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## KHRUSHCHEV GREETES ALGERIAN DELEGATION

The largest delegation which the Algerian government has yet sent to the Soviet Union left Algeria December 18 in an Ilyushin 18 plane for discussions on applying the loan of 100,000,000 rubles [about \$100,000,000] granted by the Soviet government to Algeria when Col. Houari Boumédiène visited Moscow in October.

The important delegation was headed by Hadj Ben Alla, a member of the Political Bureau and chairman of the National Assembly, and Saïd Mohammedi, likewise a member of the Political Bureau and vice-president of the Council. The delegation included other prominent figures of the Algerian government and representatives of the principal mass organizations as well as technical experts. Alexandre Abramov, Soviet ambassador to Algeria, accompanied the delegation.

Among those to see them off at the airport were President Ben Bella, Col. Houari Boumédiène, Abdelaziz Bouteflika, minister of Foreign Affairs, Dizdarevic, ambassador of Yugoslavia to Algeria, and the personnel of the Soviet embassy.

On arrival in Moscow, they were received with the greatest warmth. Hadj Ben Alla was housed in a "datcha" reserved for the most distinguished guests, and on the following day was seated on the platform next to Khrushchev at a meeting of the Supreme Soviet. Later in the day Khrushchev granted him a long interview. And in the evening, the delegation was feted at a banquet. In coming days they will be given a tour of some of the most important centers in the Soviet Union.

At the banquet, Khrushchev said that he was convinced that the Algerian people were coming to the end of the "not negligible difficulties which they had to face in their resolute combat against foreign and domestic reaction which sought to force this people to abandon their revolutionary conquests and to restore the rule of the oppressors."

"The Algerian people," said Khrushchev, "will succeed in building a new way of life, constructed on socialist foundations."

He added: "We can note, to our great satisfaction, that economic, cultural and other links are beginning to bind our two countries together. We are convinced that co-operation between the Soviet Union and free Algeria will contribute to the consolidation of its political and economic independence and permit it to reinforce the successes already achieved by the Algerian people in the short time since they became independent."

In responding to Khrushchev, Hadj Ben Alla said that "the Algerians will never forget the concrete demonstrations of friendship made by the Soviet Union at the time of their struggle for the liberation of their country."

The head of the Algerian delegation continued: "The victorious Algerian Revolution intends to build genuine socialism in independent Algeria, taking into account the characteristics of this country and the experience accumulated in this field by the peoples of the Soviet Union and those of all the friendly socialist countries."

A joint statement was issued at the end of the day expressing the desire of the two governments "to develop fraternal relations between their countries in economic, political and cultural areas."

On international problems, the statement singled out "the coincidence of views on the fundamental questions linked to the reinforcement of peace, general and complete disarmament, and the struggle against colonialism and neocolonialism."

Among the projects scheduled for discussion are construction of a shipyard, an institute to train specialists in the petroleum industry, and the construction of roads and bridges in the most poverty-stricken regions of Algeria.

### CHOU EN-LAI TOURS AFRICA

On December 21 Algiers turned out to hail a delegation headed by Chou En-lai, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Premier of the People's Republic of China. The red flag with five stars waved from public buildings; and friendly slogans, some of them written in Chinese characters, saluted the visitors from the "powerful brother country" and the "people of miracles."

Algeria was Chou En-lai's second stop. His first was Egypt. The major part of his tour still lies ahead -- Morocco, Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Sudan, and perhaps some others. After visiting Morocco, he plans to break his African trip to visit Albania.

Chou is on a goodwill mission. He wants to present Revolutionary China before one of the most important sectors of the colonial world in the most favorable way. And apparently the Chinese envoy is willing to

sten to his hosts. Significantly, on his last day in Egypt, after four talks with Nasser, Chou issued a statement to the press denouncing the assassination of Kennedy. He said it was a "despicable, shameful act" and that Communists are opposed to assassination "even if the one assassinated is hostile to China."

This was the first public condemnation of the assassination by a Chinese leader and served to help rectify the bad impression made by Peking's silence and even the note of applause that appeared in one or two publications.

Insofar as Chou En-lai succeeds in tightening links between the Chinese Revolution and the colonial revolution, partisans of the New China will most certainly favor the results of the trip.

The Chinese leader, however, appears to have a number of specific objectives which must be judged on their own merits. One of them seems to be the organization of another Bandung conference of Afro-Asian countries from which representatives of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia would be excluded. The Sino-Indian conflict stands as an obstacle to achievement of this obstacle, but apparently Peking does not view it as insurmountable.

Another obstacle is that the Algerian, Moroccan and several other governments prefer a broad conference of "non-aligned" countries, including Yugoslavia. They are oriented toward another Belgrade conference rather than a repetition of Bandung.

Chou En-lai also appears to be sounding out the trade-union leaders of the so-called Casablanca group (affiliated neither to the World Federation of Trade Unions nor the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions) on the possibility of a third world federation that would include the trade unions of Africa, Asia, Latin America and, of course, the People's Republic of China.

The Chinese leader is obviously seeking in addition to build stronger support for entry of the New China into the United Nations. Up to now only eight African countries have recognized the Mao government. All the others still maintain diplomatic relations with the puppet government of Chiang Kai-shek on the island of Taiwan. Perhaps Chou will try to mount pressure on the Organization of African States to do something in this respect.

In relation to the Moscow-Peking conflict, Chou will undoubtedly do his utmost to counter the impression cultivated by both the Soviet bureaucracy and the Western powers that the Mao government "favors nuclear war" and is "against the peace movement."

And while doing this, Chou will try to exploit to the hilt those formulations and slogans expressed by Peking in the dispute with Khrushchev which put the Chinese in the most favorable light before African eyes.

The balance of Chou En-lai's tour will be followed with keen interest all currents in the world political arena.

STOOL PIGEONS TESTIFY IN DR. NEVILLE ALEXANDER CASE

The trial of Dr. Neville Alexander and ten others under the Sabotage Act continues in Capetown.

The campaign in West Germany for aid to the defendants resulted in nearly £1,800 being sent to Capetown for their defence. Over fifteen of the main newspapers published reports of the case while important professors and academic figures made substantial contributions.

In West Berlin, all the political student unions organised a large protest meeting at which around 30,000 pamphlets on the Neville Alexander case were distributed. The VDS [German Students Union] sent a protest resolution to U.Thant, head of the United Nations. The letter was signed by over 1,500 leading West German personalities.

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Meanwhile, in South Africa, the trial has been proceeding, first with the reading of works by Marx and Engels, Lenin, Mao and Che Guevara found in the house of Dr. Alexander. When this rather farcical procedure was completed the state produced its witnesses.

First came a Coloured police constable, Jacobus Kotzee. According to the Cape Argus report, Kotzee told how he had recently rejoined the South African Police Force after resigning two years ago, and how he had been told to go to Kimberley to investigate the activities of one of the defendants, Don Davis. According to Kotzee, Davis was suspicious and asked if he were not a policeman. Kotzee then showed him his discharge notice and claimed to win Davis' confidence. He alleged that Davis then told him of the plans of the Yu Chui Chan Club (also called the National Liberation Front). The Defence attacked the witness as being a police agent, putting forward an invented story.

Next witness was even more dubious. Cecil Dempster, a mason, who admitted to being a "police contact," alleged that he had attended meetings where Dr. Abrahams had spoken on the YCCC, and of plans to sabotage. He alleged a number of the defendants were present.

Under cross-examination, Dempster made a significant slip. He had strongly asserted the day before that he had never been in the same cell as defendant Hendricks at Caledon Square police station on August 5. Under strong cross-examination however he muttered: "Your honour, the police said it was a secret."

It subsequently emerged that the police had told him not to admit this, even under oath. This was no doubt because it showed that he was subject to certain pressures, and had acted as a provocateur to Hendricks, saying that he could help him escape to Bechuanaland. In any case, it was clear that he was an unreliable witness.

During these proceedings, Dempster alleged that as he was leaving the court in one adjournment, he had heard Marcus Solomon say: "Ja, Vark" (you pig), and someone else, "You boere spy," and "Your life is in your hands."

William Hoffeldt, a machinist of Queenstown, alleged he belonged to a branch of the YCCC, and said that Dr. Abrahams and others had visited Queenstown and their branch.

Dennis Franke at first refused to testify, but on promise of release turned state evidence. He alleged that he had attended meetings in Dr. Alexander's home once a week, and told of plans developed there. Particularly he alleged to deal with Coloured collaborators. He was released, the Cape Times reports [November 28] after he gave evidence.

Miss D. Adams, although warned that she would be regarded as an accomplice unless she gave state evidence, refused. Three other young Coloured persons also refused in the same way.

Mr. Enver Marney, who claimed to be a student of non-European Marxist politics for fifteen years, said he had discussions with Dr. Alexander, who was "fascinated by African Nationalism," but who had certainly never mentioned the YCCC or National Liberation Front to him.

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We have only been able to cover the trial, which has been ignored in the European press, up to December 4, the latest South African papers available.

Together with the more prominent Rivonia trial being held concurrently in Pretoria, it holds a deal of interest in the South African press.

We shall publish further reports as they come to hand.

### PRO-NAZIS IN SOUTH AFRICAN CABINET

By Ilizwi Lesizwe

Inaugurating a South African Air Force war memorial in Pretoria two months ago, State President G.R. Swart alleged that African peoples for whose safety South African pilots had died in World War II were now planning to attack the Republic of South Africa. To appreciate to the full the cynicism of this remark it is worthwhile recalling that the South African Nationalists took Hitler's side in the last war and prayed for a Hitler victory. More than that, many Nationalist leaders openly espoused the Nazi philosophy, which they absorbed so thoroughly that it remains the basis of their Apartheid policy to the present day.

When Hitler's star was in the ascendant during the thirties, a rash of fascist organisations like the "Greyshirts," the "Boerenasie" and the "New Order" broke out in South Africa and anti-Semitism flourished.

While still a professor at Stellenbosch University, Dr. Verwoerd, the present Prime Minister, went on a deputation with other Nationalist leaders to the government demanding a halt to the immigration of Jewish refugees from Nazi Germany. At a public meeting in 1936, Dr. T.E. Dönges, the present

Minister of Finance, declared: "The Jew is an insoluble element in every national life." Biggest Jew-baiter of the lot was the present Foreign Minister, Eric Louw (resigning at the end of 1963), who introduced a Bill in Parliament to stop Jewish immigration, alleging on the one hand that they were dominating the world of business, and on the other that they predominated in the ranks of Communists.

When he became editor of Die Transvaler in 1937, Dr. Verwoerd wrote a long article on "the Jewish problem" proposing the introduction of a quota system for Jews in all occupations and professions. In 1940 the Transvaal Nationalist party formally excluded Jews from membership.

Many of the smaller fascist organisations were later merged in the Nationalist party and their leaders like Von Moltke and Weichardt given seats in the South African parliament, where they sit today.

During the early days of the war the Nationalists thought their great moment had arrived, and they prepared for the seizure of power. The Afrikaans organisation, "Ossewabrandwag," in which the present Minister of Justice, B.J.Vorster, was a general, went in for a massive campaign of sabotage. In 1942 Vorster said: "We stand for Christian Nationalism which is an ally of National Socialism. You can call this anti-democratic principle dictatorship if you wish. In Italy it is called Fascism, in Germany National Socialism and in South Africa Christian Nationalism."

For his pains Vorster was interned by the Smuts government during the war, and later placed under house arrest. Today he has taken revenge as the author of the Sabotage Act and the General Law Amendment Act of 1963 providing for house arrest and detention without trial for ninety days -- this period can be repeated ad infinitum.

Verwoerd himself, as editor of Die Transvaler, poured out a steady stream of propaganda supporting the Nazi cause. Provoked by his efforts, the newspaper Star accused the Transvaler of falsifying news in support of Nazi propaganda and generally acting as a tool of the enemy. Verwoerd brought a libel action, but lost his case, the judge remarking: "He did support Nazi propaganda, he did make his paper a tool of the Nazis in South Africa, and he knew it."

The Nationalists pinned all their hopes on a Nazi victory. "The whole future of Afrikanerdom is dependent on a German victory," said B.J.Schoeman, the present Minister of Railways, at a Nationalist party congress in 1940.

Eric Louw declared in Fraserburg in 1942: "If Germany wins, Dr. Malan will have the majority and Hitler will then have to negotiate with the one who has the majority, and the heaviest burden will be laid on those who pushed on the war."

Hitler lost the war, and the Nationalists changed their tune, but not the real nature of their policies. They toned down on anti-Semitism and pretended a new-found respect for democracy, but from the moment they came to power in 1948 they went systematically to work to build the Nazified state of which they had dreamed.

Today, South Africa bears all the hallmarks of the police state -- massive segregation of the races backed by a complete denial of civil rights, increasingly heavy penalties for political prisoners coupled with indefinite detention without trial.

More and more, one hears of detainees being killed, like Solwandle and Siyanvala, or prisoners subjected to assaults and electric shocks, like Sobukwe and the Africans associated with the Bashee murder, or of people being shot while trying to escape, like Brutus; in fact, some freedom fighters, like Ganyile and Dr. Abrahams, were even kidnapped from the British protectorates by South African agents. At present we have the Rivonia and Cape Town sabotage trials, where leaders like Sisulu, Mandela and Dr. Alexander, are on trial for their lives.

In the Sunday Times of October 20, 1963, the following appeared: "To solve the 'colour question' in South Africa, all Native women with more than one child should be sterilised and all Indians should be sent back to India, says Mr. Peter Willers, chairman of the South African Nazi Party. He calls Dr. Verwoerd and Mr. Vorster 'softies' in their fight against subversive elements. . . . Mr. Willers said that his Nazi Party had an emblem similar to the swastika and that they used the 'heil' salute."

These evil realities are not the accidents of history but the fruits of deliberate planning by people steeped in the Nazi ideology. With such people there can be no compromise. They must be defeated and their evil handiwork destroyed before South Africa can be made safe and free for all. In this radical transformation of the whole South African society, it must not be forgotten that Apartheid, as practised today, is the inevitable result of the specific capitalist socio-economic system in South Africa. As in the other African states -- where the colonial revolution is not yet complete -- where still 38,000,000 people suffer under the yoke of colonialism, 155,000,000 under neo-colonialism and 51,000,000 (in Algeria, United Arab Republic, Ghana, Mali and Guinea) heading for complete national and economic dependence, also in South Africa (with a population of over 16,000,000) the economy plays the decisive role.

### PARTI SOCIALISTE DU QUEBEC

TORONTO -- Le Parti Socialiste du Quebec [PSQ] which held a two-stage founding convention attended by 150 delegates in November and December, reflects both the rising national consciousness of the French Canadian people and a class consciousness expressed both in the name and program of the organization. Its formation is a most significant development. With approximately one-third of Canada's population, and industrializing rapidly, Quebec is an area of sharp contradictions. While there has been no effective force for independent labour political action, Quebec has been the scene of the most militant and explosive strike struggles in the country. With the foundation of the PSQ, one of the contradictions, the absence of a left political grouping, sensitive to the national question, may be solved.

The old Co-operative Commonwealth Federation [CCF] had a long record of outright hostility to Quebec nationalist sentiment. Various leaders of the

New Democratic party [NDP], the new labor-based party coming from the CCF, have attacked the PSQ, posing the main problem as the importance of a strong central bi-national state. The relationship of the PSQ to the NDP was resolved at their orientation congress last July by an agreement to form a "national" (i.e., Quebec) party leaving the federal jurisdiction to a Quebec wing of the NDP. The debate on this question was reopened at the convention and this time resolved in a compromise resolution which stated that members of the PSQ have the right to belong to the NDP so long as that party restricts itself to the federal field, and insofar as possible, they are to promote the fundamental positions of the PSQ within the NDP.

The convention made a considerable commitment to socialist policies by adopting such statements as the one which defined the capitalist structure of Canada as "a system the exclusive end of which is the realization of profits and in which economic decisions are left to the initiative of that minority of the citizens which possesses control of the means of production and distribution"; and the unanimous agreement that the ultimate objective of the PSQ was the nationalization of all major industries, both foreign-owned and domestic.

The December session adopted a revised draft manifesto which stated in part, "our ultimate objective is workers' control, that is, the management of all enterprises by those who work in them" -- amended subsequently to control by the "community" as well as the workers concerned. The committee on planning, in sharp contrast, partially adopted a document which is essentially a liberal reformist economic program, containing such demands as the encouragement of private industry in rural areas, presumably through tax concessions and subsidies; and massive injections of "social capital" -- that cure-all prescribed by Galbraith for capitalism.

The convention also adopted without debate a resolution proposing not the abolition but the reform of the present legislative council -- a non-elective upper house -- by urging the appointment of workers, employers, intellectuals, financiers and associations. The vast contradictions between these stands will obviously have to be resolved in the future.

Declaring itself above all opposed to the imposition of nuclear arms in Canada and their utilization by the Canadian army, the party accepted an amendment advocating immediate withdrawal from NATO although this was posed simply on the grounds that it is a nuclear alliance.

One of the biggest problems confronting the PSQ is the building of an organization in the labor movement. Due to the extreme conservatism of most Quebec trade-union leaders and their opposition to independent political action the labor party is being organized without the official co-operation of the trade-union apparatus.

The convention, recognizing the problem, deleted the statement in the draft constitution forbidding the affiliation of labor federations, although there is little likelihood that the NDP-affiliated Quebec Federation of Labor will reverse its declared position of neutrality toward the PSQ in the immediate future. The English-speaking supporters of the NDP -- the Montreal New Left -- have decided to affiliate to the PSQ. Thus if the NDP and trade-union movement are to have any base in Quebec they must adopt



more positive attitude toward the PSQ because almost all their Quebec reporters are in either the New Left or the PSQ.

While the PSQ has taken on a huge task, its founding alone, is a significant step along the road to socialism in Quebec and in Canada.

### CANADIAN CP LEADERS BACK MOSCOW AGAINST PEKING

TORONTO -- The Canadian Communist party leadership, as to be expected, has demonstratively lined up behind Moscow, against Peking. Not content with passing resolutions in the name of top committees which servilely echo Khrushchev's views, the aging and now largely honorary national leader Tim Buck, who has bowed and scraped before the Kremlin for almost forty years, has been dragged out of retirement to write a series of five lengthy articles in support of Khrushchev. Readers of the party's newspaper The Tribune have also been confronted with slabs of material from the type-writers of the new national leader, Leslie Morris; the national organizer, Nelson Clarke and many others.

If the tedium resulting from these contributions has not exactly been relieved, the leadership's line has been reinforced periodically by the publication of pages of anti-Peking declarations by U.S. CP leader Gus Hall, Italian CP leader Togliatti, various central bodies of Communist parties in India, Chile, Cyprus, Ceylon, etc. -- all designed to convince anyone who may have doubts as to the correctness of the party's line that the odds are solidly stacked against him.

That there are extensive opposition forces in these parties opposing the Moscow positions, and that these statements may actually be the opinion of the majority -- Ceylon and India for instance -- is not of course even hinted at. Tribune readers have to rely on the garbled reporting of the capitalist dailies to have any idea at all that there are any differences in the world Communist movement other than those between the main protagonists -- Moscow and Peking.

As if to make it crystal clear that any criticisms launched by the Chinese are directed equally against them, the editors of the Tribune have been reproducing the most blatant and crude statements of the U.S. CP leadership whose policies the Chinese singled out to demonstrate that peaceful coexistence is nothing but an every day, garden-variety-form of class collaboration.

At the time of the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, they reproduced U.S. Worker editor J.E. Jackson's attack on the Black Muslims as "the single most reactionary and counter-revolutionary force among the organizations in Negro life today," and which declares that "it is necessary to expose the connections, sinister purposes and the use which the enemy makes of such people as Malcolm X and assorted diversionists." The same article defended NAACP head Roy Wilkins from Malcolm X's attack as an "Uncle Tom leader of an Uncle Tom association."

Their latest lift from the Worker is U.S. CP spokesman Gus Hall's

statement on U.S. President Johnson's speech to Congress. Running scared before the ultra right campaign around the Kennedy assassination, Hall attempts to clear the CP by putting the finger on other left groups. "If we," the CP, writes Hall, "are to be located in the political terms of 'Left' and 'Right' then we declare our position as that of the 'responsible Left.'"

The Tribune pulled off its own little fink job the week previous with a lengthy inspired letter to the editor against a "'way out' leftist group," the logic of whose position, the author claims, would "be bearing arms" and "secretly training to 'take over.'"

In the same issue their youth national secretary commiserates with the rightist reformist wing in the NDP youth for having to bear the cross of the "Trotskyites."

Other comments by Hall place the CP as a "Left" responsible to the U.S. Big Business Democratic party --- "Our people [a euphemism for the CP] have made it clear that they will give support to the Johnson administration as they did to the Kennedy administration if its policies continue in the same direction."

In prominent places among the various statements of world Khrushchevism are any and all that link the Chinese to Trotskyism. But French, Bolivian, Soviet and U.S. efforts at this peculiar Stalinist form of red-baiting appear to be insufficient. The Canadian CP national executive has charged the Chinese with being "in direct contact with the Trotskyites" in Canada "in violation of the standards of conduct which should regulate the relationship between fraternal parties."

Logically enough the leadership's position has been reflected in various fields of the party's work. This year's Toronto celebration of the Chinese Revolution, in the past an occasion for identification of prominent CP spokesmen with that great event, was a modest one -- largely a movie night -- an all-Chinese affair, without even the CP's leading Chinese spokesman, Howe Kai, appearing on the platform. The CP has in recent months become noticeably cold on Cuba.

Possibly in the belief that what is happening in many other Communist parties, the formation of sizeable pro-Chinese and other left forces, must necessarily happen in the Canadian Communist party, the Toronto Star, largest daily in the country, declared in a recent editorial, "Last Saturday [November 2] was an historic day in the history of the far far left in Ontario. The Chinese Communist party made its first appearance in Canada at a meeting of the orthodox Russian-style Communists." Referring to a meeting in Hamilton, the editors continue, "inconclusive as the debate was it has served to launch the Chinese Communist party (non Mongolian division) in Canada."

This fantasy was whipped up from a small public meeting in Hamilton addressed by Tim Buck which saw a couple of Trotskyist youth challenge Buck's distortion of the Chinese viewpoint.

This is not to say that there are no pro-Mao and other left opposition elements in the Canadian Communist party. The sheer weight alone of the

material directed against such views is strong evidence that the Sino-Soviet dispute has caused grave disquiet in Canadian CP ranks. Early in October, in contradiction with the policy of many other CP's, the national executive committee of the Canadian party urged the calling of a conference for a showdown with the Chinese. "We feel that it [a conference] is needed as soon as possible in view of the factional and splitting activities of the Chinese leaders. . . ." While it is not excluded that the Canadians are thinking of the problems in other CP's it is more probable that they would like the authority of such a conference to settle matters in their own backyard.

Concrete evidence of ferment in the Canadian CP is the rash of letters of an extremely critical character and in support of the Chinese viewpoint that have appeared in Tribune on several occasions over the past year. In their attempt to gloss up and rewrite Kennedy's role following his assassination, the editor's offensive charge that those who "will point to the fact that he was a millionaire, an ardent defender of capitalism and U.S. imperialism. . . . have a distorted unrealistic view of the world" and "indulge in irresponsible leftism" would seem to be directed against dissident forces. The Tribune's hailing of Prime Minister Pearson's signing of the test-ban treaty and its flaying of the Chinese over this issue was too quickly exposed by the same Pearson's acceptance of nuclear warheads with the other hand to go by unnoticed.

Whether the opposition currents will prove able to coalesce and develop along effective lines is highly problematic. There certainly is no tradition of democratic debate in the CP. Even with the revelations of the Twentieth Congress, which shocked almost the entire leadership into conflict with Buck, no organized opposition developed. The result was a falling away of almost the entire leading cadre, a collapse and sag of the party so that the skeleton forms of the Finnish, Ukrainian and Jewish fraternal and cultural organizations now have a startling bare and bleached look. The decline has been steady with the loss of the Mine, Mill and Smelter union and weakening of the United Electrical Workers, two unions where the CP had apparatus-control, marking sharp downturns to where it now no longer represents any vital force in Canadian political life.

In his announcement of the coming national convention, slated for next Easter, national leader Morris speaks of the "isolation" of the party, the "wide gap between the party's organized strength and influence and the popular and growing movements of protest." "We can close the gap -- we can change things for the better," he declares -- we can make this "a convention of change." The pitch is going to be close ranks, show a common front. But whether this will silence the criticism is yet to be seen.

JOHN BIRCHERS TRY TO STIR UP WITCH-HUNT

As yet the new president of the United States has not sought to utilize the assassination of Kennedy for witch-hunting purposes. If anything he has exercised restraint in this area. The State Department's declaration immediately after the murder that no foreign country was involved in any assassination plot undoubtedly had his approval if it was not directly inspired by Johnson.

This action served two broad purposes. First it gave a quick indication to the Allies as well as the Soviet Union that Johnson had no intention of beginning office by heating up the cold war. Secondly, it aimed at allaying nervousness among the Kennedy wing of the Democratic party, and their lieutenants among the Negro and labor leaders, over the possible consequences of having the Southern wing of the party in control of the White House.

These aims fit in with Johnson's main problem -- how to assure a second term in the White House.

It would be a great mistake, however, to assume that the possibility of stepping up witch-hunting activities is now remote.

On the foreign field, Johnson is certain to follow the policy toward Cuba initiated under Eisenhower and continued under Kennedy; namely to liquidate the Cuban Revolution -- by violent means, if necessary. Thus Johnson will not permit the propaganda to die down that pictures Castro as the immediate "Communist threat" -- if not to the United States, then to Latin America. And, in fact, the new administration has already taken several new steps against Cuba: accusing Castro of attempting to overthrow Betancourt and giving the screws on the economic blockade of Cuba another twist.

Inside the United States the witch-hunting can still be initiated by forces outside the White House.

The John Birch Society, one of the largest and most wealthy ultra reactionary outfits in the United States, opened up a nation-wide campaign with full-page advertisements in newspapers from coast to coast, beginning with the New York Times, saying that "a Communist" who was "acting under orders" assassinated Kennedy.

Another sign of the same type appeared in the Hearst chain. This was front-page handling, with the most sensational headlines, of the letters allegedly written by the head of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee to Oswald, who was convicted by TV, radio and newspaper headlines and lynched in a TV spectacle such as the Roman emperors never dreamed of.

These activities are sufficient cause for everyone concerned about civil liberties in America to sit up and take notice. Unless Johnson feels considerable pressure from the left, he can take a conciliatory attitude toward these merchants of hate and thereby permit McCarthyism to gain a new lease on life.

ASTRO VOICES MARXIST OPPOSITION TO ASSASSINATION

The world was provided with another example of Fidel Castro's remarkable political talent when he rose to the defense of the Cuban Revolution and the Marxist outlook as the Dallas police and the most reactionary elements in the United States sought to utilize the assassination of President Kennedy to touch off a nation-wide witch-hunt.

Jean Daniel, a well-known correspondent of the Paris weekly l'Express, happened to be with Castro when the news was flashed to the Cuban premier. Daniel gave a step by step account of Castro's reactions in an article that was widely republished. Of highest interest was the repugnance that Castro displayed over the murder and his alertness to the political implications.

On the very next evening -- after Oswald, the alleged assassin, had been arrested but before he had been executed by the sinister strip-tease entrepreneur who had connections with both the underworld and the Dallas police -- Castro appeared on the radio and TV networks of Cuba. In a remarkable speech, he analyzed the meaning of the assassination, its political implications, and the glaring contradictions in the account offered by the Dallas police. He took the dispatches as they came over the wires of the United Press International and the Associated Press and demonstrated sentence by sentence how these powerful agencies, especially the UPI, were deliberately seeking to convict Oswald in advance and to turn the assassination against Cuba, the Soviet Union and "communism" in general.

From the evidence at that point, Castro proved, it was impossible to determine whether Oswald was the actual assassin, whether he was mentally sick, or whether he was the victim of a frame-up.

One of the most instructive points in the speech was Castro's affirmation of the Marxist attitude of complete opposition to assassination as a political means. Since Castro has been maligned times without count as a bloodthirsty monster, it is worth noting his words. [Our translation is from the text of the speech as reported in Diario de la Tarde, November 25.]

He said about Kennedy's policies: "The international policy of the United States cannot be defended. Its policy of aggression -- its imperialist policy -- of violation of the rights of other nations, of intervention in the internal affairs of other countries, of domination, repression, bloodshed, alliance with the most reactionary sectors of the world, participation in bloody wars against the peoples who are struggling for their liberation -- as in the case of South Vietnam -- its attitude toward the peoples of Latin America, its attitude toward us, in short, its international policy, is not defensible in the slightest from the moral point of view."

Nevertheless Kennedy did not represent the worst forces. "Within American society, within the political field of the United States, there are elements who are partisans of policies even much more reactionary, of policies much more aggressive, of policies much more bellicose. This means that within a definite situation there are degrees and within bad policies there are degrees: from bad, to worse, and the very worst."

Castro spent considerable time explaining how the death of Kennedy could open the road to the most reactionary and even fascist-like elements in the United States; and, therefore, why no Marxist or friend of Cuba could possibly wish for anything so damaging as the assassination of this president despite the most intransigent opposition to his policies.

As for the murder itself, Castro said that "the emotions of man, of any man, are affected by an act of this kind, by a crime, an assassination; I say that, leaving aside these questions [political opposition to Kennedy], I always react -- I am sure that this is the reaction of the immense majority of human beings -- we always react by rejecting murder and crime."

Castro explained the Marxist attitude and the attitude of the Cuban revolutionists toward Kennedy's assassination in the following way:

"From the circumstances surrounding the assassination of the President of the United States, we know that it had no justification.

"But, analyzing the question from the political point of view, objectively, it can also be said that it was grave news, bad news.

"And some will ask: 'How -- precisely how can the Cubans -- who have been on the receiving end of so many aggressive acts from the United States, from the Kennedy administration itself -- have an attitude like that in the face of this news?'

"It's because the Cubans must, in the first place, react as revolutionists. In the second place, the Cubans as conscious revolutionists, must not confound systems with men. We must begin by considering that we do not hate men, we hate systems.

"We hate the imperialist system, we hate the capitalist system. But this does not mean that we should hate men as men, as individuals who are part of a machine, who are part, more or less important, of a system.

"Because of this, we must not confound hate for the system with the feeling that we must harbor toward men, which is a different feeling. It is not a feeling of hate, still less a feeling of hate in this case which would be a feeling of base hate.

"As Marxist-Leninists, we know that the role of men is a relative role in each historic epoch, in each society, at each definite moment. And we must know the role that men play in each society. And above all -- a question of elementary principle -- we do not hate men, we hate systems.

"We rejoice over the death of a system; the disappearance of a system always causes us joy. The triumph of a revolution always causes us joy.

"The death of a man, even though this man is our enemy, is no cause for rejoicing. In the first place, as a matter of principle, this must be our attitude. And in addition, because of something else that is very much part of the character of us Cubans, of us Latins, of us Hispano Americans because of what we are, a mixture of races of definite peculiarities -- always before death, we cease our belligerency, always before death we bow with respect even if it is a question of an enemy."

THE LAW OF VALUE IN RELATION TO SELF-MANAGEMENT AND INVESTMENTS  
IN THE ECONOMY OF THE WORKERS STATES

Some Remarks on the Discussion in Cuba

By E. Germain

The Cuban magazine Nuestra Industria -- Revista Economica, organ of the Ministry of Industry, published two polemical articles in issue No. 3 (October 1963) of great interest, one written by Ernesto Che Guevara and the other by Comandante Alberto Mora, minister of Foreign Trade. This polemic testifies to the vitality of the Cuban Revolution in the field of Marxist theory, too. It deals with a number of questions of the utmost importance in the construction of a socialist economy: role of the law of value in the economy during the epoch of transition; autonomy of enterprises and self-management; investments through the budget or by means of self-investment, etc. Involved in these issues is the problem of the ideal model for the economy in the epoch of transition from an underdeveloped country, a problem of absorbing interest to the Bolsheviki during the 1923-28 period and which arose again, even if on a rather low theoretical level, in Yugoslavia, Poland and even the Soviet Union in recent years.

The Law of Value in the Economy During the Epoch of Transition

The question of the "application" of the theory of value in the planned and socialized economy of the epoch of transition has been subjected to the worst confusion, mainly because Stalin, in his last work, posed it in a both gross and simplistic way: "Does the law of value exist [sic] and does it apply in our country? . . . Yes, it exists there and it applies there." This is an evident truism. To the extent that exchange occurs, commodity production survives, and exchange is thereby objectively governed by the law of value. The latter cannot disappear until commodity production withers away; that is, with the production of an abundance of goods and services.

But this does not answer the concrete question around which turns the fundamental discussion begun in 1924-25 between Preobrazhensky and Bukharin and which has continued to develop, with ups and downs, among Marxist economists and theoreticians up to now: to what exact degree and in what sphere does the law of value apply in the economy during the epoch of transition?

Stalin himself, while muddling the problem, had to admit a fact which the Khrushchevist economists are nevertheless beginning to bring into question; namely, that in the "socialist" economy, the law of labor-value cannot be the regulator of production, that is, cannot determine investments.

In developed capitalist economy, the law of value determines production through the play of the rate of profit. Capital flows toward the sectors where the rate of profit is above the average and production increases there. Capital recedes from the sectors where the rate of profit below the average, and production decreases there (at least relatively). When the means of production are nationalized, so that there is neither a

market for capital nor its free entry and withdrawal, nor even the formation of an average rate of profit with which the rate of profit of each particular branch can be compared, clearly there is no longer a possibility for the "law of value" to be directly the "regulator of production."

If in an underdeveloped country which has carried out its socialist revolution the "law of value" were to regulate investments, these would flow preferentially toward the sectors where profitability is the highest in relation to prices on the world market. But it is precisely because these prices determine a concentration of investments in the production of raw materials that these countries are underdeveloped. To escape from underdevelopment, to industrialize the country, means to deliberately orient investments toward the sectors that are least "profitable" for the time being according to the law of value, but more profitable according to the criterion of the long-term economic and social development of the country as a whole. When it is said that the monopoly of foreign trade is indispensable for industrializing the underdeveloped countries, this means precisely that it cannot be accomplished until these countries are able to "pull the teeth" of the law of value.

But perhaps this qualification applies only to the "law of value on the world market"? Cannot the law of value at least alter investments on the national scale, once world prices are left aside? This is wrong again. The industrialization of an underdeveloped country cannot be carried out rapidly and harmoniously except by deliberately violating the law of value.(1)

In an underdeveloped country, and precisely because of its underdevelopment, agriculture tends from the beginning to be more "profitable" than industry, handicrafts and small industry more "profitable" than big industry, light industry more "profitable" than heavy industry, the private sector more "profitable" than the nationalized sector. To channel investments according to the "law of value," that is, according to the law of supply and demand of commodities produced by different branches of the economy, would imply developing monoculture for the export trade by

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(1)"Planned economy in the transitional period, while founded on the law of value, violates it nevertheless at every step and establishes relations among the different economic branches, and between industry and agriculture in the first place, on the basis of unequal exchange. The state budget plays the role of a lever for forced accumulation and planned distribution. This role must be increased in accordance with the latest economic progress. Credit financing dominates relations between the coercive accumulation of the budget and the fluctuations of the market, insofar as the latter enter in. . . . If the domestic Soviet market is 'freed' and the monopoly of foreign trade suppressed -- exchange between the city and the countryside will become much more equal, the accumulation of the village (I refer to the capitalist accumulation of the farmer, the 'kulak') will follow its course, and it will soon be seen that Marx's formulas likewise apply to agriculture. Once on this road, Russia would rapidly become a colony that would serve as the base for the industrial development of other countries (Leon Trotsky: "Stalin, Theoretician." Available in French in Ecrits 1928-1940, Tome I, p. 106.)



riority; it would imply preferential construction of small shops for the local market rather than steel plants for the national market. The construction of comfortable lodgings for the petty-bourgeois or bureaucratic layers (an investment corresponding to "effective demand") would have priority over the construction of low-cost homes for the people which clearly must be subsidized. In short all the economic and social evils of underdevelopment would be reproduced despite the victory of the revolution.

In reality, the decisive meaning of this victory, of the nationalization of the means of industrial production, of credit, of the transportation system and foreign trade (together with the monopoly of the latter), is precisely to create the conditions for a process of industrialization that escapes from the logic of the law of value. Economic, social and political priorities, consciously and democratically chosen, take the lead over the law of value in order to lay out the successive stages of industrialization. Priority is placed not on immediate maximum returns, but on the suppression of rural unemployment, the reduction of technological backwardness, the suppression of the foreign grip on the national economy, the guarantee of the rapid social and cultural rise of the masses of workers and poor peasants, the rapid suppression of epidemics and endemic diseases, etc., etc.

That is why the industrialization of the workers states follows a different road from that of the capitalist countries where industries are built beginning with the sectors that will most easily satisfy "effective demand."

To violate the law of value is one thing; to disregard it is something else again. The economy of a workers state can disregard the law of value only at the price of losses to the economy which could be avoided, of useless sacrifices imposed on the masses, as we shall later demonstrate.

What does this mean? In the first place that the whole economy must be carried on within the framework of a strict calculation of the real costs of production. These costs will not determine investments; these will not automatically go toward "the least costly" projects. But to know the costs means to know the exact amount of subsidies which the collectivity grants the sectors which it has decided to develop by priority. In the second place that it is necessary to have a stable yardstick for these calculations; without stable money, no rigorous planning. In the third place that all sectors where economic or social priorities do not dictate any preference are to be actually guided by the "law of value" (for example, different crops aiming at the domestic market). In the fourth place, so long as the means of consumption remain commodities, and aside from the commodities and services deliberately subsidized or distributed free by the state (pharmaceutical products, school and training materials, books, etc.), the preferences of the consumers will freely operate on the market, the law of supply and demand will affect prices, and the plan will adapt its projected investments to these oscillations (within the limits of what is available in finances, equipment, raw materials, etc.).

In the light of these initial remarks we can consider the importance of the two problems raised in the Guevara-Mora polemic: What is value? Are means of production commodities in the transitional epoch? Mora affirms that value is not essentially abstract human labor; that it is "a

relation existing between the limited disposable resources and the growing needs of man." (p.15.) Still better: he holds that value is a "category created by man under certain conditions and for certain [!] ends." (p. 15.)

It is clear that we are faced here with a subjective deformation of the Marxist concept of labor-value, of which Marx specified the essence to be abstract human labor. It is not by chance that Mora refers to the "neo-Marxist" Soviet economists(2), who have been attacked, in the USSR itself, and rightly so, as wanting to introduce surreptitiously the marginal theory of value. His conception, according to which the "law of value is the economic criterion for regulating production" in the epoch of transition (p. 17) -- while he affirms that it is not the only regulator -- necessarily involves the notion according to which "exchange of the means of production" occurs even when these are completely nationalized, that "sale of commodities" occurs even when these means of production pass from one nationalized enterprise to another, and that the "contradictions" between the state enterprises justify the assertion that a "change in ownership" occurs at the time of these exchanges (p. 19). All these affirmations are contrary to the reality and to Marxist theory. On all these questions, Che Guevara is entirely right against Mora.

Mora states that if in investments, one leaves aside the law of value, one must pay "the price"; in doing this, you automatically limit the social resources available to satisfy other needs. This is true, and we, likewise, underline the necessity for strict calculation of production costs in all fields. But in limiting oneself to this economic truth, the social content of the epoch of transition is done away with; that is, in abstracting from the class struggle, Mora leaves out a whole important side of the problem.

In fact, it is impossible to operate in the economy of the epoch of transition -- any more than in any other economy containing different social classes -- with aggregates like "social revenue," "social costs," "social price of investments," without at the same time posing the question, "Who is to pay this price to whom?"

The society of the epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism is not homogeneous. In conducting an appropriate policy of investments, of prices, wages, foreign trade, etc., the workers state can act in such a way that the social benefits of priority investments (numerical reinforcement of the working class; elevation of its standard of living, skill, culture and consciousness; reinforcement of its leading role in the state and economy; accentuation of its participation in political life, etc., etc.) are paid economically by other social classes: the residue of the former owning classes; imperialism; the small commercial entrepreneurs and independent peasants. In an expanding economy, this economic price, paid

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(2) Among others Novochilov, Kantorovitch and Menchinov. This question likewise underlies the famous debate on the possible use of profit as the sole criterion in carrying out the plan. In reality these economists are the spokesmen of the economic bureaucracy, who demand increased rights for the directors of enterprises -- particularly the right to freely dispose of a part of the "indivisible funds" (fixed equipment).

particularly by the merchants, artisans and independent peasants can moreover be accompanied by a rise in their standard of living, on condition that this rise is less than it would have been in the framework of the "free play of the law of value" (thanks, for example, to a progressive income tax).(3)

### The Law of Value and Foreign Trade

All the preceding evidently constitutes only a general framework for replying to the specific problems which the question of economic calculation and the orientation of investments raises in each particular workers state. Here Mora is right when he stresses (p. 18) that in a small country like Cuba, which depends strictly on foreign trade for the current functioning of its industry (spare parts and raw materials) and for the equipment of its new enterprises, the necessity for rigorous economic calculation is imposed with all the more reason than in a big, largely autarchic country like the Soviet Union.

Exports are made according to prices on the world market. So that these will not constitute a constant drain on the national economy (they must be met in any case in order to keep industry and industrialization going through imports), it is necessary that the production costs of exported goods should as a whole be below the prices obtained on the world market. It is necessary to fix the objective on progressively suppressing all exports at a loss, so that exports are not only a means of supplying the national economy but in addition an important source of accumulation, a means of defraying part of the expense of industrialization--a part of the costs of not observing the law of value on the national market! -- from abroad. The tendency for current prices of sugar to rise on the world market creates, moreover, a favorable framework for the success of such a policy. The progressive diversification of exports, to render the Cuban economy independent of future fluctuations of current sugar prices on the world market, must point to the selection of other export products where production costs remain below the prices obtained abroad (that is, average prices on the world market).

But Mora mixes up the need to carry out all these calculations in the most strict way with the extension of the field of application of the law

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(3) From 1924 to 1927, the Stalinist faction violently accused the Left Opposition -- Preobrazhensky in particular -- with wanting "to increase the prices of industrial products." Preobrazhensky had simply proposed that industrial products be sold "above their value" to the village, which could have been tied in perfectly with a progressive lowering of the sales price in view of the rapid growth of the productivity of labor. But when the Stalinist faction made the turn to accelerated industrialization, it increased the prices of industrial consumers goods through extremely high indirect taxes. While in 1928, the tax on turnover was not above 17.9% of the real turnover of retail trade, it rose to 78.1% in 1932, and in 1936, the nominal turnover of this trade was 107 billion rubles, of which taxes accounted for 66 billion rubles and the real turnover only 41 billion!  
(L.H.Hubbard: Trade and Distribution in the Soviet Union.)

of value in the Cuban economy. The two phenomena are not identical; they can even be directly contradictory.

The law of value determines the exchange value of commodities according to the quantity of labor socially necessary to produce them. The concept of "socially necessary" labor is determined in turn by the average level of the productivity of labor in a country, and by the concept of the effective demand of society -- which must never be confounded with human needs or social needs from an objective point of view. In an underdeveloped country like Cuba, all production of many industrial branches can correspond to an "effective demand," that is, all labor in these branches can appear as "socially necessary," despite a very low level of productivity. The reference to the law of value, far from thereby resolving the problem of rapid improvement in the productivity of labor, of the technological transformations which these industries must undergo, can only obscure it. Because the law of value will have a tendency to keep alive archaic enterprises, as long as the state of scarcity exists, from the moment there ceases to be free movement of capital and free imports of commodities which could stimulate competition with these enterprises.

Far from being a field of application of the law of value, the dependence of Cuba on foreign trade thus implies the necessity of economic calculation of comparative international costs, which could provide a choice of economic criteria, independently of any rigid "law." The necessity to assure the country's supply of spare parts and raw materials imposes a certain volume of exports, even if these are carried out at a loss. The necessity to maintain and to develop the existing level of industries dependent on foreign supplies imposes searching, as quickly as possible, for profitable exports in relation to prices on the world market -- even if this means switching investments toward branches that are already profitable in relation to the national market (branches that already sell their commodities at their exchange value). The possibility of exporting at a profit, of gaining supplementary resources from exports, of transforming foreign trade into a constant source of socialist accumulation, will moreover permit just the liberation of the economy from the tyranny of the "law of value," that is, will permit the development of new industries despite the fact that their production costs at the beginning will be higher than the prices of imported products, without lowering the standard of living or the rate of accumulation in the country. This is an aspect of the real dialectics of the dependence on foreign trade and the play of the law of value that is decidedly more complex than Comrade Mora thought!

[To be continued.]

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