting up a fund for underdeveloped countries by reducing military expenses among all countries according to a percentage to be fixed. A similar proposal was likewise made by other countries -- Ghana and Guinea -- but the novelty in the Rumanian proposal was that industrial equipment obtained on credit could be paid off with goods produced with such equipment.

Aside from opposition to the GATT, the Cuban positions have not been publicized. But they appear to be more positive than the Soviet position which tends to seek accommodation with the status quo and to adjust to established positions.(7)

As for Yugoslavia, its declarations put it to the right among the workers states. With the exception of its rather modest role in the initiatives for calling the conference, its position is defined in a resolution passed by the Yugoslav Federal Assembly February 13 which is content to vaguely demand a "new international division of labor" and the setting up of development funds, however without any concrete proposals.(8)

### Imperialist Positions

As was to be expected, the greatest difference among the imperialist countries appeared between the two big European adversaries, France and the United Kingdom.

Since General de Gaulle's trip to Latin America, France has taken pains to present itself to the "third world" [colonial, and semicolonial countries] as a warehouse of therapeutics.

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(7)The Soviet economist V. Rymalov attempts to elevate this tendency into a "theory" by stating that a new phenomenon has appeared in recent years: the gap between the capitalist industrialized countries and the underdeveloped countries is no longer widening! To "prove" his thesis, V. Rymalov leaves out of account the gap in industrial production and considers only the gap in the rates of growth. This distorts the perspective in a singular way; moreover, it discounts the rate of growth of the industrialized countries. This new "theory" aims at providing justification in the field of economic theory to the rightist theses on the possibilities of development among the colonial and semicolonial countries within the framework of "national democracy," leaving out an immediate socialist perspective. See V. Rymalov: "Un bon départ -- Tendence nouvelle dans la production industrielle des pays en voie de développement," La Vie Internationale, No. 4, Moscow. 1964.

(8)Revue de la Politique Internationale, No. 333, Belgrade. 1964.

The French propose "to organize the markets," and in line with this André Philip presented a whole plan. For him, in fact, "pure liberalism is bankrupt," because "we no longer live in the nineteenth century." According to him it is necessary to revise the agreements on raw materials so as to adjust price mechanisms and to assure more remunerative levels. France is supported in these views by a series of its colonies such as Dahomey and Gabon.

If France is willing to take up the current prices of products, Great Britain proposes in opposition a kind of free-trade program; that is, they advocate doing away with customs duties on tropical products and raw materials from underdeveloped countries. Increases in the prices of these products cannot be accepted, according to this thesis, except where the price level is not "unfavorable to consumption." The line of the British delegates is supported by India, Nigeria, New Zealand, etc.

But the two countries, both France and Great Britain, despite their differences stand on common ground: they are for the status quo. For them, the underdeveloped countries must continue to base themselves on the production of raw materials. No one takes up the real problem, the question of the economic independence of these countries. The way in which France considers international development funds should be set up is significant in this respect! The French propose that such funds be derived from the difference between the current prices of exports from the underdeveloped countries and the future readjusted prices. In brief, the underdeveloped countries are to be compelled to finance their own development. . .

The Belgian minister Brasseur proposed for his part a plan bearing his name and which is supported by the EEC countries. The gist is to give preference to underdeveloped countries in order to enable them to sell manufactured goods in the industrialized countries produced under "healthy economic conditions." The promise to buy would be related to "discipline" in the quantity (!) as well as the quality of production. The lack of precision in these statements clearly leaves room for all kinds of discriminatory measures.

This poses the whole problem of preferences along with that of customs policy. The discriminatory practices of the EEC in tariffs is indicated by the simple fact that import taxes among the Common Market countries increase in proportion to the degree in which the imported products have been worked up. Bukharin indicated(9) the character of this policy which was completely modified with the rise of imperialism. "If the former customs duties had a defensive aim, this no longer holds with the present duties, which have an offensive aim. . . Today. . . precisely those branches of industry best able to compete are the ones that are protected." It is this kind of protection that is aimed at by the countries that support

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(9)N. Boukharine: L'économie mondiale et l'impérialisme, p. 68. (Editions Sociales Internationales, Paris. 1928.)



the Brasseur plan; by means of preferences they want to assure what was formerly accomplished by tariffs.

### Conclusions

This sketch of the various positions permits us to draw some preliminary conclusions about this conference whose work is to continue until mid June.

Thus, as has been said, the problems of world commerce relate to the international division of labor.

The conditions of the latter are obviously of two orders: natural conditions and social conditions, but the former are being relegated more and more to the background.

We are thus dealing with problems that can be handled only by the class struggle and not by conferences of this type. At the most they can eliminate certain price distortions, compel recognition of prices on the world market, or even stabilize certain prices.

The latter problem, however, was felt with less acuteness during the months preceding the conference, prices of raw materials having gone up during 1963 -- above all mineral products -- due to the favorable economic cycle.

But partial solutions leave untouched the root of the problem; that is, the present international division of labor. Consequently the imperialist exploitation of countries of lower productivity continues through the purchase of raw materials, the export of industrial products and the export of capital from the imperialist countries.

Is a more vigorous attitude open to the workers states? Evidently so. Imperialism not only had to concede on a series of points out of fear that the semicolonial countries might increase trade with the workers states, but also in the case of setbacks, the workers states could utilize the conference as a tribune to proclaim that these problems cannot be resolved except by considering world economy as a whole; that is, brought within the framework of a single plan, which implies a socialist solution.

In short it is not a question of trade that is involved but relations of production; and the point of Marx's banter, cited at the beginning, retains all its sharpness.

May 12, 1964

Book Review

MARXISM, NEO-STALINISM AND EXISTENTIALISM

Morality and Politics in Poland

By William F. Warde

A PHILOSOPHY OF MAN, by Adam Schaff. Monthly Review Press, New York. 1963. 139 pp. \$3.25.

A Philosophy of Man by Adam Schaff, Professor of Philosophy at the University of Warsaw and member of the Central Committee of the Polish Working People's party, appeared in English translation just as a critical new phase of de-Stalinization in Eastern Europe, reflected in growing clashes between the Communist regimes and dissident intellectuals, opened up. This development gives immediate relevance to the philosophical-political questions discussed in Schaff's important collection of essays.

The Polish philosopher writes about such problems as the conditions of human happiness, freedom and responsibility. Ethical questions of this sort have been thrust forward for re-examination by the collapse of the morale and ideology of official Communism since Stalin's death. Partial de-Stalinization coupled with resistance to further liberalization has provoked a profound crisis of belief among the thinking people of Eastern Europe. They have been traumatically shocked by the disclosure of the evils of Stalinism and gripped by the antibureaucratic sentiments which erupted in the Polish and Hungarian revolts of 1956 and which have persisted in less violent and dramatic forms up to the present.

What were they to trust in after loss of faith in Stalinist infallibility? None of the incumbent Communist rulers from Khrushchev to Tito has provided any coherent system of ideas to replace the fragmented Stalinist ideology; only a mélange of pragmatic improvisations to justify the expediencies of the passing day. The party leaders have not given a Marxist explanation for the rise and nature of Stalin's tyranny. Their piecemeal de-Stalinization measures have raised more questions than they have answered for critical-minded Communists. If these would not return to the Catholic church or could not move forward to the continuation of classical Marxism upheld by the Trotskyists, what were they to think and where were they to go?

The agony of this unresolved ideological predicament was recently expressed by a young philosophy professor in the Lithuanian capital of Vilnius who was asked to clarify some of the contradictions of the de-Stalinization process. He ended by breaking into tears. "But one must have a world view," he murmured. "If dialectical materialism is false, must one believe in God again?"

Some of the disenchanting Communist intellectuals in Warsaw, Budapest, Belgrade and even Moscow have seen a light shining from Paris and sought a way out of the failure of Stalinism and its obscurantism through the Existentialism of Jean-Paul Sartre. The previously illicit ideas of the French thinker had the delicious taste of forbidden fruit and chimed in with their own anguish, despair, and sense of defeat.

At the same time Sartre's philosophy appeared to provide an answer to their moral dilemmas. The Existentialist insistence on freedom as the essence of man; its emphasis on personal responsibility for social and political actions; its concern for the rights and claims of the individual against the ultracoercive state and the totalitarian party strongly appealed to their rebellious frame of mind and their need for a new philosophy of life.

Some, like Leszek Kolakowski, the young Polish thinker who is a colleague of Schaff's at the University of Warsaw, took up Existentialism as a supplement to Marxism; others embraced Existentialism as a replacement for it. These "revisionists" turned back to the youthful Marx who was so much concerned with the problems of the alienation of human beings in class society and mistook him for an anticipator of the Existentialist view of life. They fastened upon what Marx wrote in the early 1840's, when he was just entering upon the elaboration of scientific socialism, to the detriment of the ripe conclusions of his life work formulated in his subsequent writings.

This has led them to sever the socialist movement from its materialist anchorage, working-class base and historical necessity in an effort to reinstate it upon ethical imperatives and free individual choice. In repudiating Stalinism, they have unwittingly relapsed into the moralistic and idealistic premises of pre-Marxian socialism.

### Schaff's Contribution

A Philosophy of Man was called forth by the spiritual and ideological crisis generated by the "political and moral shocks of 1956-1957." As the foremost intellectual spokesman of Gomulka's Poland, Schaff undertook -- or was given -- the assignment of answering the philosophical and literary revisionists on behalf of the liberal center wing of the Communist party.

Schaff's attitude is conciliatory. He steers a middle course between the old "dogmatists" of the Zhdanov school and the newly hatched "revisionists." He condemns the Stalinist diehards as "fools and ignoramuses" who criticize views "which we have not troubled to study, misrepresent them, and are incapable of understanding the problems they raise" and for dismissing opponent's viewpoints by the simple device of labelling them "bourgeois" or "idealist." Their "nihilistic criticism" and "vulgar sociologizing,"

he says, have had harmful effects, not only upon the progress of Marxist thought, but also in mathematical logic, cybernetics, field sociological investigation and consideration of the problems of the individual posed by Existentialism.

Schaff then turns around and chides the revisionists for misunderstanding or misrepresenting the young Marx when they try to convert him into a prophet of Existentialism. Actually even the transitional thinking of Marx was directed away from the absolute individualism and unhistorical and unmateriastic conceptions which constitute the premises of Existentialism toward the social and historical conditioning of the individual.

Sartre's eclectic combination of Existentialism and Marxism is the main target of Schaff's criticism. Paradoxically, while the East European revisionists have been slipping away from dialectical materialism and flirting with Existentialism, its most eminent exponent has been, at least in words, drawing closer to Marxism. In his latest major philosophical work, the Criticism of Dialectical Reason, Sartre says that historical materialism provides the only valid interpretation of history.

To be sure, Sartre presents a very peculiar version, or rather perversion, of historical materialism by tailoring it to the measure of his Existentialist doctrines. He claims that Marxism since Marx has failed to progress and has degenerated into sterile dogma. He proposes to rejuvenate moribund Marxism through the injection of Existentialist hormones.

He seeks to rescue and revivify Marxism by giving it a different theoretical foundation. Instead of beginning with the facts of collective life arising from the process of production, Sartre starts with the isolated individual and then proceeds to examine how he and his similarly detached fellows become socialized. Marx termed this "Robinson Crusoe" method of sociological thought an insipid illusion of bourgeois ideology.

However important the individual may be to himself and others, he is a product of his social-historical conditions of life and not an independent creator of his destiny. The priority of the social over the individual can be seen in the very emotions which the Existentialists single out as clues to the nature of human existence. The fact that the conditions of capitalist life are rooted in the isolation and alienation of human beings from one another generates the feelings of anguished loneliness in an absurd universe which form the staple theme of Existentialist writings.

Schaff correctly points out that Sartre is engaged in negating rather than "completing" and improving Marxism through the introduction of Existentialist ideas. A philosophy which is based upon the unlimited freedom of the sovereign individual acting in a world without reason, necessity and lawfulness is incompatible with

dialectical materialism which proceeds from the lawful operation of natural and social forces in the course of universal development. These two opposing viewpoints cannot be fused into a coherent unit. The attempt to do so can result only in abortions or hybrids.

### Do Morals Have a Scientific Basis?

Nevertheless, Schaff admits that the Existentialists have brought forward questions which Marxism must answer. "What is the meaning of life? Is man free to choose between alternative lines of action? What does it mean for man to be free to make decisions? Of what consists an individual's responsibility for his decisions, particularly in situations of conflict? What is one to do in situations where every decision leads to results considered right from one point of view and wrong from another? What does the evaluation of our actions depend on, and how well grounded are such evaluations? How shall we live so that our actions may be evaluated positively? What is the status of the individual in society and in the world surrounding him?"

Schaff makes many valuable observations on these moral problems confronting the revolutionists of our generation. The prime theoretical issue involved, which he does not render fully explicit, is this: Can morality as rational reflection upon human conduct be given a scientific foundation? This is denied by the Existentialists who hinge morality on arbitrary personal preference.

Historical materialism answers this question affirmatively along the following lines. (1) Morality has an objective basis in the conditions, relations, needs and development of society. Its rational character is derived from a correspondence with and understanding of given historical realities and social necessities. (2) Morality has a variable content and a relative character, depending upon changes in social circumstances. (3) Under civilization to date, morality inescapably takes on a class character. (4) There are no absolute standards of moral behavior and judgment. Human acts are not good or bad, praiseworthy or iniquitous in themselves. All moral codes and conduct must be evaluated by reference to the given conditions and the concrete social needs, class interests and historical aims they serve.

Controversies over moral issues have the same concrete historical character as morality itself. They take place under special situations and in response to precise problems. The differences over them reflect divergent social interests. How does this apply to Schaff's dispute with the "revisionists"?

Schaff has intervened in the unfolding crisis of Stalinism where millions of betrayed people along with many disillusioned Communists are asking: is Marxism really as scientific as we have been told or is it the false prophecy of another Utopia? Is the

freedom we were promised an illusion or must we remain puppets and victims of uncontrollable oppressive powers? How could the Communist regimes have become so dehumanized and why? Are the noble humanist aims of socialism realizable through the methods of Marx and Lenin? Is Stalinism the logical outgrowth of Bolshevism?

These doubts and queries were inevitable and justified, even though they were accompanied by doctrinal defects and errors. The initial reaction of the victims and critics of Stalinism could only be an ungovernable moral revulsion against its intolerable evils. They would have to take time to arrive at a rounded program of action and a comprehensive theoretical clarification of what had happened.

Although Schaff trims his sails to the blasts of the anti-Stalinist tendencies and counters the inclination of the disenfranchised intellectuals to junk the sound ideas of Marxism along with the Stalinist falsifications, he fails to give proper weight to their burning sense of outrage against injustice. Still less does he meet the demand for insurance against the recurrence of the horrors and deceptions.

He admits, for example, that the "functions and apparatus of force" got out of hand in the pre-Gomulka years. He then goes on to point out that there are no absolute guarantees against such dangers and apparently resists "institutional guarantees" against violations of democracy by organs of state power like the security police on the ground that these have only "limited value." He states that "no institution and no 'institutional guarantees' can stand up under the pressure of the needs of life and politics."

#### Safe Ground of Vague Allusions

Under the circumstances it could only seem to the aroused Polish intellectuals that he was offering the soothing syrup of the fine principles of an abstract Socialist humanism in place of an effective program of struggle against the existing bureaucratic oppression and repression. They were not asking for impossible absolute guarantees but for genuine reforms which would eliminate the last traces of terror and prevent any reversion to thought control. The recent use of police measures and official reprisals against intellectual dissenters proves that their apprehensions were not baseless. They could not help regarding Schaff's retreat behind historical generalities as an unworthy evasion of the point at issue.

As a defender of the status quo in Poland and a dexterous apologist for Gomulka's course, Schaff does not offer the injured people nor the questioning intellectuals a candid and correct explanation of the evils they have recoiled against. Although he alludes to the "mistakes and distortions" connected with the cult of the individual, he does not once mention Stalinism by name. This

refusal to call things by their right name flagrantly contradicts the principles of his own "philosophy of man."

Marxist humanism, he says, is materialistic and proceeds from specific historical conditions. Yet he refrains from analyzing the material causes responsible for the deep-going bureaucratization of the workers' states. This lends an air of unrealism to his discussion of morality. His precepts on socialist humanism have an excellent sound but they remain detached from the basic causes and burning practical problems which evoked them.

Schaff does not go beyond the assertion that the two major class camps in the world today have opposing moralities. However, this elementary distinction does not come to grips with the real issue which concerns the contending pro-Stalinist and anti-Stalinist currents within the working class and the workers' states. Which one of these helps or hinders progress? Whose positions best serve the interests of the cause of socialism?

Schaff says that socialist humanism is militant, concrete, materialist and revolutionary, not passive, abstract, idealistic and reformist. But when it comes to investigating the underlying reasons for the abominations of Stalinism, he fails to exhibit these qualities. Like the Communist party and regime he adheres to, he shirks from the task of the full exposure and eradication of Stalinism.

The conditions of Schaff's own freedom of thought and expression as the foremost philosopher of official Poland can be seen, not only in his refusal to mention Stalin, but in his omission of any reference to Trotsky. The latter's pamphlet, Their Morals and Ours, is the most penetrating treatment of the Marxist conception of morality since Engels' classic exposition in Anti-Duehring. Moreover, it is directly relevant to the political situation in his own country and to the very theoretical questions he is discussing. Is it possible that this Communist Professor of Philosophy is not even aware of its existence? Then let him read the third volume of Deutscher's biography of Trotsky for information.

According to Schaff, the crucial test of revolutionary morality arises when a person's conscience is pitted against the state of which he is a citizen or comes into conflict with the policies and leadership of the party to which he belongs which in his opinion has strayed from the avowed aims of the movement. What is to be done in such a case? This perennial problem of heresy against orthodoxy or "reason of state," of individual conviction against official rule, has become especially acute in the Communist one-party states where regimentation does not permit full and free expression of dissent either within the party or the country.

Here, says Schaff, general prescriptions are not much help -- and we can agree with him. Caught in the struggle of contending

ideas, policies, tendencies and interests, each individual must decide for himself where the truth and the right resides. No degree of social conditioning can relieve the individual from taking personal decisions and bearing responsibility. In this sense the Existentialists are right.

But that does not mean there are no objective criteria to determine the correctness of a decision. The basis of judgment for a Marxist has to be a distinction between the social forces and interests at odds in the given situation. The intellectuals, youth and workers who broke party discipline and fought the Rakosi-Geroe regime did so for valid revolutionary reasons which accorded with the interests of the Hungarian nation and the socialist future of its working class. When Gomulka defied the dictates of Moscow in 1956, he enlarged Poland's freedom and democracy.

### A Highly Moral Act

Since then, however, his regime has been half-hearted in casting off the heritage of Stalinism, has not moved very far toward socialist democracy, and has even retrogressed from the unshackled atmosphere of 1956-1957. This policy of partial de-Stalinization has now brought the Polish government into conflict with the further expansion of freedom in its country. This March, thirty-four eminent Polish intellectuals, who participated in the 1954-56 revolt against Stalinism, sent a letter to Prime Minister Cyrankiewicz protesting restrictions on the allocation of paper for the printing of books and periodicals and the tightening of press censorship.

They demanded that the government recognize "the existence of public opinion, the right to criticize, freedom of discussion and of honest information as necessary elements of progress." The government-sponsored weekly Kultura answered that in Poland there is no place for books or plays "whose ideological or moral content is anti-socialist." It remarked that freedoms have been curbed ever since the ancient Greeks -- "and so it is with us."

The defiant signers represent the flower of Polish intellectual life. They include Leopold Infeld, Poland's most noted theoretical physicist; Professor Tadeusz Kotarbinski, one of the country's leading philosophers and until last year head of the Polish Academy of Sciences; Antoni Slominski, the nation's most illustrious poet; Adam Wazyk, whose "Poems for Adults" was reprinted around the world during the 1956 events; and Maria Dobrowska, winner of the Polish state literary prize and deputy chairman of the Polish Pen Club.

Despite enormous pressures, they have refused to recant. This confronts Adam Schaff with a grave moral-political dilemma. Will he side with the writers, artists and scientists who have raised their voices for greater freedom and with the 800 students at his own Warsaw University who staged a demonstration in support of the protest against government restrictions -- or will he remain



silent and back up the regime?

In this morally conflicting situation the cause of the socialist democracy, humanism and freedom he discourses on in his book should consistently lead him to take a stand with the rebellious intellectuals. They are one detachment of an irrepressible upsurge against bureaucratic tutelage which is flowing through the Soviet bloc today. It will be interesting to see whether Schaff will decide to make his deeds match the better part of his writings on socialist democracy.

May 10, 1964

### "A SERIOUS THOUGHT"

"Last week, The Guardian canvassed the idea that both Egypt and Israel were trying to make nuclear devices. Quickly, various experts corrected the impression that any such development was imminent. It was, they reassured us, several years off.

"However, nobody has denied that these two States can -- financially and technically -- make a nuclear bang within the next 10 years or so. And it is, of course, even easier for India, China, South Africa and several other States with an industrial base to do the same. Indeed, most of the above-named States can already be overheard making audible moves towards becoming nuclear.

"So this means that by the time a five-year-old child is 15 we can expect him to be living in a changed world. By then, all the conflicts of all industrial Powers may be accompanied by the threat to use nuclear explosions. As more and more countries are becoming industrialised and as, in the ballistic conditions of today, Asia, Africa and Latin America are the strategic equivalent of the Balkans of 50 years ago, this is a serious thought." -- From an editorial in the May 10 London Observer entitled "Tick-Tick-Tick."